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*The Mastaba of Kaihai*  
*Where the Cemeteries of Weserkaf and Teti Meet*

The mud brick mastaba of Kaihai was discovered in 2008 during the excavations of The Australian Centre for Egyptology in the Teti cemetery at Saqqara. The structure of the mastaba, which is well preserved, is situated in the north-west corner of our concession, where the Teti cemetery ends, and joins an earlier cemetery, probably dating to the Fifth Dynasty. The two cemeteries appear to have been separated along a north-south line by a street, approximately 3m wide, which was paved with a thick layer of smoothed Nile mud.<sup>1</sup> On the east side, from south to north, are the Teti pyramid complex, the mastabas of Mereruka, Semdent, unnamed, Tjetetu, Remni and Qar.<sup>2</sup> A mud-brick wall abutting the west side of Mereruka's mastaba may have marked the western limits of the Teti cemetery and may have originally continued to the northern limits of the cemetery. However, the expansion of the Teti cemetery to the north-west, mostly during the reign of Pepy I, appears to have destroyed the mud-brick wall and encroached on the dividing street.<sup>3</sup> To the west of this street, two rows of large mastabas are known, and according to A. McFarlane who re-cleared and studied this section of the cemetery, they progressed from south to north.<sup>4</sup> The eastern row now contains the mastabas of Kaiemsenu, Sehetepu, unnamed, Pehernefer and finally another unnamed mastaba, while the western row contains the mastabas of Kaiemheset, Kaipunesut,<sup>5</sup> and two large now unnamed mastabas. The mastaba of Kaihai abuts the last large mastaba of the second row and uses its north wall as a common wall (**Fig. 1**).

The date of the abovementioned group of tombs, with the exception of the newly discovered one of Kaihai, has been discussed by a number of scholars. Because of their closeness to the Teti pyramid, some date them to the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>6</sup> while others believe that they antedate the building of this pyramid.<sup>7</sup> Although close to Teti's pyramid, it seems likely that this area represents an extension to the north of the cemetery of Weserkaf, but being at a distance from his pyramid the tombs must be appreciably later than his reign.<sup>8</sup>

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\* This article I offer to Karol Myśliwiec with my friendship and respect and in sincere recognition of his massive contribution to Egyptology, *ⁿh.w wdʒ.w snb.w*.

<sup>1</sup> A. MCFARLANE, *Mastabas at Saqqara. Kaiemheset, Kaipunesut, Kaiemsenu, Sehetepu and others*, *ACE Reports* 20, Oxford 2003 [= *Mastabas at Saqqara*], p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> For a plan of the Teti cemetery, north, see C.M. FIRTH, B. GUNN, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II*, Cairo 1926 [= *Teti Pyr. Cem. II*], Pl. 51; N. KANAWATI, M. ABDER-RAZIQ, *Mereruka and his Family I. The Tomb of Meryteti*, *ACE Reports* 21, Oxford 2004, Pl. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Personal examination.

<sup>4</sup> MCFARLANE, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, pp. 13–14, 65–66.

<sup>5</sup> J.E. QUIBELL, A.G.K. HAYTER, *Teti Pyramid. North Side*, Cairo 1927, Pl. 1; FIRTH, GUNN, *Teti Pyr. Cem. II*, Pl. 51; MCFARLANE, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, Pls 40, 57; and personal examination.

<sup>6</sup> See for example W.S. SMITH, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, London 1949 [= HESPOK], p. 205; K. BAER, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*, Chicago 1960, pp. 143–144 [527, 528]; E. MARTIN-PARDEY, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*, Hildesheim 1976 [= *Provinzialverwaltung*], pp. 171–172.

<sup>7</sup> For instance FIRTH, GUNN, *Teti Pyr. Cem. I*, p. 31; N. STRUDWICK, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and their Holders*, London 1985, pp. 149–151 [144]; N. KANAWATI, A. EL-KHOULI, A. MCFARLANE, N.V. MAKSOUD, *Excavations at Saqqara. North of Teti's Pyramid I*, Sydney 1984, pp. 7–8.

<sup>8</sup> The areas to the south and west of these mastabas need to be excavated/re-excavated to ascertain the limits of the cemetery to which they belong and the chronological progression of the tombs in it.



1. General view of the area, with the mastaba of Kaihai in front (Photo credit: N. Kanawati, ACE/Macquarie University).

A. McFarlane, who examined the evidence for dating this group of tombs in detail, concluded that both Kaiemheset and Kaiemsenu are from the time of Niuserre to Isesi.<sup>9</sup> This dating seems reasonable considering that Kaiemsenu and his neighbour to the north, Pehernefer, carry priesthoods of Kings, pyramids and Sun-temples dating from Weserkaf to Niuserre.<sup>10</sup> Theoretically, Kaihai may also belong to the reign of Niuserre or, being further to the north and abutting the last known large mastaba in this street, perhaps to a slightly later time.

Evidence from the tomb of Kaihai should now be considered. The mastaba is rectangular, measuring 11.20m N-S x 5.45m E-W, with a present height of 2.65m. It has a north-south unroofed corridor chapel, 10.50m N-S x 0.95m E-W, that extends the length of the eastern façade. This fits with G.A. Reisner's chapel type 9, which he thinks was introduced at Giza after the reign of Neferirkare.<sup>11</sup> Three niches are built into the western wall of the chapel, the southern one, the largest, belonging to the tomb owner, but shared with his wife, the middle one belongs to the same wife and the northern one, whose ownership is unknown,

<sup>9</sup> McFARLANE, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, pp. 19–23, 70–72.

<sup>10</sup> FIRTH, GUNN, *Teti Pyr. Cem. II*, Pls 62–63; Z.Y. SAAD, Preliminary report on the excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara 1942–43, *ASAE* XLIII, 1943, p. 453.

<sup>11</sup> G.A. REISNER, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, Cambridge, Mass. 1942, pp. 186, 283, 302.

represents a later alteration/extension to the chapel using mud bricks of different dimensions and materials. Occupying the inner recess of the southern niche and presumably originally extended its full height is a wooden stele, 0.50m wide x 1.85m present height (Fig. 2). In addition, inscribed stone offering basins are embedded into the floor opposite the centre of the southern and middle niches (Figs 3, 4). The wooden stele of the southern niche is inscribed in fine hieroglyphs including an offering formula and an offering list, clearly stated to be for the tomb owner and his wife, and terminates with the standing figures of the couple in equal height. Although found in most periods, wooden inscribed stelae/doors/false doors are more common during the period from the Third to the Fifth Dynasties,<sup>12</sup> and was used by Kaihai's own neighbour Kaiemheset of the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>13</sup> and some other tombs in the immediate vicinity of that of Kaihai.<sup>14</sup>

The offering formula, which was presumably the only one inscribed in the tomb, mentions the king and Anubis, but not Osiris, which may favour a date before the end of the Fifth Dynasty when it became common for this deity to be included. Yet the representation of Anubis in a large size, with its tail extending many registers beneath it, is similar to those attested in some Fourth Dynasty mastabas at Giza.<sup>15</sup> The offering list does not conform to any specific type as established by Barta,<sup>16</sup> and it includes items associated with the earlier period of the Old Kingdom (e.g. *sfr* and *b<sup>c</sup>*, 'sfr-sacred oil, b<sup>c</sup>-sacred oil') and another common in later time (*ht nb(t) bnrt*, 'every sweet thing').<sup>17</sup> In fact it even includes items unfamiliar in Old Kingdom offering lists (*wḏʿjt*, *pʒs*, *šhm*, *mdw*, 'scribal palette, water-pot, sceptre, staff') and one item/word so far unattested before the Eighteenth Dynasty (*phḏw*, 'a seat with a back').<sup>18</sup> The list is however extended and is unlikely to be earlier than the Fifth Dynasty.

Although Kaihai holds a baton and a rectangular wooden scribal palette in hand, of the same type as those held by Hesire of the Third Dynasty,<sup>19</sup> the palette he requests in the list of 'offerings' is the *wḏʿjt*-shell for the ink. This type of scribal equipment is according to N. Cherpion characteristic of the Fourth Dynasty and until the reign of Niuserre, but is found in one tomb at Saqqara, that of Rashepses, where the cartouche of Isesi is

<sup>12</sup> See for example the Third Dynasty objects of Hesire (K. LANGE, M. HIRMER, *Egypt. Architecture, Sculpture, Panting in Three Thousand Years*, London 1956 [= *Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*], Pls 18–19); the Fourth Dynasty object of Merib (C. ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, Paris 1990 [= *Catalogue des stèles*], p. 105); and the Fifth Dynasty ones of Neferkhewew (*ibid.*, pp. 177–183) and Kahersetef (*ibid.*, p. 241).

<sup>13</sup> McFARLANE, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, Pl. 15.

<sup>14</sup> These were discovered by the Australian Centre for Egyptology and will shortly be published.

<sup>15</sup> See for instance the exaggerated size of Anubis in the tombs of Khaefkhufu (W.K. SIMPSON, *The Mastaba of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II G 7110–20, 7130–40, and 7150 and subsidiary mastabas of Street G 7100, Giza Mastabas 3*, Boston 1978 [= Kawab], Figs 24–25) and Queen Mersyankh III (D. DUNHAM, W.K. SIMPSON, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III G 7530–7540, Giza Mastabas 1*, Boston 1974, Fig. 3a-b).

<sup>16</sup> W. BARTA, *Die altägyptische Opferliste: von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, MÄS 3, Berlin 1963 [= *Opferliste*], *passim*.

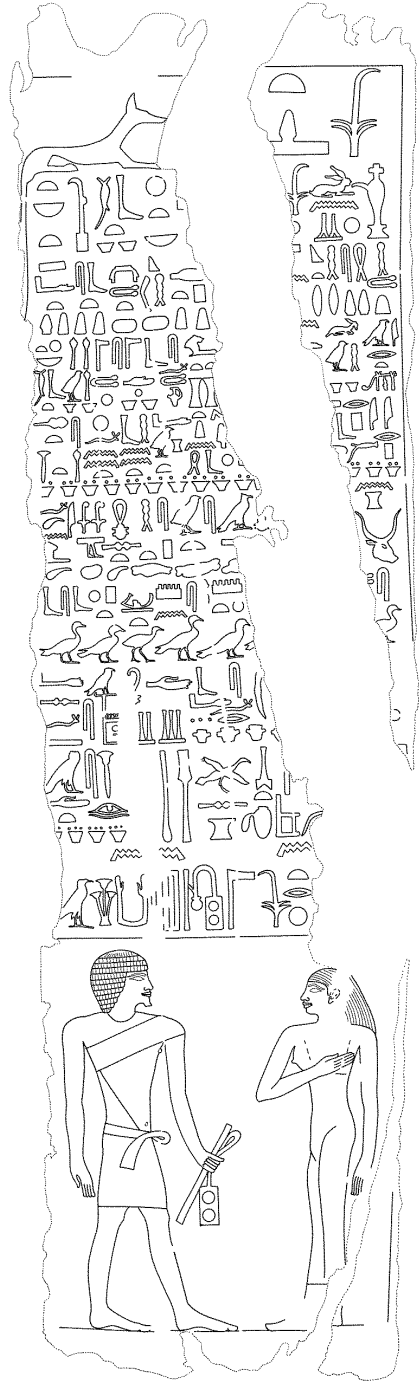
<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 88.

<sup>18</sup> *Wb* 1, 542.5.

<sup>19</sup> LANGE, HIRMER, *Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, Pl. 18.



a



b

2. The wooden stela of Kaihai (Photo and drawing credit: N. Kanawati, ACE/Macquarie University).



3. Offering basin of Kaihai (Photo credit: N. Kanawati, ACE/Macquarie University).



4. Offering basin of Seperierankh (Photo credit: N. Kanawati, ACE/Macquarie University).

attested.<sup>20</sup> It is interesting that a scribe also called Kaihai is depicted using a *wḏꜥjt*-shell in the rock-cut tomb of the similarly-named owner, Kaihai,<sup>21</sup> dated to the reign of Niusere<sup>22</sup> or shortly after. In this same tomb other scribes also use this type of shell.<sup>23</sup>

Our tomb owner, *K3(.j)-ḥ3(.j)*<sup>24</sup> ‘Kaihai’, holds one title, *zš pr md3t-ntr* ‘scribe of the house of documents of the god’.<sup>25</sup> The woman who appears opposite him on his niche stele is called *spr(.j)-r-ḥ*<sup>26</sup> ‘Seperier-ankh’, and she bears the title *rh(t) nswt* ‘acquaintance of the king’.<sup>27</sup> No kinship between the two individuals is indicated, but from the woman’s position on the stele and from the fact that an independent niche with an inscribed offering basin was allocated to her in Kaihai’s chapel, she was most probably his wife. The names of both the tomb owner and his probable wife are very rare, which may allow tracing their background, even if on mere speculative grounds. One of the owners of a well known rock-cut tomb at Saqqara which was covered during the construction of Wenis’ causeway is called Kaihai,<sup>28</sup> and indeed the seated scribe depicted in front of him on the east wall of the tomb bears the same name, although no kinship is indicated.<sup>29</sup> As mentioned above, this scribe as well as others depicted in the tomb include the *wḏꜥjt*-shell among their scribal equipment.<sup>30</sup> In dating the tomb A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller suggest that the offering bearer Nikaure may be the owner of Mariette’s mastaba D 50 who, like Kaihai, was inspector of singers and who exercised his duties in the temples of Weserkaf and Neferefre and may have lived under Neferefre and Niuserre.<sup>31</sup> This date is broadly accepted by scholars.<sup>32</sup> Other tombs in this area, those of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,<sup>33</sup> Irukaptah,<sup>34</sup> Sekhentiu/Neferseshemtah,<sup>35</sup> and Irienkaptah,<sup>36</sup> are all dated to the period

<sup>20</sup> N. CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées d’Ancien Empire. Le problème de la datation*, Bruxelles 1989 [= *Mastabas et hypogées*], pp. 77–78.

<sup>21</sup> A.M. MOUSSA, H. ALTENMÜLLER, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, *AV* 5, Mainz a/Rhein 1971 [= *Nefer and Ka-hay*], Pl. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Y. HARPUR, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in orientation and scene content*, London-New York 1987 [= *Decoration*], p. 274 [439].

<sup>23</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, Pl. 24.

<sup>24</sup> *PN* I, 342.16.

<sup>25</sup> D. JONES, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, *BAR* IS 866, Oxford 2000 [= *Index*], p. 849 [3103].

<sup>26</sup> *PN* I, 306.13.

<sup>27</sup> JONES, *Index*, p. 327 [1206].

<sup>28</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, Pl. 32.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23, Pl. 6.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls 6, 24.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18; A. MARIETTE, *Les mastabas de l’Ancien Empire*, Paris 1889, p. 313.

<sup>32</sup> For instance Y. Harpur dates the tomb to the reign of Niuserre (HARPUR, *Decoration*, p. 274 [439]) and N. Kanawati dates it to late Niuserre (N. KANAWATI, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster 1977, p. 153 [170]).

<sup>33</sup> A.M. MOUSSA, H. ALTENMÜLLER, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, *AV* 21, Mainz a/Rhein 1977, pp. 44–45.

<sup>34</sup> A. McFARLANE, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara I. The Tomb of Irukaptah*, *ACE Reports* 15, Warminster 2000 [= *Unis Cemetery I*], pp. 16–19.

<sup>35</sup> A.M. MOUSSA, F. JUNGE, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, *AV* 9, Mainz a/Rhein 1975, p. 18.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

from Niuserre to Djedkare. It may also be significant that like the mastaba of Kaihai to the west of the Teti cemetery, most of these tombs in the Wenis cemetery possess corridor chapels, although cut in the rock.<sup>37</sup>

On the east wall of the chapel of Nesutnefer at Giza (G4970), the tomb owner is represented with his wife, facing many individuals shown in four registers.<sup>38</sup> The top two registers depict their children, seven men and nine women, with an eighth son holding his father's staff and facing his parents. The bottom two registers are reserved for offering bearers. Unlike the rest of the men in these two registers who carry different objects, including items of food and drink, live animals, clothing and perhaps adornments, the first man in each register communicates directly with the main couple. The first man in the third register is presenting the couple with a jar of purifying water. He is called *K3(.j)-h3(.j)* 'Kaihai',<sup>39</sup> and is described as *hm-k3* 'ka-servant',<sup>40</sup> while the one in the bottom register burns incense in front of the couple,<sup>41</sup> is named *spr(.j)-r-ḥ* 'Seperierankh', and bears the title *hꜣp zḥ* 'director of the dining-hall'.<sup>42</sup>

The position of the first offering bearer is frequently, although not always, reserved for the tomb owner's son or a close relative. It is also noticed that like six out of the eight sons of Nesutnefer, Kaihai has *k3.j* as an element in his name; could he be a grandson, or at least a relative? The name of the first man in the bottom register, Seperierankh, is identical with that of the wife of Kaihai, owner of the mastaba to the west of the Teti cemetery. Could she have been his sister or his daughter, and both have been directly related to Nesutnefer? If so, perhaps Kaihai, the owner of our tomb, married a close relative.

Furthermore, it seems curious that the very uncommon name *K3.j-m-ḥzt*<sup>43</sup> 'Kaiemheset' coincides with that of one of Nesutnefer's sons, the third in the row of sons, and with the name of the owner of the large mastaba to the west of Teti's pyramid, in the same row where our Kaihai constructed his mastaba a little further to the north. It is certain that Kaiemheset of Saqqara was not the son of Nesutnefer of Giza, since he was the son of a man named Senefankhu who, like his son, held the title of royal master builder.<sup>44</sup> However, consid-

<sup>37</sup> See McFARLANE, Unis Cemetery I, Pls 38–39. The southern alcove in the tomb of Nefer and Kaihai in the Wenis cemetery (MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, Nefer and Ka-hay, pp. 11–12) is probably an extension made for the son Nefer.

<sup>38</sup> H. JUNKER, Giza III. Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof, Wien-Leipzig 1938 [= Giza III], Fig. 28; N. KANAWATI, Tombs at Giza II. Seshathetep/Heti (G5150), Nesutnefer (G4970) and Seshemnefer II (G5080), *ACE Reports* 18, Warminster 2002 [= Tombs at Giza II], Pl. 52.

<sup>39</sup> Another man in the same register bears the same name, Kaihai, but it appears likely that the two figures represent one and the same person. In both cases he is described as *ka*-servant, and in the second representation he carries a garment against another *ka*-servant named Tety (*PN* I, 385.17), who also appears twice in the register.

<sup>40</sup> JONES, Index, p. 591 [2167].

<sup>41</sup> Probably the same individual is shown again on the south wall slaughtering an ox (KANAWATI, Tombs at Giza II, Pl. 56).

<sup>42</sup> JONES, Index, p. 736 [2682].

<sup>43</sup> *PN* I, 339.25.

<sup>44</sup> McFARLANE, Mastabas at Saqqara, p. 16, Pls 15a, 50.

ering the new evidence from our newly discovered tomb a kind of relationship between Kaiemheset and Nesutnefer should not be excluded.

An offering basin found near mastaba Giza 5270 belongs to a man named *K3(.j)-m-jb(.j)*<sup>45</sup> ‘Kaiemibi’, who bears among other titles that of *hrp ḥ* ‘director of the ḥ-palace’.<sup>46</sup> This man may well be the eldest son of Nesutnefer, who appears in front of all other sons with this same title and such a rare name.<sup>47</sup> It seems possible, but by no means certain, that Kaiemibi, the possible eldest son of Nesutnefer, was buried at Giza. From Saqqara, although the exact location is unknown, come two monuments belonging to a man named *K3(.j)-hr-st.f*<sup>48</sup> ‘Kaihersetef’, one made of stone and the other, like Kaihai’s monument, made of wood. Both pieces are reasonably dated by L. Borchardt to the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>49</sup> The two objects are similarly laid out, with rows of sons and daughters and offering bearers, not dissimilar from the arrangement of such individuals in the tomb of Nesutnefer.<sup>50</sup> Kaihersetef, another very rare name, coincides with that of Nesutnefer’s apparently youngest son, and like our Kaihai he held a scribal title. Bearing in mind the danger of using names as evidence of identification, it remains possible that both Kaihai the owner of our tomb as well as Kaihai of the Wenis cemetery were related, even though the latter followed a musical career, which he passed on to all his descendents.<sup>51</sup> It is also possible that the two Kaihai’s were somehow related to Nesutnefer of Giza. One wonders if some descendants of the latter’s family moved to Saqqara, perhaps to the Weserkaf’s cemetery and elsewhere, in order to associate themselves more with the kings of the Fifth Dynasty.

Like Nesutnefer, Kaihai of the Wenis cemetery demonstrated very strong family ties, with many members of his family prominently depicted in his chapel.<sup>52</sup> It is also curious that his wife is called *Mrt-jt*.<sup>53</sup> ‘Meretites’, which coincides with the name of Nesutnefer’s second eldest daughter who, like the wife of Kaihai, is designated as *rh(t) nswt* ‘acquaintance of the king’.<sup>54</sup> Also interesting is the fact that Kaihai’s son, *Wr-b3w*<sup>55</sup> ‘Werbau’ named one of his daughters *Z3t-mrt*<sup>56</sup> ‘Satmeret’, as did Nesutnefer.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *PN I*, 339.15.

<sup>46</sup> JONES, Index, p. 707 [2579]. For this object see K. MARTIN, Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, Lief. 8, *CAA*, Mainz a/Rhein 1980, pp. 24–26 [No. 2406]; H. JUNKER, Giza VII. Der Ostabschnitt des Westfriedhofs, Wien-Leipzig 1944 [= Giza III], pp. 150–151, Fig. 62.

<sup>47</sup> The dating of this basin to the Sixth Dynasty by both Martin and Junker (*ibid.*) is by no means conclusive.

<sup>48</sup> *PN I*, 340.17.

<sup>49</sup> L. BORCHARDT, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II*, Cairo 1964, pp. 35–36, 38–39, Pls 66, 68 (CG 1566, 1568).

<sup>50</sup> JUNKER, Giza III, Figs 27–28, 30; KANAWATI, Tombs at Giza II, Pls 52–53, 57.

<sup>51</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, Nefer and Ka-hay, *passim*.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>53</sup> *PN I*, 158.18; MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, Nefer and Ka-hay, Pl. 32.

<sup>54</sup> JUNKER, Giza III, Fig. 28; KANAWATI, Tombs at Giza II, Pl. 52.

<sup>55</sup> *PN I*, 80.25.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 289.13. The name is also rare, but is attested e.g. at Tehna early in the Fifth Dynasty. Thus, *Urk. I*, 29.13.

<sup>57</sup> JUNKER, Giza III, Fig. 28; KANAWATI, Tombs at Giza II, Pl. 52.



5. Statue of Kaihai (Photo credit: N. Kanawati, ACE/Macquarie University).

The mud brick walls of Kaihai's chapel to the west of the Teti cemetery are undecorated; however his wife is depicted of equal size on his niche stele, and the offering list inscribed on this stele is specifically said to be for Kaihai and for Seperierankh. The latter also possesses a large but uninscribed niche of her own. Each of the couple has an inscribed stone offering basin in front of his/her niche. It may be of some significance that a number of wooden statues of our Kaihai and his wife were placed in their chapel. Although no similar statues were found for Kaihai of the Wenis cemetery, the tomb possessed a serdab which no doubt once held statues.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, the neighbouring tomb of Irukaptah possesses a large number of engaged rock cut statues of the owner and his wife.<sup>59</sup>

In her study of the stylistic differences of wigs, N. Cherpion concludes that the level to which the short wig covers the nape of the neck is a useful dating criterion. The name of the last king where the wig goes down low on the nape, almost joining the head with the body, is Niuserre, although the same criterion is attested under kings of the Fourth Dynasty. On the other hand the wigs which leave the nape clear are found where names

<sup>58</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, p. 10, Fig. 2, Pl. 26.

<sup>59</sup> MCFARLANE, *Unis Cemetery I*, Pls 4, 8, 13, 24–37.



6. Statue of Kaihai and Seperierankh  
(Photo credit: N. Kanawati, ACE/  
Macquarie University).

of kings of the Fifth Dynasty (Sahure, Neferirkare, Niuserre and Wenis) and of the Sixth Dynasty are written, but this type of wig existed also in the Fourth Dynasty. N. Cherpion then observes that the wig of Kaiemheset, the neighbour of our Kaihai, does not descend so low on the nape, but in profile there is no space between the wig and the shoulders.<sup>60</sup> In fact the statues of our Kaihai show a considerably larger space between the wig and the shoulders (**Fig. 5**), hence presumably later, as are probably those of Irukaptah, neighbour of Kaihai of the Wenis cemetery.<sup>61</sup> Like Kaiemheset's wig, those of Kaihai have very small 'calottes', which does not favour an early date in the Old Kingdom.<sup>62</sup> The details of these

<sup>60</sup> N. CHERPION, *La statuaire privée d'Ancien Empire. Indices de datation*, [in:] *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*, Cairo 1998, pp. 103–104, Figs 17ff. For the statue of Kaiemheset see MCFARLANE, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, pp. 39–41, Pls 12–14.

<sup>61</sup> MCFARLANE, *Unis Cemetery I*, Pls 4, 13, 26–30.

<sup>62</sup> See discussion in CHERPION, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pp. 55–56.

wigs are very similar for example to those of the statues of Nenkhefetka of Deshasha,<sup>63</sup> dated to the late Fifth Dynasty.<sup>64</sup>

While the colours on Kaihai's statues are very poorly preserved, his figure on the niche stele clearly shows a painted moustache, a feature also found for example on the statues and reliefs of Kaiemheset (JE 44173),<sup>65</sup> Irukaptah,<sup>66</sup> Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,<sup>67</sup> and Merefnebef.<sup>68</sup> As moustaches are usually added only in black paint, which frequently disappears or overlooked by epigraphers, many more examples may have existed. It is also possible that growing a moustache was fashionable at certain times more than others, and was perhaps associated with a certain age group. No moustaches are visible on the main figures in the tomb of Kaihai in the Wenis cemetery, where the colours are well preserved but this detail is attested for a number of his sons and grandsons who appear as grownup men.<sup>69</sup>

Kaihai's wife, Seperierankh, owns two statues; on both she wears slightly flared stranded wig parted in the middle, the same as that worn by Kaiemheset's wife. It is interesting that each of the two couples possesses a group statue where they are represented together on a cube seat (**Fig. 6**).<sup>70</sup> However, that of Kaiemheset and his wife is made of limestone while that of Kaihai and his wife is made of wood, a highly unusual feature but unfortunately very poorly preserved.<sup>71</sup> The wig of Kaihai's wife also resembles that of the wife of Nenkhefetka of Deshasha, who appears with her husband in a limestone group statue where the couple is standing.<sup>72</sup>

The statues and the niche stele of Kaihai and his wife Seperierankh have been badly attacked by termites. Large parts of the statues, particularly of the group statue of Kaihai and his wife, are now missing and their general structure is extremely fragile. The central section and most of the body of the stele have also been devoured by the insects, but fortunately valuable information on the surface remains in a reasonably clear condition. The stele was photographed and the information on it was digitally recorded. Enormous efforts to stabilise the structure of the stele was made by members of the Ministry of

<sup>63</sup> W.M.F. PETRIE, *Deshasheh*, London 1898 [= *Deshasheh*], pp. 12–15, Pls 30–32.

<sup>64</sup> SMITH, HESPOK, p. 81; H.G. FISCHER, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt*, New York 1968, pp. 66–67; MARTIN-PARDEY, *Provinzialverwaltung*, pp. 131 n. 2, 229 n. 2; N. KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster 1980, p. 4.

<sup>65</sup> McFARLANE, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, p. 41, Pls 3a, 12.

<sup>66</sup> McFARLANE, *Unis Cemetery I*, pp. 31, 63, Pls 1a, 4.

<sup>67</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, Pl. 73.

<sup>68</sup> K. MYŚLIWIEC, K. KURASZKIEWICZ, D. CZERWIK, T. RZEUSKA, M. KACZMAREK, A. KOWALSKA, M. RADOMSKA, Z. GODZIEJEWSKI, *The Tomb of Merefnebef, Saqqara I*, Warsaw 2004, Pls 46, 56, 68–69.

<sup>69</sup> The moustache may be seen in the case of Kaihai's son Werbau, even in the black and white photograph published in MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, Pl. 33. However, the same detail exists with other children and grandchildren (personal examination).

<sup>70</sup> For the group statue of Kaiemheset see McFARLANE, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, Pls 13, 14a (JE 44173).

<sup>71</sup> No such group statue of a couple is listed in the extensive documentation of wooden statues compiled by J. HARVEY, *Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom: A Typological Study*, Leiden 2001, *passim*. The recovered sections of this statue are being treated in the Conservation Department at Saqqara.

<sup>72</sup> PETRIE, *Deshasheh*, Pl. 31.

Antiquities Conservation Department at Saqqara, before the area in front of the stele was refilled with clean sand for protection. The statues require major conservation work which is being currently carried out by the same department at Saqqara.

**The niche stele (Fig. 2).**<sup>73</sup> The stele is made of two vertical planks of wood, cut in a winding shape, fitting perfectly together and occupying the full width of the central recess of the niche. The stele measures 0.50m wide x 1.85m present height.

The inscriptions read:

- 1) *hṭp dj nswt Jnpw* :
- 2) *qbh, wnḥw, hṭpwj nswt, ...ḥt nb(t) bnrt, rnpt nbt,*
- 3) *ḥt(3), šns, hnqt, špnt, ..., dptj, qmḥw qm3, stt, bst, šꜥt,*
- 4) *j3r(r)t, jwḥw, n..., ḥ3tt mrḥt, sḥt, bd, snṯr, ḥḏw, ḥt nb(t) bnrt,*
- 5) *jrp, jrp mḥwj, ʿbš, ..., nbs, t-nbs, ʿgwt, ḥbnnt, ḥfnnt, šḥt ḥḏt w3ḏt,*
- 6) *ng(3w), ..., mj(d3ʿ?), 3šrt, swt, splḥt, mjzt, nnšm, jwf n ḥ3t,*
- 7) *s, t(rp), ..., <sup>74</sup>mnwt, smn, whꜥt? , pḥt, bsb(s),*
- 8) *[n]ḥr[w]? , ..., mrḥt<sup>75</sup>-ndmt, sfr, bꜥ, jdmj ḥmtw snwj ... št, sšr szf,*
- 9) *..., pḥḏw,<sup>76</sup> wḏꜥjt, p3s, šḥm, mdw, w3ḏw, msdmt.*

- 1) *An offering which the king gives and Anubis:*
- 2) *Container of cool water; cloth strips, royal offerings, ..., every sweet thing (two), all the year-offerings,*
- 3) *ḥt(3)-bread (one), šns-bread (two), beer (two), a špnt-jug of beer, ..., dptj-bread (two), qmḥw qm3-bread (one), stt-bread (one), bst-bread (two),<sup>77</sup> šꜥt-bread (two),*
- 4) *grapes, Corn-grain<sup>78</sup> (two servings), ..., best ointment (two),<sup>79</sup> sḥt-oil (one), natron (two bowls), incense, onions (two bowls), every sweet thing,*
- 5) *wine (one bowl), mḥwj-wine (one bowl), ʿbš-wine (one bowl), ..., nbs-fruit (two bowls),<sup>80</sup> nbs-bread (two bowls), special preparation of grain (two bowls),*

<sup>73</sup> For the identification of the offerings see BARTA, *Opferliste, passim*.

<sup>74</sup> The space allows for two species of birds, and part of the determinative for one bird is preserved.

<sup>75</sup> Parts of the signs for *mr* and *h* were visible when first cleared, but soon turned to dust due to the unusually fragile condition of the wood.

<sup>76</sup> The remaining parts of the signs clearly suggest this reading. These are the left section of the *p* sign, the lower part of probably the *ḥḏ* sign, the end part of the *ḏ* and the chair with a back determinative.

<sup>77</sup> For this item see R. HANNIG, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, Mainz a/Rhein 2003 [= *ÄgWb I*], p. 424. For examples see S. HASSAN, *Excavations at Giza V*, Cairo 1944, Fig. 109; H. WILD, *Le tombeau de Ti II*, Cairo 1953, Pl. 108; both from the late Fifth Dynasty.

<sup>78</sup> HANNIG, *ÄgWb I*, p. 60; FIRTH, GUNN, *Teti Pyr. Cem. I*, p. 120.

<sup>79</sup> No names of these oils are given. For this reading see P. DER MANUELIAN, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, New Haven 2003 [= *Slab Stelae*], p. 70, Pl. 16, Fig. 85; ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, pp. 108–109. It remains possible however that *ḥ3tt* applies to two oils, for example *mrḥt* and *ʿntjw* (see the list in SIMPSON, *Kawab*, Fig. 28). Although in later offering lists *ḥ3tt* regularly precedes the cedar and Libyan oils, in earlier lists *ḥ3tt* is mostly followed by one jar determinative (see DER MANUELIAN, *Slab Stelae*, Pls 7, 12, 14, 20, 26).

<sup>80</sup> Some bowls are positioned between two items; thus although two bowls seem to be allocated to each item, the total number of bowls in the register is incorrect.



7. Details of inscriptions on the wooden stele (Photo credit: N. Kanawati, ACE/Macquarie University).

*hbntt-bread (two bowls), hfnnt-fruit (two bowls), white and green sht-fruit (two bowls),*

- 6) *long-horned ox, ..., a piece of meat,<sup>81</sup> roasted piece of meat, piece of meat, rib-cut, liver, spleen, fillet,<sup>82</sup>*
- 7) *s-goose (one), t(rp)-goose (one?), ..., pigeon (one), smn-goose (one), coot? (one),<sup>83</sup> pht-duck (one),<sup>84</sup> bsb(s)-goose (one),<sup>85</sup>*

<sup>81</sup> BARTA, *Opferliste*, pp. 125, 137; HANNIG, *ÄgWb I*, p. 516. Only the sign for *mj* is now visible.

<sup>82</sup> For this translation see P. MONTET, *Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien Empire*, Strasbourg 1925, pp. 170ff. This interpretation is supported by evidence from the butchery scene in the tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara (N. KANAWATI, A. HASSAN, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara II. The Tomb of Ankhmahor*, *ACE Reports* 9, Warminster 1997, p. 44, Pl. 49).

<sup>83</sup> This waterbird with egg-shaped body and no tail could not be positively identified by P.F. HOULIHAN, *A guide to the wildlife in the great swampland scene in the offering-chapel of Ti (No. 60) at Saqqara*, *GM* 155, 1996, p. 29, No. 14. The bird may be the Coot (see HANNIG, *ÄgWb I*, p. 368).

<sup>84</sup> See HANNIG, *ÄgWb I*, p. 469; H. JUNKER, *Giza VI. Die Maštabas des Nfr (Nefer), Kdfjj (Kedfi), K3hjf (Kahjef) und die westlich anschließenden Grabanlagen*, Wien-Leipzig 1943, Fig. 14. This bird is not listed in BARTA, *Opferliste*, *passim*.

<sup>85</sup> See HANNIG, *ÄgWb I*, p. 424; G.T. MARTIN, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis North Saqqâra 1964–1973*, London 1979, p. 14, Pl. 17; E. EDEL, S. WENIG, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-re*, Berlin 1974, Pl. 21, No. 330.

- 8) *nhrw-bread?*,<sup>86</sup> ..., *sweet ointment*,<sup>87</sup> *sfr-sacred oil (one)*,<sup>88</sup> *b<sup>c</sup>-sacred oil*,<sup>89</sup> *jdmj-linen of 3 x 10 (cubits), 2 x 10 (cubits), ..., 100 (cubits wide)*,<sup>90</sup> *sšr-linen of szf-width/texture*,
- 9) ..., *seat (Fig. 7)*,<sup>91</sup> *scribal palette*,<sup>92</sup> *water-pot, sceptre, staff, green paint (two), black paint (two)*.

The list is dedicated to both Kaihai and his wife Seperierankh. To the left the inscription above his figure reads: *n zš pr [mḏ3t]-ntr K3(.j)-h3(.j)*, for the scribe of the house of documents of the god, Kaihai (Fig. 7). The sign for *pr* is elongated, apparently to fit graphically with the other signs in the owner's title and name. The sign for *mḏ3t* appears to be written after that of *pr*, although it is written after *ntr* in three instances on the offering basin. Kaihai wears a short curled wig that covers the ears, a beard, a moustache, a sash, a collar which has lost most of its painted details, and a tight short kilt with a prominent belt knotted at the waist with a falling tab. He holds a scribal palette and a baton or more likely a measuring rod in one hand while keeping the other hand by his side.

To the right, the inscription above the woman's figure reads: *n rh(t) nswt spr(.j)-r-ḥnh* – for the acquaintance of the king, Seperierankh (Fig. 7). Small surviving parts of the signs of her name (not in our line drawing) make the reading almost certain, and the name survived in full twice on her offering basin. This woman is probably his wife, who faces him wearing a lappet wig, and possibly a choker, a broad collar and a tight dress with shoulder straps, although most of such details which were executed in painting have disappeared. The woman places one hand over her chest while keeping the other by her side.

### Kaihai's Offering Basin (Fig. 3)

The rectangular limestone basin measures 0.30m x 0.22m and was placed opposite the central recess of the southern niche.

<sup>86</sup> The right part of the *hr*-sign and a round determinative may be identified. *nhrw*-bread may tentatively be suggested, particularly as different types of bread frequently follow the different cuts of meat and/or fowl. A round determinative is also frequently used for loaves of bread, see S. HASSAN, Excavations at Giza VI.2. The Offering-List in the Old Kingdom, Cairo 1938, *passim*.

<sup>87</sup> HANNIG, *ÄgWb* I, p. 547. For a likely parallel see A. EL-KHOULI, N. KANAWATI, The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya, *ACE Reports* 2, Sydney 1990, Pl. 65.

<sup>88</sup> HANNIG, *ÄgWb* I, p. 1112. For another example see L. BORCHARDT, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* I, Berlin 1937, p. 46 (CG 1385).

<sup>89</sup> HANNIG, *ÄgWb* I, p. 417.

<sup>90</sup> For the reading of this item see DER MANUELIAN, *Slab Stelae*, pp. 64, 153; ZIEGLER, *Catalogue des stèles*, pp. 108–111.

<sup>91</sup> R. HANNIG, *Wörterbuch der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen*, Mainz a/Rhein 1999, p. 582. According to A. Erman and H. Grapow (*Wb* I, 542.5) this word is first attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the word is not listed in HANNIG, *ÄgWb* I, which thoroughly documents the Old Kingdom. Therefore we have here the earliest attestation of this type of seat.

<sup>92</sup> The determinative is that of the shell which holds the ink, characteristic of the earlier part of the Old Kingdom.

The inscriptions on the two long sides of the offering basin are identical and read: *zš pr md3t-ntr K3(.j)-h3(.j) – the scribe of the house of documents of the god, Kaihai*. The inscription on one of the short sides of the basin reads: *zš pr md3t-ntr, the scribe of the house of documents of the god*, while on the other side it gives his name: *K3(.j)-h3(.j), Kaihai*.

#### Seperierankh's Offering Basin (Fig. 4)

The rectangular limestone basin measures 0.36m x 0.27m and was placed opposite the central recess of the middle niche.

The inscriptions on the two long sides of the offering basin are identical and read: *nbt jm3h hr ntr ʕ3 spr(.j)-r-ʕnh – the possessor of veneration before the great god, Seperierankh*. The two short sides are uninscribed.

\*

Evidence suggests that Kaihai and his wife Seperierankh may be dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty and that they may have somehow been related to each other before getting married. It seems likely that they are the descendants of Nesutnefer who was buried at Giza (G4970) at approximately the time of Sahure.<sup>93</sup> Nesutnefer was an important official,<sup>94</sup> who was close to the palace, holding among other offices those of *jmj-r ʕh* 'overseer of the ʕh-palace'<sup>95</sup> and *jmj-r prw msw-nswt* 'overseer of the house of the royal children'.<sup>96</sup> He also held very high titles in relation to the administration of the 13<sup>th</sup> Lower Egyptian province and a number of priesthoods in the pyramid of Khafre. His priestly responsibilities clearly link him with the Fourth Dynasty kings and may explain his burial at Giza. Although Nesutnefer's inscriptions do not directly indicate a royal background, the location of his mastaba close to that of the eldest king's son of his body and vizier Seshathotep and to those of members of the distinguished Seshemnefer family and the architectural and artistic similarities of this group of tombs are suggestive.<sup>97</sup> The appointment of Nesutnefer's possible descendants as priests of Fifth Dynasty kings and their burial at Saqqara may be related to political necessity, or to the possible power struggle at the end of the Fifth Dynasty between the priesthood and the monarchy. It appears that kings of this period put their trust in the descendants of the Fourth Dynasty officials and royal relatives, who probably lost at least some of their privileges with the advent of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> HARPUR, *Decoration*, p. 268 [145]; KANAWATI, *Tombs at Giza II*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>94</sup> JUNKER, *Giza III*, Figs 27–31; KANAWATI, *Tombs at Giza II*, Pls 51–57.

<sup>95</sup> JONES, *Index*, p. 80 [347].

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 129–30 [513].

<sup>97</sup> See KANAWATI, *Tombs at Giza I–II*, *passim*.

<sup>98</sup> N. KANAWATI, *Mereruka and King Teti: The Power behind the Throne*, Cairo 2007, pp. 18–20.