

# The Abu Bakr Cemetery at Giza

Edited by

Tohfa Handoussa<sup>†</sup> and Edward Brovarski

Wilbour Studies



Brown University

Department of Egyptology and Assyriology

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# THE ABU BAKR CEMETERY AT GIZA



# Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology

*Series Editors*

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NUMBER 5

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TOHFA HANDOUSSA AND EDWARD BROVARIKI

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# IN MEMORIAM

Abdel-Moneim Abu Bakr

Tohfa Handoussa

Ali Radwan



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                                                       |        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Preface, <i>Tohfa Handoussa, Edward Brovanski</i>                                                     | ix     |
| List of Figures                                                                                       | xvii   |
| List of Plates                                                                                        | xxi    |
| List of Color Plates                                                                                  | xxxiii |
| Abbreviations                                                                                         | xxxvii |
| Chapter 1. Introduction, <i>Edward Brovanski</i>                                                      | 1      |
| Chapter 2. The Date of the Abu Bakr Cemetery, <i>Edward Brovanski</i>                                 | 11     |
| Chapter 3. The Layout of the Cemetery, <i>Edward Brovanski</i>                                        | 23     |
| Chapter 4. Eastern Sector                                                                             | 27     |
| A. Tomb of Neferwag and Adjacent Mastabas, <i>Richard L. Cook, Edward Brovanski</i>                   | 27     |
| B. Mastaba of Kai-em-tjenent, <i>Richard L. Cook, Edward Brovanski</i>                                | 30     |
| C. Mastaba of Ii-kai, <i>Edward Brovanski</i>                                                         | 39     |
| D. Mastaba ABC 263, <i>Edward Brovanski</i>                                                           | 44     |
| Chapter 5. Central Sector                                                                             | 45     |
| A. The Persen Complex, <i>Tohfa Handoussa, Richard L. Cook, Stephen R. Phillips, Edward Brovanski</i> | 45     |
| B. Ramp and Mastaba Field West of Ipi (LG 19), <i>Stephen R. Phillips</i>                             | 84     |
| C. Ramp and Mastaba Field West of Mastaba X, <i>Ramadan Badry Hussein</i>                             | 87     |
| D. Mastaba Y and the Shafts behind Persen, <i>Richard L. Cook, Stephen R. Phillips</i>                | 91     |
| E. Area North of the Persen Complex, <i>Edward Brovanski, Angela Murock Hussein</i>                   | 95     |
| F. Mastaba of Itji and Neferseshemes. <i>Edward Brovanski</i>                                         | 104    |
| G. Mastaba of Renpet-nefret, <i>Richard L. Cook, Edward Brovanski</i>                                 | 110    |
| H. Chapel of Seperi, <i>Edward Brovanski</i>                                                          | 112    |
| I. Mastaba of Kaitep and Tepi-em-nefret, <i>Tohfa Handoussa, Richard L. Cook</i>                      | 116    |
| J. Mastaba of Hentusen and Khufu-seneb, <i>Ali Radwan</i>                                             | 127    |
| K. Mastaba of Kai-iri and Associated Mastabas, <i>Edward Brovanski</i>                                | 143    |
| L. Mastaba of Senenu, <i>Edward Brovanski</i>                                                         | 145    |
| M. Mastaba Field East of Senenu I's Tomb, <i>Ramadan Badry Hussein</i>                                | 168    |

|                                                                                                                       |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| N. Mastaba with Subterranean Chapel and Burial Chamber, <i>Angela Murock Hussein</i>                                  | 172 |
| O. Mastaba of Hetepu: Ipu, <i>Tohfa Handoussa</i>                                                                     | 175 |
| P. Mastaba of Neferhetepes and Menu, ABC 251, 242–244, 209–210 <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                | 187 |
| Q. Mastaba of Wentjet, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                                        | 188 |
| R. Mastaba Adjacent to Wentjet, ABC 800–810, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                  | 190 |
| S. Mastabas of Minnefer and Another, <i>Richard Cook, Edward Brovarski</i>                                            | 191 |
| Chapter 6. Western Sector                                                                                             | 201 |
| A. Mastaba of Meshaef, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                                        | 201 |
| B. Mastaba of Semerka, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                                        | 204 |
| C. ABC 321, Anonymous Mastaba behind Meshaef, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                 | 207 |
| D. Mastaba of Nefertjez, ABC 311–314 <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                          | 207 |
| E. Mastaba of Nefer and Hedebeu, Anonymous, ABC 315–316, and ABC 317–318,<br><i>Richard L. Cook, Edward Brovarski</i> | 208 |
| F. Plundered White Limestone Chapel, ABC 410, <i>Richard L. Cook, Edward Brovarski</i>                                | 211 |
| G. Barrel-vaulted Mastaba, ABC 900, <i>Richard L. Cook</i>                                                            | 211 |
| H. Mastaba of Seneb I, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                                        | 212 |
| I. Mastabas to the North of Seneb I, ABC 884, ABC 885, and ABC 886, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                           | 219 |
| J. ABC 700 Mastaba Complex, <i>Ramadan Badry Hussein</i>                                                              | 220 |
| K. Mastaba of Seneb II, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                                       | 230 |
| Chapter 7. Offering Lists of Senenu II, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                       | 233 |
| Chapter 8. Anonymous Mastaba ABC 412, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                         | 237 |
| Chapter 9. Mastaba 20, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                                        | 239 |
| Chapter 10. Monuments from the Abu Bakr Magazine, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                             | 243 |
| Chapter 11. Miscellaneous Monuments, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                          | 267 |
| Chapter 12. The Persen Cache, <i>Edward Brovarski</i>                                                                 | 269 |
| Chapter 13. Commentary on the Human Remains, <i>Stephen R. Phillips</i>                                               | 271 |
| Chapter 14. Statistical and Stylistic Study of Pottery, <i>Ashrafel-Senussi</i>                                       | 299 |
| Bibliography                                                                                                          | 365 |
| Indexes                                                                                                               | 383 |
| Subject Index                                                                                                         | 383 |
| Egyptian Names                                                                                                        | 393 |
| Titles and Epithets                                                                                                   | 395 |
| Hieroglyphic Signs                                                                                                    | 396 |
| Words, Phrases, Place Names, and Grammatical Expressions                                                              | 397 |
| Plates                                                                                                                | 399 |
| Color Plates                                                                                                          | 607 |

## PREFACE

Between about 1949 and 1976 Prof. Dr. Abdel-Moneim Abu Bakr excavated at Giza in the far northwest corner of the great Western Field of mastaba-tombs. Prof. Abu Bakr had published an important volume on tombs at the site that had been excavated by him on behalf of Alexandria University (1949–1953), but he had passed away in July 1976 before a second projected volume on the tombs excavated under the auspices of Cairo University might be completed. Before his death Prof. Abu Bakr had entrusted the publication of tombs in the portion of the cemetery excavated for Cairo University to three of his graduate students, providing each with an assortment of plans and photographs of its monuments. One of the three, Dr. Mohamed Moursi, had passed away and the second displayed no interest in its publication. The third student was Prof. Dr. Tohfa Handoussa, who ultimately became co-director of the Cairo University–Brown University Expedition. Prof. Leonard Lesko, Charles Edwin Wilbour Professor of Egyptology at Brown University, had long been desirous of establishing an epigraphical expedition in Egypt to instruct graduate students in the techniques of modern copying, and Dr. Handoussa expressed an interest in collaboration in the hopes of seeing her professor's endeavors brought to fruition.

In 1999 Prof. Lesko and Prof. Rafaat el-Nabarawy, Dean of the Faculty of Archaeology at Cairo University, signed an agreement initiating a Cairo University–Brown University Expedition, whose aim was to copy the reliefs in the mastaba-tombs excavated by Prof. Abu Bakr in the Western Field at Giza that still remained unpublished and to make the tombs and their decoration available to the scholarly community.

None of this would have been possible without the encouragement of Prof. Dr. Zahi Hawass, then Secretary-General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, who introduced us to Dean El-Nabarawy and sat in on the initial negotiations. This was in keeping with Dr. Hawass's policy of abolishing the old concessions at Giza in favor of the expeditious publication of monuments.

In March 2000 a joint expedition of Cairo University and Brown University resumed work in the Abu Bakr Cemetery with the purpose of recording and publishing the tombs uncovered on behalf of Cairo University but not published by that eminent scholar. Cairo University was represented by Prof. Dr. Tohfa Handoussa, as field director, along with her colleague Prof. Dr. Ali Radwan. Representing Brown University were Prof. Dr. Leonard H. Lesko and Dr. Edward Brovarski, with the latter serving as field director along with Prof. Handoussa. The final season of fieldwork took place between February 8, 2009 and February 26, 2009.

After a successful first season recording tombs in the Abu Bakr Cemetery, it became apparent to our dismay that Prof. Abu Bakr's field records (except for an Object Register) were lost and no map of the cemetery excavated by him survived. As a result the aims of the Cairo-Brown Expedition were widened to include the reclearance of much of the cemetery for detailed surveying and mapping purposes.

The reclearance of the cemetery was in actuality a salvage operation, for virtually every inch of the site had previously been excavated by hundreds of workmen laboring under the direction of native Egyptian reises or

supervisors with weekly visits from Prof. Abu Bakr. Subsequently, the excavated areas had been backfilled. This was apparent from the scraps of newspaper and remains of modern garments and other debris found throughout the reclearance.

Although a disadvantage, the absence of documentation did make for some interesting surprises as the cemetery was progressively recleared. This was the case with the rediscovery of the tombs of Khufu-seneb and Henutsen and Hetepu: Ipu during the 2000 field season and of another previously unsuspected tomb belonging to a low ranking official named Semerka in 2006. The biggest hindrance, however, was the absence of a map of the Abu Bakr Cemetery.

Thanks to the dedication of two voluntary surveyors, Jay Gilliland of the California Department of Roads and James Langford of the Thompson-Langford Corporation, Grand Junction, Colorado, four of the seven seasons of the Expedition's fieldwork produced over fourteen thousand survey points, constituting approximately 70 percent of the visible structures on the eight-acre site represented by the Abu Bakr Cemetery. The result was a detailed map of the Abu Bakr Cemetery color-coded to indicate limestone blocks, mud-brick, rubble, plaster, and bedrock (see pocket map on the inside back cover). The surveyors utilized a Total Station with tripod data system controller. Dr. Mark Lehner and David Goodman were kind enough to share the coordinates and elevations of their Giza Plateau control network with us.

Where Jay Gilliland and James Langford left off, our very able Archaeological Draftsman, Richard L. Cook continued by measuring construction details that could not practically be surveyed and drawing them into the site map. He is also responsible for the physical descriptions of the individual tombs incorporated in the different chapters of this volume and drew the plans and sections of those tombs published herein as well as categorizing the various tombs, chapel, shafts, and so on according to Reisner's types as published in George A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. 1.

It should be mentioned that Stephen R. Phillips as archaeological site supervisor not only oversaw all aspects of the reclearance of the cemetery, but also contributed to the preliminary reports submitted to the Supreme Council of Antiquities and to the present Preface. Regrettably, the Supreme Council of Antiquities decided not to publish a wide array of articles from various foreign and Egyptian missions due to a backlog of several years' worth of excavation reports. As a consequence, only the report of the 2006 field season appeared in print in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. However, Dr. Phillips contributions to the reports have been incorporated in the different chapters below.

The six seasons of fieldwork in the Abu Bakr Cemetery produced a hundred or more tracings on acetate film of reliefs in the decorated tombs of the cemetery and of the reliefs, false door panels, lintels, and drums stored in the Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Subsequently, these monuments were removed to the storeroom of the Supreme Council of Antiquities at Giza. Then, without prior notice, the majority of the monuments were taken away to the magazines of the Grand Egyptian Museum for future display. As a result, many monuments were never drawn and it was impossible to do new photography where necessary. This discrepancy is evident in the plates and figures accompanying this publication, where some monuments are represented by both photographs and drawings, others by photographs or drawings alone. Listed and described in the chapter on monuments once stored in the Abu Bakr Magazine are a few others that were neither drawn nor photographed.

It was clear from the compilation of Giza tombs in the *Topographical Biography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* and a few brief excavation reports that the cemetery contained a number of unpublished tombs of considerable interest and import. In fact, the Abu Bakr Cemetery is of particular interest because the majority of tombs belong to relatively low-ranking individuals. This is only partly apparent from Porter and Moss. The great stone-built tomb of the royal architect Persen (LG 20) was an exception to this rule. Other more modest stone-built tombs (Kai-em-tjenent, Kaitep, Khufu-seneb/Henutsen) belonged to royal funerary priests. It is a sad fact that the decorated and inscribed architectural elements stored initially in the Abu Bakr Magazine are largely without exact provenience having been removed from their original placement in tomb

structures without any surviving record of origin or with references to origins that are now meaningless due to the absence of written records. Even so, they reveal that the owners of tombs included an overseer of six (men) of the boat, a supervisor of carpenters, a supervisor of tomb-builders, an inspector of unguents, a confectioner, a brewer, an overseer of grain measurements, a simple grain measurer, a scribe, and so on. Somewhat more elevated were an elder of the house and an overseer of scribes. The nature of the material—mostly inscribed lintels and drums—suggests that they derived from mud-brick mastabas. In the course of clearance the Expedition discovered two small mud-brick mastabas with inscribed elements still in place. The first of these belonged to a woman named Renpet-nefret, the second to a “follower” (?) named Kai-iri. Through a fortuitous circumstance, it was possible to assign a number of decorated and inscribed pieces to the small mastaba complex of Itji and Neferseshemes. These modest tombs are in contrast to the larger and more fully decorated mastaba-tombs of the courtiers and high officials of King Khufu and his successors who were buried further to the east, at the foot of the Great Pyramid. For this reason, the cemetery has the potential to shed considerable light on the social status of Egypt’s “working classes,” a study that has been the subject of scant attention in the Egyptological community at least until the Middle Kingdom and especially the New Kingdom.

The survey and mapping component of the Cairo University-Brown University Expedition necessitated the cleaning and clearance of visible funerary architecture within the survey area. The project followed as its field-work strategy an archaeological approach based upon the recording and stratigraphic methodology known as the “Harris Matrix” model, so-named after the model’s author, Edward Harris.<sup>1</sup>

Prof. Abu Bakr had thoroughly excavated the survey area in the past, resulting in extensive backfilling, disturbance, remixing, and a readily apparent paucity of artifacts, in situ or otherwise. Substantial data regarding the stratigraphic relationships between and within architectural features, and between and within topographical features could, however, still be ascertained.

Project surveyors Jay Gilliland and Jim Langford along with Richard Cook established a survey grid over the site, laid out in 20 x 20 m squares (see pocket map), a grid that was tied into the Egyptian Geological Service survey point fixed in the bedrock just off the northeast corner of the pyramid of Khufu. The project designated squares on the east to west axis with letters (e.g., J, K, L) and those squares on the north to south axis with numbers (e.g., 21, 22, 23). Square identification thus is where a letter and a number meet, for example, “K23.”

For recording purposes, the project assigned “ABC” numbers (our acronym for Abu Bakr Cemetery) for architectural and topographic features (loci) based upon their relationship(s) within a Harris Matrix model adapted to our survey area. This methodology facilitated the determination of building phases, rebuilding phases, and stratigraphy.

To record artifacts, given the relatively small quantity of them overall, the project first assigned to each artifact the grid square number from which it was recovered (e.g., M22, M23), followed by a sequential number for all the artifacts recovered from that given square (e.g., M22-1, M22-2), and the given artifact’s locus (e.g., ABC 105). For example, our M23-1, ABC 128 designates the first numbered artifact from square M23, in this case a partial human child skeleton, the locus being ABC 128—a burial pit just below the surface.

Another aspect of the Expedition’s work was the analysis of the human skeletal material that was recovered from the site over the six seasons. This investigation was in charge of our osteoarchaeologist Dr. Stephen R. Phillips of the Egyptian Section, the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Ultimately, the skeletal remains of some twenty-seven individuals were analyzed. The balance of the sample contains a broad array of anthropological information, a bonus given the population’s relatively small size and the paucity of published human remains from the Eastern and Western Fields at Giza in general.

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1. Edward Harris, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, 2nd ed. (London: Academic Press, 1992).

Quite fortunately, the Expedition was able to secure the services of Mr. Ashraf El-Senusssi, Curator of the Pharaonic and Greco-Roman Section of the Kom Aushim Museum and an expert on pottery from the earliest periods of Egyptian prehistory till Islamic times. Regrettably, with two or three exceptions, the vast majority of pottery found on the site was in the form of modern caches of vessels found out of context or in heaps on the ground adjacent to tomb shafts. Nevertheless, a pottery statistical and stylistic study was conducted in 2006 by Mr. El-Senusssi.

The clearance of and epigraphic work in the Abu Bakr Cemetery was funded by the Department of Egyptology at Brown University, while Cairo University underwrote the salaries of the representatives of the University and paid for twenty-four hour live invigilation in the Abu Bakr Cemetery. A number of generous individuals and institutions contributed funds to the support of the Expedition. Foremost among those individuals were Mr. Frank Caizzi, Ms. Janet Romanoff, and Mr. and Mrs. John McNabney, the last of whom donated funds toward the publication of the project in the name of Susan L. Moore. The late Prof. William Kelly Simpson also made a generous gift toward the costs of the Expedition through The William Kelly Simpson Foundation. So too did the late Mr. Bradford Endicott of Dedham, Massachusetts and Vero Beach, Florida and Mrs. Dorothea Endicott of Dedham, Massachusetts. Moreover, the Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation contributed substantial funding toward the Expedition's work. The directors also owe a debt to Richard L. Cook, who not only financed his own flights to and from Egypt, but paid for his expenses during the course of the 2009 field season. He has in addition underwritten the costs of the pocket map accompanying this volume as has my wife, Del Nord.

A submission to the Shelby White-Leon Levy Foundation at Harvard University resulted in a generous two-year grant that allowed substantial work to be done toward the final publication. The actual cost of publication was borne by the Department of Egyptology and Assyriology of Brown University.

Incorporated in the present report are two articles previously published by Tohfa Handoussa on the tomb of Hetepu: Ipu and Steve Phillips on the so-called "Hyena Cages" (or circular mud-brick structures) built against the south wall of the mastaba of Ipi (LG 19) respectively (see chs. 5.O, 5.A.4). We would like to thank Prof. Dr. Hawass for permission to include the first article and Dr. Miroslav Bárta for permission to include the second.

The directors would also like to express their gratitude to Dr. Luc Limme, formerly Responsable des collections égyptiennes at the Musées Royaux d'Art et Histoire and Dr. Dr. Van den Driessche of the Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art of the Catholic University of Louvain for photographs of the two jambs from the north false door in the tomb of Senenu I, which had been removed at some time before the Cairo-Brown Expedition commenced work in 2000. At the behest of Prof. Dr. Zahi Hawass, the jambs were returned to Egypt. We owe a debt to Mr. Mohamed Saied and Mr. Ahmed Ehab of the Supreme Council of Antiquities for the excellent digital drawings of the two jambs made under the direction of Ramadan Badry Hussein, then Director of the National Project for the Documentation of Egyptian Archaeological Sites.

A debt is likewise owed Prof. David P. Silverman and the Saqqara Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology for the loan of a tambour that allowed us to descend into several deep tomb shafts. Dr. Silverman also released Stephen Phillips from his duties as Research Assistant to participate in the Cairo-Brown Expedition.

The Expedition is also indebted to Mohamed Shiha, Chief Inspector of the Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, for help and encouragement above and beyond the call of duty during the six seasons fieldwork in the Abu Bakr Cemetery.

Prof. Salima Ikram also generously gave of her time during the 2004–2005, 2005–2006 field seasons to help clear the circular mud-brick structures and analyze in a preliminary way an incomplete mammalian skeleton that was discovered in one of the structures. The directors are most beholden to her for her participation.

It would be unconscionable to fail to acknowledge the contributions of the late Seif el-Din Shazly, Conservator of Cairo University, who for many years single-handedly cared for the artifacts excavated by Prof. Dr. Abu Bakr in the Abu Bakr Cemetery and stored in the Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. His brother, Saleh el-Din Shazly,

who also works as a conservator for Cairo University, helped conserve monuments uncovered by the Expedition in the field.

The directors would also like to express our appreciation to Yannis Gourdon for allowing access to his unpublished PhD thesis on private names. Subsequently, Scheele-Schweizer, *Die Personennamen des Alten Reiches* (2014) appeared in print and the private names gathered by her have been added to these other references.

Finally, the Cairo University-Brown University Expedition would like to thank Prof. James P. Allen, Wilbour Professor of Egyptology at Brown University. Without his encouragement and support, the present volume would never have seen the light of day.

The Abu Bakr Cemetery remains a very promising area for future exploration. The efforts of the Cairo-Brown Expedition were largely restricted to reclearance of the areas of Abu Bakr Cemetery already excavated by Prof. Abu Bakr, but large areas of the eight-acre site remain unexcavated.

It should be mentioned that some 482 individual drawings of the mastabas and of associated details by Richard L. Cook will eventually become available on the Giza website of Harvard University ([giza.fas.harvard.edu](http://giza.fas.harvard.edu)). The same is true of the Cairo-Brown expedition diary, some 100 print photographs, and over 1500 35-mm slides. In the course of the digitalization project each image was scanned and descriptive information, such as the tomb number, the name of the photographer who took the image, and the date it was taken were compiled by Rachel Aronin and Jeremy Kasala formerly of Harvard's Giza project staff in collaboration with co-director Edward Brovarski.

Recently the news arrived in Boston that the Rare Books & Special Collections Library of the American University in Cairo has acquired lecture notes, letters, photographs, lists of workmen, drafts of publications, excavation reports, public lectures, and radio speeches of and by Prof. Abu Bakr. This information comes from the announcement of a lecture by Dr. Amr Omar, curator of the Egyptology collection of the American University, at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo in February 2019. The announcement of the lecture was brought to our attention by Ms. Cynthia May Sheikholeslami. Dr. Omar's current project is to study, document, and publish the archive of Prof. Abu Bakr. We wholeheartedly look forward to seeing these valuable records in print.

In the following lists all the collaborators who gave invaluable assistance in the reclearance of the Abu Bakr Cemetery and in copying and photographing its relief and inscriptions are acknowledged.

*March 1–27, 2000*

Tohfa Handoussa, Cairo University, director  
 Edward Brovarski, Brown University, director  
 Hisham Farouk, Cairo University, inspector  
 Magdi el-Bahri, Cairo University, inspector  
 Nihal Ahmed Ali, Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, inspector  
 Said Hassan, Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, inspector  
 Mariam Ayad, Brown University, assistant director, epigrapher  
 Jonathan Kaiser, Brown University, epigrapher  
 Nghiem Thai, Brown University, epigrapher  
 Anne Haslund Hansen, University of Copenhagen, epigrapher  
 Rune Nyord, University of Copenhagen, epigrapher  
 Peter E. Moses, photographer

*January 1–February 2, 2001*

Tohfa Handoussa, Cairo University, director  
 Edward Brovarski, Brown University, director  
 Mariam Ayad, assistant director  
 Hisham Farouk, Cairo University, inspector  
 Magdi el-Bahri, Cairo University, inspector

Mohamed Shiha, Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, inspector  
 Nihal Ahmed Ali, Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, inspector  
 Mariam Ayad, Brown University, assistant director, epigrapher  
 Ann Gossett, Brown University, epigrapher  
 Emily O'Dell, Brown University, epigrapher  
 Jay Gilliland, California Department of Roads, surveyor  
 Richard L. Cook, archaeological draftsman  
 Brooks Witter, photographer  
 Seif el-Din Shazly, Cairo University, conservator  
 Saleh el-Din Shazly, Cairo University, conservator

*January 2–February 4, 2003*

Tohfa Handoussa, Cairo University, director  
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 Hisham Farouk, Cairo University, inspector  
 Magdi el-Bahri, Cairo University, inspector  
 Reda El-Sayed Musa, Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, inspector  
 Abdel Gawaad Hossein Herbi, Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, inspector  
 Stephen R. Phillips, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, archaeological site supervisor, osteoarchaeologist  
 Emily O'Dell, Brown University, chief epigrapher  
 Barbara Lesko, Brown University, epigrapher  
 Ramadan Badry Hussein, Brown University, epigrapher  
 Jessica Levai, Brown University, epigrapher  
 Andreas Woods, Brown University, epigrapher  
 Jay Gilliland, California Department of Roads, surveyor  
 James Langford, Thompson-Langford Corporation, Grand Junction, Colorado, surveyor

*December 20, 2004–February 20, 2005*

Tohfa Handoussa, Cairo University, director  
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 Richard Cook, deputy director, archaeological draftsman  
 Ramadan Badry Hussein, Brown University, assistant director  
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 Salima Ikram, Zooarchaeologist, professor of Egyptology, American University in Cairo  
 Jay Gilliland, California Department of Roads, surveyor  
 James Langford, Thompson-Langford Corporation, Grand Junction, Colorado, surveyor  
 Kea Johnston, epigrapher and artist  
 Reis Anwar Shared Mohamed

*December 31, 2005–January 29, 2006*

Tohfa Handoussa, Cairo University, director  
 Edward Brovarski, Brown University, director  
 Magdi el-Bahri, Cairo University, inspector  
 Hassan Hassan Mughwry, Cairo University, inspector  
 Mohamed Ahmed Zaki, Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, inspector  
 Gomaa Abdullah Mansour, Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, inspector

Hamsa Mohamed Dewedar, Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, inspector  
 Ramadan Badry Hussein, Brown University, assistant director  
 Stephen Phillips, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, archaeological site supervisor, osteoarchaeologist  
 Salima Ikram, zooarchaeologist, professor of Egyptology, American University in Cairo  
 Richard Cook, deputy director, archaeological draftsman  
 Jay Gilliland, California Department of Roads, surveyor  
 James Langford, Thompson-Langford Corporation, Grand Junction, Colorado, surveyor  
 Marianne Barcellona, photographer  
 Emily O'Dell, Brown University, chief epigrapher  
 Erin Fairburn, Brown University, epigrapher  
 Christina Spangler, artist and epigrapher

*February 5–March 5, 2008*

Tohfa Handoussa, Cairo University, director  
 Edward Brovarski, Brown University, director  
 Richard Cook, Brown University, deputy director, archaeological draftsman  
 Stephen R. Phillips, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, osteoarchaeologist

*February 1, 2009–March 15, 2009*

Tohfa Handoussa, Cairo University, director  
 Edward Brovarski, Brown University, director  
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# LIST OF FIGURES

|                                                                                                                              |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Figure 1. Plan of the Western Field at Giza with the Abu Bakr Cemetery at the upper right.                                   | 2  |
| Figure 2. Plan of Neferwag Complex. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                | 28 |
| Figure 3. Plan and section of tomb of Neferwag. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                    | 29 |
| Figure 4. Plan of tomb of Kai-em-tjenent. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                          | 30 |
| Figure 5. Plans and sections of north addition to tomb of Kai-em-tjenent, ABC 858. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                 | 31 |
| Figure 6. Plan and sections of burial ABC 866 in core mastaba of Kai-em-tjenent Complex. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.           | 32 |
| Figure 7. Plan and sections of southern extension of core mastaba of Kai-em-tjenent, ABC 867. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.      | 33 |
| Figure 8. Fallen architrave of Kai-em-tjenent (incomplete).                                                                  | 34 |
| Figure 9. East wall of offering room of Kai-em-tjenent, right section.                                                       | 34 |
| Figure 10. East wall of offering room of Kai-em-tjenent, left section.                                                       | 35 |
| Figure 11. Loose block with fragmentary table scene from tomb of Kai-em-tjenent.                                             | 36 |
| Figure 12. Loose block with fragmentary butcher scene from tomb of Kai-em-tjenent.                                           | 36 |
| Figure 13. Plans and sections of intrusive burials in Kai-em-tjenent Complex, ABC 874 and 878. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.     | 37 |
| Figure 14. Plans and sections of intrusive burials in Kai-em-tjenent Complex, ABC 877 and 880. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.     | 37 |
| Figure 15. Plans and sections of intrusive burials in Kai-em-tjenent Complex, ABC 876 and 879. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.     | 38 |
| Figure 16. Fragmentary architrave of Kai-em-tjenent reused in animal pens.                                                   | 39 |
| Figure 17. Plan of mastaba of Ii-kai. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                              | 40 |
| Figure 18. False door of Ii-kai.                                                                                             | 41 |
| Figure 19. Plan of Persen Complex. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                 | 46 |
| Figure 20. Detail of plan of Persen Complex, left (south) half.                                                              | 47 |
| Figure 21. Detailed plan of southern "tower" of fender wall of Persen Complex and limestone drain. Drawn by Richard L. Cook. | 47 |
| Figure 22. Detail of plan of Persen Complex, right (north) half.                                                             | 48 |
| Figure 23. Inscribed lintel of Ipi after LD 2:82 [e].                                                                        | 48 |
| Figure 24. Plan of mastaba field behind mastaba of Ipi. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                            | 53 |
| Figure 25. Plan of mastaba field behind Mastaba X. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                 | 55 |

|                                                                                                                                                         |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 26. Western ramp of Mastaba X compared to seven other Western Cemetery mastaba ramps.<br>Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                               | 56  |
| Figure 27. Drawing by Abu Bakr of animal pen ABC 270 (old ABC 69A), after Abu Bakr, "Découvertes récentes au cimetière occidental," 47–48, with figure. | 58  |
| Figure 28. Animal pens ABC 270 and 271 (old ABC 69A–B) against south end of mastaba of Ipi.<br>Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                | 59  |
| Figure 29. Detailed drawing of animal pens ABC 270 and 271 (old ABC 69A–B) against south end of mastaba of Ipi. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.               | 60  |
| Figure 30. Simplified isometric sketch of animal pens ABC 270 and 271 (old ABC 69A–B) against south end of mastaba of Ipi. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.    | 60  |
| Figure 31. Possible animal water supply system, west animal enclosure, ABC 270 (old ABC 69b).<br>Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                              | 62  |
| Figure 32. East wall of offering room of Persen.                                                                                                        | 74  |
| Figure 33. South wall of offering room of Persen.                                                                                                       | 75  |
| Figure 34. West wall of offering room of Persen, LG 20 a.                                                                                               | 77  |
| Figure 35. Offering room of Persen, LG 20a, horizontal notches on northern wall.                                                                        | 78  |
| Figure 36. Inscriptions on west wall of serdab of Persen.                                                                                               | 78  |
| Figure 37. Plan and sections of burial shaft and chamber of Persen, ABC 165. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                  | 79  |
| Figure 38. False door panel of Iru-ka-khufu after LD 2:17 d.                                                                                            | 81  |
| Figure 39. False door panel of Iru-ka-khufu.                                                                                                            | 81  |
| Figure 40. Plan and sections of burial shaft and chamber of Iru-ka-khufu, ABC 166. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                            | 83  |
| Figure 41. Plan of Mastaba Y. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                 | 92  |
| Figure 42. Mastaba Y, plan and elevations of northern shaft and burial chamber, ABC 183. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                      | 93  |
| Figure 43. Mastaba Y, plan and elevations of southern shaft and burial chamber, ABC 182. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                      | 94  |
| Figure 44. Plan of mastaba field north of Persen. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                             | 95  |
| Figure 45. Plans and section of ABC 39. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                       | 98  |
| Figure 46. Plan and elevations of burial chamber of Renpet-nefret. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                            | 101 |
| Figure 47. Plan of area north of Persen, northern section. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                    | 103 |
| Figure 48. Offering basin of Renpet-nefret.                                                                                                             | 111 |
| Figure 49. Plan and elevations of shaft and burial chamber of ABC 112. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                        | 111 |
| Figure 50. Plan of Seperi. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                    | 113 |
| Figure 51. Rough sketch of relief fragments found in mastaba of Seperi. Drawn by Edward Brovarski.                                                      | 113 |
| Figure 52. Table scene of Seperi. Composite drawing by Christina Spangler.                                                                              | 114 |
| Figure 53. Plan of mastaba of Kaitep. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                         | 117 |
| Figure 54. Lintel above entrance to chapel of Kaitep.                                                                                                   | 117 |
| Figure 55. Kaitep entrance drum.                                                                                                                        | 117 |
| Figure 56. North false door of Kaitep and Tepi-em-nefret. Composite drawing by Christina Spangler.                                                      | 118 |
| Figure 57. Panel of north false door of Kaitep and Tepi-em-nefret. Composite drawing by Christina Spangler.                                             | 120 |
| Figure 58. Southern false door of Kaitep and Tepi-em-nefret. Composite drawing by Christina Spangler.                                                   | 125 |
| Figure 59. Panel of southern false door of Kaitep and Tepi-em-nefret.                                                                                   | 126 |
| Figure 60. Plan of mastaba of Khufu-seneb and Henutsen. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                       | 128 |
| Figure 61. Outline of incomplete figure on northern facade of mastaba of Khufu-seneb and Henutsen.                                                      | 128 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 62. Left-hand (south) entrance thickness of Khufu-seneb and Henutsen.                                                                                                                        | 131 |
| Figure 63. Right-hand (north) entrance thickness of Khufu-seneb and Henutsen.                                                                                                                       | 132 |
| Figure 64. False door of Khufu-seneb and Henutsen. Composite drawing by Christina Spangler.                                                                                                         | 134 |
| Figure 65. Panel of false door of Khufu-seneb and Henutsen.                                                                                                                                         | 136 |
| Figure 66. Plan of mastaba of Kai-iri, ABC 912–914, and adjacent mastabas. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                | 144 |
| Figure 67. Plan of mastaba of Senenu I. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                                                   | 146 |
| Figure 68. Northern false door of Senenu I and Ankherfenedjes. Composite drawing by Christina Spangler.                                                                                             | 147 |
| Figure 69. Plan, elevation, and section of the northern false door of Senenu and Ankherfenedjes. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                          | 148 |
| Figure 70. Panel, flanges, lintel, and drum of the northern false door of Senenu and Ankherfenedjes.                                                                                                | 149 |
| Figure 71. Left jamb of the northern false door of Senenu and Ankherfenedjes.                                                                                                                       | 150 |
| Figure 72. Right jamb of the northern false door of Senenu and Ankherfenedjes. Drawn by M. Saied.                                                                                                   | 151 |
| Figure 73. Southern false door of Senenu I and Ankherfenedjes.                                                                                                                                      | 158 |
| Figure 74. Panel and flanges of southern false door of Senenu I and Ankherfenedjes.                                                                                                                 | 161 |
| Figure 75. The hieroglyph for washerman from the northern false door of Senenu I. From Brovarski, “Washerman of the God,” fig. 4.                                                                   | 162 |
| Figure 76. Old Kingdom diadems. From Brovarski, “Washerman of the God,” fig. 5.                                                                                                                     | 165 |
| Figure 77. Offering lists of Senenu I (a), Ini (b), Nefer (c), and Seshemnefer I (d). From Brovarski, “Washerman of the God,” fig. 6.                                                               | 167 |
| Figure 78. Plan of mastaba with subterranean rock-cut chapel and burial chamber. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                          | 172 |
| Figure 79. Plan of Hetepu: Ipu Complex. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                                                   | 176 |
| Figure 80. Section and plan of Hetepu: Ipu false door. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                                    | 176 |
| Figure 81. Plan of mastabas of Neferhetepes/Menue, Wentjet, and adjacent mastabas.                                                                                                                  | 187 |
| Figure 82. Architrave of Wentjet.                                                                                                                                                                   | 189 |
| Figure 83. Drum of false door of Wentjet.                                                                                                                                                           | 189 |
| Figure 84. Plan of mastaba adjacent to Wentjet, ABC 800–810. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                              | 191 |
| Figure 85. Plan of tombs of Minnefer and another. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                                         | 193 |
| Figure 86. Entrance drum of tomb of Minnefer.                                                                                                                                                       | 193 |
| Figure 87. Left-hand jamb of tomb of Minnefer.                                                                                                                                                      | 194 |
| Figure 88. Left-hand entrance thickness of tomb of Minnefer.                                                                                                                                        | 194 |
| Figure 89. Right-hand jamb and entrance thickness of tomb of Minnefer. After Jaromir, “New Reliefs and Inscriptions from Five Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza and Saqqara,” <i>BSEG</i> 6 (1982), fig. 3. | 195 |
| Figure 90. Plans and elevations of burials ABC 831–833 in chapel of Minnefer. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                             | 196 |
| Figure 91. Plan and section of burial ABC 843, anonymous tomb in Minnefer Complex. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                        | 198 |
| Figure 92. Plan and section of burial ABC 844, anonymous tomb in Minnefer Complex. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                        | 198 |
| Figure 93. Plan and section of burial ABC 845, anonymous tomb in Minnefer Complex. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                        | 199 |
| Figure 94. Plan and section of burial ABC 849, anonymous tomb in Minnefer Complex. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                        | 199 |
| Figure 95. Architrave of Meshaef.                                                                                                                                                                   | 202 |
| Figure 96. Drum of Meshaef.                                                                                                                                                                         | 202 |

|                                                                                                                                                                               |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 97. Plan of mastabas of Meshaef and Semerka. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                 | 202 |
| Figure 98. Plan and elevation of shaft and burial chamber of Meshaef, ABC 304. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                      | 203 |
| Figure 99. Plan and elevations of shaft and burial chamber of Semerka, ABC 307. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                     | 205 |
| Figure 100. Plans of mastaba of Hebedu and Nefer, ABC 308–310, and mastabas of Nefertjez, ABC 311–314, and two others, ABC 315/317 and ABC 316/318. Drawn by Richard L. Cook. | 208 |
| Figure 101. Table scene on false door panel of Hebedu and Nefer.                                                                                                              | 209 |
| Figure 102. Plan of barrel-vaulted mastaba, ABC 900. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                | 212 |
| Figure 103. Diagram of barrel vault of ABC 900. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                     | 212 |
| Figure 104. Plan of mastaba of Seneb I. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                             | 213 |
| Figure 105. Diagram of false door niche of Seneb I. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                 | 213 |
| Figure 106. False door niche of Seneb I. Composite drawing by Christina Spangler.                                                                                             | 214 |
| Figure 107. Panel of false door niche of Seneb I.                                                                                                                             | 217 |
| Figure 108. Plan of ABC 884–886. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                                    | 219 |
| Figure 109. Plan of ABC 700. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                                        | 221 |
| Figure 110. Diagram of arch of inner entrance at south end of corridor of ABC 700. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                  | 225 |
| Figure 111. Plan of mastaba of Seneb II. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                                            | 231 |
| Figure 112. Hand copy by Henry G. Fischer of inventory offering lists of Senenu II.                                                                                           | 234 |
| Figure 113. Plan of mastaba ABC 412, Tomb Locus H 36/37. Drawn by Richard L. Cook.                                                                                            | 238 |
| Figure 114. Relief from mastaba ABC 412, Tomb Locus H 36/37.                                                                                                                  | 238 |
| Figure 115. Autobiographical inscription of unknown man, ABM 428.                                                                                                             | 244 |
| Figure 116. Relief of unknown man, ABM 429.                                                                                                                                   | 244 |
| Figure 117. Offering slab with four basins of Akhethetep and family, ABM 433.                                                                                                 | 245 |
| Figure 118. Anonymous offering list, ABM 438.                                                                                                                                 | 246 |
| Figure 119. Lintel and drum of Itji, ABM 445.                                                                                                                                 | 250 |
| Figure 120. Drum roll of Itji and Neferseshemes, ABM 450.                                                                                                                     | 251 |
| Figure 121. False door panel of Meket and Reput-nesut, ABM 451.                                                                                                               | 251 |
| Figure 122. Relief with female offering bearers, ABM 452.                                                                                                                     | 252 |
| Figure 123. Relief with upper half of two female figures, ABM 453.                                                                                                            | 252 |
| Figure 124. Drum roll and lintel inscribed for Meket and Repet-nesut, ABM 454/459.                                                                                            | 252 |
| Figure 125. Lintel of an unknown man, ABM 456.                                                                                                                                | 252 |
| Figure 126. Limestone relief block of unknown man, ABM 458.                                                                                                                   | 253 |
| Figure 127. False door panel of Ipi and Ipep, ABM 463.                                                                                                                        | 255 |
| Figure 128. Drum roll of Heken, ABC 467.                                                                                                                                      | 257 |
| Figure 129. Double-ledge offering basin of Kainefer and Hepetka, ABM 468.                                                                                                     | 257 |
| Figure 130. Drum roll of Tjenti, ABM 469.                                                                                                                                     | 258 |
| Figure 131. Drum roll inscribed for Meket and Repet-nesut, ABM 471.                                                                                                           | 258 |
| Figure 132. Drum roll of Kaiherstef, ABM 472.                                                                                                                                 | 258 |
| Figure 133. Drum roll of Khemetnu, ABM 474.                                                                                                                                   | 260 |
| Figure 134. Drum roll of Heni, ABM 476.                                                                                                                                       | 260 |
| Figure 135. False door of Henutsen found in entryway of mastaba of Persen (LG 20).                                                                                            | 270 |

# LIST OF PLATES

- Plate 1. Satellite view of Giza plateau, showing the Abu Bakr Cemetery highlighted at the upper right. Courtesy of Space Imaging, Inc., Ikonos satellite image, 2002.
- Plate 2. Mastaba in southeast section of Abu Bakr Cemetery with plastered facade, looking southwest. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 3. Mastaba in southeast section of Abu Bakr Cemetery with plastered facade, detail, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 4. Mastaba in southeast section of Abu Bakr Cemetery with plastered facade, detail, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 5. Rock-cut tombs in southeast section of Abu Bakr Cemetery with Abu Bakr's Mastaba D on scarp above. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 6. Uninscribed stelae marking dismantled ramp leading to Abu Bakr's Mastaba D in southeast section of Abu Bakr Cemetery. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 7. Entrance to tomb of Neferwag, looking south. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 8. False door of Neferwag. Peter E. Moses, January 2004.
- Plate 9. Overview of south and east sides of mastaba of Kai-em-tjenent, looking northwest. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 10. Fallen architrave of Kai-em-tjenent. Peter E. Moses, January 2004.
- Plate 11. Detail of *wab*-sign from fallen architrave of Kaemtjenent. Peter E. Moses, January 2004.
- Plate 12. Mastaba of Kai-em-tjenent, frieze inscription, looking south. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 13. East wall of chapel of Kaemtjenent with reliefs. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 14. East wall of chapel of Kaemtjenent with southernmost blocks of relief. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 15. East wall of chapel of Kaemtjenent with northernmost block of relief. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 16. Fragmentary plaster relief on west wall of chapel of Kaemtjenent with legs of running men. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 17. West wall of chapel of Kaemtjenent with wall and floor slabs and base of false door. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 18. False door and offering basin on east wall of mastaba of Kai-em-tjenent. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 19. Reused false doors roofing burial chamber ABC 879. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 20. Fallen architrave segment of Kai-em-tjenent reused in animal pens. Peter E. Moses, January 2004.
- Plate 21. Architrave fragment found in front of the mastaba of Kaemtjenent. Peter E. Moses.
- Plate 22. View of mastaba of Ii-kai. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 23. False door and offering basin of Ii-kai, looking west. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 24. Detail of central niche of false door of Ii-ka. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 25. Detail of upper part of left jamb of false door of Ii-kai. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.

- Plate 26. Detail of lower part of left jamb of false door of Ii-kai. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 27. View of lintel of false door of Ii-kai with upper part of jambs and drum. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 28. Detail of upper register of right jamb of false door of Ii-kai. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 29. Detail of middle register of right jamb of false door of Ii-kai. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 30. Detail of lower register of right jamb of false door of Ii-kai. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 31. Offering basin of Ii-kai. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 32. View of the Persen Complex after excavation, looking northwest. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 33. View of the Persen Complex after excavation, looking north. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 34. Southern niched wall of Persen Complex and tomb of Ipi, LG 19. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 35. Tower-like structure (ABC 291) at southern terminus of fender wall of Persen Complex and drain through wall (ABC 292), looking south. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 36. Length of fender wall of Persen Complex with drain (ABC 292), east side, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 37. Southern end of niched east wall of Persen Complex with channels in brickwork, looking north. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 38. Southern entrance to Persen Complex and shallow grave, ABC 1, 285–290. Richard L. Cook, 2005.
- Plate 39. Southern exterior chapel of Ipi, LG 19 b–d, and wall ABC 280, looking southeast. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 40. View of northern false door of Ipi, LG 19 a. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 41. Inscribed lintel of northern false door of Ipi, LG 19 a. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 42. Detail of inscribed lintel of northern false door of Ipi, LG 19 a. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 43. Mastaba of Ipi, LG 19, court ABC 281, and mastaba ABC 278, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 44. Northern exterior chapel of Ipi, offering room ABC 279 with limestone paving ABC 276–277, looking west. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 45. Offering room (ABC 22) at southeast corner of Mastaba X, looking west. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 46. Northern niche of Mastaba X, looking west. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 47. View of northern chapel of Ipi, LG 19, and eastern row of contiguous mastabas, ABC 2–14, looking north. Stephen R. Phillips, January 2003.
- Plate 48. View of eastern (ABC 2–14) and western row (ABC 15–19) of contiguous mastabas, looking southeast. Stephen R. Phillips, January 2003.
- Plate 49. Pottery deposit, ABC 20. Stephen R. Phillips, January 27, 2003.
- Plate 50. Mastaba of Persen, LG 20, with southern exterior chapel, northern chapel of Irukakhufu, and northern stretch of niched wall of Persen Complex. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 51. Entrance of mastaba of Persen, LG 20, with southern exterior chapel and stretch of niched wall of Persen Complex. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 52. Entrance of mastaba of Persen, LG 20 with southern exterior chapel, looking northwest. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 53. Southern exterior chapel of Persen, LG 20 b–d, and fallen casing blocks, looking down from top of mastaba. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 54. Ramp ABC 37 in court of mastaba of Persen and short wall ABC 625. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 55. Junction of northern tower of the eastern fender wall of the Persen Complex with the northwestern corner of the mastaba of Hetep-ni-knhum. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 56. Cache of pottery between northern tower of the eastern fender wall of the Persen Complex and the west face of the mastaba of Hetep-ni-knhum, upper level, ABC 168. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 57. Cache of pottery between northern tower of the eastern fender wall of the Persen Complex and the west face of the mastaba of Hetep-ni-knhum, lower level, ABC 167. Stephen R. Phillips.

- Plate 58. Cache of pottery between northern tower of the eastern fender wall of the Persen Complex and the west face of the mastaba of Hetep-ni-knhum, lower level, close-up, ABC 167. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 59. Animal pen ABC 270 against southern wall of mastaba of Ipi, LG 19, with tomb of Akhethetep at right. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 60. Animal pens against southern wall of mastaba of Ipi, LG 19, with east-west ramp behind Ipi before clearance, and Mastaba Y in left background. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 61. Interior view of animal pen ABC 270 with two accesses and basin, looking south. Peter E. Moses, January 20, 2004.
- Plate 62. Interior view of animal pen ABC 271 with two accesses, looking south. Peter E. Moses, January 18, 2004.
- Plate 63. Ramp against west wall of Mastaba of Ipi, LG 19, looking east with pyramid of Khufu in background. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 64. East wall of interior chapel of mastaba of Persen, LG 20 a, after Lepsius, *Ergänzungsband*, pl. 8.
- Plate 65. East wall of interior chapel of mastaba of Persen, LG 20 a, detail of upper part. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 66. East wall of interior chapel of mastaba of Persen, LG 20 a, southern part, bottom of wall, registers 1 and 2. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 67. East wall of interior chapel of mastaba of Persen, LG 20 a, southern part, bottom of wall, registers 2 and 3. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 68. East wall of interior chapel of mastaba of Persen, LG 20 a, southern part, bottom of wall, register 4. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 69. South wall of interior chapel of Persen, LG 20 a, standing figure of Persen, detail of face. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 70. West wall of interior chapel of Persen, LG 20 a. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 71. Upper part of standing figure of Persen on west wall of interior chapel LG 20 a. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 72. Upper part of standing figure of Neznut(?) on west wall of interior chapel LG 20 a. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 73. West wall of interior chapel of Persen, LG 20 a, registers 1–2 at top of northern end of wall. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Plate 74. West wall of interior chapel of Persen, LG 20 a, register 3 at northern end of wall. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 75. West wall of interior chapel of Persen, LG 20 a, register 4 at northern end of wall. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 76. West wall of interior chapel of Persen, LG 20 a, register 5 at northern end of wall. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 77. West wall of interior chapel of Persen, LG 20 a, register 6 at northern end of wall. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 78. North wall of interior chapel of Persen with first of horizontal notches and serdab squint. Edward Brovanski, 2004.
- Plate 79. Serdab squint, looking south. Nghiem Thai, 2000.
- Plate 80. Persen Complex, entrance to northern chapel, ABC 29, looking west. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 81. Persen Complex, entrance to northern chapel, ABC 29, looking east. Peter E. Moses, January 13, 2004.
- Plate 82. False door of Irukakhufu. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 83. Panel of false door of Irukakhufu. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 84. Offering place of Irukakhufu with emplacements for offering stands. Stephen R. Phillips.

- Plate 85. Offerings stands of Irukakhufu in situ. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 86. Offering stands of Irukakhufu in Abu Bakr Magazine. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 87. Statue of Iru-ka-khufu in situ in serdab, LG 21 d, ABC 623. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 88. Inscription on lap of statue of Irukakhufu. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 89. Blockage of burial chamber of Irukakhufu, ABC 166. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 90. Wooden elements from coffin of Irukakhufu, ABC 166. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 91. South end of mastaba of Ipi, LG 19, with animal pen ABC 271, ramp against west wall of Mastaba X, and Mastaba Y in left background. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 92. View looking north of mastaba field behind Ipi with southwest mastaba (ABC 121–122, 186–188) in foreground, ramp behind Mastaba X in middle of picture, mastaba field behind Mastaba X in process of clearance, with Mastaba Y in background. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 93. View of southwest mastaba (ABC 121–122, 186–188) looking southeast. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 94. View of area behind Mastaba X with ramp, looking southwest. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 95. View of area behind Mastaba X with ramp, looking south. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 96. View of ramp and area behind Mastaba X, looking southwest. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 97. View of area behind Mastaba X, looking southwest. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 98. View of Mastaba 504 in area behind Mastaba X with pottery stand in situ in open air corridor chapel. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 8, 2006.
- Plate 99. Stone-built serdab in area behind Mastaba X, looking northwest. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 100. View of area behind Mastaba X, looking southeast. Stephen R. Phillips, 2006.
- Plate 101. Overview of area to north side of ramp behind Mastaba X, looking southeast. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 102. View of area adjacent to ramp behind Mastaba X with overbuilt mastaba ABC 500. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 4, 2006.
- Plate 103. Skeletal remains in ABC 520. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 14, 2006.
- Plate 104. Skeletal remains in ABC 522. Marianne Barcellona, January 15, 2006.
- Plate 105. Mastaba Y with ramp behind Mastaba X in foreground. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 106. Offering basin in principal niche of Mastaba Y. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 8, 2005.
- Plate 107. Inscription on offering basin in principal niche of Mastaba Y, ABC 181. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 8, 2005.
- Plate 108. View of top of northern shaft of Mastaba Y, ABC 183, looking northwest. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 109. View of northern shaft of Mastaba Y, ABC 183, with portcullis slot visible. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 110. View of turning niche in northern shaft of Mastaba Y, ABC 183. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 111. North side of mastaba of Persen, looking southwest. Peter E. Moses.
- Plate 112. Tomb ABC 39. Peter E. Moses, January 7, 2004.
- Plate 113. Tomb ABC 39. Peter E. Moses, January 8, 2004.
- Plate 114. Skeleton in ABC 39. Peter E. Moses, January 8, 2004.
- Plate 115. Juncture of wall ABC 36 with northern niched wall of Persen Complex. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 116. Fallen brick at northwest corner of mastaba of Persen and plaster overlapping first of contiguous mastabas ABC 35. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 117. Mastaba ABC 34/85 at northwest corner of mastaba of Persen with mastabas ABC 70–71 at right. Peter E. Moses, January 19, 2004.
- Plate 118. Mastaba ABC 86, looking northwest. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 119. View of area north of Persen Complex with ABC 43/45–47 at lower right, ABC 41/84/76/77 at upper left and stone-built mastaba ABC 86 at upper right. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 120. Contiguous mastaba ABC 71. Peter E. Moses, January 19, 2004.

- Plate 121. Burial shafts ABC 43/45–47 in area north of the Persen Complex, looking southwest. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 122. Burial shafts ABC 45–47 in area north of the Persen Complex, looking south. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 123. Mastaba complex ABC 78–80 in area north of the Persen Complex, looking west. Peter E. Moses, January 19, 2004.
- Plate 124. Mastaba complex of Itji and Neferseshemes, ABC 90/96, 101–103, in area north of the Persen Complex, looking west. Marianne Barcellona, January 4, 2006.
- Plate 125. Drum roll of Neferseshemes in situ in ABC 102. Peter E. Moses, January 24, 2004.
- Plate 126. Leaning slab roof of ABC 96. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 127. Mastaba ABC 90. Marianne Barcellona, January 4, 2006.
- Plate 128. Shaft ABC 90. Stephen R. Phillips, 2006.
- Plate 129. Burial ABC 90. Stephen R. Phillips, January 5, 2006.
- Plate 130. Lintel and drum of Itji, ABM 444. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 131. Lintel and drum of Itji, ABM 445. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 132. Lintel of Neferseshemes, ABM 446. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 133. Lintel of Itji, Neferseshemes, and Mesza, ABM 447. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 134. Drum of Itji and Neferseshemes, ABM 450. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 135. Mastaba ABC 100. Marianne Barcellona, January 8, 2006.
- Plate 136. Mastaba of Renpet-nefret, ABC 110, with ABC 96 at left. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 137. Offering basin of Renpet-nefret in situ at front of ABC 110. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 138. Area of ABC 857–859, looking north. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 139. Area of ABC 857–859, looking east, with ABC 108 in foreground and ABC 112 in background. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 140. Niche of ABC 852 and miniature mastabas ABC 115 and ABC 116. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 141. Mastaba facade ABC 857 and shafts ABC 112 and ABC 113, looking west. Richard L. Cook, 2004.
- Plate 142. Burial in ABC 112, looking southwest. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 143. Mastaba, shaft, and burial chamber ABC 113, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 144. Shaft and burial chamber of ABC 113 after clearance with burial in decayed coffin, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 145. View of mastaba of Seperi, looking north. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 146. Original offering room in mastaba of Seperi, looking north. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 147. Offering room of Seperi, looking west. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 148. Right half of architrave of Seperi. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 149. Left half of architrave of Seperi. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 150. Facade of mastaba of Kaitep with modern construction at entrance. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 151. Entrance to chapel of Kaitep with inscribed lintel and drum. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 152. Inscribed entrance lintel of Kaitep, right half. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 153. Inscribed entrance lintel of Kaitep, left half. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 154. Entrance drum of Kaitep. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 155. North end of chapel of Kaitep. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 156. South end of chapel of Kaitep. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 157. Photostitch of northern false door niche of Kaitep. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 158. Merged photograph of left-hand side panel of northern false door of Kaitep. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 159. Lintel of northern false door of Kaitep. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 160. Left jamb and central niche of northern false door of Kaitep. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.

- Plate 161. Right jamb and right-hand side panel of northern false door of Kaitep. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 162. Merged photograph of architrave of southern false door of Tepemnefret. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 163. Left end of architrave of southern false door of Tepemnefret. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 164. Panel and lintel of southern false door of Tepemnefret. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 165. Overview of mastaba of Khufu-seneb. Edward Brovanski.
- Plate 166. View of chapel of Khufu-seneb. Edward Brovanski, 2000.
- Plate 167. Upper part of false door of Khufuseneb. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 168. Left entrance thickness of mastaba of Khufu-seneb. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 169. Right entrance thickness of mastaba of Khufu-seneb. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 170. View of mastaba of Kai-iri, looking west, after removal of drum. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 171. Inscribed drum of Kai-iri in situ. Stephen R. Phillips, January 26, 2004.
- Plate 172. Close-up of inscribed drum of Kai-iri. Stephen R. Phillips, January 26, 2004.
- Plate 173. Interior chapel of Senenu. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 174. Lintel of northern false door of Senenu. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 175. Left-hand flange of false door of Senenu. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 176. View of upper part of false door of Senenu. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 177. Detail of figure of owner on panel of false door of Senenu. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 178. Detail of washerman hieroglyph on panel of false door of Senenu. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 179. Detail of figure of Ankerhenedjes on panel of false door of Senenu. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 180. Right-hand flange of false door of Senenu. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 181. Detail of washerman hieroglyph on lintel of false door of Senenu. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 182. Left-hand jamb of false door of Senenu. Photograph of Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art of the Catholic University of Louvain.
- Plate 183. Right-hand jamb of false door of Senenu. Photograph of Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.
- Plate 184. Panel, flanges, and lintel of southern false door of Senenu. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 185. Offering basin at foot of southern false door of Senenu. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 186. Subsidiary mastabas in front of tomb of Senenu, looking northwest. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 187. Subsidiary mastaba ABC 60 in front of tomb of Senenu, looking west. Peter E. Moses, January 2004.
- Plate 188. Subsidiary mastaba ABC 61 in front of tomb of Senenu, looking west. Peter E. Moses, January 2004.
- Plate 189. Serdab and entrance to subterranean rock-cut chapel, ABC 245, looking northwest. Ramadan Badry Hussein, 2005.
- Plate 190. Pottery cache near serdab of subterranean rock-cut chapel, ABC 245, looking south. Ramadan Badry Hussein, 2005.
- Plate 191. First two false doors from north in offering room of subterranean rock-cut chapel, ABC 238. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 192. Entrance to burial chamber ABC 239 in subterranean rock-cut chapel cleared. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 13, 2005.
- Plate 193. Overview of Hetepu: Ipu Complex with false door uncovered. Marianne Barcellona.
- Plate 194. Overview of Hetepu: Ipu Complex after clearance, looking southwest. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 195. Brick flooring in mastaba ABC 811. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 196. Loose lintel of Hetepu. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 197. Loose drum of Hetepu. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 198. Mastaba ABC 815 in Hetepu: Ipu Complex. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 199. Mastaba ABC 825 in Hetepu: Ipu Complex. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 200. View of corridor chapel of Neferhetepes, looking north. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 201. Offering basin of Neferhetepes. Richard L. Cook.

- Plate 202. Offering basin of Menu. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 203. Detail of inscription on offering basin of Menu. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 204. Detail of inscription on offering basin of Menu. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 205. Intrusive burial in ABC 242. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 13, 2005.
- Plate 206. Burial in ABC 251 (letter board mistakenly reads "Wentjet"). Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 13, 2005.
- Plate 207. Overview of mastaba of Wentjet, looking southwest. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 208. Entrance corridor of mastaba of Wentjet, looking west. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 209. View of southern compound niche of chapel of Wentjet with offering stand, looking southwest. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 210. Offering stand of Wentjet from ABC 222. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 211. Lintel and drum of Wentjet, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 212. Detail of toponymn for Byblos on lintel of Wentjet. Brooks Witter, 2001.
- Plate 213. Drum of Wentjet. Brooks Witter, 2001.
- Plate 214. Lintel of Wentjet from ABC 212. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 8, 2005.
- Plate 215. Overview of ABC 800, looking northeast. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 216. Beer jars in ABC 800. Richard L. Cook, January 26, 2006.
- Plate 217. Overview of Minnefer and anonymous tomb (entrance at right), looking south. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 218. Entrance to chapel of Minnefer, looking south. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 219. Left-hand jamb and entrance thickness to offering room of Minnefer, ABC 829/830. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 220. Left-hand entrance thickness to offering room of Minnefer, ABC 829. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 221. Right-hand entrance thickness to offering room of Minnefer in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England, acc. no. E.SS.77. © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- Plate 222. Right-hand jamb to offering room of Minnefer in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England, acc. no. E.SS.77. © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- Plate 223. Shafts ABC 831, 832, 833 in offering room of Minnefer. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 224. Raised construction baulks on east wall of offering room of Minnefer. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 225. Lid of burial pit ABC 832, looking south. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 226. Three large stones leaning against entrance of ABC 833. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 227. View of corridor and entrance to anonymous tomb adjacent to Minnefer, looking south. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 228. False door over shaft ABC 843 in anonymous tomb adjacent to Minnefer. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 229. View of southern false door of Meshaf with displaced architrave restored. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 12, 2005.
- Plate 230. Photograph of right end of inscription on displaced architrave of Meshaf. Brooks Witter, 2001.
- Plate 231. Photograph of middle part of inscription (to the left of pl. 230 and to the right of pl. 232) on displaced architrave of Meshaf. Brooks Witter, 2001.
- Plate 232. Photograph of middle part of inscription (to the left of pl. 231 and to the right of pl. 233) on displaced architrave of Meshaf. Brooks Witter, 2001.
- Plate 233. Photograph of left end of inscription on displaced architrave of Meshaf. Brooks Witter, 2001.
- Plate 234. Drum of false door of Meshaf. Ramadan Badry Hussein, 2005.
- Plate 235. Blockage of Meshaf's burial chamber. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 22, 2005.
- Plate 236. Skeleton from burial chamber of Meshaf. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 22, 2005.
- Plate 237. Portcullis in shaft of Semerka, ABC 307. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 2006.
- Plate 238. Portcullis slab of Semerka from inside burial chamber. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 2006.

- Plate 239. Intrusive burial in Semerka's shaft, ABC 304. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 17, 2006.
- Plate 240. Blockage of Semerka's burial chamber. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 22, 2006.
- Plate 241. Semerka's skeleton. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 22, 2006.
- Plate 242. Flint blade and copper fragment found with skeleton of Semerka. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 22, 2005.
- Plate 243. Lintel and drum of southern false door of Semerka, ABC 306. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 13, 2005.
- Plate 244. Panel and flanges of southern false door of Semerka. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 13, 2005.
- Plate 245. Lintel and drum of northern false door of Semerka, ABC 305. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 13, 2005.
- Plate 246. Late period mummy found in sand near ABC 321. Marianne Barcellona, January 2006.
- Plate 247. Mastaba of Nefertjez. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 15, 2005.
- Plate 248. Detail of false door of Nefertjez. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 15, 2005.
- Plate 249. Detail of false door of Nefertjez. Edward Brovarski, January 15, 2005.
- Plate 250. Mastaba of Hebedu and Nefer. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 15, 2005.
- Plate 251. Mud-brick mastaba ABC 316. Ramadan B, Hussein, January 17, 2005.
- Plate 252. Serdab of plundered white limestone chapel, view from above looking north. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 253. Plundered white limestone chapel, view from above looking north. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 254. Barrel-vaulted mastaba, looking northwest with ABC 884, 885, and 886, in the background. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 255. Barrel vault and shaft, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 256. Close-up of barrel vault, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 257. View of false door niche of Seneb I, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 258. Top register of left-hand side panel of Seneb I. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 259. Panel of false door of Seneb I. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 260. Upper part of jambs, drum, and central niche of Seneb I. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 261. Inscribed offering stands of Seneb I in the Abu Bakr Magazine. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 262. Inscribed offering stand of Seneb I in the Abu Bakr Magazine. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 263. Inscribed offering stands of Nefret-ha-nesut in the Abu Bakr Magazine. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 264. View of ABC 885–886, looking southeast. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 265. View of ABC 700, looking south. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 266. Corridor ABC 701, looking north. Ramadan Badry Hussein, 2006.
- Plate 267. Corridor ABC 701, looking south. Ramadan Badry Hussein, 2006.
- Plate 268. Pottery deposit in corridor of ABC 701. Marianne Barcellona, January 18, 2006.
- Plate 269. Special-shaped bricks from collapsed vault over corridor ABC 701. Marianne Barcellona, January 18, 2006.
- Plate 270. Special-shaped bricks from collapsed vault over corridor ABC 701. Marianne Barcellona, January 18, 2006.
- Plate 271. Compound niche ABC 704. Marianne Barcellona, January 18, 2006.
- Plate 272. Burial ABC 702. Marianne Barcellona, January 18, 2006.
- Plate 273. Burial ABC 703. Marianne Barcellona, January 18, 2006.
- Plate 274. Burial ABC 704. Marianne Barcellona, January 18, 2006.
- Plate 275. Burial ABC 705. Marianne Barcellona, January 21, 2006.
- Plate 276. Burial ABC 706 with compound niche ABC 713 behind. Marianne Barcellona, January 22, 2006.
- Plate 277. Burial ABC 707. Marianne Barcellona, January 21, 2006.
- Plate 278. Burial ABC 708. Marianne Barcellona, January 21, 2006.

- Plate 279. Skeleton in ABC 708. Ramadan Badry Hussein, January 21, 2006.
- Plate 280. North end of ABC 700 looking west towards ABC 719–723 (letter board with mistaken identification). Marianne Barcellona, January 18, 2006.
- Plate 281. ABC 725, looking west. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 282. View of mastaba of Seneb II. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 283. View of entrance and northern false door of mastaba of Seneb II. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 284. Inscribed entrance drum of Seneb II. Peter E. Moses.
- Plate 285. Right side of inscribed lintel of Seneb II. Peter E. Moses.
- Plate 286. Middle of inscribed lintel of Seneb II. Peter E. Moses.
- Plate 287. Left side of inscribed lintel of Seneb II. Peter E. Moses.
- Plate 288. Fragmentary relief of unknown man from ABC 412. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 289. Side of fragmentary relief of unknown man from ABC 412. Edward Brovarski.
- Plate 290. View of statues in serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 291. View of statues in serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 292. View of statues in serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 293. Standing pair statue of Iufi and Hathor-hat from serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 294. Side view (proper left) of baker from serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 295. Frontal view of kneeling statue of Iuf(i) offering jars from serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 296. Front view of brewer from serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 297. Front view of miller from serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 298. Side view (proper right) of butcher from serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 299. Front view of potter from serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 300. Front view (upside down) of granary from serdab of Abu Bakr Mastaba 20. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 301. Offering slab with four basins of Akhethetep and family, ABM 433, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 302. Offering basin ABM 436 in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 303. Anonymous offering list ABM 438. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 304. Inscribed offering slab of Iymeret, ABM 439, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 305. False door of Ii-senu and Kaiwehem, ABC 443, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 306. Fragmentary relief with offering bearers, ABM 452, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 307. Fragmentary relief with figures of Iteti and Impet, ABM 453, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 308. Right half of drum roll inscribed for Reput-nesut and Meket, ABC 454, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 309. Left half of drum roll inscribed for Meket and Reput-nesut, ABC 454, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 310. Lintel of Heken, ABM 455, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 311. Anonymous lintel, ABM 456, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 312. Drum roll of Nefret, ABM 457, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 313. Fragmentary relief, ABM 458, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 314. Relief of Inkaf, ABM 462, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 315. Detail of upper part of relief of Inkaf, ABM 462, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 316. Detail of lower part of relief of Inkaf, ABM 462, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.

- Plate 317. Offering basin of Ni-nefret-nesut, ABM 465, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 318. Lintel of Wat(y), ABM 466, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 319. Detail of lintel of Wat(y), ABM 466, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 320. Drum roll of Heken, ABM 467, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 321. Double-ledge offering basin of Kainefer and Hepetkai, ABM 468, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 322. Drum roll of Tjenti, ABM 469, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 323. Drum roll of Meket and Reput-nesut, ABM 471, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 324. Drum roll of Kaihersef, ABM 472, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 325. Drum roll of Khemetnu, ABM 474, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 326. Drum roll of Heni, ABM 476, in SCA Magazine at Giza. Marianne Barcellona, 2006.
- Plate 327. Drum roll of Iufi, ABM unnumbered. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 328. False door panel of Merer-nesut(?), ABM relief #4. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 329. Fragmentary autobiographical inscription in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 330. Seated statue of Seneb, #2, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 331. View of seated statue of Seneb from above, #2, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 332. Seated pair statue of Ipzekh and Henutsen, #5, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 333. Side view (proper right) of seated pair statue of Ipzekh and Henutsen, #5, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 334. Rear view of seated pair statue of Ipzekh and Henutsen, #5, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 335. Side view (proper left) of seated pair statue of Ipzekh and Henutsen, #5, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 336. Inscribed base of seated pair statue of Ipzekh and Henutsen, #5, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 337. Right side of seat of pair statue of Ipzekh and Henutsen, #5, in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 338. Front view of anonymous statue in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 339. Side view (proper right) of anonymous statue in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 340. Rear view of anonymous statue in Abu Bakr Magazine at Giza. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 341. False door of Mereret in situ. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 342. Part of false door of Kaihep. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 343. Lintel and drum of Merernesut. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 344. Lintel and drum of Hetepkai. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 345. Drum of Tjeni. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 346. Drum of Hedudut(?). Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 347. Jamb of Itjer. Abu Bakr photograph.
- Plate 348. Anonymous lintel found in modern basket in south chapel of Persen, LG 20 b. Brooks Witter, 2001.
- Plate 349. Additional fragments of anonymous lintel found in modern basket in south chapel of Persen, LG 20 b. Brooks Witter, 2001.
- Plate 350. Drum roll of Demedj found in modern basket in south chapel of Persen, LG 20 b. Peter E. Moses, 2004.
- Plate 351. False door of Henutsen found at entrance of the mastaba of Persen. Richard L. Cook.
- Plate 352a. M23.1. Case of cribra orbitalia; child, ca. 2–4 years (ABC 128). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 352b. S34.5. Case of cribra orbitalia; child, ca. 2–4 years (ABC 702). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.

- Plate 353a. M24.3. Tuberculosis, sacrum, female, ca. 30 years (ABC 519). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 353b. M24.3. Tuberculosis, sacrum, female, ca. 30 years (ABC 519). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 353c. M24.3. Tuberculosis, vertebrae/sacrum, female, ca. 30 years (ABC 519). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 353d. M24.3. Tuberculosis, vertebrae, female, ca. 30 years (ABC 519). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 353e. M24.3. Tuberculosis, vertebrae, female, ca. 30 years (ABC 519). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 354a. O29.4. Tuberculosis, right tibia, male, ca. 25 years (ABC 335). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 354b. O29.4. Tuberculosis, right tibia, male, ca. 25 years (ABC 335). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 354c. O29.4. Tuberculosis, right tibia, male, ca. 25 years (ABC 335). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 354d. O29.4. Tuberculosis, right tibia, male, ca. 25 years (ABC 335). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 355a. O29.4. Tuberculosis, right tibia, male, ca. 25 years (ABC 335). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 355b. O29.4. Tuberculosis, right tibia, male, ca. 25 years (ABC 335). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 355c. O29.4. Tuberculosis, right femur, male, ca. 25 years (ABC 335). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 355d. O29.4. Tuberculosis, right femur, male, ca. 25 years (ABC 335). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 356a. I29.20. Thinned parietal bones, advanced suture closure, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 356b. I29.20. Thinned parietal bones, advanced suture closure, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 356c. I29.20. Thinned parietal bones, advanced suture closure, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 356d. I29.20. Active dental caries, occlusal wear, tooth loss, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 357a. I20.20. Left femur fracture, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 357b. I20.20. Left femur fracture, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 357c. I20.20. Left femur fracture, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 357d. I20.20. Left femur fracture, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 358a. I29.20. Lumbar spine osteoarthritis, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 358b. I29.20. Lumbar spine osteoarthritis, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 358c. I29.20. Lumbar spine osteoarthritis, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 358d. I29.20. Lumbar spine osteoarthritis, female, ca. 70 years (ABC 39). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 359. K29.7. Renpet-nefret in situ, female, ca. 55 years (ABC 105). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 360a. K29.7. Thinned parietal bones, Renpet-nefret, female, ca. 55 years (ABC 105). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 360b. K29.7. Thinned parietal bones, Renpet-nefret, female, ca. 55 years (ABC 105). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 360c. K29.7. Thinned parietal bones, Renpet-nefret, female, ca. 55 years (ABC 105). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 360d. K29.7. Thinned parietal bones, Renpet-nefret, female, ca. 55 years (ABC 105). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 361. K29.7. Mandibular dental wear, likely agenesis of third molars, Renpet-nefret, female, ca. 55 years (ABC 105). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.

- Plate 362a. L28.5. View of frontal/parietal bone sharp force trauma, male, ca. 70 years (Mastaba Y, north burial shaft). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 362b. L28.5. View of frontal/parietal bone sharp force trauma, male, ca. 70 years (Mastaba Y, north burial shaft). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 363a. L28.5. View of frontal/parietal bone sharp force trauma, male, ca. 70 years (Mastaba Y, north burial shaft). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 363b. L28.5. View of frontal/parietal bone sharp force trauma, male, ca. 70 years (Mastaba Y, north burial shaft). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 364a. L28.5. View of frontal/parietal bone sharp force trauma, male, ca. 70 years (Mastaba Y, north burial shaft). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 364b. L28.5. View of frontal/parietal bone sharp force trauma, male, ca. 70 years (Mastaba Y, north burial shaft). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 365a. M34.16. Tuberculosis of the thoracic spine with kyphosis, male, ca. 60 years (ABC 242). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 365b. M34.16. Tuberculosis of the thoracic spine with kyphosis, male, ca. 60 years (ABC 242). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 365c. M34.16. Tuberculosis of the thoracic spine with kyphosis, male, ca. 60 years (ABC 242). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 365d. M34.16. Tuberculosis of the thoracic spine with kyphosis, male, ca. 60 years (ABC 242). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 366a. M34.16. Left clavical lytic lesion, male, ca. 60 years (ABC 242). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 366b. M34.16. Left clavical lytic lesion, male, ca. 60 years (ABC 242). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 367a. P27.2. Cervical vertebrae, female, ca. 65 years (ABC 304). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 367b. P27.2. Cervical vertebrae, detail, female, ca. 65 years (ABC 304). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 368. P27.2. Cervical vertebrae, female, ca. 65 years (ABC 304). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 369a. P27.2. Right clavicle, female, ca. 65 years (ABC 304). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.
- Plate 369b. P27.2. Right clavicle, female, ca. 65 years (ABC 304). Photograph by Stephen R. Phillips.

# LIST OF COLOR PLATES

- Color Plate 1. Approach to Abu Bakr Cemetery, looking west.
- Color Plate 2. Overview of south and east sides of mastaba of Kai-em-tjenent. Looking northwest. Richard L. Cook.
- Color Plate 3. Stretch of niched wall of Persen Complex (ABC 603) before clearance of contiguous mastabas, looking northwest. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Color Plate 4. South wall of Persen, LG 20 a, standing figure of Persen, LG II, 83a.
- Color Plate 5. South wall of interior chapel of Persen, LG 20 a, standing figure of Persen. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 6. West wall of interior chapel of Persen, LG 20 a, LG II, pl. 83 b.
- Color Plate 7. Panel of southern false door in interior chapel of Persen, LG 20 a. Edward Brovarski.
- Color Plate 8. Nghiem Thai in serdab of Persen. 2000. Edward Brovarski.
- Color Plate 9. Frontal view of statue of Iru-ka-khufu in Abu Bakr Magazine. 2004. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 10. Rear view of statue of Iru-ka-khufu in Abu Bakr Magazine. 2004. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 11. Inscription on lap of statue of Iru-ka-khufu in Abu Bakr Magazine. 2004. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 12. View looking northeast of mastaba of Ipi with animal pens ABC 270–271, mastaba field behind Ipi, ramp behind Mastaba X, all before clearance, with Mastaba Y in background. Stephen R. Phillips.
- Color Plate 13. Niched wall at north end of mastaba of Persen, ABC 36. 2004. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 14. Drum roll of Nefereshemes. 2004. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 15. False door panel of Itji and Nefereshemes, ABM 449. 2004. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 16. Offering basin of Renpet-nefret after conservation. Richard L. Cook.
- Color Plate 17. Table scene of Seperi and Nefertjez, looking west. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 18. Panel of northern false door of Kaitep. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 19. Merged photograph of right-hand side panel of northern false door of Kaitep. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 20. Entrance drum of mastaba of Khufu-seneb. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 21. Jar stands in the chapel of Khufu-seneb. Edward Brovarski.
- Color Plate 22. View of false door of Henutsen and Khufu-seneb. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 23. Panel of false door of Henutsen and Khufu-seneb. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 24. Lintel and drum of false door of Henutsen and Khufu-seneb. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 25. Northern false door of Senenu. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 26. First two false doors from north in offering room of subterranean rock-cut chapel, ABC 238. Richard L. Cook.

- Color Plate 27. False door and offering basin of Hetepu: Ipu, looking west. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 28. Architrave and panel of false door of Hetepu: Ipu. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 29. Panel of false door of Hetepu: Ipu. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 30. Panel and lintel of false door of Hetepu: Ipu. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 31. Central niche of false door of Hetepu: Ipu. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 32. Threat-formula on left-hand jamb of false door of Hetepu: Ipu. 2006. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 33. View of burial chamber ABC 816 with deteriorated coffin. Richard L. Cook.
- Color Plate 34. Burial ABC 832, looking south. Richard L. Cook.
- Color Plate 35. Detail of upper half of skeleton in ABC 832, Richard L. Cook.
- Color Plate 36. Red ink drawing on panel of false door ABC 847 in anonymous tomb. Richard L. Cook.
- Color Plate 37. Close-up of panel of southern false door of Semerka. January 13, 2005. Ramadan Badry Hussein.
- Color Plate 38. False door of Nefertjez and Reis Anwar Shared Mohamed. January 15, 2005. Ramadan Badry Hussein.
- Color Plate 39. Panel and drum of Hebedu and Nefer. January 2005. Richard L. Cook.
- Color Plate 40. Special shaped bricks from collapsed vault over corridor ABC 701. January 18, 2006. Ramadan Badry Hussein.
- Color Plate 41. Brick with well-preserved "Pompeian red" color from collapsed vault over corridor ABC 701. January 18, 2006. Ramadan Badry Hussein.
- Color Plate 42. Southern false door of Seneb II. Edward Brovanski.
- Color Plate 43. Southern false door of Seneb II. Edward Brovanski.
- Color Plate 44. Detail of inscription on southern false door of Seneb II. 2004. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 45. Panoramic view from ABC 700 looking up to pyramids of Khufu and Khafre. Marianne Barcellona.
- Color Plate 46. Pair statue of Iufi and Hathor-hat from Mastaba 20. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 47. Side view of same. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 48. Anonymous pair statue from Mastaba 20. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 49. Kneeling statue of Iufi with jars from Mastaba 20. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 50. Left side view of same. Peter E. Moses. .
- Color Plate 51. Inscribed base of same. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 52. Rear view of same. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 53. Right side view of same. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 54. Serving statue of baker from Mastaba 20. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 55. Rear view of same. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 56. Right side view of same. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 57. Serving statue of brewer from Mastaba 20. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 58. Left side view of same. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 59. Serving statue of grinding woman from Mastaba 20. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 60. Serving statue of butcher from Mastaba 20, right side view. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 61. View of the butcher from above. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 62. Serving statue of man lining jar from Mastaba 20. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 63. Model granary from Mastaba 20. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 64. View of same from below. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 65. Model of domed granaries from Mastaba 20. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 66. Model of domed granaries from Mastaba 20. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 67. Relief ABM 429. Peter E. Moses. I.
- Color Plate 68. Relief ABM 429a. Peter E. Moses.
- Color Plate 69. False door panel of Hui and Tjenti ABM 440. Peter E. Moses.

- Color Plate 70. False door panel of Meket and Renputnesut, ABM 451, Peter Moses.  
Color Plate 71. False door panel of Minnefer and Tjenteti, ABM 460. Peter E. Moses.  
Color Plate 72. Relief of Sudjakai, ABM unnumbered. Peter E. Moses.  
Color Plate 73. Detail of relief of Sudjakai, ABM unnumbered. Peter E. Moses.  
Color Plate 74. Edge of relief of Sudjakai, ABM unnumbered. Peter E. Moses.  
Color Plate 75. Statue of Tjeti. Peter E. Moses.  
Color Plate 76. Side view of statue of Tjeti. Peter E. Moses.  
Color Plate 77. Rim sherd of Canaanite pottery. Peter E. Moses.  
Color Plate 78. Base sherd and another of Canaanite pottery. Peter E. Moses.  
Color Plate 79. Partially reconstructed Canaanite pottery jar. Peter E. Moses.



# ABBREVIATIONS

|                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A l–Aa 31                            | Alan H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs, Sign-list</i> , 442–543. 3rd rev. ed. London: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1964. |
| ÄA                                   | Ägyptologische Abhandlungen                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| ABC                                  | Abu Bakr Cemetary                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| ABM                                  | Abu Bakr Magazine                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Abh Berl Ak                          | Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Abu Bakr, Giza                       | Abdel-Moneim Abu-Bakr. <i>Excavations at Giza 1949–1950</i> . Cairo: Government Press, 1953.                                                                                                                                |
| <i>Abydos 2</i>                      | W. M. Flinders Petrie. <i>Abydos, Part II: 1903</i> . EEF 24. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903.                                                                                                                         |
| <i>Abydos 3</i>                      | R. Ayrton, C. T. Currelly, and A. E. P. Weigall. <i>Abydos, Part III: 1904</i> . EEF 25. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904.                                                                                              |
| ACER                                 | Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>AcOr</i>                          | <i>Acta Orientalia</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| ADAIK                                | Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>AEO</i>                           | Alan H. Gardiner. <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . 3 vols. Oxford: University Press, 1968.                                                                                                                              |
| ÄF                                   | Ägyptologische Forschungen                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| AHAW                                 | Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>ÄIB</i>                           | Günther Roeder. <i>Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901–1924.                                                                                                 |
| <i>AJA</i>                           | <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>ALex</i>                          | Dimitri Meeks. <i>Année Lexicographique</i> . 3 vols. Paris: Meeks, 1980–1983.                                                                                                                                              |
| Alexanian,<br><i>Netjer-aperef</i>   | Nicole Alexanian. <i>Dahschur II: Das Grab des Prinzen Netjer-aperef</i> . AV 56. Mainz: von Zabern, 1999.                                                                                                                  |
| <i>Amarna Reports 1, 3,<br/>4, 5</i> | <i>Amarna Reports 1, 3, 4, 5</i> . By Barry J. Kemp. Egypt Exploration Society, Occasional Publications 1, 4, 5, 6. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1984–1989.                                                           |
| AnAE                                 | Analecta Aegyptiaca                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| AnnMusGuimet                         | Annales du Musée Guimet                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>AoF</i>                           | <i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| AOS                                  | American Oriental Series                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| ARCE                                 | American Research Center in Egypt                                                                                                                                                                                           |

|                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ArchAbousir</i>       | Paule Posener-Kriéger. <i>Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir)</i> . 2 vols. BdÉ 65.1–2. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1976.                                                |
| <i>ArOr</i>              | <i>Archiv Orientalní</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| ARWAW                    | Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Opladen                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>ASAE</i>              | <i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| ASE                      | Archaeological Survey of Egypt                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| AV                       | Archäologische Veröffentlichungen Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abt. Kairo                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>BACE</i>              | <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| BAe                      | Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| BARIS                    | British Archaeological Reports International Series                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| BdÉ                      | Bibliothèque d'Étude, Cairo                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| BEHE                     | Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études, Paris                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>BES</i>               | <i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>BIE</i>               | <i>Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>BIFAO</i>             | <i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Bkln.                    | Brooklyn Museum                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| BM                       | British Museum                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>BMB</i>               | <i>The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>BMFA</i>              | <i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i>                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>BMMA</i>              | <i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>BMQ</i>               | <i>The British Museum Quarterly</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>BiOr</i>              | <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Borchardt, <i>Denkm.</i> | Ludwig Borchardt. <i>Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo Nr. 1295–1541</i> . 2 vols. CGC. 97.1–2. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1937. Repr. Cairo: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1964. |
| Borchardt, <i>Sahure</i> | Ludwig Borchardt. <i>Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sashu-re<sup>c</sup></i> . 2 vols. WVD OG 26. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913. Repr. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1981.                                                                                    |
| BSAE                     | British School of Archaeology in Egypt                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>BSEG</i>              | <i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève</i>                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>BSFE</i>              | <i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i>                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| CAA                      | Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, Lose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptischer Altertümer                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>CANE</i>              | <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . Edited by Jack M. Sasson. 4 vols. New York: Scribners, 1995.                                                                                                                             |
| CASAE                    | Cahiers Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>CCE</i>               | <i>Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>CdÉ</i>               | <i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| CENiM                    | Cahiers Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| CG                       | Numbers designated refer to the Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Cairo                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>CGC</i>               | Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Cairo                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Champ., <i>Mon.</i>      | Jean-François Champollion. <i>Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie</i> . 4 vols. Paris: Didot, 1835–1845. <i>Notices descriptives</i> . 2 vols. Paris: Didot, 1844–1889.                                                                 |
| Cairo JE                 | Egyptian Museum, Cairo: Journal d'Entrée                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Cairo TR                 | Egyptian Museum, Cairo: Temporary Register. The number following this abbreviation indicates the year, month, and day on which the object was recorded                                                                                   |
| CRIPEL                   | Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille                                                                                                                                                               |

|                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>DE</i>                            | <i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>Des Néferkaré aux Montouhotep</i> | <i>Des Néferkaré aux Montouhotep: Travaux archéologiques en cours sur la fin de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie et la Première Période Intermédiaire, Actes du Colloque CNRS, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, tenu le 5–7 juillet 2001.</i> Edited by Laure Pantalacci and Catherine Berger-el-Naggar. TMO 40. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient Méditerranée, 2005.             |
| <i>DLE</i>                           | Leonard H. Lesko and Barbara Switalski Lesko. <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> . 2nd ed. 2 vols. Providence: B.C. Scribe Publications, 2002.                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>DÖAW</i>                          | Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>EAAE</i>                          | <i>Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt</i> . Edited by Kathryn Bard. New York: Routledge, 1999.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>EAAP</i>                          | <i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> . New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Edel, <i>Altäg. Gramm.</i>           | Elmar Edel. <i>Altägyptische Grammatik</i> . 2 vols. AnOr 34, 39. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955–1964.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| EEF                                  | Egypt Exploration Fund                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| EES                                  | Egypt Exploration Society                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>EG</i>                            | Alan H. Gardiner. <i>Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs</i> . 3rd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1957.                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| EME                                  | Études et mémoires d'égyptologie                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| ERA                                  | Egyptian Research Account                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>ET</i>                            | <i>Études et Travaux</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Exp. Ph.                             | Harvard University-Boston Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition, expedition photographs                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>FCD</i>                           | Raymond O. Faulkner. <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> . Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1964.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| FIFAO                                | Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| fig(s).                              | figure(s)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| FPT                                  | Raymond O. Faulkner. <i>The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts</i> . 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| GGA                                  | Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>Giza 1–12</i>                     | Hermann Junker. <i>Giza: Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza</i> . 12 vols. Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 69–75. Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky and Rohrer, 1929–1955. |
| <i>GM</i>                            | <i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>GN 1</i>                          | George A. Reisner. <i>A History of the Giza Necropolis</i> . Vol. 1. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>GN 2</i>                          | George A. Reisner. Completed and rev. by William Stevenson Smith. <i>A History of the Giza Necropolis</i> . Vol. 2. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955.                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| GOF                                  | Göttinger Orientforschungen                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Gr.                                  | Graffito/graffiti                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| HÄB                                  | Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Hassan, <i>Giza</i> .                | Selim Hassan. <i>Excavations at Giza</i> . 10 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932; Cairo: Government Press, 1936–1960.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

- HESP* William S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1949.
- HTES* 1 T. G. H. James. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc., Pt. 1*. 2nd ed. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1961.
- JAMA* *Journal of the American Medical Association*
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JARCE* *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
- JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JEH* *Journal of Egyptian History*
- JEOL* *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap (Gezelschap) 'Ex Oriente Lux'*
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JSSEA* *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
- LAAS* *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
- LÄ* Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, eds. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
- LD* Karl Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. 12 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische, 1849–1856. *Ergänzungsband*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913. *Text*. 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897–1913.
- LingAeg* *Lingua aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies*
- LMA* Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley
- MÄS* Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
- MÄSB* Staatliche (Königliche) Museen zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung
- MDAIK* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo; Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*
- Meir* 1–6 Blackman, Aylward M. *The Rock Tombs of Meir*. 6 vols. ASE 22–25, 28, 29. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914–1953.
- MFA* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- MIFAO* Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
- MIO* *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
- MMAF* Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire
- MME* Medelhavsmuseet
- MMJ* *Metropolitan Museum Journal*
- M.S.U.* Memphis State University.
- MVEOL* Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap (Gezelschap) 'Ex Oriente Lux'
- n.d.* no date
- NGWG* Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., Fachgruppe I: Altertumswissenschaften, Göttingen
- OBO* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
- OEAE* *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. Edited by Donald B. Redford. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- OIC* Oriental Institute Communications
- OIP* Oriental Institute Publications
- OLA* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
- OLP* *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
- OLZ* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*

|           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| OMRO      | <i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Or        | <i>Orientalia</i> (NS)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Orinst    | The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| OrMonsp   | <i>Orientalia monspeliensia</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| OrSu      | <i>Orientalia Suecana</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| PÄ        | Probleme der Ägyptologie                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| pl(s).    | plate(s)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| PM 3      | Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, assisted by Ethel W. Burney. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> . Vol. 3: <i>Memphis, Part 1: Abû Rawâsh to Abûsîr</i> . 2nd ed., rev. by Jaromír Málek. Oxford: Clarendon, 1974. |
| PMMA      | Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| PN 1–3    | Hermann Ranke. <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> . 3 vols. Glückstadt: Augustin, 1935–1977.                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| PPYE      | Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| PSBA      | <i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Pyr.      | Pyramid Text                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| RAIN      | <i>Royal Anthropological Institute News</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| RAPH      | Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| RCaire    | <i>Revue du Caire</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| RdÉ       | <i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| REA       | <i>Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Rec Trav  | <i>Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes</i>                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| RSO       | <i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| SACE      | Studies of the Australian Centre for Egyptology                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| SAK       | <i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| SAOC      | Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| SASAE     | Supplément aux Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| SAWW      | Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| SDAIK     | Sonderschrift, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abt. Kairo                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Sign List | Pages 442–453 in Alan H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs, Sign List</i> . 3rd rev. ed. London: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1964.                                                   |
| TAVO      | Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften), Nr. 1, Beihefte                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Ti 1      | Lucienne Épron, François Daumas, and Georges Goyon. <i>Le tombeau de Ti</i> . Vol. 1. MIFAO 65. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939.                                                                                                                               |
| TMO       | Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| TPC       | Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn. <i>Teti Pyramid Cemeteries</i> . 2 vols. Excavations at Saqqara 7. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1926.                                                                                                                       |
| TT        | Theban Tomb                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| TTS       | The Theban Tomb Series                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| TTSO      | Tut'ankhamun's Tomb Series                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| UGAÄ      | Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Urk. I    | Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reiches</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Edited by Georg Steindorff. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933.                                                                                                                                    |
| VA        | <i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| VDI       | <i>Vestnik Drevnej Istorii</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

|         |                                                                                                                             |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| VIO     | Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen                            |
| Wb. 1–5 | <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . Edited by Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–1931. |
| WdO     | <i>Die Welt des Orient</i>                                                                                                  |
| WVDOG   | Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft                                                      |
| WZKM    | <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>                                                                    |
| ZÄS     | <i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>                                                                |
| ZDMG    | <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>                                                              |

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

When King Khufu of Egypt's Fourth Dynasty built the Great Pyramid at Giza around 2550 BC, he gave orders to lay out mastaba-tombs to the east and west of his funerary monument. At the foot of the Great Pyramid, in the tombs of the Eastern Field, were buried Khufu's wives (in three small pyramids) and their children and descendants. In the Western Field were interred the older members of Khufu's family, his uncles and brothers, for instance, as well as high court and government officials.

The Western Field was begun early in the reign of Khufu, continued to be utilized in the reigns of his son and grandson, Khafre and Menkaure (the builders of the second and third pyramids), and remained in use (like the Eastern Field) to the end of the Old Kingdom. The mastaba-tombs of the cemeteries laid out by Khufu and his successors belong to the elite of Egyptian society. Filling the area between the great tombs in the center of the Western Field and extending into the far west are the tombs of the nonelite members of Old Kingdom society. As far as the Abu Bakr Cemetery is concerned (pl. 1; fig. 1) tombs were already being constructed in the Fourth Dynasty, although the majority of such appear to belong to the Fifth Dynasty (ch. 2).

The Abu Bakr Cemetery is composed of stone-built, mud-brick, and rock-cut tombs (see pocket map). Today, the overall effect is rather muted (color pls. 1–2). The prospect was quite different in antiquity. From the extensive traces of gypsum plaster (applied over mud plaster) on many mud-brick superstructures, it is fair to infer that they were covered in gleaming yellow-white gypsum plaster originally. What of the stone-built mastabas? Apart from the mastabas with interior chapels, all that is evident today are the bare nummulitic limestone walls. The evidence of one stone-built mastaba in the southeast quadrant of the cemetery just opposite the tomb of Ankhu (pls. 2–4) suggests that appearances may have been otherwise in the Old Kingdom. The eastern facade of this mastaba has large areas of plaster preserved, including on the northern false door. Traces survive of a figure of the owner and his wife on the facade between the false doors and of accompanying inscriptions all carved in the plaster. As traditionally in the Old Kingdom, the reliefs and hieroglyphs would have been brightly painted against a blue-gray or white background. What is true of this mastaba may have been true of many others that are now completely anonymous. So here too the vista would have been dramatically divergent from today, giving the illusion that the tombs were cased in fine, white Tura limestone.

Apart from the chapels of Persen (LG 20), Kai-em-tjenet, Abdu, Ni-udja-Ptah, the chapels of the Abu Bakr Cemetery have very limited decoration.<sup>1</sup> Usually the decoration is confined to a false door or two (Ii-kai, Meshaef, Senenu I, Khufu-seneb, Hetepu: Ipu) sometimes supplemented by sculptured side panels (Hetep-ni-Khnum, Nefri, Kaitep, Seneb I).<sup>2</sup> Certain of the brick-built tombs only have the uppermost elements of the false door carved in stone (Semerka, Wentjet).

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1. For Abdu, see Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 69–82, figs. 42–62, pls. 38–41; for Ni-udja-Ptah, see Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 103–20, figs. 91–95–E, pls. 57–63.

2. For Hetep-ni-Khnum, see Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 11–25, figs. 8–18, pls. 7–15; for Nefri, see Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 39–67, figs. 32–41, pls. 23–35.

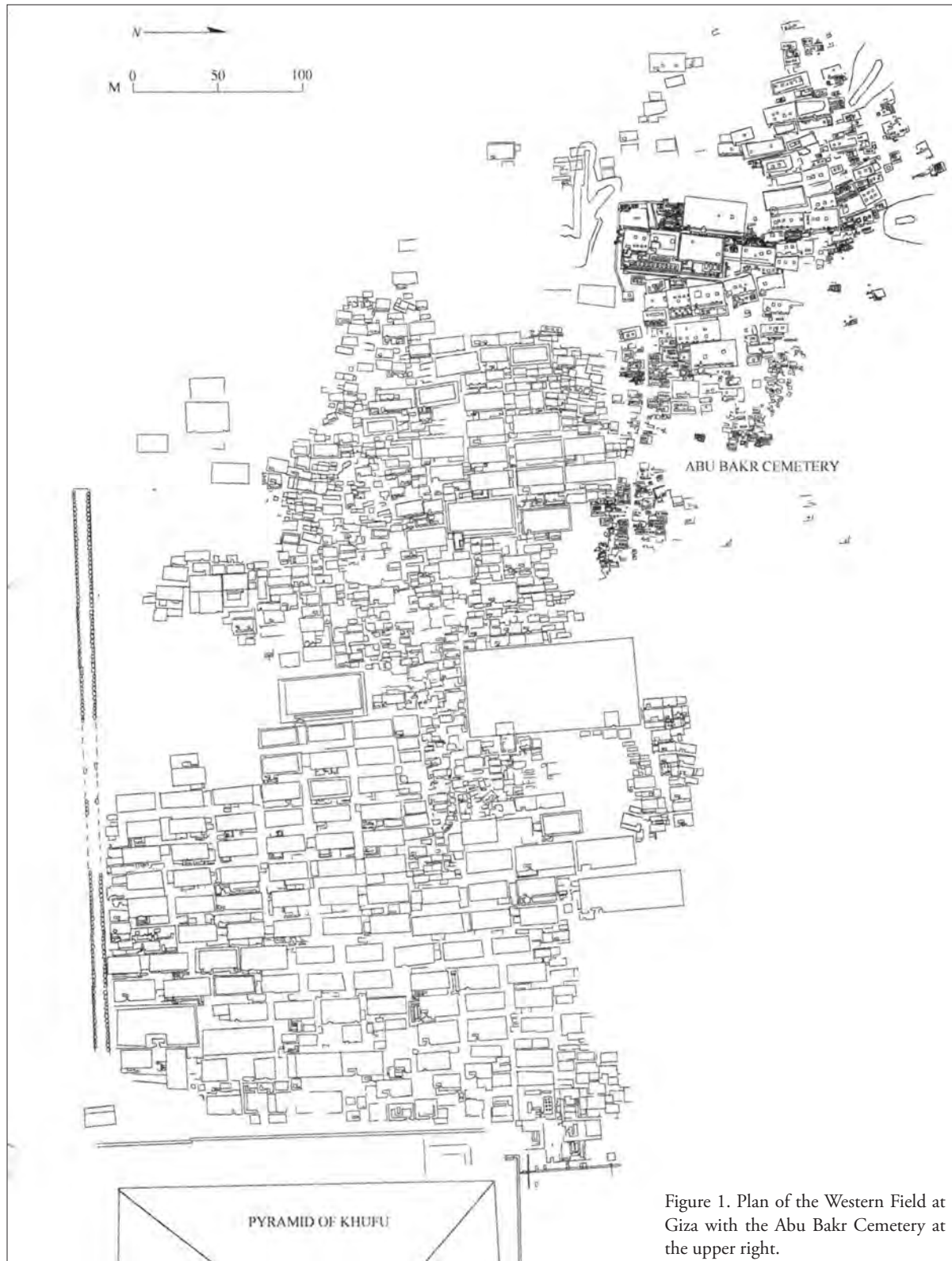


Figure 1. Plan of the Western Field at Giza with the Abu Bakr Cemetery at the upper right.

The majority of the inhabitants of both sections of the Abu Bakr Cemetery, that is, of the tombs previously published by Prof. Abu Bakr and of those recorded by the Cairo-Brown Expedition, represent a cross-section of the ranks of lower officialdom of the Egyptian state of the Old Kingdom.

The high-ranking honorific titles *iry-pꜣt*, *hꜣty-ꜣ*, and *htmty bꜣty* do not appear in the Abu Bakr Cemetery with one exception. This involves the daughter of the king's *wꜣb*-priest Khufu-seneb who, as *hmt iry-pꜣt*, "wife of the hereditary prince," must have married above her. The absence of these honorifics emphasizes the nonelite status of the majority of individuals buried in the Abu Bakr Cemetery. The overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt, Meshaf, did hold the high-ranking honorific *smr wꜣty*, however.<sup>3</sup>

The rank title *iry ht-nswt*, "custodian of the king's property," does appear in many of the titularies of the individuals buried in the cemetery.<sup>4</sup> The title from its inception (in the Third Dynasty) was designed for persons (both royal and nonroyal) who were in some way associated with the duties or service to the king at his court. Down to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty it was a mark of distinction. During the latter part of the Fourth Dynasty and especially from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty onward persons of nonroyal origin and lower status became associated with personal service to the king. In the Abu Bakr Cemetery the title is held by a wide variety of individuals. Thus the royal architect (overseer of all the king's works) Persen is *iry-ht nswt*. As royal architect he held one of the highest administrative titles of the Old Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> But it is also borne by individuals of middle and lower status. To the first category belong, for example, the chief of the ten of Upper Egypt and overseer of the city of (the pyramid) horizon-of-Khufu, Iru-ka-khufu; the overseer of the great estate, Abdu; the overseer of the work center of tomb-makers, Neferi; and the overseer of the houses of the king's sons, Zepni.<sup>6</sup> To the lesser category belong the inspector of metal-workers of the mortuary workshop, Neferherenptah; the director of carpenters Itji; the tenant land-holder of the palace, Minnefer; the overseer of six (men) of a boat, Iufi; and the elder of the house, Waty among others.<sup>7</sup> Miroslav Bárta also remarks that toward the end of the Fifth Dynasty and during the Sixth Dynasty holders of the title "custodian of the king's property" likewise carry priestly titles.<sup>8</sup> Actually, given the dating of a number of individuals interred in the Abu Bakr Cemetery, it looks as though the title was held by priests as early as the beginning or middle of the Fifth Dynasty.

Other individuals lack the title *iry-ht nswt* and may have been in private service or their own employ. These include the steward and overseer of *Ka*-servants, Ni-udja-Ptah; the strong-of-voice of the granary, Ankhu; the elder of the house, Minnefer; and the scribe, Ii-kai, as well as the stonemason Wehemkai and the confectioner Hui.<sup>9</sup>

A prominent feature of the Abu Bakr Cemetery, of both the tombs published by Prof. Abu Bakr and those copied by the Cairo-Brown Expedition, is the number of individuals who bear priestly titles. Thus, of seven large stone-built tombs with some decoration, five belong to men with the title *wꜣb nswt*, "royal *wꜣb*-priest" (Abdu, Kai-em-tjenent, Kaitep, Khufu-seneb, Seneb I). Similarly, of eight large brick-built mastabas with decorated stone elements, three belong to royal *wꜣb*-priests (Zepen, Nefri, Senenu I), while the owners of two others bear the title *hm-nꜣr Hwfw*, "priest of Khufu" (Iru-ka-khufu), either as such or in the extended form *hm-nꜣr Hwfw*

3. The full and original reading of *smr wꜣty* is *smꜣr wꜣty*; see Joachim F. Quack, "Zum Lautwert von Gardiner Sign-List U 23," *LingAeg* 11 (2002): 113–16.

4. For a different interpretation of this title, see chap. 5.J.

5. Nigel Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London: KPI, 1985), xiv.

6. For the overseer of the work center: *Gs-pr*: Henry G. Fischer, "An Old Kingdom Monogram," *ZÄS* 93 (1966): 65–69. Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia, "Administration territoriale et organisation de l'espace en Égypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (V): *gs-pr*," *ZÄS* 126 (1999): 124, concludes that *gs-pr* designates a zone intended for the rearing of livestock or agricultural production. Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 31–37, figs. 24–31, pls. 18–22.

7. For Neferherenptah, see Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 121–23, fig. 97–99, pls. 66–67.

8. See Miroslav Bárta, "The Title 'Property Custodian of the King' during the Old Kingdom Egypt," *ZÄS* 126 (1999): 79–89.

9. For Ankhu, see Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 95–96, figs. 82–84, pl. 55.

*hnty 3ht(-Hwfw)*, “priest of Khufu who presides over (the pyramid) horizon (of Khufu)” (Hetep-ni-Khnum), and one (Kai-em-tjenent) is priest of the Horus name of Khufu (*hm-ntr Mdḏw-r3*). It is logical, although not demonstrable, to think that the other *wꜥb*-priests buried in the Abu Bakr Cemetery likewise served the mortuary cult of King Khufu. In this connection, it may be noted that Iru-ka-khufu was *imy-r3 nḥwt 3ht-Hwfw*, “overseer of the city of (the pyramid) ‘Horizon-of-Khufu.’”

Before moving on, it should be noted that Meket, another *wꜥb nswt*, whose mastaba, although lost, is known from an interesting swamp scene in the Abu Bakr Magazine (color pl. 68). The relief indicates his chapel had more substantial decoration than is usual in the Abu Bakr Cemetery. He appears with his wife, the *rhḥt nswt hkrḥ nswt*, “the king’s acquaintance, the king’s adorned,” Reput-nesut, on a false door panel (color pl. 70) as well as on a combined drum roll and lintel (pls. 308–309) and another drum roll (pl. 323).<sup>10</sup>

This is not to say that the individuals concerned bore exclusively priestly offices, for this is not the case. The positions held by the royal *wꜥb*-priest Abdu, for example, involved the administration of the “great estate” (*imy-r3 hwt-ꜥst*, *imy-r3 nḥwt mꜥwt hwt-ꜥst*, *zš hwt-ꜥst*), an administrative center that superintended the smaller *hwt* or royal estates and that collected agricultural produce, which formed a main source of income for the royal treasury, and redistributed it to other localities or officials.<sup>11</sup> Nefri too saw service in the same department as *hqꜣ hwt*, “estate manager,” and *hqꜣ hwt-ꜥst*, “manager of a great estate.” Undoubtedly, in order to transport such agricultural produce, Nefri functioned as well as *shḏ wꜥs*, “inspector of a boat,” and supervised the boat’s crew as *hrp ꜥpr*, “director of a company,” and *hrp ꜥpr nfrw*, “director of a company of recruits,” presumably the young men who crewed the boats.

In all probability, the individuals just named benefited from the property and income associated with the administrative services they held.<sup>12</sup> It is nevertheless of some interest that two men who held priestly titles alone (along with *iry-ht nswt*) were able to construct stone-built tombs with decorated stone elements (Kai-em-tjenent, Kaitep). This suggests that their priestly income sufficed to allow them to erect such sepulchres for themselves.

A natural assumption is that stone-built tombs were more expensive to build than brick-built tombs. Even if this is so, the limited decoration of chapels in stone-built, brick-built, or rock-cut tombs (except for Persen and Ni-udja-ptah), is roughly comparable.

It also catches the attention that two *shḏw wꜥbw*, “inspectors of priests,” (Akhethetep, Ni-nefret-nesut) and a *shḏ wꜥbw nswt*, “inspector of royal *wꜥb*-priests, (Kainefer) are only known from inscribed offering basins found in the Abu Bakr Magazine (pls. 301, 317, 321). They were presumably buried in small mud-brick mastabas like that which belonged to a “follower”(?) named Kai-iri (ABC 912), which measures merely 3.09 x 2.38 m. The only inscribed element was a drum roll with his title and name (pls. 170–172). Even smaller than this is the tomb of father and son Hebedu and Nefer which measures only 1.44 x 3.64 m (pl. 250). The pair are shown at table together on a crude false door panel (color pl. 39). Smaller yet is the little mastaba of Renpet-nefret, whose son, the *fnḥ*, “carpenter,” Peret-her-nefret, dedicated an offering basin on her behalf (color pl. 16). The tomb measures a mere 1.47 x 1.39 m. Many of these small mastaba are evident from surface remains but were not cleared by us in the time allotted. It is curious that the “inspectors of royal *wꜥb*-priests” were not buried in more substantial tombs, since the title *shḏ wꜥb nswt* is clearly superior to *wꜥb nswt*.

10. Del Nord, “𓆎 Hkrḥ-nswt = ‘King’s Concubine?’,” *Serapis* 2 (1970): 1–16, points out that *hkr* means “to be adorned”; consequently *hkrḥ nswt* means, “She (One) Who is Ornamented by the King.” Hence, we have translated it as “king’s adorned” here. For a different interpretation of the title, see ch. VJ below.

11. Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia, “Estates (Old Kingdom),” *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* 2008, 2, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1b3342c2>; Moreno Garcia, *hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire: Économie, administration et organisation territoriale* (Paris: Champion, 1999), *passim*.

12. See Bernadette Menu, “Economy: An Overview,” *OEA* 1:425.

Other priests such as the *ḥmw-k3*, “*ka*-priests” or mortuary priests of private cults, were also probably buried in small brick-built mastabas like those above and their memory committed to a drum roll or offering basin. Two of these were found in the Abu Bakr Magazine (pls. 322, 326) and two others are among the miscellaneous monuments known only from Abu Bakr photographs. Both of the last are shown in situ in the niche of mud-brick mastabas, but there is no indication of the size or location of the tombs (pls. 344–345).

The income of Ni-udja-Ptah, who was *imy-r3 ḥmw-k3*, “overseer of *ka*-priests,” (as well as *ḥm-k3*) was evidently adequate for him to afford to excavate a rock-cut tomb with three inscribed false doors, decorated with passable reliefs scenes of him and his family and servants along with some scenes from daily life, the latter admittedly executed in rather poor quality sunk relief. There are likewise well-executed statues (single and groups) in niches.<sup>13</sup>

A small number of individuals in the Abu Bakr Cemetery served divine rather than mortuary cults. They are the *shd wꜥbw Shmt*, “Inspector of *wꜥb*-priests of (the goddess) Sekhmet,” Seneb II, the owner of a stone-built mastaba with limited decoration, and the *wꜥb Shmt*, “*wꜥb*-priest of Sekhmet,” Ipzekh, who is seated together with his wife Henutsen in a group statue found in the Abu Bakr Magazine (pls. 332–337). The leonine goddess Sekhmet had two distinct aspects, one a dangerous and destructive aspect, the other a protective and healing aspect.<sup>14</sup> Her priests, like Seneb II and Ipzekh, played a prophylactic role in medicine and recited prayers to the goddess while the physicians provided physical ministrations.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to those with priestly functions, other denizens of the Abu Bakr Cemetery bore palace, transport, scribal, agricultural, or craft titles. We have already referred to the administrative titles held by Abdu, who, incidentally, was also *imy-r3 pr*, “steward,” like Akhu and Ni-udja-Ptah.<sup>16</sup> The last two presumably served private individuals in this capacity, since no royal offices are attested in their tombs.

Apart from such palace titles as *iry-ḥt nswt*, *iry-ḥt pr-ꜣ* (Nefri), *iry-ḥt nswt pr-ꜣ* (Semerka), Nefri served as *shd pr-ꜣ*, “inspector of the palace.”<sup>17</sup> So too did Seanku on an offering slab with four basins found in the Abu Bakr Magazine (pl. 301). *Shd pr-ꜣ* is the middle ranking of a series of titles, *imy-r3 pr-ꜣ*, *shd pr-ꜣ*, and *imy-ḥt pr-ꜣ*, that involve direct management of the royal palace.<sup>18</sup>

Zepen functioned as *imy-r3 prw msu nswt*, “overseer of the estates (*prw*) of the king’s children,” and *wꜥb nswt msu nswt*, “royal *wꜥb*-priest of the king’s children.”<sup>19</sup> Senenu I, who was also *iry-ḥt nswt* and *wꜥb nswt*, was *iry-ḥt ntr*, “custodian of the god’s (viz. the king’s) property,” and *ḥwti-ntr*, “washerman of the god,” again presumably the king. The decoration of the latter’s brick-built tomb consisted of a finely carved false door of white (Tura) limestone, arguably a gift from the king it is so handsome, and a second, incomplete false door of which only the panel was completed. Then again, Seneb I, who was *wꜥb nswt* alone in the niche chapel of his stone-built mastaba was *wꜥb nswt ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw ḥry-sšꜣ n pr-ꜣ* on two offering stands found in the Abu Bakr Magazine (pls. 261 and 262). As “master of secrets of the palace,” he served that institution in an unspecified capacity.

13. Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 103–20.

14. Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 181; see Heike Sternberg, “Sachmet,” *LÄ* 4:323–33.

15. Wilkinson, *Complete Gods*, 162; George Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London: Routledge, 1986), 189; see also Frédérique von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket*, Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, Section des sciences religieuses 87 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984).

16. For Akhu, see Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 87–90, figs. 71–75, pls. 45–52. Nefer was *imy-r3 pr-ḥd*, but his drum was evidently found out of place in the Abu Bakr Cemetery; cf. Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 109 (83); Nigel Strudwick, “Three Monuments of Old Kingdom Treasury Officials,” *JEA* 71 (1985): 43–44.

17. According to Ogden Goelet, “Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1982), 536, *pr-ꜣ* designated the actual residence of the king; see also Goelet, “The Nature of the Term *pr-ꜣ* during the Old Kingdom,” *BES* 10 (1989–1990): 77–90.

18. See Edward Brovarski, *Some Monuments of the Old Kingdom in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago*, BdÉ 166 (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2016), 20–24.

19. Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 31–37, figs. 29, 31.

The tenant land-holder of the palace, Minnefer, constructed a partly stone-built and partly rock-cut tomb in the Western Sector of the Abu Bakr Cemetery (ABC 826–833). The *hntyw-š* were tenants of the central administration assigned land for management by the king from which they derived an income. They performed a variety of services in return.<sup>20</sup> There are quite a large number of their tombs dispersed throughout the Giza cemeteries, but they are concentrated in particular in one cemetery erected at the northeast corner of the great anonymous mastaba G 2000.<sup>21</sup> A second *hnty-š* named Kaihep is known from a miscellaneous monument attested in a photograph of Prof. Abu Bakr (pl. 342). On the upper part of his false door, he is also assigned the title *wꜥb nswt*.

While a number of scribes are named and represented in tombs in the Abu Bakr Cemetery, only one *zš*, “scribe,” possesses a tomb of his own. This is Ii-kai, the owner of a large mud-brick tomb with a finely executed false door that is missing its panel. Additionally, the drum roll of a *zšb zš*, “dignitary and scribe,” named Kaiher-setef was found in the Abu Bakr Magazine (pl. 324). We have already seen that Abdu had among his dignities the title of *zš hwt-ꜥt*, “scribe of the great estate.” To round out this account of scribal titles, it should be noted that Persen, probably in relation to his duties as *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt*, “overseer of all works the king,” was *zš ꜥ nswt*, “king’s document scribe,” which indicates his involvement with scribal functions probably in connection with his execution of works.<sup>22</sup> Ordinarily architects of his status held the higher title *imy-r3 zš(w) ꜥ (n) nswt*, “overseer of king’s document scribes,” and it is unclear why Persen did not.<sup>23</sup>

We have mentioned above transport titles in connection with Abdu, a royal *wꜥb*-priest. Lacking a priestly title is the *hrp ꜥpr nfrw, šdꜥ w3, 3ry-ht nswt*, “the director of a crew of recruits, inspector of a boat, and custodian of the king’s property,” Semerka. His mud-brick mastaba had a combined lintel and drum in the south niche and a false door panel which had been set, face inward, against the lintel and drum by Prof. Abu Bakr’s workmen to preserve it. Semerka may have been involved in transporting foodstuffs like Abdu. On the other hand, he could have been engaged in the transport of stone from quarries like those at Tura or in the Wadi Hammamat.<sup>24</sup>

Found in the Abu Bakr Magazine was a statue of the *imy-r3 3sw w3*, “overseer of six (men) of a boat,” Iufi. On a second statue he is *imy-r3 w3*, “overseer of a boat.” Both statues derive from Abu Bakr’s “Mastaba 20,” whose serdab contained two standing pair statues and a number of serving statues. Iufi may have been similarly occupied to Abdu and Semerka.

There is one occurrence in the Abu Bakr Cemetery of the title *imy-r3 z3w šmꜥw*, “overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt.” This is held by Meshæf, the owner of a brick-built mastaba, whose false door is missing its panel. Like *wr mdw šmꜥw*, “chief of the ten of Upper Egypt,” a title held both by Persen, a royal architect, and Iru-ka-khufu, the title was concerned with the conscription of workers.<sup>25</sup> In Iru-ka-khufu’s case, the context is unclear because he has no other titles connected with works, but was, as we have seen, instead *imy-r3 n3wt 3yt-Ḥwfw*, “overseer of the city of (the pyramid) ‘Horizon-of-Khufu.’”

A title that does not fit into any of the categories discussed above is *hm-nswt*, “king’s/crown servant.” Two bearers of the titles are known from the Abu Bakr Cemetery. The first, Hetepu: Ipu is the owner of a small brick-built mastaba (ABC 819–821) that possesses a handsome false door with well-preserved paint. The second is the owner of a miscellaneous monument (no. 3) known from a photograph of Prof. Abu Bakr’s that shows part of a

20. See Edward Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr in the First Intermediate Period* (Atlanta: Lockwood Press in cooperation with the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2018), 94–96; cf. Ann Macy Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, Giza Mastabas 6 (Boston: Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1995), 40–43.

21. Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*.

22. Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 203, 206.

23. Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 206.

24. See Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols, BARIS 866 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), nos. 3368, 3373.

25. Henry G. Fischer, “A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty,” *JNES* 18 (1959): 266.

brick-built mastaba with a lintel and drum inset at the top of a niche, both inscribed for the *ḥm nswt* Merernesut (pl. 343).

From the evidence of two wall scenes of Old Kingdom date it appears that the *ḥmw-nswt* were agricultural laborers.<sup>26</sup> Although the “king’s servants” were of modest estate, it is clear from the Old Kingdom Gebelein papyri that they had some means at their disposal.<sup>27</sup> Hetepu: Ipu too was clearly not without means. It must be noted, however, that he also held the title of *smsw pr*, “elder of the house,” in which capacity he may have advised the owner of a private estate. The latter position probably contributed to his income.

Akhethetep, who, together with his brother Seankhu, dedicated an offering basin (pl. 301) to his mother Nefret-ha-khufu, was *ꜥd-mr grgt*, “administrator of a agricultural establishment.” According to Moreno Garcia, officials who bore this title were territorial administrators occupied with a special type of terrain along the Nile that was accessible to the inundation and destined to be transformed into fields or agricultural domains.<sup>28</sup>

Coupled with, and actually preceding Akhethetep’s title is another: *ḥrp ḥmyw z3*, “director of the members of a phyle.”<sup>29</sup> It is not clear if the phyle concerned consisted of priests, of whom Akhethetep was inspector, or of crews of workers, perhaps laboring on the agricultural establishment that he supervised.<sup>30</sup>

Ankhu was *z3b nḥt-ḥrw šḥrw*, “dignitary and strong-of-voice of the granary.” The functions of this official are graphically illustrated in Old Kingdom tomb reliefs where he tallies up the grain measures by calling them out to an attendant scribe.<sup>31</sup>

An *ḥmy-r3 ḥ3(w)*, “overseer of grain-measurements,” named Akhu erected a small stone-built mastaba in the Eastern Sector of the Abu Bakr Cemetery. Elements from two false doors in the eastern facade were inscribed for Akhu and his wife and statues of the couple were found in a serdab. But Akhu also held other positions: he was *ḥmy-r3 pr*, “steward,” and *smsw pr*, “elder of the house” as well.<sup>32</sup> So it is not certain whence his income derived. Given the lack of palace titles, however, he was presumably privately employed. An ordinary “grain measurer” named Iufi, was the owner of a drum inscribed with his name and title, presumably from a small brick-built mastaba, found in the Abu Bakr Magazine (pl. 327).

Altogether five stone elements from the brick-built mastaba complex of the *ḥrp fnḥ(w)*, “director of carpenters,” Itji, were found in the Abu Bakr Magazine (pls. 130–131, 133–134), including a false door panel of good quality (color pl. 15), while a drum roll of his wife Neferseshemes was actually left behind in the complex by Prof. Abu Bakr’s workmen. The latter find permitted the assignment of the other pieces to the little mastaba complex.

An ordinary *fnḥ*, “carpenter,” Peret-her-nefret is mentioned on the handsome offering basin he had executed for his mother Renpet-nefret (color pl. 16). Both these individuals were *ḥry-ḥt nswt*, a title that indicates that they were associated in their duties with service to the king or his court (see above). Renpet-nefret’s little tomb is close by the Itji and Neferseshemes’s complex, and it would interesting to know if there was some connection, professional or familial or both.

26. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Sâid*, ASE 10 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901), pl. 16; LD 2:107.

27. Paule Posener-Krieger, *I Papiri di Gebelein: Scavi G. Farina*, ed. Sara Demichelis (Turin: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza al Museo delle Antichità Egizie, 2004); see further p. 177 below.

28. Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia, “Administration territoriale et organisation de l’espace en Égypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C.: *grgt* et le titre *ꜥ(n)d-mr grgt*,” *ZÄS* 123 (1996): 116–38.

29. Jones, *Index of Titles*, no. 2546.

30. Ann Macy Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization*, SAOC 48 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1991), 74.

31. Henry G. Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Yale Gallery,” *MIO* 7 (1960): 304–10.

32. Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 87–90, figs. 72–74, pls. 45–49.