THE INSCRIBED LINTEL OF SESHEMNEFER DISCOVERED RECENTLY AT SAQQARA

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ABSTRACT

العتب المنقوش الخاص بسشم نفر المكتشف حديثاً بسقارة

يهدف البحث إلى دراسة عتب منحوت من الحجر الجيري ومكتشف حديثاً بجبانة جسر المدير، غرب هرم ونيس بوسط سقارة، حيث تم وصف العتب وترجمة نصه، بالوصف والترجمة تعليق يرتبط باسم المتوفى ولقبه وصيغة القربان حتب دي نسوت وصيغة برت خرو، كما تم استعراض الاسم الشخصي للمتوفى من حيث النطق والمعني وتاريخ ومكان ظهوره، ودراسة لقب المتوفى من حيث تأريخ ومكان ظهوره واستمراريته، مع إضافة التعليق على نعوت أنوبيس الأربعة الواردة على العتب، وسُجل الشكل الجديد على هذا العتب لكتابة اسم المتوفى، معم استعراض بداية ظهور صيغة برت خرو نت، مع اقتراح نهاية الدولة القديمة كتأريخ لهذا العتب بناء على عدة ملامح، تتمثل في موقع الاكتشاف واللقى الأثرية بنفس بئر الاكتشاف والاسم الشخصي للمتوفى وطريقة كتابته ولقبه وصيغ القربان الجنائزية.

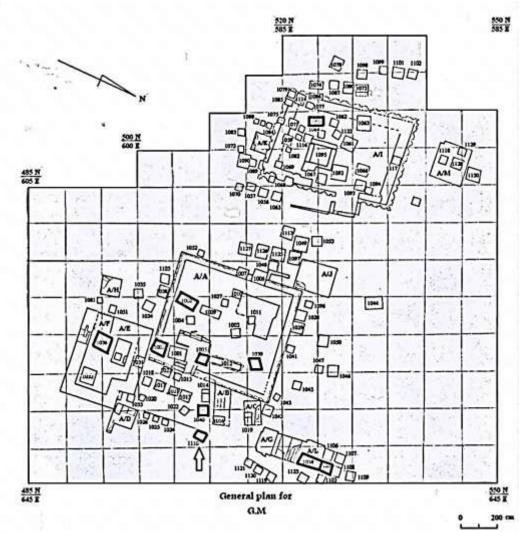
[EN] This research is a study of a limestone lintel uncovered recently in Gisr al-Mudīr cemetery, west of Unas' Pyramid at central Saqqara. The lintel is described, and its text is translated. Then a commentary will be provided, focusing on the deceased's personal name, titles, together with *htp di nzwt* and *prt-hrw* formulae. The deceased's name is reviewed in terms of pronunciation, meaning, date, and place of appearance. The title of the deceased is studied in terms of the date and place of presence and continuity. The four epithets of Anubis mentioned on the lintel are commented on. A new form of writing the name of the deceased, Seshemnefer, is attested on the lintel. The appearance of *prt-hrw nt* is presented. Based on several features, the end of the Old Kingdom is suggested as the date for this lintel. The studyse includes the location of the discovery, other finds in the same shaft of the discovery, the personal name of the deceased and the way it is written, his title, and the funerary offering formulae.

KEYWORDS: Anubis' epithets, Gisr al-Mudīr, Old Kingdom, offering formula, Seshemnefer, scribe of the royal documents, *prt-hrw* formula.

[AR]

I. INTRODUCTION

The lintel of Seshemnefer was discovered by the author in the Gisr al-Mudīr cemetery, west of Unas' Pyramid at central Saqqara, in 2009. It was found with other limestone blocks prepared for the same person in the fill of a shaft located in the middle, to the east of the site **[FIGURE 1]**. These other blocks are the right jamb of a doorway and three linked blocks, which could be the left jamb of a traditional false door, the right thickness or the left jamb of a doorway, or the left side part of the main façade beside the main doorway of the *mastaba* of Seshemnefer at central Saqqara¹.



[FIGURE 1]: General plan of excavation site of Gisr al-Mudīr, the red arrow refers to shaft N°.1110 which contained Seshemnefer's lintel. SOLEIMAN & EL-BATAL 2015b: FIG.3

II. DESCRIPTION

This limestone lintel could be part of an entrance or a niche. It is made of Turah limestone and measures 123 x 41 x 18 cm. It is broken into two pieces. It is registered under excavation N^o.A.F.749 and is now kept in Museum storeroom II at Saqqara **[FIGURES 2-3]**.

¹The three joined blocks are published by the author. SOLEIMAN 2018: 241–259.



[FIGURE 2]: Inscribed lintel of Seshemnefer in the excavation site ©Photo taken by the researcher

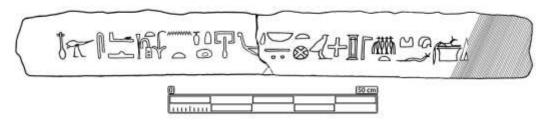


[FIGURE 3]: Inscribed lintel of Seshemnefer in the museum storeroom II at Saqqara ©Photo taken by the researcher

The lintel is adorned with one sunken horizontal line of hieroglyphic inscriptions, starting from the right **[FIGURE 4]**. The first section of the inscription is lost:

[htp di nzwt] inpw tpy dw.f hnty sh-ntr imy-wt nb t3 dsr prt-hrw nt sš (nzwt sšm-nfr

[An offering that the king and] god Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in front of the divine shrine, who is in the embalming tent, master of the sacred land, may they make an invocation offering for the scribe of the royal documents, Seshemnefer.



[FIGURE 4]: Line drawing of the lintel of Seshemnefer © Done by Mohamed Abd-Elbar

III. COMMENTARY

1. Tomb Owner's Name

The name is written in this form 5. It could be pronounced $s\check{s}m$ -nfr Seshemnefer², meaning «the good leadership» or $s\check{s}m(.i)$ -nfr(.w) Seshemineferou³. The latterreading could mean «I guide well». Although it was previously thought that this is exclusively a male name⁴women could also be given this name⁵. However, it was more frequently used for males than for females.

It is one of the most popular and widely used personal names in the Old Kingdom. It was frequently found in the capital cemetery (Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, and Dahshur) and infrequently in the provincial cemeteries (Qaşr es-Sayad)⁶. Most examples of this name were found in Giza and Saqqara.

The name is written in thirteen different forms. Twelve of them were collected by Scheele-Schweitzer⁷ and the last one is a new form shown on the lintel, which is the subject of this research. This new form has not been mentioned in any published tomb up to this moment.

The deceased's name is registered on this lintel with the sign *S* in reverse. This tradition is also found in the following tombs:

- **A.** Seshemnefer II G 5080 at Giza⁸, which is related to Neuserre's reign⁹, possibly the second part of his reign¹⁰.
- **B.** Seshemnefer IV LG 53 at Giza¹¹, which is related to Izezi's¹², Unas'¹³, Unas' and Teti's reigns¹⁴, or the sixth dynasty¹⁵.
- **C.** Seshemnefer/Ifi at Giza¹⁶, which is dated to the sixth dynasty¹⁷, possibly late of the dynasty¹⁸.
- **D.** Ptahshepses at Abusir¹⁹, which is dated from Neuserre's to Menkauhor's reigns²⁰.

² RANKE 1935: vol.1, 320, N^o.17; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 663–665, N^o.3229.

³ GOURDON: «Anthroponymes et généalogies de l'Égypte Ancienne», in: «http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases /agea/noms/?id=361, Accessed on 27/10/2022.

 $^{^4}$ Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 663–665, N°. 3229.

⁵ RANKE 1935: vol.1, 320, N^o.17.

⁶ Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 153, 663–665, №.3229.

 $^{^7}$ Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 663–665, N°.3229.

⁸ RANKE 1974: vol.3, 146; KANAWATI 2002: PL.32.

⁹ RANKE 1974: vol.3, 146; HARPUR: «Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database», in: http://www.doi.org/10.5284/1000009, Accessed on 20/12/2022.

¹⁰ KANAWATI 2002: 53.

¹¹ JUNKER 1953: FIGS.62, 85; RANKE 1974: vol.3, 223.

¹² CHERPION 1989: 229, 234.

¹³ BAER 1960: 293.

¹⁴ HARPUR 1987: 307, 315, 321, 335.

¹⁵ Kloth 2002: 34.

¹⁶ HASSAN 1950: FIGS. 216-217.

¹⁷ PORTER & MOSS 1974: vol.3, 250; HARPUR 1987: 270.

¹⁸ Brovarski 2006: 97–98.

¹⁹ VERNER 1986: PL.37.

- E. Seshemnefer E 8 at Saqqara²¹, which is dated to Izezi's reign or later²².
- **F.** Akhethotep I D 64 at Saqqara²³, which is dated to the reign of Izezi²⁴, Unas²⁵, or late Izezi's and early Unas' reigns²⁶.
- **G.** Idout at Saqqara²⁷, to which the name of Seshemnefer was added when the tomb was reused during Teti's and early Pepy I's reigns²⁸.

This tradition of reverse *S*-sign in the name of Seshemnefer only existed in the capital cemeteries of Giza, Abusir, and Saqqara. This trend is associated with Neuserre's reign during the late sixth dynasty. The name of the deceased on the lintel is inscribed with the biliteral sign \Re *sšm*. This sign is a combination of the knife \checkmark and the human walking legs Λ^{29} . This shape \Re has been found in the writing of the name Seshemnefer only once in the Old Kingdom, on this lintel, subject of this article. Otherwise Seshemnefer's name is written with the knife-sharpener \checkmark .

This sign \Im is also used to write the name $s \check{s} m w$ in Neferi's tomb at Giza³⁰, which is dated from the late in Izezi's reign to the middle of Unas's reign³¹. The sign is used to write the name $s \check{s} m w i$ in the rock inscriptions of Wadi Hilâl at al-Kab, These signs are dated to Pepy I's reign³².

This sign \nearrow is also shown in the writing of the name Neferseshemseshat on two obelisks found in Heliopolis, kept now in Cairo Museum JE 17001, 17002³³. These obelisks are dated to Pepy I's reign or the following period³⁴. This sign is also shown in the writing of the name Neferseshempepy in the tomb of Neferseshempepy/Seneni at Dendera³⁵, which is dated to the sixth dynasty³⁶, or late Old Kingdom³⁷.

This sign \widehat{X} has been attested in the writing of the name of Seshemnefer only once in the Old Kingdom. It is used in writing the word $s\check{s}m$ in some other individual names

²⁸ HARPUR: «Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database», in: http://www.doi.org/10.5284/1000009 accessed on 20/12/2022.

³¹ HARPUR 1987: 267.

³³ Daressy 1916: 211–212; Kuentz 1932: 7–10, Pl.3.

²⁰ HARPUR: «Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database», in: http://www.doi.org/10.5284/1000009, Accessed on 20/12/2022.

²¹ MARIETTE 1889: 398.

²² PORTER & MOSS 1978: vol.3, 595.

²³ DAVIES 1901: PLS.14, 34.

²⁴CHERPION 1989: 237.

²⁵ BAER 1960: 287, N^o.13; Strudwick 1985: 56.

 $^{^{26}}$ Kanawati 1977: 81–82, Nº.7; Harpur 1987: 272, Nº.338.

 $^{^{\}rm 27}$ Macrmallah 1935: Pl.17.

²⁹ Gardiner 1957: 515.

³⁰ Abu Bakr 1953: Fig.39.

³² Sethe 1911: 98; Lepsius 1913: vol.2, 117.

³⁴ BAER 1960: 94; PORTER & MOSS 1968: vol.4, 62.

³⁵ JAMES 1961: PL.36; FISCHER 1968: PLS.7, 16.

³⁶ JAMES 1961: 38; PORTER & MOSS 1962: vol.5, 112.

³⁷ BAER 1960: 93; FISCHER 1968: 119–128.

dated to the late of Izezi's reign, dynasty VIII. It is attested in Heliopolis, Giza, Saqqara, al-Kab, and Dendera.

2. Tomb Owner's Title

Seshemnefer held additional scribal titles inscribed on other blocks found with this lintel. The first title is *z3b imy-r* $z\check{s}(w)$ overseer of the scribes of the judiciary⁴⁴. It was rarely attested in the fourth dynasty, became more commonduring the Fifth, and was most prevalentin the sixth. It was mainly found in the Memphite necropolis and rarely in the provincial cemeteries and the quarries⁴⁵. The second title is $z\check{s} \prec (w)$ nzwt <u>hft-hr</u> scribe of the royal records in the presence (of the king)⁴⁶. It is attested in texts of the quarries from the fourth dynasty⁴⁷ and in the tombs from Neuserre's reign⁴⁸ onwards⁴⁹. Many examples are dated to Pepy II's reign⁵⁰.

These titles indicate that Seshemnefer participated in the functions of scribes. This combination of the three titles together in one tomb has not been attested in any tomb before the discovery of these blocks of Seshemnefer.

Although the word $\stackrel{\sim}{=}$ is usually written with the book roll as a determinative, sometimes it is attested without it⁵¹. The word means documents, decrees, records, or letters ⁵². $\stackrel{\sim}{=}$ is any document that bears the name of the king and was written with his knowledge and under his supervision. These royal documents could be mentioned in

³⁸ JONES 2000: 838, N^o.3057.

³⁹ Strudwick 1985: 211; Jones 2000: 838–843, Nos. 3057–3073.

⁴⁰ PORTER & MOSS 1974: vol.3, 72.

⁴¹ BORCHARDT 1937: 54–55, PL.14; PORTER & MOSS 1978: vol.3, 736, 739.

⁴² PIACENTINI 2002: 761.

⁴³ HAFEMANN & SCHWEITZER: «Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae» lemma Nº.550047, in: http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/ accessed on 10/8/2022.

⁴⁴ Jones 2000: 803, №2933.

⁴⁵ HAFEMANN & SCHWEITZER: «Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae» lemma Nº.450596, in: http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/ accessed on 10/8/ 2022.

⁴⁶ JONES 2000: 839, №.3063.

⁴⁷ Couyat & Montet 1912: 117.

⁴⁸ JUNKER 1938: 119–122, 217–223, FIGS.11, 40, 42, PL.13.

⁴⁹ PECK 1959: 13, PL.2.

⁵⁰ SOLEIMAN 2020: 205.

⁵¹ STRUDWICK 1985: 203.

⁵² JONES 2000: 838, №.3057.

general, or sometimes they are connected more specifically with fields, workshops, houses of gold, treasury, granary, or building works⁵³. Seshemnefer was the scribe of the royal documents, decrees, records, and letters in general.

3. Offering Formulae

Many Old Kingdom private tomb door lintels are decorated with raised or sunken relief carvings of hieroglyphic inscriptions, consisting of one to three horizontal lines⁵⁴. This lintel of Seshemnefer is decorated with a horizontal line of text, carved in sunken relief.

The lintels of the entrances and niches of the Old Kingdom tombs include different writings: the *htp di nzwt*-formula⁵⁵, the biography and Appeals to the Living and Warnings to Evildoer⁵⁶, the dedication texts⁵⁷, and the identification of the tomb's owner⁵⁸ and his family members by the titles and names⁵⁹. The *htp di nzwt*-formula and the title and the name of the deceased are inscribed on this lintel of Seshemnefer. The *htp di nzwt*-formula is the most common text in ancient Egypt⁶⁰. The first part of the offering formula on Seshemnefer's lintel is missing. The missing part is *htp di nzwt*. It was most probably written in the common way of the Old Kingdom $\frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$. The *di* sign is not completely missing. Its remains prove that it is written *di*, not *rdi*. Both words were used, and the first one was common⁶¹.

God Anubis is mentioned in Seshemnefer's offering formula. This means that the offerings are either presented by the ruler and Anubis to Seshemnefer, or offered to Anubis on behalf of the king⁶².

Anubis was the main Egyptian funerary deity before the growing prominence of Osiris⁶³. He is mentioned in the offering text from the beginning of the fourth dynasty⁶⁴. Anubis is described with these four epithets $tpy \ dw.f$, $hnty \ sh-ntr$, imy-wt, and $nb \ t3 \ dsr$.

The first epithet, $tpy \ dw.f$, means «the one who is upon his mountain». This epithet refers to the desert cliffs of the necropolis where dogs and jackals (symbols of Anubis) would assemble and watch over the burials of the deceased. The expression $\ dw.f$ refers to the high areas of the western desert rather than any specific mountain⁶⁵.

The second epithet, hnty sh-ntr, means «the foremost of the divine booth». Wilkinson suggests that this sh-ntr could be the embalming tent, the sanctuary of the sarcophagus, or

⁵³ JONES 2000: 838–843, Nos. 3057-3073.

⁵⁴ HARPUR 1987: 47.

⁵⁵ Roth 1995: Fig.201.

⁵⁶ EDEL 1981: FIGS.31, 33.

⁵⁷ HASSAN 1932: 101–104, FIGS.172–173.

⁵⁸ MANUELIAN 2009: FIGS.5.24, 5.25.

⁵⁹ HARPUR 1987: FIGS.3, 5–7.

⁶⁰ LEPROHON 2000: 569.

⁶¹ LAPP 1986: 1–5, 28.

⁶² LAPP 1986: IX ; BARTA 1987: 7–9.

⁶³ WILKINSON 2003: 187.

⁶⁴ Petrie 1892: Pl.13.

⁶⁵ WILKINSON 2003: 187.

the coffin of some royal burials in the New Kingdom⁶⁶. I concur with the first and second suggestions in Wilkinson's study, but not the third because the sh-ntr was used as a title for Anubis from the Old Kingdom, before the shrine was used to house the coffin and sarcophagus during the New Kingdom.

The third epithet, *imy-wt*, means «the one who exists in the mummification tent». This epithet refers to the presence of Anubis in the mummification tent, where embalming was done and his main role in the embalming process.

The fourth epithet, *nb t3 dsr*, means «master of the sacred land». *t3 dsr* refers to the necropolis⁶⁷. The lintel contains one wish. It is that the invocation offering comes forth for him consisting of certain offerings (bread, beer, and cake). This kind of offering formulae was widely recognized⁶⁸ and used to ensure that the invocation offering goes out for the dead⁶⁹. The *prt-hrw nt* formula is written in the Old Kingdom with many different forms. Seshemnefer's formula is attested in the form N^o.7 of Lapp⁷⁰.

4. Dating

The lintel of Seshemnefer can be dated to the end of the Old Kingdom (late sixth dynasty to the eighth dynasty) for the following reasons:

- **A.** The lintel was discovered in Gisr al-Mudīr, which represents the western extension of Unas' cemetery. This site consists of tombs from the late fifth dynasty (Fetekta⁷¹ and an unknown person who owns *mastaba* A/E⁷²), the sixth dynasty (Ia-maat, Senedjem⁷³, Shepseskafankh, and unknown persons who own tombs N^{os}.A/N, A/F, A/J⁷⁴), and the end of the Pyramid Age (Wawai and Khai⁷⁵). In relation to this, the lintel was constructed and inscribed during a certain era during Unas' reign to the end of the Pyramid Age.
- **B.** This lintel was discovered among other finds in the same shaft N^o.1110 in Gisr al-Mudīr. These finds are a jamb and three joined blocks and are from the sixth dynasty or the end of the Pyramid Age (late sixth dynasty to the eighth dynasty⁷⁶). The lintel of this study belongs to the same tomb owner as the aforementioned jamb and three joined blocks.
- **C.** The name of the deceased, Seshemnefer, was in use during the Old Kingdom from Neferirkare's reign in the tomb of Seshemnefer I G 4940 at Giza⁷⁷, but infrequently. It increased in prevalence from Neuserre's reign (Rewer I G5270⁷⁸, Seshemnefer II G

⁶⁶ WILKINSON 2003: 188.

⁶⁷ WILKINSON 2003: 187.

⁶⁸ LEPROHON 2000: 570.

⁶⁹ LAPP 1986: 91–93.

⁷⁰ LAPP **1986: 93**.

⁷¹ EL-BATAL et Al. 2012: 46.

⁷² Soleiman & El-Batal 2015a: 61–64.

⁷³ EL-BATAL et Al. 2012: 17, 52.

⁷⁴ SOLEIMAN & EL-BATAL 2015a: 37–52, 65–67.

⁷⁵ Soleiman & El-Batal 2015b: 13–16.

⁷⁶ Soleiman 2018: 258–259.

⁷⁷ Porter & Moss 1974: 142; Kanawati 2001: Pls.41-42, 50-51.

⁷⁸ JUNKER 1938: FIG.43; PORTER & MOSS 1974: 158.

5080⁷⁹ at Giza and others⁸⁰) and continued in use through the second part of the Old Kingdom until the end of this period (tomb of Seshemnefer/Ifi in the Central Field at Giza⁸¹, which is dated to the sixth dynasty⁸², possibly the end of the dynasty⁸³ and the libation basin of Seshemnefer from Giza⁸⁴, which is dated to the late Old Kingdom⁸⁵).

- **D.** The writing the name of Seshemnefer with the sign *S* in reverse dates from Neuserre's reign to late sixth dynasty as mentioned above.
- **E.** This sign \nearrow , as shown on the lintel of Seshemnefer, is used in writing the sign s s m in some individual names. The use of this sign is dated from late in Izezi's reign to dynasty VIII as mentioned above.
- **F.** Seshemnefer's lintel is inscribed with this title, $z \check{s} \cdot nzwt / z \check{s} \cdot (w) (nw) nzwt$, which appears from mid-Fourth dynasty at Giza and from the later part of the Fourth dynasty at Saqqara, and continues through the end of the Old Kingdom⁸⁶.
- **G.** On the lintel of Seshemnefer, the *t*-sign is written after the *zw*-sign and on top of the scribe's symbol in the *nzwt*-word. This practice dates to the sixth dynasty⁸⁷.
- **H.** Anubis is written, in the offering formula of Seshemnefer, in the shape of a recumbent jackal on a shrine. This writing first appeared during Pepy I's reign and continued in the subsequent period⁸⁸.
- **I.** The writing of the town determinative in the epithet of Anubis *imy-wt* in the offering formula of Seshemnefer may designate a period before the very end of the sixth dynasty⁸⁹.
- **J.** The town determinative with the crossed roads \bigotimes in the epithet of Anubis imy-wt is the more common form in the Old Kingdom, compared to the vertical and horizontal roads \bigoplus , which is a newer variant⁹⁰.
- **K.** The *t3*-sign, on the lintel of Seshemnefer, is written with double granules beneath, which seen at the end of the sixth dynasty onwards⁹¹.
- L. The expression of *prt-hrw* in Seshemnefer's text is written with bread, beer and cake. This way of writing the determinative with these three kinds of offerings is specific to Old Kingdom writing, predating the Herakleopolitan Period⁹².

⁷⁹ Junker 1938: Fig.34; Porter & Moss 1974: 146; Kanawati 2002: Pls.60, 62–65.

⁸⁰ BORCHARDT 1937: 185; VERNER 1986: PLS.9, 52, 56.

⁸¹ HASSAN 1950: FIG.220.

⁸² Porter & Moss 1974: 250; Harpur 1987: 270.

⁸³ Brovarski 2006: 97–98.

⁸⁴ Petrie 1907: Pl.7 [D].

⁸⁵ PORTER & MOSS 1974: 295–296.

⁸⁶ Strudwick 1985: 211.

⁸⁷ STRUDWICK 1985: 203.

⁸⁸ FISCHER 1968: 84.

⁸⁹ KANAWATI 2007: 86.

⁹⁰ FISCHER 1968: 78-79.

⁹¹ DAWOOD 1998: 38.

⁹² LAPP 1986: 91; DAWOOD 1998: 162.

M. The employment of *prt-hrw nt* for men indicates a date between the sixth dynasty, most likely from the middle of Pepy II's reign, and the eleventh dynasty according to Postel⁹³. Brovarski believes its date to be late sixth dynasty^{94.} and Dawood suggests the eighth dynasty⁹⁵. If we examine all the available Old Kingdom instances, it seems most likely that the expression appeared from the early reign of Pepy II onwards.

IV. CONCLUSION

 \searrow is one of the most popular and widely used personal names in the Old Kingdom. It was more regularly used for males than females. It was generally found in the Memphite cemetery, and infrequently, in the provincial cemeteries (Qasr es-Sayad). It was more public in Giza and Saqqara.

The name of the deceased, Seshemnefer, was recognized in the Pyramid Age from Neferirkare's reign. It was rarely shown during that period. It increased in prevalence during the reign of Neuserre and continued in use through the second part of the Pyramid Age until the latter part of that period.

The name is inscribed with thirteen different forms. Twelve forms were previously attested and the last one is a new form shown on the lintel of this research. This different form $\left| \begin{array}{c} & \\ \end{array} \right|$ has not been found in any published tomb up to this moment.

The deceased's name, Seshemnefer, is attested with the unilateral sign *S* in reverse. This form of writing is only found at the necropolises at Giza, Abusir, and Saqqara. It is related to the period from Neuserre's reign to the end of the sixth dynasty.

This shape \nearrow has been attested in the writing of the name of Seshemnefer only once in the Old Kingdom. It is on this lintel, the subject of this article. All other cases of

Seshemnefer's name to date are written with the knife-sharpener \checkmark .

This form \widehat{X} is employed in inscribing the sign $s \check{s}m$ in some private names dating to the period from the late reign of Izezi to the eighth dynasty in Heliopolis, Giza, Saqqara, al-Kab, and Dendera.

This title, $z\check{s} (nzwt / z\check{s} (w) (nw) nzwt$, appears during the mid-fourth dynasty at Giza and from the end of the Fourth dynasty at Saqqara, and continues through to the end of the Old Kingdom. It was more public in the capital cemetery and was infrequently used in the provincial cemeteries and Wadi Hammamat.

prt-hrw nt most probably started to be used from the early reign of Pepy II onwards.

sh-ntr is more likely to be the embalming tent, rather than the shrine of the sarcophagus and coffin in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, because it was used as a title for Anubis during the Old Kingdom.

⁹³ Postel 2005: 255–261.

⁹⁴ Brovarski 2006: 111.

⁹⁵ DAWOOD 1998: 287.

The lintel can be dated based on the location of its discovery (the cemetery and the shaft with other finds), the personal name of the deceased and the way it is written, his title, and the type of offering formulae.

Acknowledgment

I would like to express my thanks and appreciation to my friends Annette Gray and Dawn Sedgwick who corrected the English language of this research, and my colleague Dr./ Mohamed 'Abd-Elbar for his line drawing.

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