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Tepemankh in Warsaw
Some Reliefs from Abusir
in the Collection of the National Museum
in Warsaw
Among the many officials of the Old Kingdom buried in cemeteries of the great Memphite necropolis there are four high-ranking individuals of the same name. The four Tepemankhs are generally assigned to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Dynasties respectively, although dates remain tentative despite the considerable number of honorific, religious and administrative titles including royal names present in their tombs. It is well known that noble titles incorporating royal names could have been held later as well, possibly indicating income from an estate or an office endowed to the owner of the title. The tombs of these four officials located in the principal royal cemeteries at North Saqqara, West Giza and Northeast Abusir were excavated and published by A. Mariette, G. Steindorff and L. Borchardt respectively. Some archaeological finds, including architectural elements of the mastaba structure, such as false-doors, inscribed lintels and several decorated limestone blocks from the tomb chapels and niches, were transferred to the Cairo Museum; many others were transported to Europe and then located in different museums and private collections. As a result objects from mastaba D 11, for example, which had been excavated in Saqqara by A. Mariette, were included into different collections around the world and are now in Cairo, Copenhagen, London, Leyden, Brussels, Paris, Moscow and New York.

1 This name transliterated sometimes as Dja-dja-em-ankh is listed twice by PN, 380.2, 405.20. For the controversy around the reading of the name, see: E. Martin-Pardey, Plastik des Alten Reiches, Teil 1. Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim, CAA, Mainz a/Rhein 1977, p. 17; C. Ziegler, Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire vers 2686–2040 avant J.-C., Paris 1990 [= Musée du Louvre], p. 257.

2 Tepemankh II, who owned a tomb to the north of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, held a number of priestly titles in the cult of kings of the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasties, of whom Sahure seems to be the latest. However, one should bear in mind that stylistic features of the decoration of this tomb could move the dating up to the reign of Djedkare-Izezi, see: S. Hodjash, O. Berlev, The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow-Leningrad 1982, p. 33. A fictitious person called Dja-dja-em-ankh, who is titled the chief lector-priest, appeared in the third Tales of Wonder (Boating Party) from the Westcar Papyrus. The tale is set in the times of the Fourth Dynasty, specifically the reigns of kings Snofru and Khufu, see: M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature. The Old and Middle Kingdom, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1975, pp. 216–217.


4 Mastaba D 20, cf. PM III¹, 109–110, plan XIV; Fritz, Typologie der Mastabagräber, p. 254 and Fig. 303.

5 Unnumbered mastaba situated in the first row of tombs in the immediate neighborhood of the mortuary temple of Nyuserre, see: PM III¹, 343–344, plans XXVII, XL; P. Janosi, “Im Schatten” der Pyramiden – Die Mastaba in Abusir. Einige Beobachtungen zum Grabbau der 5. Dynastie, [in:] M. Bartá, J. Krejčí (Eds), Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000, ArOr-suppl. 9, Praha 2000 [= “Im Schatten” d. Pyramiden], pp. 446–448; K. Baer, Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, Chicago 1960 [= Rank and Title], pp. 151–152 (559A).


8 L. Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re³, WYODG 7, Leipzig 1907 [= Ne-User-Re³], pp. 29f., 117–126, see also: H. Schafer, Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde vom Ende des Alten Reiches bis zur griechischen Zeit vom Totentempel des Ne-user-re, WYODG 8, Leipzig 1908, Pl. I.
Sometimes even blocks belonging to the same scene were separated and entered into different collections.9

Decorated stones from the mortuary temple of King Nyuserre and blocks from the mastaba of yet another Tepemankh (Dja-dja-em-ankh) unearthed by L. Borchardt at Abusir North-East were scattered about even more. Some objects were housed at the site or deposited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, whereas the remaining decorated blocks were transported to Berlin and subsequently distributed among several local museums in Germany.10 During or just after World War II some of these collections were dispersed and many items were lost as a result.11 Those that survived the postwar turmoil are now not only in Germany, but also in France and surprisingly in Poland. With regard to the latter, the objects were kept before the war at the Schlesische Friedrich-Wilhelms University in Breslau (Polish Wrocław) and were incorporated into the Warsaw collection in the early fifties.12 Anepigraphic and fragmented, the reliefs did not attract much interest at first. Another relief transferred to Warsaw was held previously in the Antik-Archäologisches Kabinett of the Lyceum Hosianum in Braunsberg (Polish Braniewo after 1945).13

It will be remembered that the pieces that came to Warsaw were in poor condition with numerous cracks, surface staining and jagged edges. Worse still, they had lost their identity: there were no labels, museum marks or any other written information about where they had come from and how they got to be in Warsaw. Dating on the grounds of stylistic

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9 For this reason and due to some inaccuracies of descriptions in reports from excavations, the attribution of blocks to the proper tomb is not as evident as could be expected. Cf. Ziegler, Musée du Louvre, pp. 262–264; see also: Y. Harpur, The Identity and Positions of Relief Fragments in Museums and Private Collections. Miscellaneous Reliefs from Saqqara and Giza, JEA 71, 1985, pp. 27–42.

10 Some monuments excavated by Borchardt at Abusir were left in Berlin, while many others were delivered to Munich, Heidelberg, Hannover, Hamburg, Hildesheim, Frankfurt am Main, Bonn, Bremen, Leipzig, and Strasbourg. Cf. Borchardt, Ne-User-Re, pp. 117f. See also: I. Woldering, Kestner Museum. Hannover. Ägyptische Kunst, Hannover 1958, Fig. 15; E. Feucht, Von Nil zum Neckar, Berlin 1986 [= Von Nil zum Neckar], p. 43, Fig. 147; PM III 2, 337–338, 344.

11 Including the false-door of Tepemankh from Abusir kept in East Berlin and numerous objects previously held in Greifswald, Breslau, Braunschweig, Strasbourg and Königsberg. PM III 2, 378, 381, 385, 387, 389 rightly noted that these collections are no longer in existence but since some of the blocks were fortunately preserved, the list of Objects in Museums included in the indices of the Topographical Bibliography, should be revised.

12 In L. Borchardt’s publication, the figure caption (Ne-User-Re, Fig. 103a-b) of the reliefs depicting shipbuilding and the grain harvest read: Originale vorläufig noch im Berlin Museum. They are not listed in the museum guides Führer durch die Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Die Ägyptische Sammlung edited in 1933 and in 1936 by Verlag Karl Curtis. Consequently, there is every reason to presume that they had already been delivered to Breslau (Polish city of Wrocław since 1945), where some other pieces from the German excavations of the Orient-Gesellschaft were collected.

criteria and characteristic features was hardly easy for such scant remains, but it was clear nonetheless that five of the eight reliefs belonged to a classical repertory of scenes depicted in the tombs of nobles of the Old Kingdom. This suggested the Memphis necropolis as the presumed place of origin. The fine-grained, creamy-colored limestone was of little use for identification purposes as Old Kingdom reliefs were generally carved on limestone.

Notwithstanding, it became clear that all of the five elements belonged to the same course of stones and when correctly arranged formed three abutting walls of a chamber; thus at least one dimension of the room decorated by these blocks could be reconstructed.

L. Borchardt’s publications on his excavations at Abusir permitted the provenance of the said reliefs to be established. They had come from the superstructure of a mastaba, built of mud brick with partial facing of limestone blocks, for a high-ranking official of the Fifth Dynasty named Tepemankh. According to his titles Tepemankh was Director of the Palace (hrp ‘h) and a Secretary of the Toilet-House. He was also authorized to assist the king in preparations for divine rituals and endowed with the very important and exclusive title of Sole Companion (smr w‘ty). His large tomb was situated to the north of the mortuary temple of Nyuserre in the densely filled mastaba field. Three other partly preserved mastabas of a boundary official named Userkafankh, of the so-called tomb of a princess, and an anonymous one were discovered in the vicinity. Although the exact dating of this complex remains problematic, it can be surmised that all the structures were

14 The small scale of the figures excludes their attribution to temple reliefs. Three blocks with temple reliefs, including a depiction of offering-bearers (Inv. No. 198849 MNW), Nyuserre’s cartouche (Inv. No. 199585 MNW) and a representation of offerings (Inv. No. 199584 MNW), which entered the Warsaw collection after World War II, will be presented separately. For drawings of these blocks, see: BORCHARDT, Ne-User-Re, Figs 52e, 57b, 58d.

15 Inv. Nos 199579/1 MNW (H. 24.5cm; L. 64.5cm), 199579/2 MNW (H. 25cm; L. 55cm), 199579/3 MNW (H. 17cm; L. 35cm), 199579/4 MNW (H. 20cm; L. 55cm), 199579/5 MNW (H. 20cm; L. 94cm).

16 The width of the room was at least about 1.45m, but the reliefs were deliberately cut after their removal from the tomb, thus losing the original edge of one block and making it difficult to determine the precise dimensions.

17 BORCHARDT, Ne-User-Re, p. 122; for a drawing of the scene with boats, see also: J. VANDIER, Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne V, Paris 1969 [= Manuel V], pp. 660, 674–675, Fig. 269.

18 The name and titles of the tomb owner are attested by preserved inscriptions on the blocks from Cairo, Strasbourg, Leipzig and on the plinth of an unpreserved statue found in the tomb, cf. BORCHARDT, Ne-User-Re, pp. 120–126; R. KRAUSPE, Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig 1976 [= Ägyptisches Museum], p. 28 and photo on the cover; PN not quoted; BAER, Rank and Title, pp. 151–152; for the drawing of the inscription with the name and titles carved on the entrance doorway, see: O. KOENIGSBERGER, Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür. ÄF 2, Glückstadt 1936, Fig. 93 on p. 74.


20 BORCHARDT, Ne-User-Re, pp. 25–33, 109–134. Later on the tomb of the princess was identified as the mastaba of Pthehpeses’ children, cf. PM III.1. 342; see also: also JÁNOSI, “Im Schatten” d. Pyramiden, pp. 446–448; J. KREČI, The origins and development of the royal necropolis at Abusir during the Old Kingdom, [in:] M. Bartá, J. Krečji (Eds), Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000, Praha 2000, p. 475; and B. VACHALA, Abúsír: Staroegyptské královské pohřebiště, Brně 2005, pp. 55–56.
built prior to the construction of the pyramid and mortuary temple of King Nyuserre.21 The tomb of Userkafankh could be dated to the very end of the reign of Sahure or to the very beginning of Neferirkare’s rule. The introduction of his name in the decoration of Nyuserre’s mortuary temple, completed during the king’s long reign, appears to confirm the dating of this tomb and probably also of the neighboring structures, including the mastaba of our Tepemankh, to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty.22 One has to remember that at that time, especially during the reigns of Neferirkare and Nyuserre, significant changes were taking place in private tomb construction. Simple mastabas of the previous dynasty were being gradually replaced by much larger, sometimes multi-roomed superstructures with special installations for a statue cult, although it is difficult to define one uniform plan.23 An impressive tomb of virtually royal dimensions, belonging to Ptahshepses, the vizier and son-in-law of Nyuserre, located in the immediate vicinity of Tepemankh’s mastaba, is a good example of this evolution.24

Although only meager remains of Tepemankh’s tomb were preserved, its plan was relatively clear. Following trends of mastaba development toward an increased number of subsidiary rooms built within the superstructure, the tomb of Tepemankh consisted of five rooms or large niches becoming a sort of complex for the deceased’s mortuary cult.25 Access to the superstructure was through a pillared court or vestibule; the superstructure was composed of two cult chapels, an offering room and two cult-niches for the tomb’s owner and his wife. Except for the northern chapel oriented on a N-S axis, all of the remaining rooms were oriented E-W with the entrances located in the eastern or western walls. At least some of these rooms were lined with stone and adorned with colored reliefs depicting a variety of scenes, but only a few of these were found in place. According to L. Borchardt, most of the decorated pieces were found in Am besten sind die noch schön bemalten Relieffragmente der zur Statuenkammer umgewandelten nördlichen Kultkammer erhalten. Von links beginnend haben wir über dem Sockel an der Westwand Darstellungen des Schiffbaus.26 As was said above, some of these reliefs ended up in the National Museum in Warsaw (Figs 1–2).

24 PM III ².1, 340–342. The remains of this structure were already evidenced by R. Lepsius, then partly excavated by J. de Morgan, and later on unearthed in full by the Czech expedition. VERNER, Abusir, pp. 153ff.
25 PM III ².1, Pl. XL 1[1].
26 BORCHARDT, Ne-User-Re, p. 122 and JÁNOSI, “Im Schatten” d. Pyramiden, pp. 461ff., in particular n. 59.

The reliefs show varying intensities of red-brown on the carpenters’ figures and on the hulls of vessels. Other colors have disappeared except for black, a band of which can be observed below the scene. This horizontal line forms the ground line for the wall decoration. The scene, which was located apparently in the bottommost register of the decoration, encompassed a depiction of two almost identical wooden boats. Differences are visible especially in the shape of the hull ends: chopped off abruptly or smoothly rounded.27 The presented type of ship, called *šḥbt*,28 had a hull made of wood imitating that of marsh boats built of papyrus stems. Traditionally, its side consisted of seven elements attached to the flat bottom by pegs and trusses. However, one of the oldest known depictions of a wooden boat preserved on the wall of Prince Rahotep’s chapel was composed of five elements only.29 The most extensive examples of this type of vessel were found in the tombs of Chunnumhotep,30 Shepsesre31 and Ti at Saqqara,32 Sekhemkare in Giza,33 Hunes at Zawyet el-Maiyitin34 and in the mastaba of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi.35 Scene composition is very similar to that from Tepemankh’s mastaba, usually with two boats under construction.

In the tomb of Tepemankh each vessel is being constructed by a separate crew of boat-builders supervised by a man standing in the middle of the deck of the boat seen on the right. His status of foreman is suggested not only by his upright posture, but also by his attributes: a long stick and a vertical ended with peaked plummet. Although the hieroglyphic inscription is not preserved, it is most probably a representation of the shipyard’s supervisor, usually titled ‘oldest of the shipyard’ – *šms w mx rt*, dressed in a plain kilt.36 In the bow and

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27 For a similar hull type in the tomb of Ti, sometimes with pointed ends, see: B. LANDSTRÖM, Ships of the Pharaohs. 4000 Years of Egyptian Shipbuilding, London 1970, pp. 38ff., Fig. 102.
28 This designation is documented starting from the early Fourth Dynasty. D. JONES, A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms, London 1988, p. 146 [71]; H. ALTENMÜLLER, Funerary Boats and Boat Pits of the Old Kingdom, [in:] M. Bartá, J. Krejčí (Eds), Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000, Praha 2000, p. 275; Webb IV, 410.5.
31 LD II, Pl. 61b
32 VANDIER, Manuel V, pp. 666–672, Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 266.
33 S. HASSAN, Excavations at Giza IV, 1932–1933, Cairo 1943 [= Giza IV], p. 110, Fig. 57; VANDIER, Manuel V, Fig. 265.
34 LD II, Pl. 108; A. VARILLE, La tombe de Ni-Ankh-Pepi à Záouyet el-Mayetin, Le Caire 1938, Figs 5, 9, 16; VANDIER, Manuel V, Fig. 60; N. DE G. DAVIES, The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi, ASEg 12, London 1902, Pl. XVI.
35 VANDIER, Manuel V, pp. 678–679, Fig. 270.
36 For a similar composition with the figure of an overseer, see: HASSAN, Giza IV, Fig. 57; MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, Nianchchnum, Pl. 21; H. GOEDICKE, Re-used blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht, New York 1971, p. 121 No. 71. For the expression *šms w mx rt*, see: R. HANNIG, Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch–Deutsch, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 64, Mainz 1995, p. 710; MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, Nianchchnun, n. 279.
stern of each boat, there are three kneeling or sitting carpenters, solicitously hollowing the
deck and the hull with mallets, clubs and chisels; they are cutting mortises in the hull for
dowels or for fixing the wickerwork. The depiction encompasses different phases of work
in the shipyard. At least two other carpenters are shown smoothing the boat’s hull with an
adze used as a sort of plane in the final stages of the carpenters’ work. In order to have
complete freedom of movement, they are dressed in nothing but the typical scanty kilts.
The identification of the man standing astride the middle of the hull of the boat to the left
is not so evident. It can be surmised that he wore a short sash identical to that of the other
carpenters, but his upright posture indicates that he could be the crew’s foreman. To secure
the stability of the boats during the work in the workshop the prow and the stern of hulls
were supported on wooden blocks and wedges. Another worker depicted standing behind
the boat is checking presumably the stability of the hull. The ship presented on the right
is almost complete with the bulwark fastened down to the boat’s side (Fig. 3).

It is highly probably that the Old Kingdom shipyards were established in the vicinity of
Memphis, but since the upper part of the register is not preserved, there is no epigraphic
evidence to indicate any real workshop or shipyard with which the carpenters depicted in the
tomb of Tepemankh could be affiliated. In general, one can agree that what was depicted in
the tomb represented the activities of the deceased in life, in which he would have liked to
participate also for eternity. His depiction several times on the tomb walls, shown observing
daily activities, was meant to facilitate this. On the other hand, ship-building scenes were
a favorite motif in the Old Kingdom, especially from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty,
hence the tomb’s owner achievements and activities in this field would not have been of
decisive impact on the choice of decoration. The influence of reliefs from the causeway
of king Sahure at Abusir showing a fleet of ships including two papyriform boats should
be taken into consideration as well. Although there is no iconographic evidence regarding
the decoration above the depiction of the shipyard, but one should expect a sequence of
scenes, namely tree-felling, plank-sawing or log-trimming, in the upper registers.37 One
of the decorated blocks found by L. Borchardt could theoretically be attributed to the

37 All of them can illustrate the lengthy process of building wooden boats. A. MOUSSA, H. ALTENMÜLLER, The
uppermost register of this wall. The preserved fragment shows two men carrying bundles of papyrus reeds and if our surmise as to the location of this block is correct, a representation of building papyrus boats would have been likely in the uppermost section of the wall. This evidence is not conclusive, however, because papyrus gatherers would be well in keeping with other subjects, such as swamp or marsh-hunt scenes. A single block with the depiction of two offering-bearers belonged to the bottommost layer of the decoration (Fig. 4). Its position in the wall is clearly indicated by the lower horizontal line, originally painted in black, now discolored, and two vertical bands forming right angles (L) on both sides of the scene. The intentional lowering of the upper edge to the height of the left block with the boat depiction at the presumed joining point suggests that the stones could have been fitted together. The orientation of the offering-bearers somewhat disturbs this solution. A key rule in tomb decoration was to orient minor figures toward the deceased or toward the false-door; if so, one should expect on the adjacent wall preferably the figure of the tomb’s owner rather than carpenters working in a shipyard; in other words the evidence is not sufficient for establishing the lower register of decoration running around the room. Only the legs and part of the scanty sashes of the offering bearers have been preserved; they are facing right and seem to be entering the chamber of the tomb. The man presented on the right holds sandals, while the other figure presumably shouldered an offering.

The third relief now in the National Museum in Warsaw, that of a scribe from the tomb of Tepemankh, is of special interest for a theoretical reconstruction of the decoration of the north wall. This block is the only surviving piece, but L. Borchardt drawings show a much

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38 The relief in Heidelberg, cf. BORCHARDT, Ne-User-Re’, Fig. 104b; VANDIER, Manuel V, Fig. 200.1; FEUCHT, Von Nil zum Neckar, p. 43, Fig. 147.

39 These concerns do not change the calculated width of the room, cf. n. 16.
more extended scene encompassing two sub-registers. The interpretation of our relief in this context makes it more comprehensible.40 Again, the Warsaw relief (Fig. 5) belongs to the bottommost part of the decoration. Its position in the left corner of the wall is established by a large horizontal line painted in black and on the left by a perpendicular frame, today discolored. A wide red-colored band below the black line constitutes the traditional ground line for the decoration. The viewer’s attention is focused on the representation of a scribe dressed in a typical short kilt and depicted in a classical-squatting attitude.41 He is sitting in front of a low wooden table or a kind of stool on which scribal utensils are laid out.42 In his right hand, which is shown writing mode, he holds a reed pen; in his left which rests on a pulled-up leg there is a large roll of papyrus. A long scribal palette with two inkwells lies beside the table. Two other accessories for writing are depicted on the table: a container with four rolls of papyrus and a low cylindrical vessel apparently for ink or water.43

Two men approaching the scribe from the right are depicted either placing or pouring products into vessels. Only the lower part of their figures has been preserved. The legs are painted in red, the short kilts in white. The large, red-colored vases are identical, conical in shape, installed in pot-stands.44 Vague remains of painted decoration behind the second man are crucial for understanding the nature of the depiction and its proper context. The vertical red-painted fragment appears to be the side of a bushel or barrel, the rest of which would have been depicted on the next block, today missing (Fig. 6). According to the extant drawings, the next four men stood behind a bushel and four more figures, each one with jar, sat in two superimposed rows at the end of the bottommost register of the composition. Presumably they were depicted waiting for their turn to present their goods in front of a scribe. Of equal importance is the partly preserved decoration of the upper register carved on the same limestone-block. A workman dressed in a kilt is bending over

40 BORCHARDT, Ne-User-Re, Fig. 103 b.
42 Ibid., Figs 44, 42.
43 VANDIER, Manuel IV, Figs 51.87, 82; VI, Pl. XIV.2, see also: L. KLEIBS, Die Reliefs des alten Reiches, Heidelberg 1915, pp. 38–39.
44 VANDIER, Manuel IV, Fig. 47.1.
a barrel to scoop grain from a pile.⁴⁵ Two officials, one with a roll of papyrus under one arm, are standing behind of the piled grain. They are apparently counting the number of grain barrels after the harvest. The caption above the scribes is fragmentarily preserved, but the inscription is easily identified as sš šnwt, ‘scribe of the granary’.⁴⁶ It means that the scribe on the block from the National Museum in Warsaw was recording the final yield of the grain harvest.

Scenes relating to the cultivation and storage of grain are quite common in private tombs of the Old Kingdom. Grain harvesting scenes need not belong to an agricultural sequence of scenes and are frequently depicted by themselves, above or below seemingly unrelated activities. The decoration in the tomb of Sekhemkare at Giza is a fine example of a composition with superimposed scenes of wooden ship-building and a harvest.⁴⁷ This seems to have been the case also with regard to the decoration in Tepemankh’s tomb. Agricultural scenes could be limited to a single abbreviated composition composed in one register. During the excavation L. Borchardt found one more block with decoration related

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⁴⁵ Cf. V ANDIER, Manuel VI, p. 193, Fig. 88.
⁴⁶ For grain harvest scenes with scribal depiction, see also: W.K. SIMPSON, The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-Ankh-Ptah in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1976, p. 15, Pl. IXb.
⁴⁷ H ASSAN, Giza IV, pp. 110–111, Fig. 57.
indirectly to grain harvesting. Scenes composed in three sub-registers showing fabrication of *pSn*-bread and straining of beer\(^{48}\) can be seen on a block now in Munich.\(^{59}\)

The said relief may have belonged to the same north wall of the north chapel, and if so, the conical bread and most probably the beer were part of the products presented in front of the scribe depicted on the relief from the National Museum in Warsaw. Perhaps the size of a loaf of bread was to be checked in a standard container before the scribe.\(^{50}\) Activities, such as baking bread or brewing, would have been classified as field pursuits. Other abbreviated episodes related to the preparation of grain, such as threshing or grinding, could have been included in the iconographic program of the chapel as well. Although the entrance is not preserved, it was probably decorated in the same manner as the doorways leading to the adjacent chapels with depictions of men dragging a sledge with chest and feathers on top,\(^{51}\) apparently one of the episodes of the funerary rites. A scene depicting the dragging of a statue of the deceased certainly had the same character, but the surviving remains are insufficient for even a theoretical reconstruction of its location.\(^{52}\) Consequently, any new ‘rediscovered’ relief, now believed to be lost or missing, could play an important role in fitting together the pieces of the puzzle that is the decoration of the mastaba of Tepemankh.

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\(^{49}\) Borchartd, Ne-User-Re\(^{e}\), Fig. 104a; PM III\(^{e}\).1, 344; Inv. ÅS 1033.

\(^{50}\) For a representation of a scribe writing down the amount of beer and conically-shaped bread cf. Moussa, Altenmüller, Nianchchnum, Pl. 26b.

\(^{51}\) Krauspe, Ägyptisches Museum, p. 28 with photo on the cover.

\(^{52}\) PM III\(^{e}\).1, 343; Borchartd, Ne-User-Re\(^{e}\), p. 122.