

The overseer of linen (*jmj-r sšrw*) in the Old Kingdom

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the figure of the overseer of linen (*jmj-r sšrw*) during the chronological period of the Old Kingdom. By choosing a wide selection of sources, we have undertaken the reconstruction of the main features that defined this title, looking in-depth at the specific roles associated with it and the contexts in which they were exercised. The nature of the sources has meant that we have taken a mainly iconographic approach, which, combined with textual and archaeological analysis, has allowed us to get the most out of the evidence available. Thus, the *jmj-r sšrw* is revealed as an essential character in the Old Kingdom household, overseeing the supply, storage and distribution of linen within the estate. Additionally, the supervision of a product that is key for the well-being of the deceased in the netherworld granted the *jmj-r sšrw* an important role in the funerary cult of their deceased master, who aimed to ensure his eternal supply of linen.

Keywords

Old Kingdom – funerary cult – linen – household

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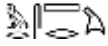


1 Introduction


Although the Old Kingdom estates and household administration have recently received more attention, there are some aspects that are not yet completely understood. It has been difficult to organize some of the titles that once structured and managed those domains into particular fields of activity and to clearly define the functions of their holders. Additionally, most of the holders of these titles seem to have also performed a role in the mortuary cult of their deceased patrons, adding an additional ‘religious’ function to their activities. The title *jmj-r sšrw*, usually translated as “overseer of linen”, is in the group of titles whose scope and range of associated activities is unclear.

In this paper, we examine the range of functions of the *jmj-r sšrw*, their position within the private household structure, and their role in the funerary cult of the deceased patron. Additionally, we examine the social standing of the *jmj-r sšrw* by studying tomb owners who were known to have held this title.


2 The title

In general terms, the title is quite homogeneous in its spelling: . The determinative V35 is the most commonly used version in the Old Kingdom, but the form  V33 also

appears.¹ The determinative can be followed by the stroke (Z1) but this is not common.² The complete spelling of the word *sšrw* appears occasionally, rendering the title as ,³ while in others examples the sign V35 can be replaced with ⁴, although both determinatives can also coexist. This last possibility is particularly common when the title is connected with the king as *jmj-r sšrw nsw*.⁵ In the Abusir papyri the word is usually fully spelled out when referring to the linen as a product,⁶ but it is shortened when mentioning the title itself.⁷ The final “w” is not shown in the title, but it does appear in other writings of the word linen. Gardiner states that this could imply that the full writing of the word is *sšrw*.⁸ This title is commonly confused with that of *jmj-r ḥprw*, since V35 can easily be mistaken for  (Aa20).⁹

The meaning of the word *sšrw* would be that of a generic term for “linen” or “cloth”,¹⁰ but the term seems to imply a good quality one.¹¹ *Sšrw* is also one of the kinds of linen included on the Old Kingdom linen lists,¹² but in those cases the word is written using the arrow sign  (T11), which is hardly ever employed as a component of the writing of the title.¹³ In any case, both writings seem to designate a generic good quality linen, whose specific qualities were sometimes expressed by adding other words such as *nsw*, *tpj* or *p3kt*.¹⁴ However these specifications are not present in the titles composed with *sšrw* since all the different kinds are contained in the generic word.¹⁵ Therefore, the *jmj-r sšrw* would have been in charge of supervising a type of certain high quality.¹⁶

Despite what was stated in the previous paragraph, the title *jmj-r sšrw* is sometimes presented as *jmj-r sšrw nsw*. Although its translation, most commonly read as overseer of royal cloth/linen,¹⁷ might not seem problematic at first, it can be a bit misleading if we consider some nuances. Since *sšrw nsw* is a specific kind of linen,¹⁸ the title could refer to the overseer of the linen of the king, or to the overseer of a specific kind of linen (i.e., *sšrw nsw*). The first option seems to carry more weight since, as stated, the titles do not

¹ Junker, *Giza 9*, 228-229. As Gardiner showed that the sign  (V6), was sometimes confused with V35 and V33. Gardiner, “Two hieroglyphic signs,” 170.

² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi 1*, pl. 16; Ziegler, *Statues*, 87-89.

³ Épron, *Le tombeau de Ti*, pl. 44; Junker, *Giza 2*, fig. 28; Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, pl. 115.

⁴ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi 2*, pl. 4; James, *Khentika*, pl. 13; Paget, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 38.

⁵ CG 1484, Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, 177; Petrie and Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 14

⁶ Posener-Kriéger and De Cernival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pls. 14, 47, 52, 92; Posener-Kriéger, Verner and Vymazalová, *Abusir X*, pls. 13i, 63.

⁷ Posener-Kriéger and De Cernival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 88. Note that the reading of the title is not completely certain.

⁸ Gardiner, “Two hieroglyphic signs,” 174.

⁹ See Jones, *Index*, 78, nums. 339-341.

¹⁰ Gardiner, “Two hieroglyphic signs,” 174-175.

¹¹ Herslund, “Cloths – Garments – and Keeping Secrets,” 72; Scheele, *Stofflisten des Alten Reiches*, 33.

¹² Manuelian, *Slab stelae*; Scheele, *Stofflisten des Alten Reiches*, 68-80; Smith, “The Old Kingdom Linen List,” 134-149.

¹³ Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof*, pl. 21. See below for a commentary of this case.

¹⁴ Scheele, *Stofflisten des Alten Reiches*, 35.

¹⁵ Scheele, *Stofflisten des Alten Reiches*, 36.

¹⁶ For different options of translation of the title see: Jones, *Index*, 234-235, num. 864.

¹⁷ Jones, *Index*, 235-236, num. 866.

¹⁸ Scheele, *Stofflisten des Alten Reiches*, 36-37.

seem to specify the kind of garment they are overseeing, for example, a title *jmj-r jdmj* does not exist.¹⁹ Additionally, *jmj-r sšrw nsw* is attested only as the title of some tomb owners, and it is not present in iconography as the designation of an offering bearer. Though there are not many examples of its use, the title was sometimes held by people of high status. The vizier Senedjemib Mehi himself used the title.²⁰ Djefau held, among other titles, that of *jmj-r pr-ḥd* which also gave him an important position in the administration.²¹ The same is true for Kaiemked, who was also an *jmj-r pr-ḥd*, as well as being a priest of Re in the sun temple of Neferirkare.²² Finally, Nenkhefetkai had several titles linked to the sun temple and mortuary temple of Userkaf.²³ Another possible holder of the title is Seshemnefer Ifi, but the reading given by Barsanti is probably wrong, and the title should be read as *jmj-r jšwf/šbw-r3 nzw*, as suggested by Jones.²⁴ All the holders of this variant of the title are members of the elite and are attached to administrative titles as well as religious ones that were connected with the solar cult and mortuary cult of the king. The title was probably related to the administration of the royal linen in the Residence and to the mortuary cult of the deceased king. The functions of its holder would have been connected with those of similar titles such as *jmj-r sšrw n pr-š3* (overseer of the linen of the palace)²⁵, the *jrj sšrw pr-š3* (keeper of the linen of the Great House) and *jrj sšrw pr nsw* (keeper of the linen of the royal domain)²⁶, and perhaps assisted by the *zšw sšrw n nsw* (scribes of the royal linen).²⁷

There are also various titles from outside the royal domain whose functions were probably related to those of *jmj-r sšrw*, and the differences between them are not clear. I am referring to titles such as *jrj sšrw*, *ḥrj-tp sšrw* and *zš sšrw*.²⁸ All four represent different administrative or management positions, but the relationships between them are difficult to define. It does not seem that the holders of these titles worked together in the same institution pertaining to the same hierarchical structure, as was the case for the *ka*-service where the *jmj-r ḥmw-k3* had the *šḥd ḥmw-k3* and the *jmj-ḥt ḥmw-k3* as subordinates, for example.²⁹ We cannot identify such connections between the *jmj-r*, *jrj* and *ḥrj-tp sšrw* as they do not appear together in iconography or listed in order in texts, so they are probably similar titles operating in different branches of the administration or linked with the structures of the households of the elite, but without a hierarchical interdependence.³⁰

¹⁹ For *jdmj*, see Scheele, *Stofflisten des Alten Reiches*, 13-16.

²⁰ Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, 158.

²¹ Petrie and Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 14; Strudwick, *Administration*, 166, num. 167.

²² LD 2, 100c

²³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, 304-307; Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, 177, 1484.

²⁴ Barsanti and Maspero, "Fouilles autour de la pyramide d'Ounas," 150-160; Jones, *Index*, 235-236, num. 866.

²⁵ Jones, *Index*, 236-237, num. 869

²⁶ Jones, *Index*, 336, nums. 1239, 1240

²⁷ Jones, *Index*, 873, num. 3197.

²⁸ Jones, *Index*, 336, num. 1238; 649, num. 2377; 873, nums. 3196-3199.

²⁹ Sánchez Casado, *El servidor del ka*, 12.

³⁰ We should note that together with *sšrw*, there are other words also related to linen production and distribution that have several associated titles. Just to quote some examples of this very complex reality, see: *ḥbs* (Jones, *Index*, 311, num. 1139), *mnḥt* (*idem*, 316, num. 1162), *szf* (*idem*, 336, num. 1237), *d3t* (*idem*, 659, nums. 2378, 2379). Also consider the wide range of titles connected with the weaving house (*pr inšt*): Jones, *Index*, 114, num. 464; 115, nums. 465, 466; 129, nums. 511, 512; 286, num. 1038.

3 The *jmj-r sšrw* in iconography

Iconographically, the *jmj-r sšrw* does not have any specific features that help us to unequivocally recognize him. There are some cases where offering bearers are carrying bags that are similar to the one depicted in the determinative of the title (sign V35). But this feature is not completely exclusive to the *jmj-r sšrw*, since this bag is more often connected with people that do not hold the title, even in cases where there is a person described as *jmj-r sšrw*.³¹ A paradigmatic example of this situation can be seen in the tomb of Ti, where, in a row of men, an individual described as *jmj-r sšrw* is holding a box and a stave followed by another person that is carrying the bag, but who is described as *smsw*.³² (fig. 1) Another example of this can be seen in the tomb of Nyankhpepi Khenykem in Meir, on the north wall of room A, where the deceased is followed by four registers of men. In the uppermost register, there is a dwarf described as the *jmj-r sšrw Hwi*, while on the register below a man is carrying the bag and a pair of sandals, but he does not hold the title.³³ In the tomb of Pepiankh Khenykem, also in Meir, we can find a similar situation, in front of a depiction of the deceased there are four registers of men, on the two upper levels there are two *jmjw-r sšrw*, one holding birds, the other, a vase. In the same scene, a man holding the bag, who is not described with a title, is located behind the deceased.³⁴

The bag is sometimes carried in the hand, and in this case, it is smaller. There is an example of this in the tomb of Seshathotep, where an *jmj-r sšrw* is carrying the bag in his left hand while holding a *hz* vase in his right. Nevertheless, on the same wall, there are two more people holding this kind of bag and they are not described with the title.³⁵ (fig. 2). With these examples, it is clear that, although the determinative of the title is clearly connected with the bags carried by some offering bearers, it is not a feature that can be used to detect the presence of the *jmj-r sšrw* in a scene. There are a couple of examples where the *jmj-r sšrw* is depicted wearing a scarf, but as with the bag, this is not a feature that is exclusive to this title.³⁶ In consequence, the only sure way of identifying the title is a label.

The scenes where the *jmj-r sšrw* is depicted are quite varied, and they are only connected with activities directly related to linen in very few cases. A unique example comes from the tomb of Ptahhotep I (LS 31), where a scene related to linen production can be found. Junker considered this scene to be the payment or reward to the weavers for their work, consisting of figs, bread and grain.³⁷ (fig. 3) A *zš jmj(-r) sšrw*, followed by another three *jmjw-r sšrw*, seems to be supervising the whole process. In front of the scribe, a man without a title is holding a strip of linen that is being offered by another man described as *jmj-r jn^cw* (overseer of the weavers). The text describes the scene as *m nfr m33 hbš s3* “beautiful looking cut of cloth”. In the rest of the scene, women and men are carrying

³¹ Examples of offerings bearers carrying the bag and described as *jmj-r sšrw* can be seen at the tomb of Seankhuptah in Saqqara and Kaikhenet in El-Hammamiya. Abd el-Raziq and Kanawati, *Teti cemetery 3*, pl. 76; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Hammamiya*, pl. 57.

³² Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, fig. 115.

³³ Blackman, *Meir 5*, pl. 12.

³⁴ Blackman, *Meir 5*, pl. 27.

³⁵ Junker, *Giza 2*, fig. 28.

³⁶ Blackman, *Meir 5*, pls. 16, 30.

³⁷ Junker, *Giza 5*, 50-51.

rolls and bolts of cloth, and among these figures, there are an *jmj-r pr jn^ct* (overseer of the house of weavers), a *hrp pr jn^ct* (director of the house of weavers) and a *zš n pr in^ct* (scribe of the house of weavers).³⁸ The role performed by the *jmjw-r sšrw* seems to be connected with the quality control of the final product and with the payment to the weavers. Their duties were probably connected with the distribution and storage of the cloth once it was finished, but the process of production itself would have been the responsibility of the *jmj-r in^cw* and the workers of the *pr-in^cw*.

Another scene where the *jmj-r sšrw* appears performing tasks directly connected with linen can be found in the tomb of Pepiankh Kheny-kem at Meir. On the south wall of room A, there is a scene of linen production, where various men are preparing linen cloth, the final product is being carried by two *jmjw-r sšrw* and one *htmty*, and it is being presented to the scribes who are registering the presented linen.³⁹ (fig. 4) In the same tomb, on the west wall of room B, the deceased is inspecting the cloth (*mnht*) that is being carried for him, and, curiously enough, the man offering a box of cloth to the deceased is not an *jmj-r sšrw*, he is described as “the scribe of the royal documents, the overseer of the scribes of the land, beloved of his master, who does what he praises every day, the steward who has the confidence of his master, Itiai”. Behind this figure, cloth boxes are being carried by men without titles. In the two uppermost registers, the bearers are carrying sacred vases and furniture, although the text that describes the scenes still mentions the cloth as the offering being presented. Two of the men are described as *jmj-r sšrw*. They are carrying *hz* vases and nothing distinguishes them from the rest of their colleagues.⁴⁰ It is interesting that the title is present, but not in the scenes more obviously related to the offering of cloth. It seems clear that the connection between the duties of the title and the offering being presented was not a primary matter for ancient Egyptians in the design of these scenes. Examples where the offering bearer is described as *jmj-r sšrw* and is actually carrying cloth can be seen in the tombs of Nesunefer and Seshemnefer IV.⁴¹

In connection with linen but in relation to the personal care of the deceased two interesting scenes can be quoted. The first one belongs to the tomb of Ptah-hotep II and its general context is that of a banquet with several assistants and musicians.⁴² The deceased appears in a seated position while several attendants seem to be taking care of his personal hygiene. One man, described as *jmj-r [sšrw?]*, touches his head, while behind him another *jmj-r sšrw* offers two linen strips. In the lower part of the scene, an *jmj-r sšrw* kneeling opposite the deceased seems to be taking care of the feet of his master (pedicure?). Behind the deceased, a fourth *jmj-r sšrw* offers a box. The second scene is from the tomb of Nyankhpepi Kheny-Kem at Meir.⁴³ The deceased is seated, while an *jmj-r sšrw*, who holds a linen band, pours water on his master’s head from a jug. In this case, the general context of the scene is the offering service and funerary meal for the deceased. Both

³⁸ LD 2, 103a.

³⁹ Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 15.

⁴⁰ Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 26.

⁴¹ Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 28; Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 65. Curiously enough the title is not commonly mentioned in the so called “linen bearers processions”, on this topic see: Soleiman and Atef, “The linen-bearers procession”, 251-257.

⁴² Paget, *Ptah-Hetep*, t. 35.

⁴³ Kanawati, *et al.*, *Meir* 3, pl. 67

scenes show the role of the overseer of linen as a personal assistant of their master, who would have taken care of his personal hygiene and clothing in life, a function which would still be valid after his death.

Another scene in which the *jmj-r sšrw* appears in relation to activities that can be easily connected with their duties can be found in the tomb of the vizier Mereruka. A bed is being prepared in this scene and, there are seven men under it who are described as *jmj-r sšrw*.⁴⁴ The *jmjw-r sšrw* were most probably connected with the provision and distribution of cloth to the household of their lord, including bed linen. This task would have transcended the master's death, as the holder of this title also had the important role of providing their deceased lord with cloth. This role of an actor in the funerary cult is where we most often find the *jmj-r sšrw* depicted.

We can most frequently find the *jmj-r sšrw* in the processions of offering bearers, where they are depicted carrying different kind of products, and there is no difference between them and the rest of men. In this role the *jmj-r sšrw* appears to be sharing a function with a wide variety of title holders, some of them belonging to the funerary sphere, such as *hm-k3*, which were both titles that were quite frequently held by the same person.⁴⁵ The presence of the *jmj-r sšrw* as an offering bearer, can be connected with two ideas. Firstly, they are the overseers of a product that is key for the well-being of the deceased in the netherworld, in the sense that the depiction of people who held this title would ensure the eternal supply of this product. Secondly, the funerary cult was a duty that belonged to the household of the deceased, the *jmj-r sšrw* is also depicted as part of this structure as a person who was trusted by his lord.

As actors in the funerary cult, they can also appear presenting offerings like the bovid leg⁴⁶ or geese.⁴⁷ The funerary role is even clearer when the *jmj-r sšrw* appears performing important cultic activities, like censuring or libating. This can be seen in the tomb of Djau in Deir el-Gebrawi, where an *jmj-r sšrw* appears censuring in front of the deceased, followed by a *hrp-zh* who is bringing the bovid leg.⁴⁸ Similarly in the tomb of Idut, a *jmj-r sšrw* is depicted censuring in front of the offering table, followed by an unnamed offering bearer. In the upper register, another *jmj-r sšrw* is slaughtering a goose, while an unidentified offering bearer is bringing the bovid leg.⁴⁹ The *jmj-r sšrw* burning incense is quite common in the scenes from the Qubbet el-Hawa necropolis, and a good example of this is from the tomb of Sabni (QH 26). In this tomb, the *jmj-r sšrw* is holding the censer in front of the figure of his master, and this figure is described as “the overseer of linen who has a place in his lord's heart, Hui”.⁵⁰ The *jmj-r sšrw* performing libations is not so common, but he is depicted in a scene from the tomb of Kherdeni, where an *jmj-r sšrw* named Imai appears libating from a *hz* vase, kneeling in front of the offering table of the deceased.⁵¹ There are also some examples that are not actual libation scenes but the *jmj-*

⁴⁴ Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 93.

⁴⁵ See table 1.

⁴⁶ Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 12; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 29.

⁴⁷ Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 57; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 17; Manuelian, *Mastabas of Nucleus Cemetery G 2100*, fig. 13.55; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 29.

⁴⁸ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 4

⁴⁹ Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 17

⁵⁰ Edel, *et al.*, *Qubbet el-Hawa*, pl. 12. See table 1 for more examples.

⁵¹ Jequier, *Particuliers*, pl. 15.

r sšrw quite often appears in them holding vases, a good example of this is the previously mentioned scene from the tomb of Pepiankh at Meir.⁵²

Another kind of scene where the *jmj-r sšrw* is depicted is the bovid slaughter, but this is not common. From the more than 150 examples of this kind of scene recorded by Salima Ikram for the Old Kingdom,⁵³ there are only three cases in which we have identified *jmj-r sšrw*. One of the scenes is from the tomb of Ptahshepses II, where the *jmj-r sšrw* is carrying the bovid leg to present it to his lord.⁵⁴ The second one is from the tomb called “H”, where the action is the same, the *jmj-r sšrw* is also described as *hm-k3*.⁵⁵ The third case is from the tomb of Ptah-hotep II, where the *jmj-r sšw* is also carrying the bovid leg.⁵⁶

Together with the scenes where the funerary aspect is clear, there are others where, while the funerary component is present, the household aspect takes precedence. In other words, the carrying chair scenes, the marsh activities and those cases where the *jmj-r sšrw* just appears as a companion or an attendant of his master without performing any special tasks.

There are five examples of the first group, the carrying chair scene⁵⁷. The most noteworthy of these is from Meir. In this example, Pepiankh is being carried in his chair, and the *jmj-r sšrw* appears just in front of him, in a very important position, since he is inside the pavilion of the chair. He is holding a stick and wearing a scarf, the text describes him as “overseer of linen, the beloved of his lord, the one who does what his lord praises, Sankhi”. Behind the chair comes a second *jmj-r sšrw* named Senedjemib, who is also holding a stick but is not as close to the tomb owner as his colleague.⁵⁸ (fig. 5) In the example of the tomb of Mereruka, the chair is empty. Two *jmj-r sšrw* appear just behind the chair, and, curiously enough, they are the only attendants who are identified with their names and titles.⁵⁹ A similar situation is shown in the third case, from the tomb of Hesi in Saqqara, where three members of the retinue are described as *jmjw-r sšrw*.⁶⁰ The fourth case is from a block from the tomb of Sabu, preserved at Cairo Museum, on which an *jmj-r sšrw* appears just in the middle of the scene, under the chair, between the bearers, but he is not carrying the chair, and this distinguishes him from the rest of the attendants in the scene. The last example is from the chapel of Seshemnefer Tjeti, where the *jmj-r sšrw* is a dwarf that appears under the chair walking a monkey and a dog on a leash.⁶¹ The presence of the *jmj-r sšrw* in this kind of scene must be seen from two different but interrelated points of view. First, we can understand the scene to be a depiction of the deceased and his attendant in his daily life. It is reasonable to think that the *jmj-r sšrw*

⁵² Blackman *Meir* 5, pl. 26. Other examples: Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 27; Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 28; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 27; Manuelian, *Mastabas of Nucleus Cemetery G 2100*, fig. 13.55

⁵³ See: Ikram, *Choice cuts*, 297-303, table 1.

⁵⁴ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 29.

⁵⁵ Hassan, *Giza* 3, fig. 144.

⁵⁶ Paget, *Ptah-Hetep*, t. 34.

⁵⁷ For the carrying chair scene see Roth, “The practical economics of tomb-building in the Old Kingdom,” 227-240; Roth, “Multiple meanings in carrying chair scenes,” 243-253; Vasiljević, “Dogs, dwarfs and carrying chairs,” 117-132; Verma, *Cultural expression*, 78-121.

⁵⁸ Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 31.

⁵⁹ Duel, *Mereruka*, pl. 14.

⁶⁰ Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 55.

⁶¹ Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 100.

would have played an important role in the journeys of his master, providing him with clean clothes. Nevertheless, this role could also have been kept for the netherworld, where the linen would have been equally necessary. As indicated by Ann Roth, the palanquin scene has an important symbolic meaning, which, apart from its nature as a symbol of prestige and ostentation, carries important funerary significance as a metaphor for the funeral procession. Additionally, this kind of scene can be connected with the idea of the deceased supervising his domain and showing himself as a good administrator who can make his land flourish and who can maintain the order of Maat.⁶² In this task he would have been supported by his household staff, with the *jmj-r sšrw* in an important role.

A similar idea to the previous concept is present in the activities in the marshes. In this kind of scene, the deceased appears as a central element on a boat, usually accompanied by members of his family. Behind him, there are often several sub-registers that show other dependants, members of the household who escort him carrying instruments or products associated with the activities in the marshes, or simply walking without performing any specific actions. The titles assigned to these individuals are varied, and the presence of *jmj-r sšrw* is not common in this kind of scene.⁶³ Therefore, it must be considered that the action represented here must be understood as one that was performed by different members of the deceased's entourage, among whom the overseer of the linen would have been present. Maybe, considering that it was an activity that took place on water, textiles would have been necessary, as towels or for changing clothes, meaning that the presence of the *jmj-r sšrw* would have been important. We have several examples of this type of scene: in a relief preserved in Luzern, an *jmj-r sšrw* appears on a boat holding birds.⁶⁴ In the tomb of Pepiankh in Meir, a *jmj-r sšrw* holding birds appears in the sub-register that follows the deceased.⁶⁵ In comparison with this two examples where they are taking part in the hunting activity, in the other examples, they appear as assistants. For example, in the tomb of Seankhuptah, they just follow the deceased, with the exception of one of them that is carrying a bag and the deceased's sandals, which connects the scene with the idea of keeping the clothes of the deceased.⁶⁶ In the case of Idut, the *jmjw-r sšrw* are carrying boxes, maybe containing cloths.⁶⁷ A similar box is being carried by a dwarf identified as *jmj-r sšrw hm-k3* in the tomb of Mereri.⁶⁸ The last example comes from Qubbet el-Hawa, and in this case, the *jmj-r sšrw* is censing in front of his master. Obviously, this would not have been an activity that could have been done in the marshes, on the contrary, it is connected with the idea that any image of the deceased could be an object of worship.⁶⁹

The condition of the overseers of linen as members of the household of the deceased is also reflected in the scenes in which they appear following their master without performing any clear actions, except from assisting and accompanying the deceased. In these cases, they adopt a dignified posture with one or both arms crossed over their chest

⁶² Moreno García, "La gestion sociale de la mémoire," 220-221.

⁶³ Compare the evidence presented in our Table I with the ones given by Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 355-363.

⁶⁴ Schlög, *Geschenk des Nils*, 38-39.

⁶⁵ Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 28.

⁶⁶ Abd el-Raziq and Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pl. 76

⁶⁷ Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 7.

⁶⁸ Davies, *et al.*, *Saqqara Tombs I*, pl. 5.

⁶⁹ Edel, *et al.*, *Qubbet el-Hawa*, pl. 56.

or with both arms relaxed. They usually come behind a large-scale image of the deceased without carrying any offerings or performing any ritual acts. They only appear as one of the members of the procession, a position that is shared with holders of other titles and family members of the master. We can use the case of Pepiankh as an example. He is depicted supervising his fields, and he is followed in four sub registers by his attendants, who include one of his sons, two lector priests, an overseer of livestock and an overseer of linen.⁷⁰ A similar case can be found in the tomb of Kagemni. In this case, there are two overseers of the linen, who accompany their master and various scribes and seal bearers.⁷¹

Despite their connection with the household, there are very few examples with a filial link between the deceased and the *jmj-r sšrw*, only two cases are known. The first of these is one of the sons of Tjetu II, who appears as an offering bearer on the sides of the false door belonging to his father, and the text describes him as *z3.f n ht.f jmj-r sšrw*, “his son of his body, the overseer of the linen”. The name is only partially preserved, and it could be Herunefer.⁷² The second is one of the sons of Nymezi, who appears on the false door of his father three times, he holds the title of *jmj-r sšrw* on two of these occasions and is presented as *z3.f smsw*.⁷³ This example is particularly interesting since Nymezi also holds the title of *jmj-r sšrw*, among others, so it is reasonable to think that his son inherited the position from his father.

As well as the group of scenes that we have already mentioned, there are some others that are less common. A good example of these, comes from El-Hammamiya, where an *jmj-r sšrw* with a dog appears facing a procession of offering bearers. He is described as *jm^chw hr nb.f nrj nb.f K3.j-m-htz*, “the overseer of linen, the honoured before his lord, beloved of his lord, Kaiemhezet”.⁷⁴ The scene is quite rare, but it could be explained as being a depiction of a dependant who was especially appreciated by his master, and who would have received a specific place in the decoration of his master’s tomb. There are two other depictions of a dependant named Kaiemhezet in this tomb, but since the titles are different in each case, it is difficult to know if it is the same individual or different officials.⁷⁵

Another case that deserves a mention is the well-known scene of the manicure and pedicure from the tomb of Khentika, which an *jmj-r sšrw* takes part in, unfortunately the scene is broken and we cannot be sure of the exact activities they are performing.⁷⁶ This kind of scene is not common, but examples of it have also been found in the tombs of Amkhmahor and Nianakhkhnun and Khnumhotep, but the *jmj-r sšrw* is not present in those cases.⁷⁷ In these instances, various people are represented performing the depilation of different parts of the body, as well as the manicure of hands and feet. Said actions can be interpreted simply as a sign of the personal hygiene of the ancient Egyptians, but, from a ritual or symbolic point of view and in connection with the space in which they are

⁷⁰ Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30.

⁷¹ Bissing, *Gemnikai* 2, t. 5. For more examples see our table 1.

⁷² Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, f. 42.

⁷³ Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, f. 43.

⁷⁴ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Hammamiya*, pl. 47

⁷⁵ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Hammamiya*, 29.

⁷⁶ James, *Khentika*, pl. 11.

⁷⁷ Kanawati and Hassan, *The Tomb of Ankhmahor*, pl. 55; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnun und Chnumhotep*, 10.

found, they could also be examples of the procedures that were necessary to guarantee the ritual purity of the officiants.⁷⁸

A final example of these special scenes comes from the cemetery of Unas, from the tomb of Nebet. In a stockbreeding scene, a person designated as *jmj-r sšrw* is contemplating the milking of a cow.⁷⁹ The presence of the *jmj-r sšrw* is difficult to understand here, and the title is not written with the bag determinative, but with the arrow. This could lead us to think that we are not dealing with the overseer of linen here, but with an overseer of milking?, so here the word *sšrw* should not be translated as “linen”, but as “milking”.⁸⁰ A similar title is recorded by Jones as *jrj ht sšrw*, and translated as meaning one who is concerned with the veterinarians/ physicians/ beverages,⁸¹ which is similar to what is suggested here.

4 Female *jmj-r sšrw*

The title *jmj-r sšrw* was held also by women, but there are a very limited number of examples. The first case comes from a false door of unknown provenance kept at Cairo Museum belonging to a certain Iunka. His wife is presented as the *jmjt-r šsrw, hmt-k3 H...*⁸² A second example is that of a woman identified as *hmt-k3 jmjt-r sšrw* who appears behind the chair of the deceased in the tomb of Idut, she is just standing with one arm crossed over her chest.⁸³ A third example is located in the tomb of Watethathor, wife of Mereruka. In room B5 there is an interesting carrying chair scene, where the deceased is accompanied by her son Meryteti. The chair is carried by for women that held no titles. Two other women are depicted behind the chair, the first one is an *jmjt-r pr*, while the second, who is holding a fan, is an *jmjt-r sšrw*.⁸⁴

From this very limited number of examples, we can understand that the role of the female overseers of linen were similar to their male counterparts, but they were present in the attendance of important women such as Idut of Watethathor. Being in charge of the administration of the cloth would have meant that these women were trusted by their ladies and important individuals in the household. As with male holders of the title, this proximity to their master would have been the reason for their inclusion in the iconographic programme of the tomb.

5 The *jmj-r sšrw* as a tomb owner.

The title *jmj-r sšrw* sometimes appears as one of those held by a tomb owner himself (see table 2). These cases are particularly important since they allow us to envisage the social status of these tomb owners and the budget they may have had available to build and decorate their tombs. The more interesting cases would have been those where the title

⁷⁸ On this topic see: Grunert, “Nicht nur sauber”, 137-151.

⁷⁹ Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof*, pl. 21.

⁸⁰ Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, 1240.

⁸¹ Jones, *Index*, 333, num. 1229.

⁸² Borhardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I*, 205-206, num. 1501.

⁸³ Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 17

⁸⁴ Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka 2*, pl. 69.

is the only one held by the deceased, since this is the only way in which we are able to discern if the position of overseer of linen would have been enough, by itself, to guarantee the necessary financial means to pay for the construction of a tomb. There are not many examples where this is the case, and those that do exist come from fragmentary sources with an unsure context of provenance.

One example is a false door belonging to an *jmj-r sšrw* named Sedej, which was found by Jequier in the entourage of the pyramid of Pepi II. It is a small, roughly carved monument which would have belonged to a low-level official.⁸⁵ In the necropolis of Pepi II, there is also a small offering table, that depicts the tomb owner with a short offering list and a roughly carved offering formula.⁸⁶ Another example is a block of unknown provenance keep at Berlin, which shows the deceased in front of his offering table and a list of offerings.⁸⁷ The last example is a seated statue of unknown provenance, probably dated to Dynasty 4, now preserved at the Louvre Museum.⁸⁸ With so few examples available, it is difficult to arrive at definitive conclusions, but it seems that the title of overseer of linen, by itself, would not have been enough to afford the construction and decoration of a tomb, and only some of them would have been able to afford some pieces of funerary equipment such as small false doors, statues or offering tables.

The situation is very similar when we focus on cases where the tomb owner held the title of overseer of linen and other positions that can be considered as being of a similar rank. The most common of these titles is that of *ka*-servant. Examples of this are Ankhtef, Tereru and Rawer, who have small tombs with little decoration that is concentrated in the most important spaces, such as the false door and the entrance⁸⁹ Two other cases of owners who were *jmj-r sšrw hm-k3* are the *stèle maison* belonging to Hebai, and the statue of Khnum-Hotep.⁹⁰ Niankhnefertem, who was a scribe of the *phyle*, and Sab, who was a *hm-ntr* priest are two other examples, even though they were not *ka*-servants. Both of them seem to have had small monuments from which only some pieces remain.⁹¹

Another example is where the tomb owner had a long list of titles, some of them of a very high rank, such as the case of Khentika, a vizier who held the title *jmj-r sšrw*.⁹² It is also true for Nyankhnefertem who also held a long list of titles.⁹³ In these cases, the tombs are large and well decorated, but this cannot be linked in any way with their position as a *jmjw-r sšrw*, since the exercise of much more prestigious and profitable offices would have been behind the construction of such monuments.

In general terms, we should realize that the exercise of the office of *jmj-r sšrw* on its own was probably not enough for individual to be able to afford the construction of a decorated tomb. Only in some sporadic cases did some overseers of linen manage to have small monuments with some decoration concentrated in the most significative spaces, such as the false doors. This leads us to believe that they were most commonly members of the

⁸⁵ Jequier, *Pepi II* 3, 37, fig. 22.

⁸⁶ Jequier, *Particuliers*, 54, fig. 60.

⁸⁷ *ÄIB* 8436.

⁸⁸ Ziegler, *Statues*, 87-89.

⁸⁹ Hassan, *Giza* 5, 225-235; Hassan, *Giza* 3, 23-25; Hassan, *Giza* 1, 66-68.

⁹⁰ Jequier, *Particuliers*, 113, f. 128; Borchardt, *Statuen* 1, 105-106, pl. 107.

⁹¹ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 12, t. 3a; Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* 2, p. 153, t. 92.

⁹² James, *Khentika*.

⁹³ Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiwicz, *Nyankhnefertem*.

low levels of the elite, and they were probably attached to the service of the estates of high dignitaries.

6 Conclusions

As a conclusion, we should notice that the depictions of the *jmj-r sšrw* in the tombs relate to two main ideas. Firstly, they connect with their role as overseers of a product that is key for the well-being of the deceased in the netherworld, in the sense by depicting people who hold this title, the eternal supply of this product is ensured. In this position, the *jmj-r sšrw* mainly refers to an offering bearer, but one that also takes part in cultic activities such as censuring. Secondly, the funerary cult is a duty that is performed by the household of the deceased, and the *jmj-r sšrw* is also depicted as part of this structure as a trusted person who had served his lord in life and would continue to do so in the nether world. The patron-client relationship would have transcended death, the depiction of dependants as part of the iconographic programme of the tomb would ensure that the owner continued enjoying their services while, in exchange, his subordinates would be given a way to ensure their own well-being in the netherworld by enjoying the benefits of being a funerary cult performer in the tomb.

For most of the overseers of linen, the only way of being eternally remembered would have been having their name and titles inscribed on the walls of the funerary monument of the patron they served, either as part of the original decoration or as a later graffiti or dipinti. The evidence available seems to show that the position of overseer of linen by itself was not enough for an individual to be able to afford the construction of a decorated tomb, and in the examples where the *jmj-r sšrw* is a tomb owner, the monuments are small and low quality, with decoration only in the most relevant areas. However, this situation changes when speaking about tomb owners that had the title of *jmj-r sšrw* together with other ones. In this situation we can find more richly decorated monuments, but we cannot be sure about to what extent their position as overseers of linen contributed to the financing of these structures.

A final consideration should be made about the chronological scope of the title. Our evidence belongs to the 5 and 6 Dynasties, but this does not allow us to go into greater detail, since the appearance of the title in the sources from this specific period can be more closely connected with the major growth of the decoration of private tombs than with the actual development and evolution of the title. If we look at the tomb owners that hold this title in their titularies, the dates also indicate the Dynasties 5 and 6, but once again we must be cautious. Considering the importance of the linen list in the first part of the Old Kingdom, it is reasonable to believe that the title was already in use prior to the Dynasty 5, but the evidence is clear with the expansion of decorated tombs. The title does not disappear with the Old Kingdom, and it was still in use in the Middle Kingdom, although there is little evidence for this.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Ward, *Index*, 46, num. 360, 360a.

Table 1. The *jmj-r sšrw* in the iconographic record⁹⁵

Origin	Di n.	Kind of scene	Titles	Name	References
Unknown	5-6	Marsh activities	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Mḥw</i>	Schlögl, <i>Geschenk des Nils</i> , 38-39, num. 122
Giza, G 4970, Nesutnefer, chapel, east wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Mr-ky</i>	Junker, <i>Giza 3</i> , fig. 28
Giza, G 2155, Kaninisut I, west wall, south false door, south jamb	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Pr-ndw</i>	Manuelian, <i>Mastabas of Nucleus Cemetery G 2100</i> , fig. 13.55. mVienna 8006
Giza, G 2155, Kaninisut I, west wall, between the two false doors	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Sšmw</i>	Manuelian, <i>Mastabas of Nucleus Cemetery G 2100</i> , fig. 13.55. mVienna 8006
Giza, G 5150, Seshathotep, chapel, west wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Rhj</i>	Junker, <i>Giza 2</i> , fig. 28
Giza, G 2343-G 5511, Tjetu II, sides of the false door	5	Son of the deceased	<i>z3.f nt ḥt.f jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Ḥrw-nfr?</i>	Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , fig. 42
Giza, G 2343-G 5511, Tjetu II, sides of the false door	5	Censing?	<i>...mrj.f jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , fig. 42
Giza, tomb H, entrance door jamb	5	Bovid slaughter	<i>jmj-r sšrw ḥm-k3</i>	<i>Spd</i>	Hassan, <i>Giza 3</i> , fig. 144
Giza, G 2366, Nimezti, false door	6	Son of the deceased	<i>z3.f smsw jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Nfr-ḥnt</i>	Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , fig. 43

⁹⁵ The table only includes those cases where the title is explicitly mentioned. Those cases where there are other individuals with the same name who carry different titles are not considered, as it is often impossible to determine if they are the same or other homonym people.

Giza, LG 53, Seshemnefer IV, portico, west wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 11, fig. 62
Giza, LG 53, Seshemnefer IV, first room, west wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>3ḥt-nsw</i>	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 11, fig. 65
Giza, LG 53, Seshemnefer IV, first room, west wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Imi</i>	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 11, fig. 65
Giza, LG 53, Seshemnefer IV, first room, west wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Zššn</i>	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 11, fig. 65
Giza, LG 53, Seshemnefer IV, first room, west wall	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 11, fig. 65
Giza, LG 53, Seshemnefer IV, first room, west wall	6	Offering bearer ?	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Imi</i>	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 11, fig. 85
Giza, T103, Seshemnefer Tjeti, chapel, loose block	6	Carrying chair	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Nfr-dnt</i>	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 11, fig. 100
Abusir, mastaba T 7, Ptahshepses, room 3, east wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>ḥm-k3</i> <i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Sḥnh</i>	Verner, <i>Ptahshepses</i> , pl. 1
Abusir, mastaba T 7, Ptahshepses, room 4, north wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>P3n</i>	Verner, <i>Ptahshepses</i> , pl. 34
Loose blocks, probably from Abusir or Saqqara	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>3bdw</i>	mHannover 1957.78, Drenkhahn, <i>Reliefs</i> <i>mKestner</i> , 46-49
Loose blocks probably from Abusir or Saqqara	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>3bdw</i>	mHannover 1954.40, Drenkhahn, <i>Reliefs</i> <i>mKestner</i> , 46-49
Saqqara, LS 31, Ptah- hotep, pillared hall I	5	Scribal activities	<i>zš jmj-</i> <i>(r)</i> <i>sšrw,</i> <i>z3b, zš</i>	<i>Jhj dsr</i>	LD 2, 103a
Saqqara, LS 31, Ptah- hotep, pillared hall I	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Zzj</i>	LD 2, 103a

Saqqara, LS 31, Ptah-hotep, pillared hall I	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Z3-jr-^c</i>	LD 2, 103a
Saqqara, LS 31, Ptah-hotep, pillared hall I	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>3nh-m3^c</i>	LD 2, 103a
Saqqara, D 64, Akhet-hotep, corridor, east wall	5	Standing male	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>K3-m- tnn</i>	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhhetep</i> 2, pl. 10.
Saqqara, D 64, Akhet-hotep, corridor, west wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>hm-k3</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhhetep</i> 2, pl. 5.
Saqqara, D 64, Akhet-hotep, corridor, west wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-ht</i> <i>hmw-k3</i> <i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhhetep</i> 2, pl. 5.
Saqqara, D 64, Akhet-hotep, corridor, west wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>3ht-hm</i>	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhhetep</i> 2, pl. 5.
Saqqara, D 64, Akhet-hotep, north bay, west wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>hm-k3</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhhetep</i> 2, pl. 19.
Saqqara, D 64, Akhet-hotep, south bay, south wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>hm-k3</i>	broken	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhhetep</i> 2, pl. 23.
Saqqara, D 64, Akhet-hotep, chapel, north wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>hm-k3</i> <i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>3ht-hm</i>	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhhetep</i> 2, pl. 24, 25
Saqqara, D 64, Akhet-hotep, chapel, north wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>hm-k3</i>	<i>J3w</i>	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhhetep</i> 2, pl. 24, 26
Saqqara, D 64, Akhet-hotep, chapel, south wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>hm-k3</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhhetep</i> 2, pl. 32
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, south wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>hm-k3</i>	<i>J3w</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 32
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, south wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Jhj</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 32

Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, south wall	5	Bovid slaughter	<i>jmj-r sšrw jrr [ħz]t nb.f</i>	<i>K3-m-rħw</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 34
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, east wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>3ħt-ħm</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 35
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, east wall	5	Attendant	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>3ħt-m</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 35
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, east wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Mrrī</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 35
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, east wall	5	Attendant	<i>jmj-r [sšrw?]</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 35
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, east wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw ħm-k3</i>	<i>J3w</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 35
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, north wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Whmw</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 36
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, north wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw ħm-k3</i>	<i>K3-m-rħw</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 36
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, sides of the entrance to the chapel	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw ħm-k3</i>	<i>3ħt-ħm</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 37
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, sides of the entrance to the chapel	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw ħm-k3</i>	<i>Mrrj</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 37
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, sides of the entrance to the chapel	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw ħm-k3</i>	<i>Jhj</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 37
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, sides of the entrance to the chapel	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>...w</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 37

Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, sides of the entrance to the chapel	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw ḥm-k3</i>	none	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 37
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, north wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw smsw</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 38
Saqqara, D 64, Ptah-hotep II, chapel, north wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>shd pr-³ jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Jzzj-mr-ntr</i>	Paget, <i>Ptah-Hetep</i> , t. 38
Saqqara, 37-38, Ptahshepses, chapel, north wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Nj-sw-Pth</i>	Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> 1, pl. 29
Saqqara, 37-38, Ptahshepses, chapel, north wall	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> 1, pl. 29
Saqqara, D 22, Ti, chapel, north wall, western side	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Steindorff, <i>Grab des Ti</i> , pl. 115
Saqqara, D 22, Ti, corridor I, south wall	5	Attendant	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Sbk-wsr</i>	Épron, <i>Le tombeau de Ti</i> , pl. 44
Saqqara, T 86, Idut, room B, west wall	5-6	Marsh activities	<i>3 jmjw-r sšrw</i>	none	Macramallah, <i>Idout</i> , pl. 7
Saqqara, T 86, Idut, room D, east wall	5-6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Mrw</i>	Macramallah, <i>Idout</i> , pl. 11
Saqqara, T 86, Idut, room D, west wall, sides of the false door	5-6	Offering bearer	<i>ḥm-k3 jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Mrw</i>	Macramallah, <i>Idout</i> , pl. 16
Saqqara, T 86, Idut, room D, west wall, sides of the false door	5-6	Offering bearer	<i>ḥm-k3 jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Mrw / mw</i>	Macramallah, <i>Idout</i> , pl. 16
Saqqara, T 86, Idut, room D, west wall, sides of the false door	5-6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Mrw</i>	Macramallah, <i>Idout</i> , pl. 16
Saqqara, T 86, Idut, room E, north wall	5-6	Censing	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Jrj</i>	Macramallah, <i>Idout</i> , pl. 17
Saqqara, T 86, Idut, room E, north wall	5-6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>J[...]j</i>	Macramallah, <i>Idout</i> , pl. 17

Saqqara, T 86, Idut, room E, north wall	5-6	Attendant	<i>ḥm(t)-k3 jmj(t)-r sšrw</i>	<i>Ḥnmw-pnwt ?</i>	Macramallah, <i>Idout</i> , pl. 17
Saqqara, Inumin, room 1, north wall east of doorway	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Špsi</i>	Kanawati, <i>Teti cemetery</i> 8, pl. 45.
Saqqara, T57b, Watethathor, room B5, north wall	6	Carrying chair	<i>jmj(t)-r sšrw</i>	none	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Mereruka</i> 2, pl. 69.
Saqqara, T 71, Mereri, room 1, south wall	6	Marsh activities	<i>jmj-r sšrw ḥm-k3</i>	<i>Rj?</i>	Davies, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Saqqara tombs</i> 1, pl. 5
Saqqara, T 71, Mereri, room 1, west wall	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Davies, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Saqqara tombs</i> 1, pl. 6b
Saqqara, T 57a, Mereruka, room A1, east wall	6	Carrying chair	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Wrt</i>	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> 1, pl. 14
Saqqara, T 57a, Mereruka, room A8, south wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Snw</i>	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> 1, pl. 57
Saqqara, T 57a, Mereruka, room A10, east wall	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Ḥm-r^c</i>	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> 1, pl. 83
Saqqara, T 57a, Mereruka, room A10, west wall	6	Bed preparation	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> 1, pl. 93
Saqqara, T 63, Mehu, door room, south wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Mn-jhj</i>	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pl. 8
Saqqara, T 63, Mehu, door room, west wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Sndm-jb</i>	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pl. 15
Saqqara, T63, Mehu, chapel, south wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>ʿnh</i>	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pl. 60
Saqqara, T63, Mehu, chapel, south wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Ndmw</i>	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pl. 61
Saqqara, T63, Mehu, chapel, north wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Tb-ḥ3</i>	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pl. 70

Saqqara, T59b, Nikauisesi, room 1, south wall	6	Marsh activities	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>ʕntj</i>	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 6, pl. 47
Saqqara, T59b, Nikauisesi, room 1, east wall	6	Marsh activities	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>ʕntj</i>	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 6, pl. 50
Saqqara, Neferseshemre, chapel, north wall	6	Offering bearer?	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Iḏf...</i>	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pl. 58
Saqqara, E 11, Neferseshemseshat, sides of the false door	6	Offering bearer	<i>ḥm-k3 jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>B3-spšs</i>	mCairo CG 1491-1492 Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler des Alten Reiches</i> 1, pl. 42
Saqqara, E 11, Neferseshemseshat, sides of the false door	6	Offering bearer	<i>ḥm-k3 jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Jw-p3-n(j)</i>	mCairo CG 1491-1492 Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler des Alten Reiches</i> 1, pl. 42
Saqqara, T59a, Hesi, portico, east wall	6	Carrying chair	3 <i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 5, pl. 55
Saqqara, Sabu, sides of the false door	6	Carrying chair	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Ḥm-nb</i>	MCairo 1419 Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler des Alten Reiches</i> 1, pl. 21
Saqqara, Seankhuiptah, room 1, east wall	6	Marsh activities	6 <i>jmjw-r sšrw</i>	none	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pl. 76
Saqqara, T 70, Shepsiptah, chapel, north wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>shḏ ḥmw-k3 jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Quibell and Hayter, <i>Teti Pyramid</i> , p. 21
Saqqara, LS 10, Kagemni, room 5, north wall	6	Attendant	2 <i>jmjw-r sšrw</i>	none	Bissing, <i>Gemnikai</i> , pl. 5
Saqqara, loose block of Kherdeni	6	libating	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Jm3j</i>	Jequier, <i>Particuliers</i> , p. 111, pl. 15
Saqqara, T 60, Khentika, room 1, west wall	6	Manicure and pedicure?	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Rd-ḥw?</i>	James, <i>Khentika</i> , pl. 11
Meir, tomb A1, Nyankhepi Kheny-	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r sšrw irr</i>		Kanawati, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Meir</i> 3, pl. 63

Kem, room A, pillar, west face			<i>hzzt nb.f</i>		
Meir, tomb A1, Nyankhpepi Kheny- Kem, room A, west wall, south side	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw jmj jb n nb.f</i>	<i>Jw-nf</i>	Kanawati, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Meir</i> 3, pl. 64
Meir, tomb A1, Nyankhpepi Kheny- Kem, room A, west wall, north side	6	libating	<i>jmj-r sšrw n(j) st jb nb.f</i>	<i>Nfr- h3(w)</i>	Kanawati, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Meir</i> 3, pl. 65
Meir, tomb A1, Nyankhpepi Kheny- Kem, room A, west wall, north side	6	libating	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Kanawati, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Meir</i> 3, pl. 65
Meir, tomb A1, Nyankhpepi Kheny- Kem, room A, north wall, west side	6	libating	<i>jmj-r sšrw n(j) st jb nb.f</i>	<i>Nfr- h3(w)</i>	Kanawati, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Meir</i> 3, pl. 67
Meir, tomb A1, Nyankhpepi Kheny- Kem, room A, north wall, west side	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Kanawati, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Meir</i> 3, pl. 67
Meir, tomb A1, Nyankhpepi Kheny- Kem, room A, north wall, south side	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Hwj</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 12
Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room A, south wall, west side	6	Offering bearer	<i>2 jmjw- r sšrw</i>	none	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 15
Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room A, west wall	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>S^cnhj</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 16
Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room B, west wall, south side	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>N^dm-jb</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 26

Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room B, west wall, north side	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>ḥm-k3</i>	<i>Jwhj</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 26
Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room B, west wall, north side	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Sḥnj</i>	Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 87
Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room B, west wall, middle	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Sfhi</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 27 Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 88
Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room B, west wall, middle	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Snj</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 27
Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room B, west wall, north side	6	Marsh activities	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Snj</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 28
Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room B, east wall, north side	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Sḥnj</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 30
Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room B, east wall, middle	6	Carrying chair	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>mrj nb.f</i> <i>jrr</i> <i>ḥzzt.f</i> <i>hrw nb</i>	<i>Sḥnj</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 31
Meir, tomb A2, Pepiankh Kheny- Kem, room B, east wall, middle	6	Carrying chair	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Nḏm-jb</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 31
Meir, tomb D2, Pepiankh-khery-ib, chapel, east wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	none	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 8
Meir, tomb D2, Pepiankh-khery-ib, chapel, north wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>shd</i> <i>ḥmw-k3</i> <i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Hwj-n-</i> <i>wh</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 9

Meir, tomb D2, Pepiankh-khery-ib, chapel, north wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>jmj-r pr</i>	<i>Nfr-btk</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 9
Meir, tomb D2, Pepiankh-khery-ib, chapel, north wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>...hṭp</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 9
Meir, tomb D2, Pepiankh-khery-ib, chapel, west wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Nḏm-jb</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 12
Meir, tomb D2, Pepiankh-khery-ib, chapel, east wall	6	Marsh activities	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Nḏm-jb</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 17
Meir, tomb D2, Pepiankh-khery-ib, chapel, east wall	6	Marsh activities	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp</i>	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 17
Deir el-Gebrawi, tomb 8, Ibi, north wall, east side	5	Scribal activities	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Nbj</i>	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrawi</i> 1, pl. 16
Deir el-Gebrawi, tomb 12, Djau, south wall, west side	6	Censing	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Ḏ^cw</i>	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrawi</i> 2, pl. 4.
Hammamiya, tomb A 2, Kaikhenet, chapel west wall	5	Attendant	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>jm^cḥw</i> <i>ḥr nb.f</i> <i>mrj nb.f</i>	<i>K3.j-m-ḥzt</i>	El-Khouli and Kanawati, <i>Hammamiya</i> , lám. 47.
Hammamiya, tomb A 3, Kaikhenet, south corridor, entrance to chapel, jamb	5	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>K3.j-m-ḥzt</i>	El-Khouli and Kanawati, <i>Hammamiya</i> , lám. 57.
Hawawish, tomb H24, Shepesipumin Kheni, chapel east wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>2 jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	none	Kanawati, <i>Hawawish</i> 2, fig. 26.
Hawawish, tomb H26, Kaihep Theti Iqer, chapel east wall	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	none	Kanawati, <i>Hawawish</i> 1, fig. 22
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 109, Abebi, pillar 1, east side	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>ḥm-k3</i> <i>nb.f</i>	<i>Snj</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 71

Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 109, Abebi, pillar 2, east side	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>h^ckw</i>	<i>Snj</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 71
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 25, Mekhu, south wall	6	Censing	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>hmw-k3</i> , <i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>jrrt hzt</i> <i>nb.f</i>	<i>Šm3</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 4.2
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 25, Mekhu, column XVIII	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>hmw-k3</i> <i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>jmj jb</i> <i>nb.f</i>	<i>Sbk-jm3-k3</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 7
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 34n, Herkhuf, access door jamb, south side	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Jmtj</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 27
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 35d, Heqaib, access door jamb, south side	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>hmw-k3</i> <i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>htmtj</i>	<i>Snj</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 36, 37
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 35d, Heqaib, access door jamb, north side	6	Presenting the scroll	<i>htmtj</i> <i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>ᶚnh-nb.f</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 36, 39
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 35d, Heqaib, inner room, east wall	6	Offering bearer ?	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>ᶚp^crw ?</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 41
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 35d, Heqaib, pillar II, east side	6	censing	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i> <i>htmtj?</i>	<i>Št3 ?</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 45
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 34h, Khunes, west wall	6	Censing?	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Hnw</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 23.1
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 34h, Khunes, pillar II, north side	6	Offering bearer	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw</i>	<i>Jpj</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 24
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 26, Sabni, access north door jamb	6	Censing	<i>jmj-r</i> <i>sšrw n</i> <i>st jb</i> <i>nb.f</i>	<i>Hwj</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 12

Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 26, Sabni, pillar VI, east side	6	Offering bringer	<i>Jmj-r sšrw jrj ḥzt nb.f</i>	<i>Hwj</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 15
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 26, Sabni, pillar XIII, south side	6	Censing	<i>jmj-r ḥmw-k3 jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Sbk-jm3</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 15
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 35e, Sabni, passage, north side	6	Censing	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Snj</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 54
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 35e, Sabni, passage, south side	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Hnnw?</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 55
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 35e, Sabni, passage, south side	6	Attendant	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Nhrj</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 55
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 35e, Sabni, chapel, north wall	6	Marsh activities	<i>jmj-r ḥmw-k3 jmj-r sšrw ḥtmtj</i>	<i>Snj</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 56
Qubbet el-Hawa, QH 35e, Sabni, passage, south side	6	Marsh activities	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Hmtnw</i>	Edel, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> , pl. 56

Table 2. The *jmj-r sšr* as tomb owner.

Name	Title	Other titles	Origin	Dynasty	References
<i>ḥt-tf</i>	<i>Jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>Rḥ-nsw, šḥd ḥmw-k3</i>	Giza	6	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 5, 225-235
<i>Nj-ḥt-Nfrtm</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>šḥd zš n z3, mtj n z3</i>	Saqqara	?	mStrasbourg 2541A
<i>Nj-ḥt-Nfrtm</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>jmj-r3 jꜥw-r3 nswt, jmj-r3 jswt špswt Pr-ḥ3, jrj jḥt nswt, hrj sšt3, ḥm-nṯr Nfr-jswt-Wnjs, ḥm-nṯr Dd-jswt-Ttj</i>	Saqqara	6	Myśliwiec and Kuraskiewicz, <i>Nyankhnefertem</i>

		(and others)			
<i>Nj-mzty</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>jmj-r pr, jmj-ht hmw-k3, w^cb, w^cb nsw, rh nsw, hm-ntr, hrp šms</i>	Giza	6	Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , 32-33
<i>Nb-ib</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw n htmt-ntr</i>	<i>jmj-r hntjw-š pr-^c3</i>	Deir el-Gebrawi	6	Kanawati, <i>Deir el-Gebrawi</i> 1, pp. 83-86
<i>R^c-wr</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>hm-k3, dt(j)</i>	Giza	6	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 66-68
<i>Rnpwt-h3?</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Saqqara	6-8	Jequier, <i>Particuliers</i> , 54, fig. 60
<i>Rdwj-nsw?</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	unknown	?	mBerlin 8436
<i>Hb3j</i>	<i>jmj-r sšr</i>	<i>shd hmw-k3</i>	Saqqara	6	mLouvre E 14185
<i>Hnj</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	unknown	6?	mLouvre E 27492
<i>Hntj-k3</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>jrj p3t, h3tj-^c, smr-w^ct, t^cjtj z3b t3tj... (many others)</i>	Saqqara	6	James, <i>Khentika</i> , 9-10, pl. 13
<i>Hnmw-htp</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>hm-k3</i>	Saqqara	5-6	mCairo CG144
<i>S3b</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>hm-ntr ^ch Sth</i>	Saqqara	6-8	mCairo 1716
<i>Sdh</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Saqqara	6	Jequier, <i>Pepi II</i> 3, 37
<i>Tntj</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	none	Giza	5	Hawas, "The pyramid builders," 245-256
<i>Trrw</i>	<i>jmj-r sšrw</i>	<i>shd hmw-k3</i>	Giza	6	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 3, 23-25

Figures



Fig. 1. Tomb of Ti, chapel, north wall. Based on Gardiner, "Two hieroglyphic signs", 174, fig. 4.

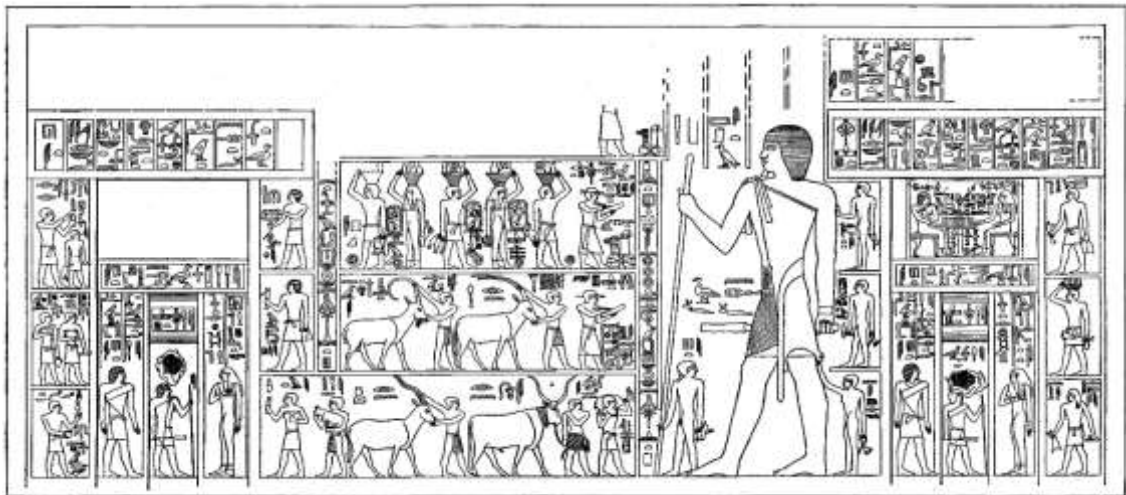


Fig. 2. Tomb of Seshathotep, west wall. From Junker, *Giza 2*, fig. 28.



Fig. 3. Tomb of Ptahhotep I. From LD 2, 103a.

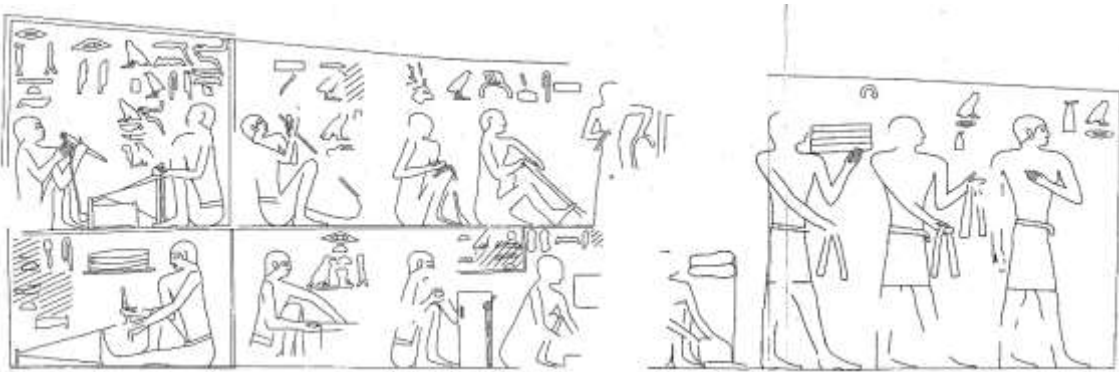


Fig. 4. Tomb of Pepiankh Kheny-kem, room A, south wall. From Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 15.

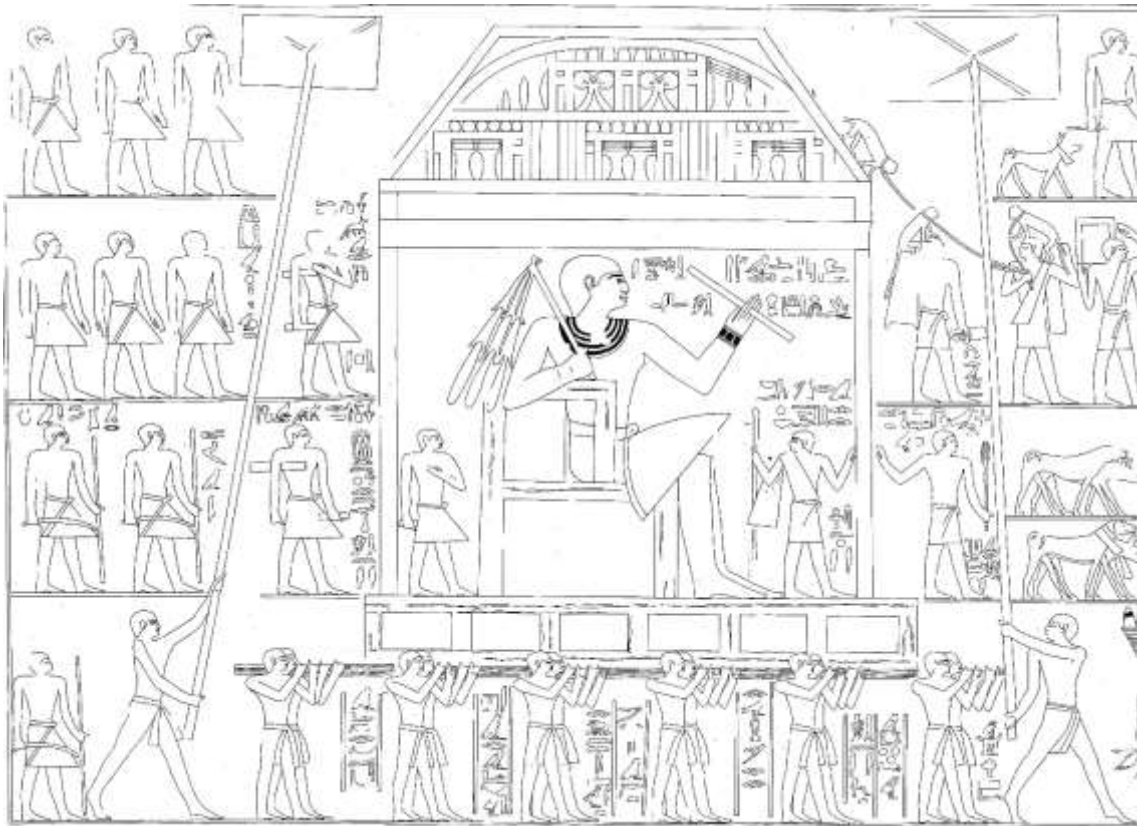


Fig. 5. Tomb of Pepiankh Kheny-kem, room B, east wall. From Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 31.

Abbreviations

ACE	Australian Centre for Egyptology, Sidney – Warminster – Oxford
ACER	Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports, Sidney – Warminster – Oxford
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Cairo
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London
AVDAIK	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Berlin / Mainz am Rhein
BAR IS	British Archaeological Reports International Series, Oxford
BSAE/ERA	British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> , Cairo
CGC	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund, London
EES	Egypt Exploration Society, London
<i>ET</i>	<i>Études et Travaux</i> . Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences, Warsaw
GMas	Giza Mastabas, Boston
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Berlin – Le Caire

JHAAS	<i>Journal of Historical Archaeology & Anthropological Sciences</i> , MedCrave Group, Oklahoma – Budapest
KAW	Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt, Mainz am Rhein
LD	Lepsius, C. R. (1849-1859). <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: Nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842-1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition</i> 12 vols. Berlin
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Berlin – Le Caire
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven
PPYE	Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt, New Haven
VESE	Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten, Leipzig
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> , Berlin – Leipzig

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Figure captions

Fig. 1. Tomb of Ti, chapel, north wall. Based on Gardiner, "Two hieroglyphic signs", 174, fig. 4.

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