

BERLIN-BRANDENBURGISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae 3

Texte und Denkmäler des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, herausgegeben  
von Stephan J. Seidlmayer

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BERLIN 2005

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herausgegeben von Stephan Johannes Seidlmayer

ACHET  VERLAG  
Dr. NORBERT DÜRRING  
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## VORWORT

Dieser Band geht auf eine Konferenz zurück, die die Arbeitsstelle Altägyptisches Wörterbuch an der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften im Februar 2001 in der Tagungsstätte der Akademie in Schloß Blankensee bei Berlin ausgerichtet hat. Der Hermann und Elise geborene Heckmann Wentzel-Stiftung gilt unser Dank für eine Zuwendung, die diese Veranstaltung erst ermöglicht hat. Der Leiterin der Tagungsstelle, Frau Freia Hartung, und ihren Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern, die die Tage im malerisch verschneiten Schloß zu einem unvergeßlichen Erlebnis des konzentrierten Austauschs werden ließen, wissen wir uns herzlich verbunden. Ebenso gilt unser Dank den angereisten Gästen wie allen Berliner Kollegen, Studierenden und Freunden, die vielfältig zum herzlichen und produktiven Charakter dieses Zusammenseins beigetragen haben.

Gegenstand der Tagung sollten die Texte und die Sprache des Alten Reiches sein. Hier zeigte sich in den Vorträgen, die im Rahmen der Konferenz präsentiert wurden und in den sich anschließenden Gesprächen einmal mehr, in welchem Maß dieses Forschungsgebiet durch den laufenden Zugewinn neuen Materials entscheidend geprägt wird. Die Verschränkung der Textzeugnisse mit archäologischen Kontexten, ihre Einbindung in ikonographische und epigraphische Zusammenhänge als Grundvoraussetzung ihres angemessenen Verstehens bildete denn auch ein Leitmotiv zahlreicher Projekte, über die berichtet wurde. Darin zeigt sich exemplarisch die charakteristische Situation gerade der altägyptischen Überlieferung, der sich auch jede systematische Erfassung und Erschließung des Textguts stellen muß.

Für den vorliegenden Band wurden die Beiträge der Konferenz teils wesentlich erweitert und aktualisiert. Den Autoren ist zu danken, daß sie sich der Mühe unterzogen haben, ihre Präsentation auch in schriftlich ausgearbeiteter Form vorzulegen. Die redaktionelle Bearbeitung wurde durch Angela Böhme übernommen und mit der gewohnten Sorgfalt durchgeführt. Doris Topmann ist für Hilfe bei den Korrekturen zu danken. Die Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften hat die Herausgabe des Bandes bis in die Drucklegung unterstützt. Um die verlegerische Betreuung hat sich Dr. Norbert Dürring verdient gemacht. Ihnen allen sei auch an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt.

Berlin, im August 2005

Stephan Johannes Seidlmayer

## THE DECORATION OF THE TOMB OF THE VIZIER MEREFNEBEF\*

KAMIL OMAR KURASZKIEWICZ

### *1. The Tomb*

The tomb of the vizier named Merefnebef was discovered in 1997 by the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological Mission, directed by KAROL MYŚLIWIEC.<sup>1</sup> As the final publication of the tomb is in preparation, the aim of the present paper is to give an overview of its decoration.

The tomb is located almost exactly on the extension of the Step Pyramid's east-west axis, ca. 120m from the western edge of the pyramid. In the final stage of construction, it apparently consisted of a mudbrick mastaba with panelled walls and two chapels. The larger chapel is hewn in the rocky shelf facing west, below the basement level of the mastaba superstructure; the second, considerably smaller chapel, built of mudbrick with limestone elements, is situated on the eastern side of the funerary complex.<sup>2</sup> There are many indications that the complex was never completed.<sup>3</sup>

The lower chapel is seemingly earlier than the upper one. It opens onto a rectangular court located 1.4m deeper than the rocky plateau extending west of it. The chapel itself is a quasi-rectangular room (6.46 x 2.43m) with a narrow (60cm wide) entrance in the middle of its western wall.<sup>4</sup>

The front section of the tomb consists of two parts: the so-called outer lintel (Fig. 1, F1) with jambs (Fig. 1, F2, F3) and a frame-recessed "inner"

\* I would like to express my acknowledgements to Professor Karol Myśliwiec for his help, encouragement and valuable discussions during the work in the tomb itself as well as on its decoration.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Saqqara Excavations: 1997*, in: *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* (henceforth: *PAM*) 9, 1998, 90–99; ID., *A New Mastaba, A New Vizier*, in: *Egyptian Archaeology* 13, 1998, 37–39; ID., *Aleja zasłużonych po zachodniej stronie najstarszej piramidy – odkrycia w Saqqarze*, in: *Meander* 3, 1998, 231–251; ID., *Five Wives and a Girlfriend*, in: *Discovering Archaeology*, July–Aug. 1999, 54–67; ID., *Nowe odkrycia przy najstarszej piramidzie świata*, in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 1999, 28–37; ID. *New Faces of Saqqara*, Tuchów 1999; ID., *Vizir de Saqqara*, in: *L'Archéologue. Archéologie Nouvelle*, 42, June–July 1999, 47–49; ID., *West Saqqara Excavations, 1998*, in: *PAM* 10, 1999, 81–89; ID. and K. KURASZKIEWICZ, *Recent Polish-Egyptian Excavations in West Saqqara*, in: *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2000, ArOr, Suppl.* 9, Prague 2000, 499–508; Z. SZAFRAŃSKI, *Nieznanym wizer króla Teti; w cieniu najstarszej piramidy świata*, in: *Archeologia Żywa* 1, 1998, 2–8.

<sup>2</sup> MYŚLIWIEC and KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *Abusir and Saqqara*, figs. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 502.

<sup>4</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Discovering Archaeology*, July–Aug. 1999, 60–61; ID., in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 54–55; ID., in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 32.



façade. The outer lintel and jambs are decorated with inscriptions and figural representations of the deceased, executed in deep sunken relief, presently without any traces of colour. The inscriptions contain the name of Merefnebef, as well as some of his titles, including *iry-p<sup>ḥ</sup>*, *h<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>ḥ</sup>*, *hry-tp Nḥb*, *smr w<sup>ḥ</sup>ty*, *hry sšt<sup>3</sup> nswt m st.f nb*, *smr hrp<sup>ḥ</sup>*, *hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n pr-dwšt* (on the lintel). On the better-preserved, southern jamb (Fig. 1, F2), the titles *b<sup>3</sup>ty zšb b<sup>3</sup>ty*, and *ḥd-mr sb<sup>3</sup>-Hr-ḥnty pt* are carved.

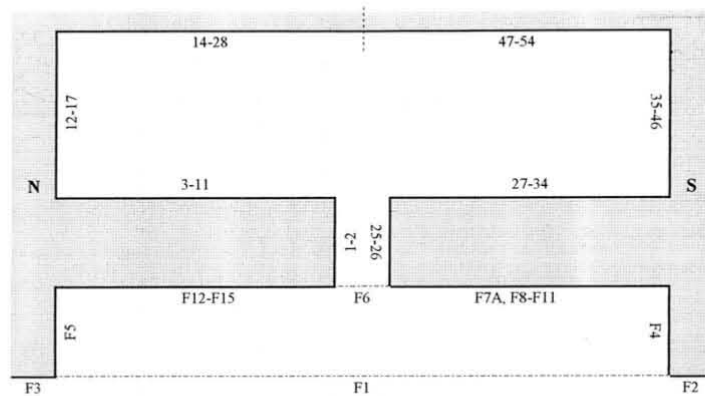


Fig. 1: Plan of the lower chapel (all diagrams not to scale)


The inner part of the façade is composed of a “lintel” and two side walls with the entrance between them. The inner lintel (Fig. 2, F6) is decorated with four horizontal lines of inscription containing the offering formula. The hieroglyphs are executed in sunken relief with traces of blue paint inside.<sup>5</sup> Each line contains one of the vizier’s names: “great (*wr*) name” – Merefnebef; “fair (*nfr*) name” – Fefi; “great (*wr*) name” – Wenis-ankh and yet another “great (*ḥ*) name” – also Merefnebef. In the case of the name Wenis-ankh, as it is written on the inner lintel, it would be possible to read its label as *rn nḏs* – “small name”. However, inside the chapel, the same name is qualified as *rn wr* and – in the same place – as *rn nfr* (Fig. 7, sc. 22). Moreover, the writing of “*rn wr*” without “*r*” in connection with the name “Merefnebef” is attested inside the chapel (Fig. 7, sc. 21). On the northern side, the lintel ends with a “vignette”, consisting of a representation of the

<sup>5</sup> The text has been translated into Polish by Prof. KAROL MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Meander* 3, 240–242.

deceased with his family (Fig. 2, sc. F6B) and the text, identifying him as *imy-ḥt ḥmw-ntr Mrt-Tti* and *ḥnty-š Dd-swt-Tti* (Fig. 2, sc. F6A).

On both walls of the façade, below the inner lintel, there is a panel with a long inscription containing an *appel aux vivants* in low raised relief, its splendid polychromy for the most part preserved (Fig. 2, sc. F7A–B).

Below the text, there are eight images of the deceased striding towards the entrance, four of them on each of the side walls (Fig. 2, sc. F8–F15). The vertical inscriptions in front of the representations attest further titles of Merefnebef: *imy-r sš-ḥ nswt* (Fig. 2, sc. F9, F13) and *iry-nfr-ḥt* (Fig. 2, sc. F12). These inscriptions also contain the titles of the vizier (Fig. 2, sc. F9, F13).

The inner walls of the chapel are decorated with inscriptions and figural representations, for the most part in low relief (with the exception of false doors, offering lists and a few inscriptions). The western and northern walls are decorated with offering scenes. The western wall also has false doors, carved and painted with colours imitating red granite, and decorated with inscriptions and representations in sunken relief that was painted blue. Interestingly, there are two false doors, one on each side of the entrance. There are no essential textual or stylistic differences between them, which suggests that they could have been designed for one and the same person. The inscriptions contain a set of titles similar to those on the façade, with the addition of *šḥd pr-ḥ* and *imy-r sšrw* (Fig. 4, sc. 8). These two titles are found only here. Interestingly, the vizier titles are absent inside the chapel, except for a single occurrence, in the inscription associated with a beautiful, but severely damaged scene decorating the southern wall (Fig. 6, sc. 35). Another interesting feature is a sign  (R9, according to GARDINER's Sign-list) occurring several times in front of Merefnebef's face in the lower (Fig. 2, sc. F4, F5; Fig. 4, sc. 27), as well as in the upper chapel.<sup>6</sup> It cannot be understood as part of any title or name one could expect here. Perhaps the sign is to be associated with the ritual purity of the deceased (as *bd* – natron). Alternatively, it could be interpreted as an ideogram for incense – *sntr*.<sup>7</sup>

The southern and eastern walls are decorated with scenes of “daily life.” The deceased is depicted in the company of various members of his family: his mother, sons and wives. Noteworthy is a splendid hunting scene (Fig. 7, sc. 52), with Merefnebef accompanied by two of his wives and his eldest son. Above the vizier's left arm, there was an inscription mentioning the pyramid and the *Meret*-temple of King Teti.<sup>8</sup> This inscription has been

<sup>6</sup> Cf. KURASZKIEWICZ, *False-door stele of Meref-nebef*, in: PAM 10, 101 and n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> The use of the sign R9 in the word *sntr* (although not as its determinative) is attested during the Old Kingdom: cf. e.g. stelae CG 1727 and 1729.

<sup>8</sup> KURASZKIEWICZ, *Funerary chapel of Meref-nebef. Preliminary report on the recording of the decoration*, in: PAM 11, fig. 2.

chiselled out and covered with grey paint, which is the colour of the background in this scene. The eastern wall, for almost its entire length, is crowned with a long horizontal inscription with an offering formula (Fig. 7, sc. 51). The hieroglyphs of this inscription were modelled in a layer of plaster covering the rock surface. In some places the plaster is missing, enabling us to observe the sketches made in red and black paint on the rock surface.<sup>9</sup>

Some parts of the tomb's decoration have been intentionally chiselled out. This concerns foremost the figures, names and titles of all but one of the sons of Merefnebef. Furthermore, the inscription mentioned immediately above which alludes to the funerary complex of Teti has been erased, as well as the word *nswt* in the formula *im3hw hr nswt* (Fig. 3, sc. 1, 25, and also on a false door in the upper chapel, *cf. infra*). In one particular case, on the northern lateral wall of the doorway, the word has been replaced with *smit* (Fig. 3, sc. 25).<sup>10</sup> Here the signs are not carved, but carelessly painted in black. Interestingly, this phrase has been destroyed only in the entrance to the lower chapel, while on the eastern wall inside the chapel, the same formula bears no traces of damage. On the other hand, the inscription inside the chapel mentioning the temple and pyramid of Teti has been chiselled out while a similar one on the façade was left intact.

The chapel adjoining the eastern wall of the mastaba is a later addition to the architectural complex. It was a small and simple rectangular room (3.26 x 1m), built of mudbrick, with an entrance in the eastern wall.<sup>11</sup> The lower part of the wall has merely been preserved to a height of 30cm. The western side of the chapel constitutes the cult place, composed of three superposed elements made of various kinds of limestone: anepigraphic offering table,<sup>12</sup> false-door<sup>13</sup> and lintel.<sup>14</sup> The lintel is decorated with eight representations of the vizier Merefnebef in sunken relief, disposed symmetrically and accompanied by his titles. Its composition resembles that of the façade in the vizier's

<sup>9</sup> On various kinds of damage to the tomb's decoration see: MYŚLIWIEC, in: *PAM* 10, 82; Z. GODZIEJEWSKI, *Conservation work in the funerary chapel of Meref-nebef*, in: *PAM* 10, 97-100; KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *PAM* 11; MYŚLIWIEC and KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *Abusir and Saqqara*, 501

<sup>10</sup> KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *PAM* 11, fig. 4.

<sup>11</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *PAM* 10, fig. 3; MYŚLIWIEC and KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *Abusir and Saqqara*, fig. 1.

<sup>12</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *PAM* 10, fig. 3.

<sup>13</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, *New Faces of Saqqara*, figs. 19, 20; KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *PAM* 10, 101-105.

<sup>14</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July-Aug. 1999, 54-55; ID., in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 28-29; ID., *Saqqara: una tomba piena di misteri*, in: *Le Scienze* 377, 2000, 76-77; ID., *La découverte d'un vizir*, in: *Pour la science*, April 2000, 34-35; ID., *O Tafos tou Archiereea ton Farao*, in: *Scientific American* (Greek edition), Jan. 2000, 51.

“lower chapel,” where similar representations constitute the lower register of the rich decoration described above. Of the massive false door only the lower part is preserved. It is decorated with inscriptions and representations of the deceased in sunken relief, as well as the outline of a double door with *wedjat*-eyes in the central niche. On the false door, as in the lower chapel, the word *nswt* has been erased from the formula *im3hw hr nswt*.<sup>15</sup> The titles of Merefnebef enumerated on the lintel and the false door correspond to those on the outer façade of the lower chapel. They include, above all, the vizier’s titles.

The owner of the tomb is mysterious, in spite of all the information provided by the tomb decoration. He was indeed granted the titles of vizier, but it is surprising that titles, which traditionally occur with the dignity of vizier (such as Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt or Overseer of all the Works of the King etc.) do not appear concurrently.

The funerary chapel of Merefnebef bears witness to serious conflicts that must have taken place after his death. These conflicts may reflect the internal problems of his family, but they may also be connected with broader political unrest. At least three of his sons had originally been represented in the reliefs decorating his chapel. Most of their representations were later chiselled out intentionally. The figures featuring his younger son, who bears his father’s name Fefi and probably also Merefnebef, are the only intact representations of a son.

In this connection, it seems purposeful to recall that not only the representations of sons are intentionally destroyed, but also fragments of inscriptions that contain the epithet *im3hw hr nswt*, distinguishing members of the royal family and noblemen belonging to the king’s closest circle.<sup>16</sup> This kind of damage can be observed in both chapels of Merefnebef’s mastaba.

Neither the inscriptions found in the chapel nor any other historical sources are helpful in identifying the king who granted Merefnebef the title of vizier. In the procession of domains represented on the eastern wall of the chapel (Fig. 7, sc. 19), there are three royal names enumerated: Djedkare, Wenis and Teti. The inscription sculpted on the “inner lintel” of the façade, as well as a purposefully erased inscription inside the chapel (Fig. 7, sc. 52), indicate that Merefnebef bore titles connected with the *Meret*-temple and the pyramid of the king Teti. The three names of kings just mentioned, occurring in the decoration of the chapel, provide a *terminus a quo* concerning the western chapel. The style of the decoration in the eastern chapel seems diagnostic of the late Sixth Dynasty.

<sup>15</sup> KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *PAM* 10, 105 and n. 9.

<sup>16</sup> G. LAPP, *Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, *SDAIK* 21, Mainz 1988, 212, § 362.

The style of the decoration of the two chapels differs considerably and no elements in the architecture or decoration of the tomb may be unequivocally attributed to the period between these two dates. However, it seems possible that one of scenes decorating the lower chapel (Fig. 7, sc. 47) depicts the son of Merefnebef.<sup>17</sup> If so, it had to be carved later than the original decoration of this chapel, and before the upper chapel was built. It is possible that it was at that time that the representations of the other sons of Merefnebef were destroyed.

The only plausible reason justifying the construction of the new (upper) chapel seems that the original (lower) one could no longer be used. On the other hand, the same kind of damage in the two chapels (concerning the phrase *im3ḥw ḥr nswt*) could suggest that both were (at least partly) accessible at the time when the inscriptions were destroyed and that for some reason it was important, to erase them in both places. Perhaps the decoration of the vizier's tomb was altered twice: first by his own son before the upper chapel was built, and then after the posthumous cult of the vizier had been transferred there.

The titles of Merefnebef occurring in his western chapel, as well as the modest dimensions of the tomb, seem to indicate two stages in his official career. In the first phase, he was possibly a courtier of quite moderate rank, connected with the king's toilet; it is possible that his tomb was founded in that period. The second phase would have begun with Merefnebef being raised to the dignity of vizier. This office is recorded in the inscriptions decorating the façade, and this may have inspired the idea to enlarge the tomb southwards and westwards. But these projects were apparently given up soon, perhaps because of the vizier's death. After some time, his son, Merefnebef Fefi junior, decided to erase all traces of his brothers in his father's tomb and to emphasise his own person. Then, as the western chapel became inaccessible, the small eastern chapel was erected for the cult of the deceased vizier. Eventually, for some reason, the phrase *im3ḥw ḥr nswt* was erased in the upper chapel, as well as in the accessible part of the lower one.

Our work in the tomb of Merefnebef down to the present has concentrated on recording its architecture and decoration. We have completed the photographic, drawn and descriptive documentation that will serve as the basis of the forthcoming publication.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, a computerised database has been created, recording both entire scenes and inscriptions, as well as particular signs with a description of their colouring. All this data will be

<sup>17</sup> MYŚLIWIEC and KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *Abusir and Saqqara*, 504.

<sup>18</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *PAM* 10, 82; KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *PAM* 11.

included in the publication, which we intend to prepare in the form of a book, as well as a CD-ROM.<sup>19</sup>

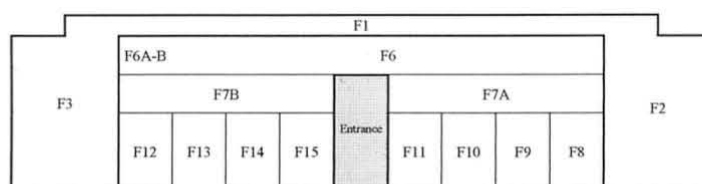


Fig. 2: The façade

## II. The Relief Decoration

### Façade (Fig. 2)

F1. “Outer lintel” – titles of the tomb owner.<sup>20</sup>

F2. Southern “outer jamb” – titles and standing figure of the tomb owner.<sup>21</sup>

F3. Northern “outer jamb” – small fragments preserved (probably titles of Merefnebef).

F4, F5. Figures of the tomb owner turned towards the court on lateral sides of the “jamb”.

F6. Horizontally oriented “ideal biography”.<sup>22</sup>

F6A. Vertically oriented label mentioning the *Meret*-temple and the pyramid of Teti.<sup>23</sup>

F6B. The tomb owner accompanied by one of his wives (name not preserved) and a son.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Also a three-dimensional computerised model of the tomb in its present state of preservation (as well as the digital reconstruction of the decoration) is being created by Ms DARIA TARARA and Ms MARZENA OLEJNICZAK.

<sup>20</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 23, 55.

<sup>21</sup> *Ib.*, figs. 53, 54.

<sup>22</sup> *Ib.*, fig. 27a; *ID.*, in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 32–35; *ID.*, in: *Le Scienze* 377, 80–83; *ID.*, in: *Pour la science*, April 2002, 38; *ID.*, in: *Scientific American* (Greek edition), Jan. 2000, 54–57; SZAFRAŃSKI, in: *Archeologia Żywa* 1, 5.

<sup>23</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Meander* 3, fig. 4; *ID.*, in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 60; *ID.*, *Świat Nauki* 8, 32; *ID.*, in: *Le Scienze* 377, 80; *ID.*, *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 27b; SZAFRAŃSKI, in: *Archeologia Żywa* 1, 5.

<sup>24</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Meander* 3, fig. 4; *ID.*, in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 60; *ID.*, *Świat Nauki* 8, 32; *ID.*, in: *Le Scienze* 377, 80; *ID.*, *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 27b; SZAFRAŃSKI, in: *Archeologia Żywa* 1, 5.

F7A–B. Vertically oriented *appel aux vivants*.<sup>25</sup>  
 F8–F15. Figures of Merefnebef striding towards the entrance.

*Northern lateral wall of the entrance* (Fig. 3, left)

1. The tomb owner standing with Meresankh and two sons: Sedjem (...) and NN (figures, names and titles chiselled out).<sup>26</sup>
2. Loading a ship.

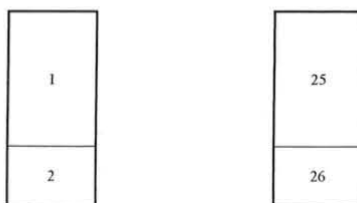


Fig 3: lateral walls of entrance; left: northern side, right: southern side

*Western wall, northern part* (Fig. 4, right)

- 3–6. Offering-bearers.<sup>27</sup>
7. Offering-vessels.<sup>28</sup>
8. False door.<sup>29</sup>
9. Offering-vessels.
10. The tomb owner accompanied by his son Manefer (figure, name and titles chiselled out) and wife, Iret.<sup>30</sup>
11. Offering-bearers.

*Northern wall* (Fig. 5)

12. The tomb owner at the offering table<sup>31</sup> and offering list.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Discovering Archaeology*, July–Aug. 1999, 67; ID., in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 32; ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, figs. 28–31.

<sup>26</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Discovering Archaeology*, July–Aug. 1999, 54–55; ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, figs. 32–33; SZAFRAŃSKI, in: *Archeologia Żywa* 1, 2–3.

<sup>27</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 40; ID., in: *Discovering Archaeology*, July–Aug. 1999, 63 (scene 3).

<sup>28</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 40.

<sup>29</sup> *Ib.*, figs. 40–41.

<sup>30</sup> *Ib.*, fig. 37.

<sup>31</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 59 (no. 5); ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 45.

<sup>32</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 44.

13. Servants with fowl.<sup>33</sup>  
 14. Servants bringing cattle and offering meat.<sup>34</sup>  
 15. Female musicians – wives of Merefnebef: Sesh-seshet, Iret, Nebet and Metjetu.  
 16. Male musicians.  
 17. Slaughtering scene and servants offering meat.

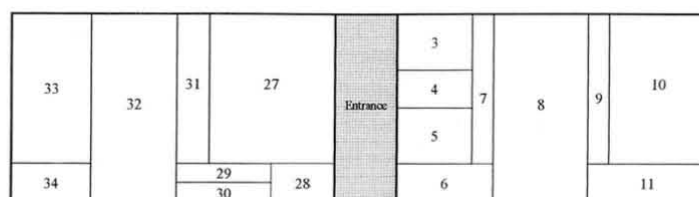


Fig. 4: Western wall

*Eastern wall, northern part* (Fig. 7, left)

18. The tomb owner standing, accompanied by his wife Sesh-seshet.<sup>35</sup>  
 19. Procession of royal domains.  
 20. The tomb owner standing, accompanied by his wife Nebet.  
 21–23. Slaughtering scenes.  
 24. The tomb owner standing, accompanied by his mother Tjeset.

*Southern lateral wall of the entrance* (Fig. 3, right)

25. The tomb owner with his wife Sesh-seshet and two sons: Fefi and Manefer (figure, name and titles chiselled out).<sup>36</sup>  
 26. Loading a ship.

*Western wall, southern part* (Fig. 4, left)

27. The tomb owner at the offering table<sup>37</sup> and offering list.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Ib.*<sup>34</sup> *Ib.*<sup>35</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Discovering Archaeology*, July–Aug. 1999, 60; MYŚLIWIEC and KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *Abusir and Saqqara*, pl. 73, 75.<sup>36</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 58 (no. 1); *Id.*, in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 34; *Id.*, in: *Le Scienze* 377, 82; *Id.*, in: *Pour la science*, April 2000, 39; *Id.*, in: *Scientific American* (Greek edition), Jan. 2000, 57; *Id.*, *New Faces of Saqqara*, figs. 34–36; MYŚLIWIEC and KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *Abusir and Saqqara*, pl. 72, 74; KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *PAM* 11, figs. 3–4.<sup>37</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 58–59; *Id.*, *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 42; SZAFRAŃSKI, in: *Archeologia Żywa* 1, 7.



28. Offering-bearers.  
 29. Female musicians – wives of Merefnebef: Metjetu, Nebet, Iret and Sesh-seshet.  
 30. Male musicians.  
 31. Offering-vessels.  
 32. False door.<sup>39</sup>  
 33. The tomb owner standing, accompanied by his son Manefer (chiselled out) and wife, Iret.<sup>40</sup>  
 34. Offering-bearers.

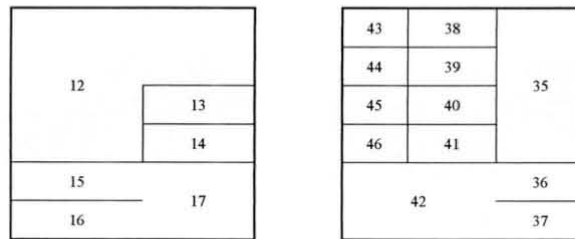


Fig. 5-6: Northern wall (left) and Southern wall (right)

*Southern wall* (Fig. 6)

35. The tomb owner with a woman (name not preserved), sitting in a pavilion.<sup>41</sup>  
 36. Female musicians – wives of Merefnebef: Iret, Sesh-seshet, Nebet and Metjetu.  
 37. Male musicians.  
 38. Stack of food.  
 39–41. Female dancers and musicians.<sup>42</sup>  
 42. Fishermen (?).

<sup>38</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 42; ID., in: *Meander* 3, fig. 7.

<sup>39</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Discovering Archaeology*, July–Aug. 1999, 66; ID., in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 59 (no. 4); ID., in: *Meander* 3, fig. 6; ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 39.

<sup>40</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 59 (no. 4); ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 39.

<sup>41</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Meander* 3, fig. 9; ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 47.

<sup>42</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 57; ID., *Świat Nauki* 8, 36; ID., in: *Le Scienze* 377, 84; ID., in: *Pour la science*, April 2000, 40; ID., in: *Scientific American* (Greek edition), Jan. 2000, 58; ID., in: *Meander* 3, fig. 8; ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 46; SZAFRAŃSKI, in: *Archeologia Żywa* 1, 4.

43. Production of furniture.  
 44. Jewelers' workshop.<sup>43</sup>  
 45. Poultry farming.<sup>44</sup>  
 46. Attending cattle.

|    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|
| 51 |    |    |    |    |    |     | 47 |
| 18 | 20 | 21 | 24 | 54 | 52 | 52A | 48 |
|    |    | 22 |    |    |    | 52B |    |
|    |    | 23 |    |    |    |     |    |
| 19 |    |    |    | 53 |    | 49  |    |
|    |    |    |    |    |    |     | 50 |

Fig. 7: Eastern wall

*Eastern wall, southern part* (Fig. 7, right)

47. Merefnebef (junior?) and his wife Hemi overseeing activities of fishermen and harvesters.<sup>45</sup>  
 48. Making bread.<sup>46</sup>  
 49–50. Making beer.<sup>47</sup>  
 51. Offering-formula.  
 52. The tomb owner fowling, accompanied by his son Manefer (chiselled out) and wives: Metjetu and Sesh-seshet.<sup>48</sup>  
 52A–B – Servants bearing fowl and fruits, bringing cattle.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 48a.

<sup>44</sup> *Ib.*, fig. 48b.

<sup>45</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Discovering Archaeology*, July–Aug. 1999, 64; ID., in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 35; ID., in: *Le Scienze* 377, 83; ID., in: *Pour la science*, April 2000, 40; ID., in: *Scientific American* (Greek edition), Jan. 2000, 59; ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 51, 52.

<sup>46</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 35; ID., in: *Le Scienze* 377, 83; ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 51.

<sup>47</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 35; ID., in: *Le Scienze* 377, 83; ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 51.

<sup>48</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Discovering Archaeology*, July–Aug. 1999, 63; ID., in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 57; ID., in: *Le Scienze* 377, 85; ID., in: *Scientific American* (Greek edition), Jan. 2000, 60; ID., in: *Meander* 3, fig. 10; ID., in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 37; ID., *New Faces of Saqqara*, fig. 38, 49a–b, 50; SZAFRANSKI, in: *Archeologia Żywa* 1, 5; KURASZKIEWICZ, in: *PAM* 11, fig. 2.

<sup>49</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, in: *Le Scienze* 377, 85; ID., in: *Scientific American* (Greek edition), Jan. 2000, 60; ID., in: *Świat Nauki* 8, 37; ID., in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, July–Aug. 1999, 57.

53. Slaughtering scene, servants bringing meat and fowl.  
 54. The tomb owner standing, accompanied by his mother.

### III. Persons Related to Merefnebef Represented in the Tomb

Tomb owner:

Names:

- “great name” – Merefnebef (*rn.f wr Mr.f-nb.f*);
- “fair name” – Fefi (*rn.f nfr Ffi*);
- “great name” – Wenis-ankh (*rn.f wr Wnis-<sup>c</sup>nh*);
- “great name” – Merefnebef (*rn.f <sup>c</sup>3 Mr.f-nb.f*);

Titles (numbers identifying those scenes in which the titles are attested):

- *im3-<sup>c</sup>* – Gracious of Arm: 1, 8, 20, 25;
- *imy-r s3r(w)* – Overseer of Linen: 8;
- *imy-ht hmw ntr Mrt-Tti* – Attendant of the God’s Servants of the Meret-temple of Teti: F6A;
- *iry nfr-h3t* – Keeper of the Diadem: 27, 32;
- *iry nfr-h3t m3<sup>c</sup>* – True Keeper of the Diadem: 33;
- *iry p<sup>c</sup>t* – Hereditary Prince: F1, F2, F4, F5, F11, F15, 1, 8, 10, 12, 25, 27, 33, 52, 54;
- *<sup>c</sup>d-mr sb3-Hr-hnty-pt* – Administrator of the “*sb3-Hr-hnty-pt*” domain: F2, 27;
- *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* – Count: F1, F2, F4, F5, F10, F11, F14, F15, 1, 8, 10, 12, 25, 27, 33, 54;
- *hnty-s Dd-swt-Tti* – Land-tenant of the pyramid of Teti: F6A;
- *hry-s3t3* – Master of Secrets: F1, 24, 27;
- *hry-s3t3 n wdt mdw* – Master of Secrets of the Command: 32;
- *hry-s3t3 n wdt mdw nb* – Master of Secrets of Every Command: 1, 25;
- *hry-s3t3 n wdt mdw nt nswt* – Master of Secrets of the Command of the King: 8;
- *hry-s3t3 n wdt mdw nb nt nswt* – Master of Secrets of Every Command of the King: 8;
- *hry s3t3 n Pr-dw3t* – Master of Secrets of the Robing Room: F1, F13, 8;
- *hry s3t3 n nswt m st.f imy ib n nb.f* – Master of Secrets of the King in the Place Which is in the Heart of His Lord: 10;
- *hry s3t3 n nswt m st.f nbt* – Master of Secrets of the King in His Every Place: F1, 8, 18, 54;
- *hry-tp Nhb* – Chief of Nekheb: F1, F10, F14, 24, 33;
- *hry <sup>c</sup>h* – Controller of the Palace: F1, F2, F4, F5, F6A, F7B, F10, F14;
- *hry nsty m hwt <sup>c</sup>nh* – Controller of the Two Thrones in the House of Life: 24, 33;
- *hry-hbt* – Lector Priest: 8;

- *hry-hbt hry-tp* – Chief Lector Priest: 1, 8, 20, 25, 52;
  - *sš ꜥw n nswt* – Scribe of the Royal Records: F9, F13;
  - *smr* – Friend: F1, F2, F6A, F6B, F7B, F10, F14;
  - *smr wꜥty* – Sole Friend: F1, F2, F6, F6A, F11, F15, 1, 8, 10, 12, 18, 20, 25, 27, 32, 33, 52, 54;
  - *smr wꜥty m3ꜥ* – True Sole Friend: 24;
  - *shd pr-ꜥ3* – Inspector of the Royal Domain: 8;
  - *t3yty s3b t3ty* – He of the Curtain, Judge and Vizier: F2, F4, F5, F9, F13, 35;
- Mother:
- Tjeset (*Tst*);
- Consorts:
- Iret (*Irt*);
  - Sesh-seshet (*Sšsšt*);
  - Nebet (*Nbt*);
  - Metjetu (*Mṯtw*);
- Woman somehow related to Merefnebef:
- Meresankh (*Mr.s-ꜥnh*);
- Sons:
- Manefer (*M3-nfr*), *shd pr-ꜥ3* – figure, name and titles chiselled out;
  - Fefi (*Ffi*), *imy st-ꜥ hnty-š pr-ꜥ3*;
  - [...], [...] *hnty-š* – figure, name and titles chiselled out.