

Old Kingdom, New Perspectives

Egyptian Art and Archaeology

2750–2150 BC

edited by

Nigel Strudwick and Helen Strudwick

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Foreword

There can be no academic subject for which the general public has such an inexhaustible appetite as Egyptology, and no period more so than the age of the pyramids. But the popular writings in this area are notoriously variable. While there is no shortage of reliable and accessible surveys by leading scholars in the field, neither does one have to look far on book lists to find an abundance of 'pyramidology' and other nonsense which also finds a wide audience. It was therefore a very welcome opportunity that arose when Helen Strudwick proposed that the 2009 Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology conference be held at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge so as to coincide with our annual Glanville Lecture on Egyptology, thus bringing the fruits of recent excavation and research by leading scholars to a wide general audience. The resulting event, held on 20–23 May 2009, consisted of a three-day meeting of specialist researchers, followed by a day of talks by some of the foremost experts in the Old Kingdom, to which the public was also invited, all culminating that evening in the Glanville Lecture delivered by Dr Jaromir Malek on 'A city on the move: Egypt's capital in the Old Kingdom'. This volume publishes all but three of the twenty-seven papers presented at the conference, plus one additional offering.

The Fitzwilliam Museum is fortunate to have one of the most important collections of Egyptian antiquities in the UK and thus provides a very appropriate setting for the OKAA conference. The earliest Egyptian object to arrive—a very fine Third Intermediate Period coffin

set—was given in 1822, only six years after the bequest of Viscount Fitzwilliam created the museum, and a quarter century before the building erected to house its collections first opened its doors. Since then the Museum's Egyptian collection has grown to nearly 17,000 objects, of which some one thousand are on display. The Egyptian galleries were refurbished in 2006 and remain the most popular in the museum.

Stephen Glanville, after whom the lecture is named, was Professor of Egyptology at Cambridge (1946–1956), as well as being Chairman of the Fitzwilliam's Syndicate and Honorary Keeper of Antiquities. Glanville saw it as essential that the Museum's Egyptian collections were actively used in teaching—as is still the case today—and that they continue to grow through acquisition. His commitment to engaging the public in the fascinating discoveries of professional Egyptologists has been continued by the Museum by the holding of a lecture bearing his name since 1977. We were delighted that Jaromir Malek accepted the invitation to give the 2009 lecture; and that so many distinguished scholars of Old Kingdom Egypt were able to attend the conference with which it was paired.

Special thanks are due to Helen Strudwick, at the time Senior Assistant Keeper, Antiquities, and Nigel Strudwick, the organisers of the conference, who have also edited the papers published here.

Timothy Potts
Director
The Fitzwilliam Museum
Cambridge

Introduction

This volume presents twenty-five of the twenty-seven papers presented at the 2009 Conference Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology, generously hosted by the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. The history of these Old Kingdom meetings was admirably summarised by Miroslav Bárta in his Foreword to the proceedings of the 2004 conference, held in Prague, and it would be superfluous to repeat it here. The contents of the present volume show the wide range of subjects which this research group now embraces, from the Pyramid Texts through site reports, from the analysis of statue orientation to attempts to study the spatial arrangement of Old Kingdom cemeteries. Some of the papers are substantially the same as those presented at the meeting, but the editors have encouraged authors, where they feel it is necessary, to expand upon their ideas and to take them beyond the limited range of material which can be presented in a twenty-minute talk. One further paper which could not be presented at the conference is also included.

We were delighted to welcome to Cambridge colleagues from all over the Egyptological world, and they fairly represent where the Old Kingdom is studied most. We are delighted to be able to include the paper from Abdou el-Kerety (better known to his friends and colleagues as Hatem); visa problems meant that he was regrettably unable to be present at the conference, despite our best efforts with the UK authorities, but his contribution was read and appreciated in his absence. The paper of Gabriele Pieke could not be presented at the conference but we are happy to be able to include it. The longest paper presented here is by Mark Lehner and his co-authors and is a report on progress of his excavations at Giza; this has turned into a

substantial publication and analysis and it is a great pleasure to be able to include it in this volume.

The final day of the conference was open to the public, focusing more particularly on papers relating to the archaeology and monuments of the Memphite region. This, and indeed the conference as a whole, formed a precursor to the thirty-third Stephen Glanville Memorial Lecture. This annual event, hosted by the Fitzwilliam Museum, has been an important fixture in the Cambridge and UK Egyptological calendar since 1977. In 2009, the Lecture was given by Dr Jaromir Malek on the subject 'A city on the move: Egypt's capital in the Old Kingdom'.

The editors would like to thank many persons without whose help and assistance the 2009 Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology meeting could not have taken place. First and foremost, we are deeply indebted to Dr Timothy Potts and all the staff of the Fitzwilliam Museum for enabling the events to take place so successfully, and for ensuring the efficient operation of everything from computer projectors through to the teas and coffees which sustained us. We also thank our colleagues whose enlightening papers and discussion made the meeting the success it was, and we acknowledge their efforts in enabling the completion of the manuscript just over two years since the meeting.

We are delighted to acknowledge the help and assistance offered by Oxbow Books in taking this publication into their archaeological series. To our editor, Clare Litt, and the head of production, Val Lamb, go our profound thanks for their advice and support.

Nigel Strudwick
Helen Strudwick

Reading the Menkaure Triads: Part II (Multi-directionality)

Florence Dunn Friedman

*Introduction*¹

This article builds on a previous one which began a discussion of the greywacke triads from King Menkaure's valley temple at Giza.² George Andrew Reisner, who excavated and published the temple,³ found four intact triads—none in situ—that are now divided between Cairo and Boston (Fig. 1). To summarise: the triads show the king in company with Hathor and a male or female nome personification, presented in two format types. Type 1 shows the king at the centre, striding forward of the flanking figures; Type 2

shows him standing at proper left beside a seated/enthroned Hathor and a nome personification. Reisner also found two damaged triads, one of each type, making a total of four Type 1s and two Type 2s (Fig. 2). He also found many fragments of broken greywacke, of varied sizes and proportions, which appear, for the most part, to belong to more triads. Using some of the greywacke pieces, I tentatively suggest three (at minimum) new hypothetical Type 1 triads,⁴ making a total of nine triads (Fig. 3). Given the range of fragments, there were surely more, and given the number of triads, they could only have gone in the valley temple's open court. I speculate that five Type 1s each could have been placed on the north and south walls, and at least two Type 2s on the west wall, flanking the doorway, and facing east⁵ (Fig. 4). Additional statue types, including at least two dyads,⁶ would have filled out the statue programme around the court.

The four intact triads show that each nome personification

¹ For help with the MFA, Boston, material, my thanks to Dr Rita E. Freed, John F. Cogan, Jr. and Mary L. Cornille Chair of the Department of Art of the Ancient World at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Dr Lawrence M. Berman, Norma Jean Calderwood Senior Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art; Dr Denise Doxey, Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art; and the entire staff of the Art of the Ancient World; and for their time and expertise, my thanks to Dr Peter Der Manuelian, Giza Archives Project Director, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Dr Diane Flores, Research Associate. For help with the triads in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, my thanks to Dr Zahi Hawass, Secretary General, the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Dr Wafaa el Siddik, Director of the Egyptian Museum, Dr Janice Kamrin, Director of Egyptian Museum Database and Registrar Training Projects; Dr Yasmin El Shazly, Head of Documentation; Ms. Nareeman; and Dr Randa Baligh. Much gratitude to Michelle Pisa for graphics, and Michael Fredericks for photography.

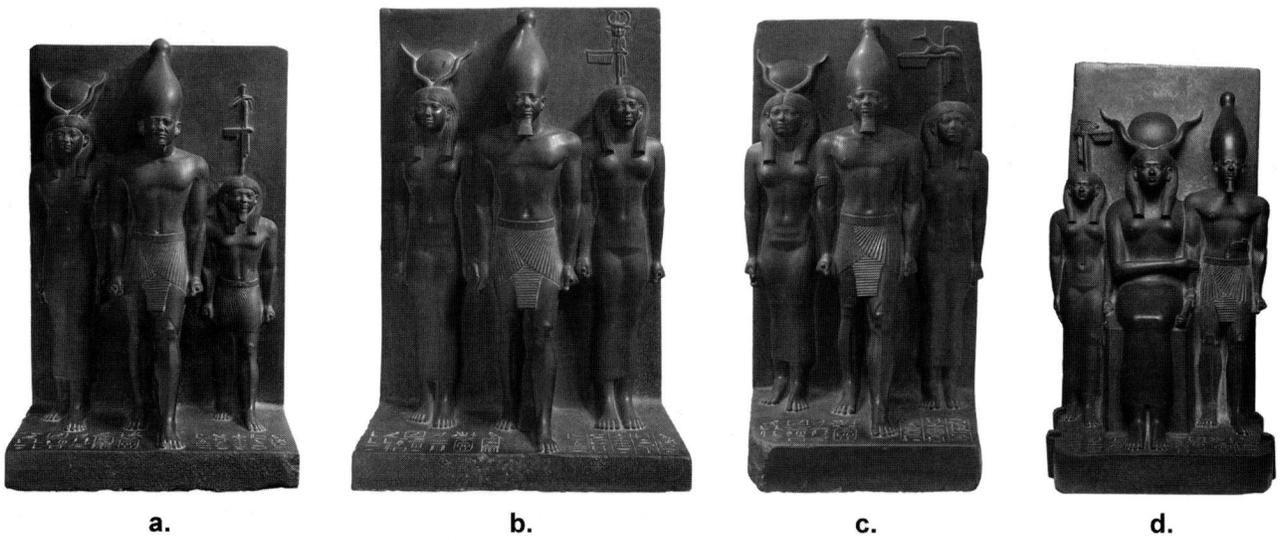
² F.D. Friedman, 'Reading the Menkaure Triads: Part I', in R. Gundlach and K. Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple. Architecture – Decoration – Ritual, Königum (5. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 5th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology, Cambridge, July, 16th–17th 2007)* (Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4,2; Wiesbaden, forthcoming).

³ G.A. Reisner, *Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge, MA 1931), esp. 109–110.

⁴ The size, proportion and surface carving of different greywacke pieces require assignment to separate triads. The principles used for the hypothetical reconstructions appear in Friedman in Gundlach and Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple*, forthcoming. Fig. 3 herein, however, adds four new pieces to the second hypothetical triad (Triad B) since its first reconstruction in Gundlach and Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple*, forthcoming, Fig. 6: king's right big toe (MFA, Boston 47.1746 = Eg. Inv. 3684), portion of king's left foot (MFA, Boston 47.1745 = Eg. Inv. 3683), handclasp of king with Hathor (MFA, Boston 47.1719 = Eg. Inv. 3682), and bottom of Hathor's face (MFA, Boston 47.1756 = Eg. Inv. 3694).

⁵ See Friedman in Gundlach and Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple*, forthcoming.

⁶ Besides the famous dyad, MFA, Boston, 11.1738, a second Menkaure dyad is proposed in F.D. Friedman, 'The Menkaure Dyad(s)', in S.E. Thompson and P.D. Manuelian (eds), *Egypt and Beyond, Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement*



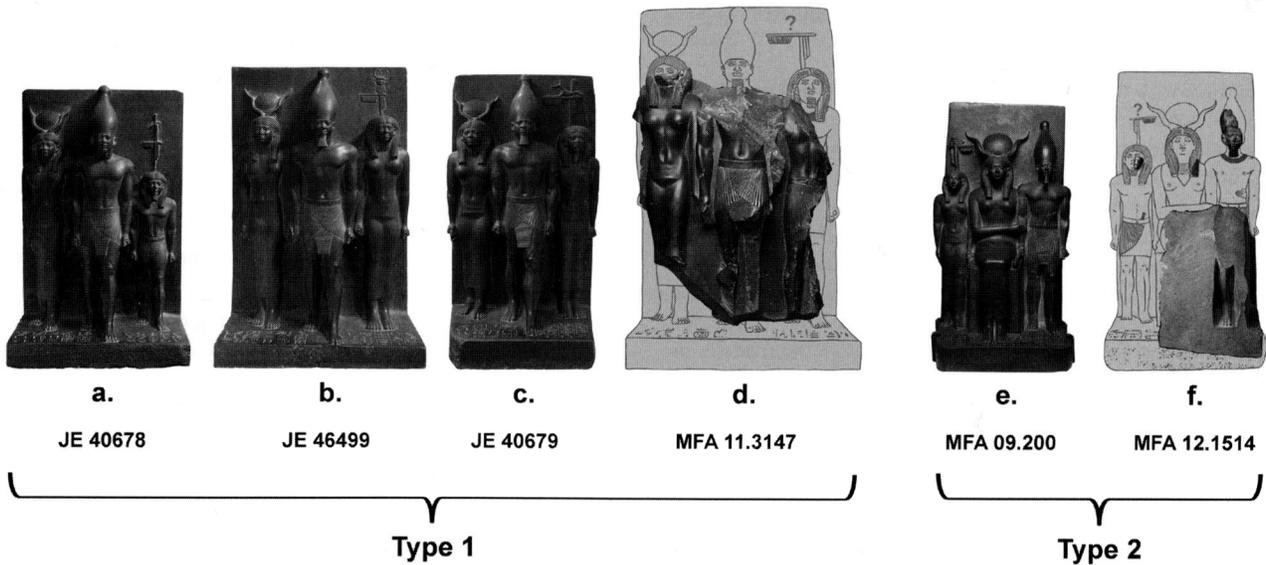
Type 1 (JE 40678)
UE 4, Thebes

Type 1 (JE 46499)
UE 7, Diospolis Parva

Type 1 (JE 40679)
UE 17, Cynopolis

Type 2 (MFA 09.200)
UE 15, Hermopolis

Fig. 1: The four intact triads. (a) Hathor and nome personification closely juxtapose king; (b) Hathor holds king's hand; (c) Hathor and nome personification embrace king; (d) Hathor embraces king's waist and right forearm



JE 40678

JE 46499

JE 40679

MFA 11.3147

MFA 09.200

MFA 12.1514

Type 1

Type 2

Fig. 2: Four intact (a, b, c, e) and two fragmentary (d, f) triads. In (d), Hathor holds king's hand and male nome embraces king's right shoulder. MFA, Boston 12.1514 (f) is reconstructed using MFA, Boston 47.1748 (nome's face), 47.1760 (Hathor's lappet), 24.2796 (king's crown), 47.1769 (king's beard), and 11.699 (king's face)

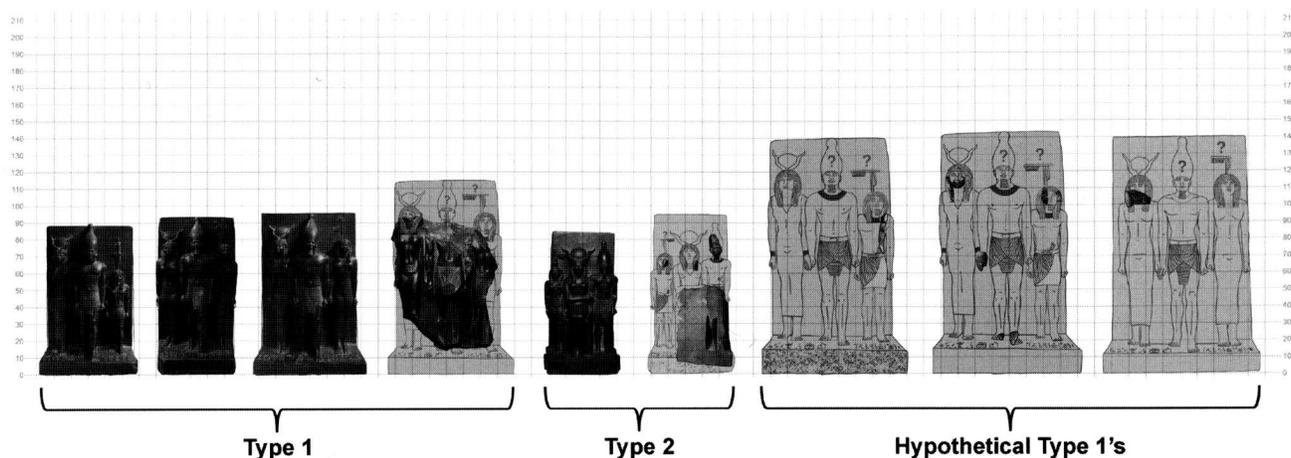


Fig. 3: Intact and fragmentary triads, with three Type 1 hypothetical triads (crowns unknown)

bore a nome standard (Fig. 1). The nomes represented in Type 1 are Upper Egyptian 4, 7 and 17; in Type 2, Upper Egyptian 15. The capitals of these nomes are, respectively, Thebes, Diospolis Parva, Cynopolis, and Hermopolis. The nomes together span much of Upper Egypt (Fig. 5). The nomes were chosen, I believe, because each, almost surely, had a town, not specified on the triads, which held a Hathor cult temple, albeit small, founded by Menkaure or his predecessors.⁷ What I propose in the preceding article is that the temples held estates from which Menkaure's royal cult was provisioned, if only in a fictive or symbolic sense, by Hathor, whose beneficence flowed to the king through the conduit of her 'deputies', the nome personifications.⁸ I suggest that the triads would have been arranged along the walls of the valley temple court according to descending and ascending Upper and Lower Egyptian nome numbers,⁹ on the order of what we see at Sneferu's statue cult ('valley') temple at the Bent Pyramid.¹⁰ Unfortunately, no triads

with Lower Egyptian nomes survive, or they may never have reached production. At least five would be expected; my hypothetical triads may account for some (Fig. 3). But with so many lacunae in the archaeological record, it is impossible to reach any level of certainty.

The triads vary in dimensions, the intact examples on their own demonstrating a lack of uniformity in size (Fig. 1). There are also considerable differences in style of execution¹¹ among the intact and fragmentary examples, testifying to the presence of different hands. The differences could be accounted for in a number of ways, one of which is a change of king. In fact, some triads may have been made under Shepseskaf, after Menkaure's death, based on the following observation: the Cynopolis triad (Cairo JE 40679), alone among the triads, lacks a Horus name and serekh, which is a striking omission (Fig. 28c). Recent work by John S. Nolan strongly suggests that the presence of a Horus name inside a serekh on a fourth dynasty object is evidence that the king was alive at the time of the object's manufacture; and conversely, that the presence of only the *nswt-bity* name with a missing Horus name and serekh shows that the king was dead at the time the object's manufacture.¹² I suggest that the Cynopolis triad without Horus name in serekh was made after Menkaure's death. It is therefore not unlikely that the original set of intact Menkaure triads was produced

from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005 (Providence, RI 2008), 109–144.

⁷ Wendy Wood's suggestion on this point was surely correct: 'A Reconstruction of the Triads of King Mycerinus', *JEA* 60 (1974), 86; expanded on in Friedman in Gundlach and Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple*, forthcoming: 'By the time of Menkaure, temple cults for Hathor are attested in LE in the Giza/Saqqara Memphite area of LE 1, and in UE, including at Tehne in UE 17, where a temple was endowed by Menkaure himself in the very Cynopolis nome found on triad Cairo JE 40679; and at Gebelein in UE 4, the very Theban nome found on triad Cairo JE 40678; and at Dendera in UE 6'.

⁸ For full discussion, see Friedman in Gundlach and Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple*, forthcoming: what Menkaure seems to be doing is assembling in his valley temple the geographically dispersed Hathor cults in the form of the triads in order to bring Hathor's cult directly into his own.

⁹ For other possibilities, see M. Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen. I* (HÄB 42; Hildesheim 1996), 44–45.

¹⁰ A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, The Valley*

Temple, part I (Cairo 1961), see esp. 18, fig. 8.

¹¹ See Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, 25–49 (esp. 45–47), pls 5–16.

¹² John S. Nolan, *Mud Sealings and Fourth Dynasty Administration at Giza* (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago 2010), 25–40, esp. 32; and with specific reference to royal Old Kingdom statues, 37. Nolan's findings support the belief that the appearance of the *nswt* or *nswt-bity* name alone signals that the king is dead, as noted earlier by N. C. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Writings from the Ancient World 16; Atlanta 2005), 15, and by J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (MÄS 20; München–Berlin 1984), 19, n. 25.

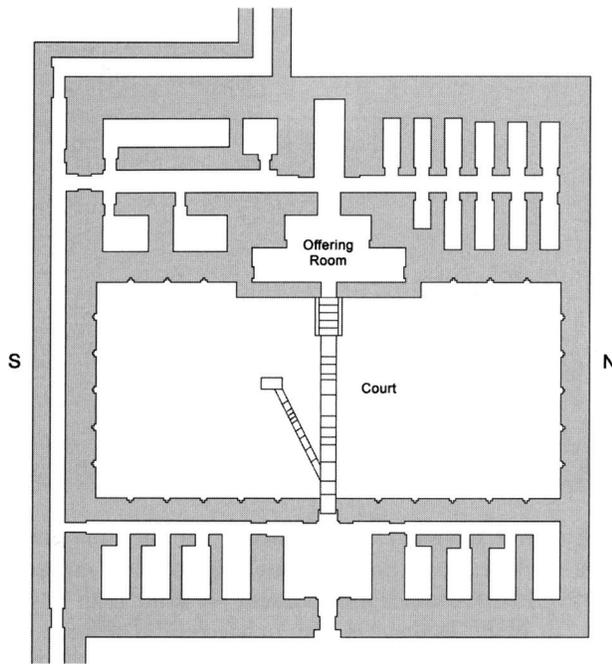


Fig. 4: Menkaure valley temple plan. Compound brick niches in court added by Shepseskaf. Simple intervening niches not shown

both under Menkaure and his successor, Shepseskaf. As noted, Shepseskaf's architectural contribution to his father's monument appears to have been considerable, since, in finishing off his father's stone temple in mud brick, he faced its open court with 26 compound niches and intervening simple ones¹³ in the ancient palace facade style (Fig. 4). Reisner surmised that Shepseskaf generally adhered to the temple plan outlined by his father, but with so little in place architecturally at the time of Menkaure's death, the son was largely starting from scratch.¹⁴ This point impacts on our discussion of the triads, for while the series was probably underway during Menkaure's reign, it was most likely Shepseskaf who finished the statue programme, as far as it went, and who was ultimately responsible for its installation.

My previous article outlined the triads' themes communicated through their iconography, inscriptions, and attitudes of the figures. The themes are: (1) legitimation of the king, expressed through Hathor and the nome personifications' embrace of, juxtaposition to, or hand-holding with, Menkaure (Fig. 1); (2) provisioning the king, the stated subject of the address to the king in the inscription on the base in front of each nome; and (3) *heb sed* confirmation of the king, communicated by the *mekes* document he holds in the one surviving Type 2 triad¹⁵ (Fig. 6). Thematically

¹³ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 40; pl. IX.

¹⁴ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 39.

¹⁵ W. Barta in *LÄ IV*, 20–22 notes that the *mekes* is rarely held by the king except in the *heb sed* run, exceptions being this triad, along

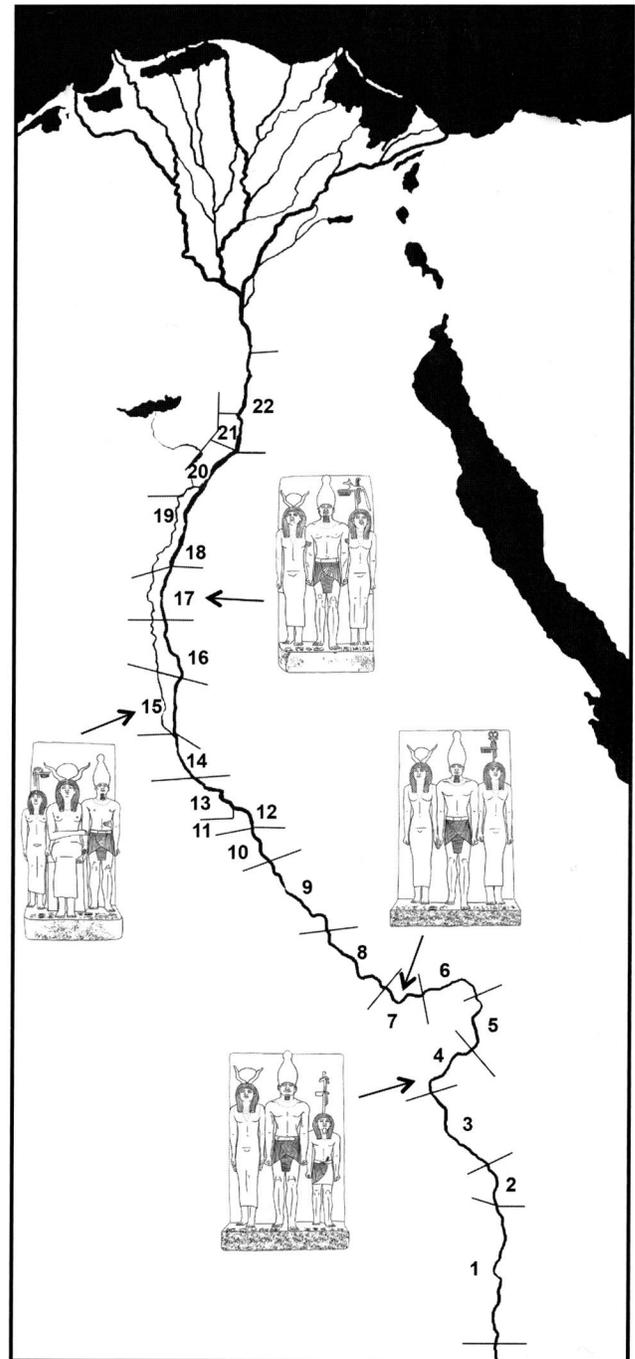
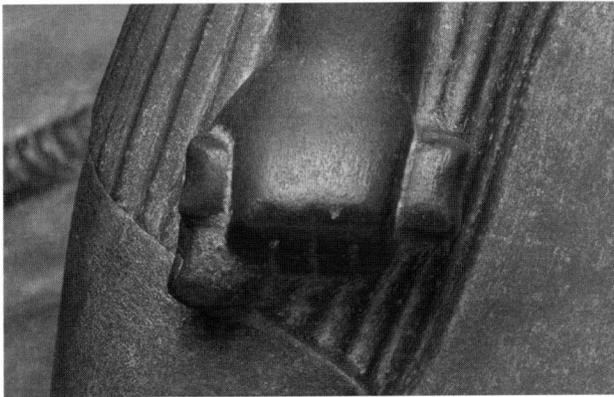


Fig. 5: Geographical distribution of triads according to nome number

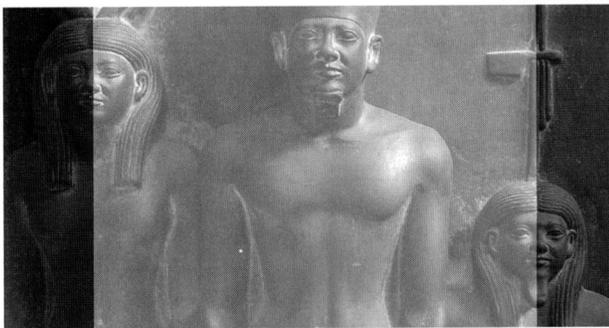


Type 2 (MFA 09.200)

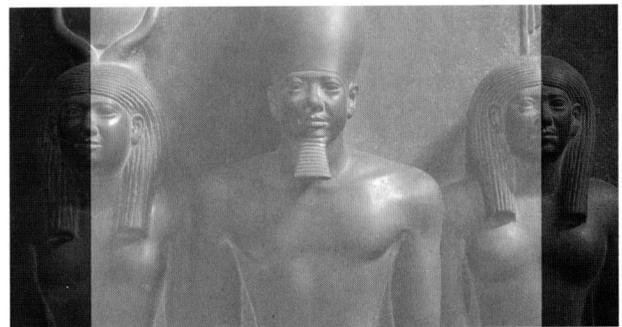


Type 1 (JE 40679)

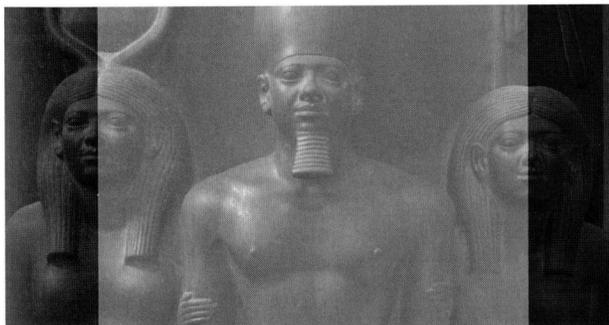
Fig. 6: King in Type 2 (MFA, Boston 09.200) holds the mekes and not the traditional folded cloth or 'enigmatic object' of Type 1



a. Type 1 (JE 40678)



b. Type 1 (JE 46499)



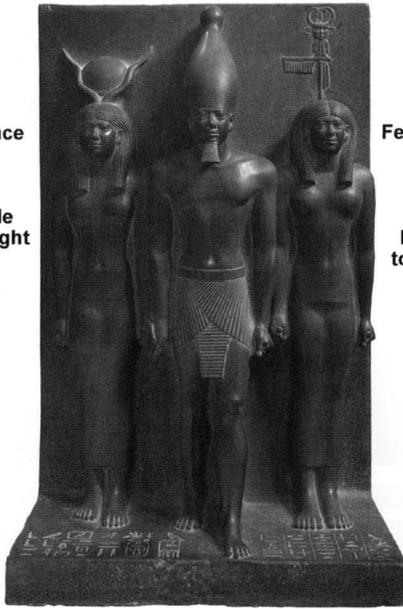
c. Type 1 (JE 40679)



d. Type 2 (MFA 09.200)

Fig. 7: Darkened bands help show outward glances, to varying degrees, of flanking figures in Type 1 (a, b, c) but only of nome personification in Type 2 (d). Not to scale

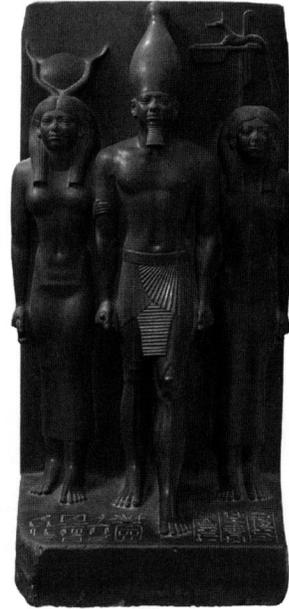
Hathor's face
and
body angle
to proper right



a. JE 46499

Female nome's
face
and
body angle
to proper left

Hathor's face
and
body angle
to proper right

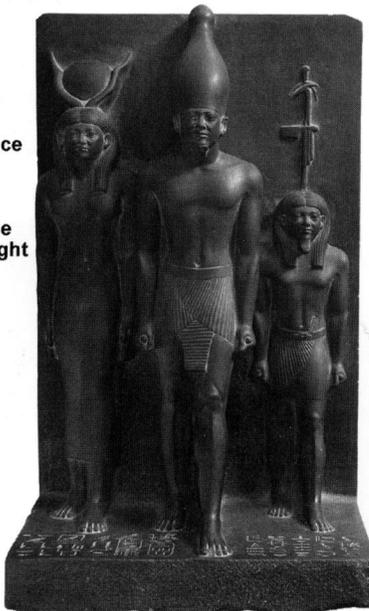


b. JE 40679

Female nome's
face
and
body angle
to proper left

Fig. 8: Features of flanking figures in JE 46499 (a) and JE 40679 (b). Not to scale

Hathor's face
and
body angle
to proper right



a. JE 40678

Male nome's
face angles
slightly to
proper left
and
body
faces forward

Hathor's body
angles to
proper right



b. MFA 11.3147

Male nome's
body faces
forward

Fig. 9: Features of flanking figures in JE 40678 (a) and MFA, Boston 11.3147 (b). Not to scale

ranked at the top of this list is the *heb sed*, Egypt's central rite of royal renewal that enabled the king to rule eternally in this world and the Beyond.¹⁶ Legitimation (approval by the gods) and provisioning (enabling survival) are, I suggest, supporting themes, just as they are at Sneferu's statue cult temple, discussed below. There is, however, an additional *sed*-related theme, noted in my previous article,¹⁷ that I believe is encoded in these triads, and it is this new theme, which I call multi-directionality, that now requires amplification.

Expression of movement in the triads

Subtle, and not so subtle, features in heads, arms, hands, torsos, and legs, suggest that figures in the triads are moving—and in different directions. Truly frontal or static figures are the exception. That flanking figures might not be fully frontal first came to my attention through Dorothea Arnold's observation that the flanking figures in one intact Type 1 triad turn their heads outward (Cairo JE 46499, Fig. 1b).¹⁸ Examining the other triads, I realised that the same outward-turning face was present in all Type 1's to varying degrees (Fig. 7a–c), and in Type 2 for the flanking nome personification, but not the king (Fig. 7d). Torsos of flanking figures could also angle outward, but with male and female differences. Torsos of flanking females (Hathor and nome personifications) angle out to one degree or another (Fig. 8a, b), but the torsos of male nome personifications in Type 1 are, despite the slightly outward gaze, frontal like the king's (Fig. 9a b). And like the king—and that other high-status figure, Hathor—male nomes advance their left legs (Fig. 2a, d), while Type 1 female nomes, following the norm in Egyptian art, have their feet together. The exception to the female feet-together rule is in Type 2 (Fig. 1d) where the female nome, for the only time in the triad series, has an advanced left leg: like Hathor, she is walking. In sum, it appears that flanking figures present various degrees of movement in either walking forward (male nomes) or to the sides (Type 1 Hathors and Type 2 female nome). But whether male or female, whether walking or not, all flanking figures, except the king in Type 2, look outward to some extent. That outward glances are an intended feature in

with a Palermo Stone representation of a Khasekhemwy statue (21). I would also include the figures of Sneferu. See *infra*, Fig. 25c.

¹⁶ On the *sed* festival in general, see E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 20; Basel 2006). The authors appear to find no *heb sed* evidence in reliefs or statuary for Menkaure, however.

¹⁷ Friedman in Gundlach and Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple*, forthcoming.

¹⁸ Do. Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built* (New York 1999), 67: 'The three figures are impressively arranged in a semicircle, with the pharaoh at the apex and both female deities—Hathor most markedly—turning outward as if to emphasise that his is the main figure in the group'.

the Menkaure statuary is most noticeable in the greywacke dyad, which I believe functioned with the triads as part of the overall corpus of greywacke sculpture related to the *heb sed*.¹⁹ In the dyad, Menkaure looks noticeably to his right,²⁰ while both he and the queen advance their left leg (more so the king) (Fig. 10). When considered as a whole, a picture of the greywacke figural sculpture as depicting active, turning, moving figures begins to emerge.

Implicit in the design of the Type 1 triads, in fact, is the expression of movement forward, left and right (Fig. 11). The general pattern of outward glances among flanking figures, along with the forward movement of the king is consistent enough that it should be understood not simply as stylistic variability but as a conscious signalling system. What lends credence to this suggestion is that signals for movement in different directions is not a first with Menkaure. The same feature, though expressed in very different forms, seems already implicit in the design of the Sneferu statue cult temple at the Bent Pyramid and in Djoser's Step Pyramid Complex.²¹ Through this material, I suggest below that multi-directionality, like legitimation and provisioning, was a theme linked to the *heb sed*, and, like legitimation and provisioning, was incorporated into at least these three, and probably more, decorative programmes of royal cult complexes.²² A look at the possible placement of the triads already invites comparison with Djoser material.

The architectural context of the triads as related to earlier material

Menkaure's triads are our first intact examples of this statue type, though a fragmentary example shows that the triad form was already extant in the time of Khafre.²³ Set on bases, the Menkaure triads have back-tilted back slabs, out of which, and beyond which, their high relief figures (at first glance frontal) seem to emerge. Unfinished backs suggest the triads were designed to be set against or embedded in

¹⁹ The greywacke sculpture, as a whole, I believe, had its own meaning and function separate from those of the alabaster statuary. This subject will be discussed in another article, comparing the use and meaning of the two media, as presented at the conference Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010, Charles University, Prague, 31 May–4 June, 2010.

²⁰ Do. Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built*, 68.

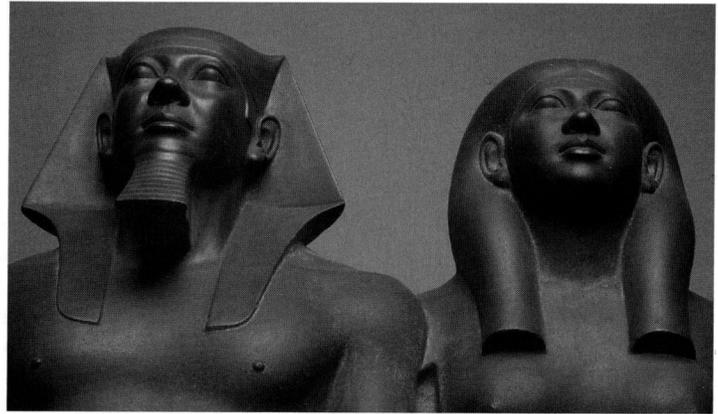
²¹ The Sneferu example has been discussed previously (Friedman in Gundlach and Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple*, forthcoming) but will be amplified here, and the Djoser example will be considered for the first time.

²² Multi-directionality connected to the *heb sed* was possibly operative in the monuments of other kings, too, though it is not yet apparent to me.

²³ R. Krauspe, *Statuen und Statuetten* (Mainz am Rhein 1997), no. 26, 21–22, with Khafre fragments that in 'Korrekturzusatz', 22, are shown to be from a triad.



Dyad (MFA 11.1738)



King looks to proper right

Fig. 10: King looks to proper right in dyad (MFA, Boston 11.1738)

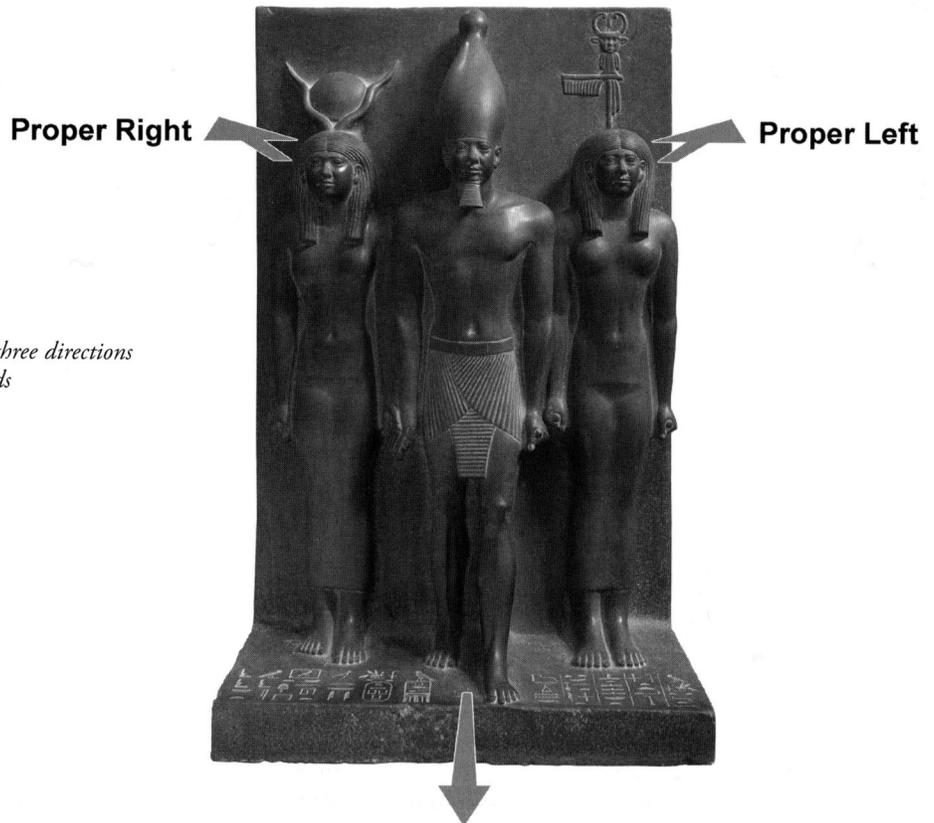


Fig. 11: Potential for movement in three directions integrated into design of Type 1 triads

a wall. Despite the monumental size suggested by photographs, the triads are relatively small. Heights of the intact examples range from 88.5 to 95.8 cm.²⁴ Comparing their size with those of the third dynasty Djoser relief panels may not be inappropriate. Found *in situ* under the king's pyramid and south tomb, the Djoser panels were set into false door wall niches, where each relief is about 87 cm high.²⁵ I am regularly led back to the thought that the triads, in their original concept (*and concept only, since it was never realised*) were intended to fit into wall niches akin to what we see with the Djoser panels.²⁶ The height of some triads' relief surfaces, omitting the base, is, in fact, extremely close to the height of the Djoser panels. Fig. 12 shows how a 166 cm man, standing beside a triad would need the sculpture to be elevated on a plinth, just as the Djoser panel sits on top of a blank space (about 58 cm high) that may represent just such a statue plinth.

My question is whether Menkaure or Shepseskaf had the idea of placing the triads on plinths against an un-niched wall (Menkaure) or in niches (Shepseskaf) where the triads' figures would face into the valley temple court.²⁷ The

approximately 58.5 cm widths²⁸ of Shepseskaf's compound brick niches could have accommodated some of but not all of the triads, which are of varied heights, widths and depths. But was the use of wall niches for elevated triads ever an idea considered but never used (Fig. 13)?²⁹ That the series of ten to twelve triads had to go in the court seems clear. There is no other place they would fit. And if I am right that the triads were designed for the *heb sed*, it would also make sense they would appear in the open court. A temple court equipped with statues of the king is associated with the *sed* festival since Djoser's *heb sed* court at the Step Pyramid Complex, and is suggested by the open courts at Sneferu's statue cult ('valley') temple,³⁰ now confirmed as a *heb sed* temple through inscriptional evidence,³¹ and at Khufu's pyramid temple,³² where, in both cases, provisioning and *heb sed* themes were found together. A *heb sed* context is suggested, too, by the open court of Khafre's pyramid temple, which, faced with twelve (now lost) statues of the king,³³ is thought to have been the focus of a *heb sed*.³⁴ My

above-ground triads (with king, deity and accompanying figures in the form of nome personifications) served similar *heb sed* functions. Panel figures, set in wall niches below ground, were conceptually understood to function above ground in *heb sed* related courts; while the triads, above ground, and about the same size as the panels, and possibly also intended (at one time) to go in wall niches—or at least against the wall—really did face into an open *heb sed* court in which their figures were also understood to move. The earlier below-plus-above-ground concept with Djoser was brought into a single above-ground vision with Menkaure (as it was also, I believe, in Sneferu's statue cult temple).

²⁸ I thank Peter Manuelian and Diane Flores for widths of the niches: about 58.5 cm for compound niches and about 37.5 cm for simple niches. They note that the widths would have been reduced from these dimensions, however, due to plaster.

²⁹ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 40 describes the niches as 'offering niches', just as were added in the pyramid temple. But the compound, as opposed to simple, niches seem to emphasise use of the entire vertical niche and not just a surface in the niche on which offerings could be set. cf Reisner, pls 32 b, d; 33a.

³⁰ D. Arnold, 'Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms', in B. E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, New York 1997), 42–51.

³¹ R. Stadelmann, 'The hebsed of Snefru in the valley temple at Dahshur', in *List of Abstracts from the conference Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Charles University, Prague, 31 May–4 June, 2010, 58.

³² D. Arnold, in Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 51; and more generally, 42–58.

³³ H. Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches II* (BeiträgeBf 5; Cairo 1950), 48–55, esp. Taf. 2 for his hypothetical reconstruction of seated statues of Khafre around that king's pyramid temple's open court. Whether the statues were seated as Ricke thought, or standing, as Hölscher suggested, may be tilted towards the standing hypothesis, based on finds by Mark Lehner (M. Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids* (London 1997), 125).

³⁴ D. Arnold, in Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 57 elaborates on the Khafre pyramid temple: 'If [the excavator's] reconstruction is

²⁴ My thanks to Yasmin El Shazly, Head of Documentation, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo, who obtained new measurements for me, April 2009.

²⁵ F. D. Friedman, 'The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex', *JARCE* 32 (1995), 1–42; the dimensions of panels are given on pp 12–13.

²⁶ I thank Helen Strudwick for raising the question of how Menkaure's designers could have been familiar with the Djoser panels, which lay closed off, about 33 m below ground, and thus clearly out of sight. While twenty-sixth dynasty copyists did enter the pyramid's panel corridor (see C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara: The Step Pyramid I* (Cairo 1935), 104 (pls 15, 16); II, pls 15, 16), it seems doubtful to me that Menkaure's fourth dynasty designers, or Sneferu's, ever penetrated their predecessor's pyramid (including a difficult descent to the panels corridor) or the south tomb (with admittedly easier access). It is more likely, I think, that fourth dynasty designers were consulting prototypes for images (and architectural plans) in an archive. The similarity of Djoser's third dynasty below-ground reliefs, for example, with the fourth dynasty Sneferu above-ground reliefs (see Fig. 25 *infra*), suggests the existence of such an archive where the third dynasty material was available for reference and adaptation.

²⁷ It may seem odd to compare the triads with the underground Djoser panels that clearly did not face into an open court. The *in situ* panels, in fact, face a wall, while their relief figures face left. But the actions of the relief figures, with the king standing in shrines or running, were understood not as happening in the subterranean corridor, but in the real *heb sed* and great courts above ground (see *infra*, Fig. 23, Fig. 26). In other words, the Djoser figures, while not literally facing any *heb sed* ritual courts were understood conceptually to function in—to move about in—those actual spaces above ground. What I am further suggesting is that, despite being from architecturally very dissimilar spaces, the subterranean panels (with king, deity and accompanying figures in the form of animated glyphs) and the

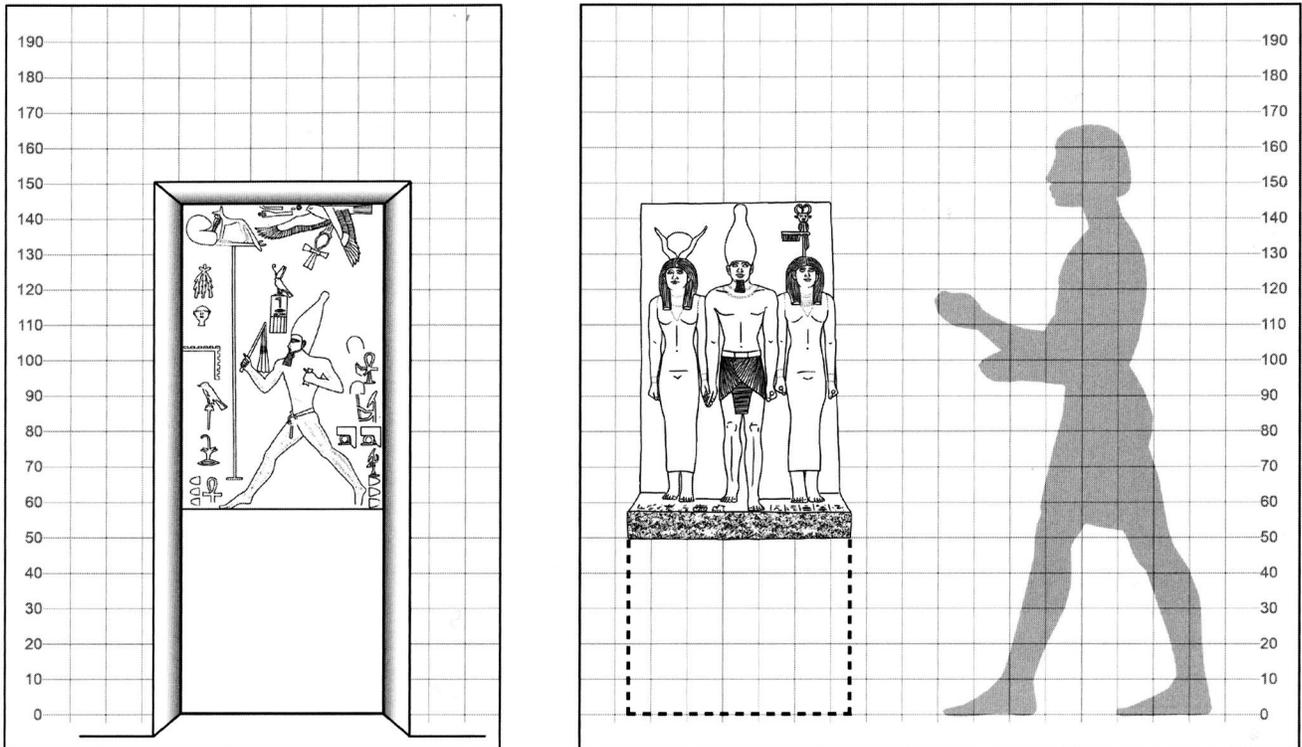


Fig. 12: Relative sizes of Djoser panel and a triad, the latter on a hypothetical base; man shown for scale (166 cm)

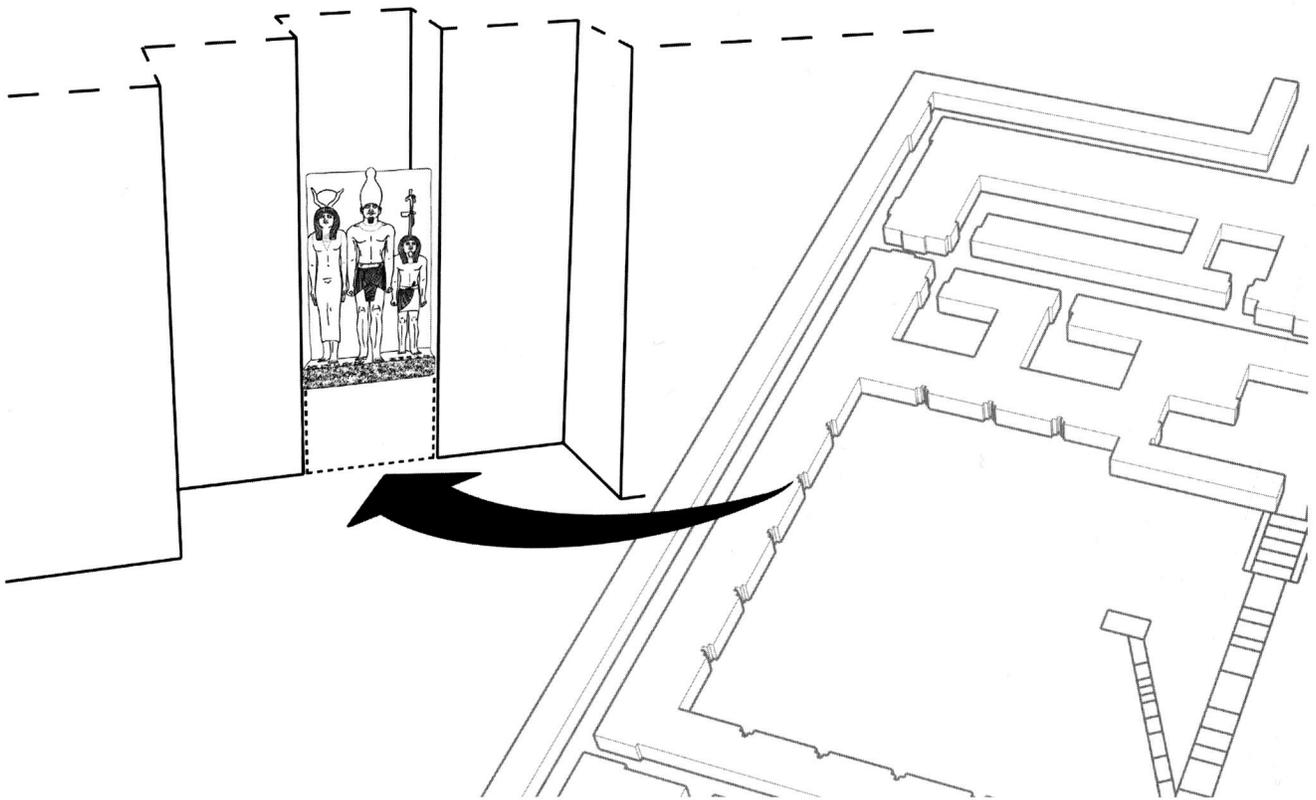


Fig. 13: A concept never realised? Possible idea for installing triads on bases in the compound niches added by Shepseskaf

guess is that Menkaure intended to set his triads on plinths against the walls of his open valley temple court for the *heb sed* ritual, and that at his death, Shepseskaf perhaps elaborated on this idea by placing compound niches along the walls where Menkaure had intended the statues to go. There is no clear evidence to my knowledge, however, that the statues were ever actually installed.

Triad figures, moving versus still

Placement of the Menkaure triads around the temple court would have allowed the general pattern of Type 1 outward glances to suggest processional movement in three directions. The movement would be ‘real’ (as figures walk/stride), or implied. By ‘implied’, I mean movement that is a stage direction: when female nome personifications in Type 1s have feet together, and are thus not moving, their faces and torsos nonetheless shift outward, signalling what could be a ‘stage direction’ for the king to move to the proper left (PL) (Fig. 14). The king thus has the potential to move in three directions: forward, as shown by his stride ahead; ‘stage left’ with the PL directive of the nome personification; or ‘stage right’, with the proper right (PR) glance of Hathor. Furthermore, in the Diospolis Parva triad, whose nome insignia is the face of Hathor (Bat) herself, (Fig. 14), Hathor’s angled gaze and advanced left leg, plus a torso that is more sharply turned than that of the nome, and, most importantly, the fact that she takes the king’s hand (Fig. 2d also) suggest that she and the king are understood to move *together* to the PR. In each triad, movement, real and implied, and in multiple directions, is expressed by the degree to which the flanking figures’ faces turn; by the angle of their bodies or lack thereof; by their stance—that is, whether they have advanced left leg or stand with feet together; and by how they interact with the king (close juxtaposition, embrace or hand-holding).

The figure most in movement in the Type 1 triads is Menkaure, made clear by the length of his stride and the rendering of his kilt tab that is angled to varying degrees through force of his gait—unlike the kilt tab on Type 2 (Fig. 15a), which lies straight across and over legs that are closer together than in Type 1 (Fig. 15b,c,d). The king in Type 1 strides; the king in Type 2 stands. And the arms of the king in Type 1 often move, with his left a little higher than his right (for example Cairo JE 40678); just as when a male nome is present, his right arm rises slightly above his left (Fig. 1a). Male figures appear to move with a slight swing of the arms.

But it is only in Type 2 (Fig. 1d), where the king is stationary, that he holds the *mekes* of the *heb sed*, a piece of iconography usually, but not always, seen with the running

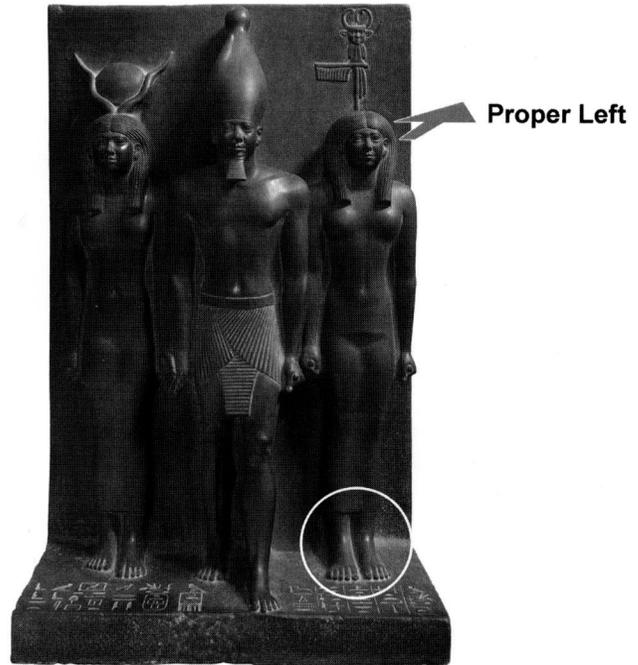


Fig. 14: Type 1 female nome personifications stand with feet together, but faces and torsos shift outward

king. Appearing to underline the *heb sed* theme is the shape of the Type 2 base, which alone among the triads has curved corners that recall the shape of the *dnb* territorial markers that kings circuted in the *heb sed* race (see Fig. 25b, d).³⁵ Type 2 is also given emphasis through reversing Type 1’s format of who moves and who does not. For in Type 2, Hathor and the king do not move, while the female nome now has an advanced left leg. She is walking (Fig. 16). The meaning of this unique example of movement in a female nome personification may relate to her enhanced status due to proffering the *ankh*, assuredly for the king. This is the only time among the triads that the *ankh* sign appears. In Type 1, Hathor alone (JE 46499) or Hathor and the female nome personification (JE 40679) can hold the *shen*, or figures can hold the so-called ‘enigmatic object’ (the king in JE 40678, 40679, and 46499; the female nome personification in JE 46499; and male nome personification in JE 40678). In one case Hathor holds nothing at all (JE 40678). But no surviving Type 1 figure holds the *ankh* sign. The fact that the Type 2 moving female nome personification proffers *ankh* is significant. She seems to be acting as a substitute for Hathor in providing a benefit to the king that the human arms of Hathor, already engaged, cannot. (A comparable expansion of duties is taken up by the human-armed hieroglyphs behind Djoser on his relief panels and Sneferu on his pillar reliefs [see *infra*, Fig. 25a, b, d]). It is in this deputized role of Hathor that the Type 2

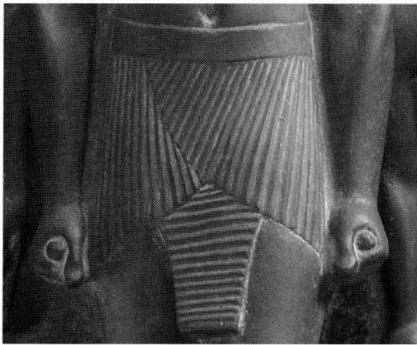
correct, the statues would clearly have marked the court as an area used for Sed-festival ceremonies’. For a plan of the Khafre pyramid temple see *ibid*, 53, fig. 15.

³⁵ See further illustration in Friedman in Thompson and Manuelian (eds), *Egypt and Beyond*, figs 12a–b, 122.

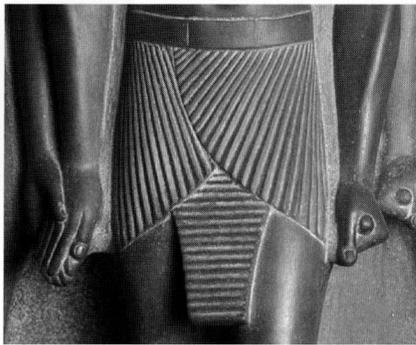
Fig. 15: Flat kilt tab in Type 2 (a) shows king is standing, while degrees of angled kilt tab and stride in Type 1 (b, c, d) show he is striding



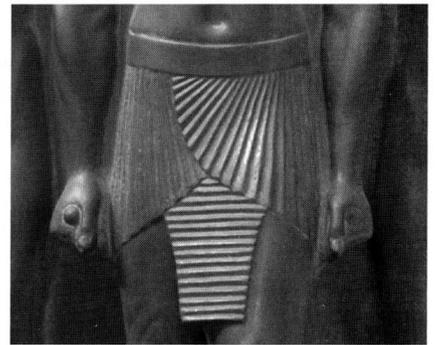
a. Type 2 (MFA 09.200)



b. Type 1 (JE 40678)



c. Type 1 (JE 46499)



d. Type 1 (JE 40679)

Fig. 16: Female nome personification in Type 2 (MFA, Boston 09.200) has advanced left leg and offers ankh



female personification assumes both Hathor's Type 1 position on the proper right, and her walking stance.

The sole appearance of the *ankh*, in Type 2, offered by the only example of a moving female personification, may also, I suggest, serve as a kind of punctuation mark that alerts us to a culmination, a terminus of sorts, in the ritual—just as I think an *ankh* is used to mark ritual endpoints in two Djoser panels, discussed below. The Type 2 triad, and probably its fragmentary companion (Fig. 2f, though probably with male nome), allude, I suggest, to a moment when the king, visibly legitimized in the double embrace of Hathor, and in possession of the divinely accorded *mekes* and *ankh*, stands confirmed as eternal monarch at the conclusion of the *heb sed*.

Given that the nome personifications in both Type 1 and 2 always move to some degree, through either turning or walking or both, it is not surprising that their nome standards can also move: on the intact Type 1 triads, all the standards face the viewer's left, while on the intact Type 2, the standard switches direction (Fig. 1). The change in direction in Type 2 could be explained by the fact that there is too little room for the standard to face the usual leftward direction, or that all the standards should face the king. But the shift in direction also emphasises the overall movement in the greywacke series, and it also resonates with a pattern seen at the Sneferu statue cult ('valley') temple.

*Multi-directionality at Sneferu's statue cult ('valley') temple*³⁶

At Sneferu's temple, female personifications of estates in Upper Egyptian nomes face northward (rightward) along the western side of the entrance corridor, while their nome numbers run southward (Fig. 17a, b). Upper Egyptian nome numbers moving in one direction while their personified estates literally face another recall the Menkaure Upper Egyptian nome standards that face one direction while their personifications glance in another. The Sneferu estate personifications from designated nomes offer provisions to the king, just as the triads' nome personifications give offerings to Menkaure from estates in designated nomes.³⁷ But what the Sneferu example makes clear—as probably did the triads, in their original arrangement in the valley temple court—is that a circulation of offerings is at work here (Fig. 17b). For the Upper Egyptian nome numbers start not at the entrance corridor but west of the pillared hall and run south to the entrance of the temple where they end with nome 22, the northernmost of the Upper Egyptian nomes; while the Lower Egyptian nomes, on the other side, start

at the entrance, probably with Lower Egyptian nome 1, and run north to higher numbers through the Delta. Six engaged statues of Sneferu of different sizes³⁸ stood at the north end of the temple in statue shrines.³⁹ The king thus literally stood between the descending and ascending nome numbers, creating a circulation of offerings directed to him from his estates around the country.

But Sneferu does not just passively stand and receive offerings in this temple; he moves—and it is movement through and out of his temple. I previously thought that he should be understood to walk from those statue shrines and move south toward his temple's exit (our entrance),⁴⁰ which I think still obtains; and we can see from a west wall fragment from directly inside the doorway⁴¹ that when he stands facing a god, he is orientated south toward the exit (Fig. 18a; king with a tail). But I now think that, in addition, he should be understood as running out of the temple in the *sed* festival. Most noteworthy in this regard is the fragment of the king's raised heel from a wall register above the file of Lower Egyptian estate personifications on the east wall of the entrance corridor⁴² (Fig. 18b). While the file of women is orientated north, the raised heel of the king in the register above is orientated south. The heel was part of a large image of the king running the *sed* race, the *heb sed* being the subject found in fragments throughout Sneferu's statue shrine images, wall reliefs, and especially pillar reliefs⁴³ that depict him both standing in shrines of the type known from earlier Djoser *sed*-related panels, and running with the *mekes* (Fig. 19).⁴⁴

As Sneferu walked or ran south through his exit, he had Upper Egyptian nome 22 on his right and, probably,

³⁸ A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, The Valley Temple*, pt. II (Cairo 1961), 3–4 on portions of the first and second statues found. The second statue was apparently smaller than the first (4), just as we see height disparities in the Menkaure triads.

³⁹ See Fakhry's hypothetical reconstruction in *The Monuments of Sneferu II*, pt. I, figs 119, 111, 113 ('hypothetical').

⁴⁰ Friedman in Gundlach and Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple*, forthcoming.

⁴¹ Placement on this part of wall is certain, since the fragment (Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu II*, pt 1, Fig. 18) contains the last Upper Egyptian nome (no. 22) (Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu II*, pt 1, 47).

⁴² Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu II*, pt 1, Fig. 25; exact location on east wall not known since no nome number survives (55); cf Fig. 43. And see *infra*, Fig. 25d.

⁴³ On the pillars, he was orientated in multiple directions around three sides of the ten pillars, though Fakhry cautioned that accurately placing the remains of the images on any given pillar or side was not possible: Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu II*, pt 1, 59.

⁴⁴ For new reconstructions of some pillar scenes, see E. Edel, 'Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru', in P.D. Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, I (Boston 1996), 199–208.

³⁶ Discussion of this subject was begun in Friedman in Gundlach and Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple*, forthcoming.

³⁷ That the Menkaure offerings, if only symbolically, came from Hathor temple estates in the triads' nomes is suggested in Friedman in Gundlach and Spence (eds), *Palace and Temple*, forthcoming.

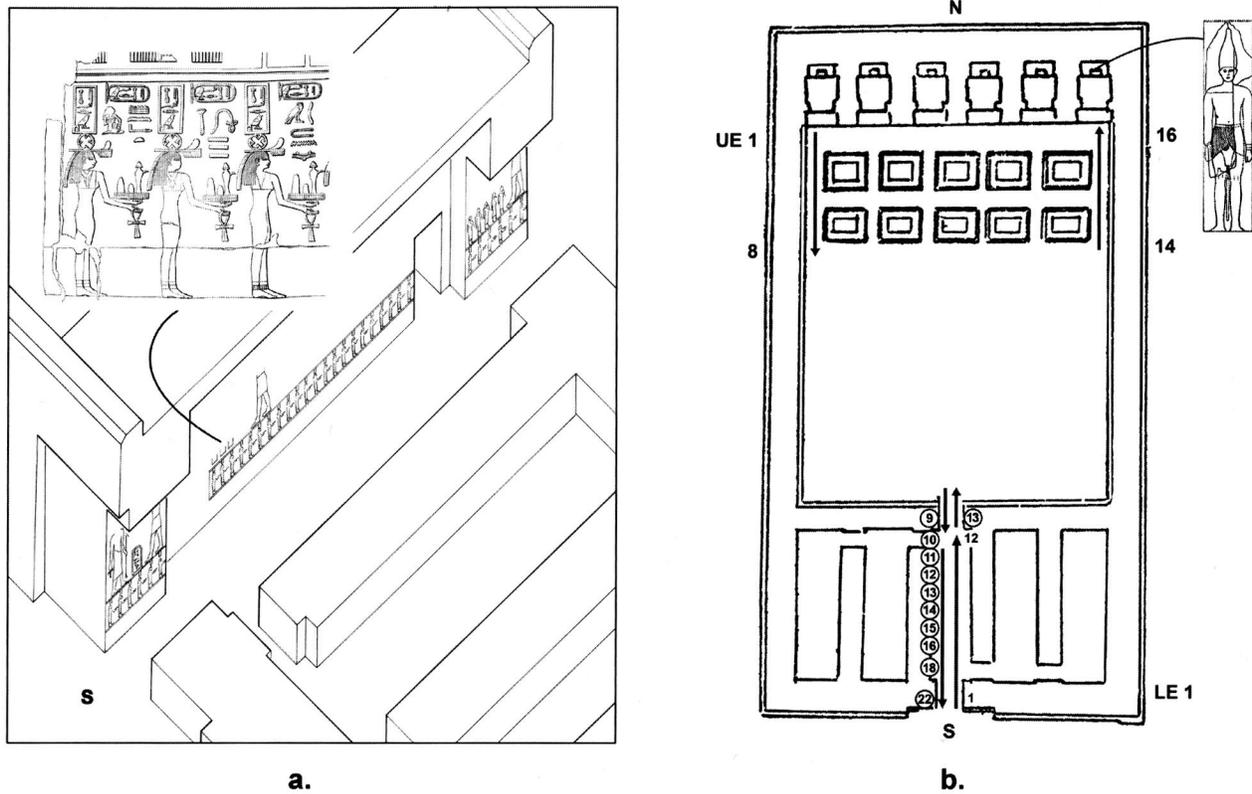


Fig. 17: (a) Detail of Sneferu's statue cult ('valley') temple entrance corridor, modified from D. Arnold, in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York 1999), 85, Fig. 49, with added magnified view of west wall relief (after Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu II, Pt. 1, Fig. 17*). Personified estates face north on both sides of corridor (only west side of corridor shown). (b) Redrawing of Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu II, pt. I, 18, Fig. 8*. Only nomes Fakhry found in situ are circled. Arrows show direction in which nome numbers run: Lower Egypt nome numbers run north; Upper Egypt nome numbers run south. Statues of king stood in six statue shrines at north facing south

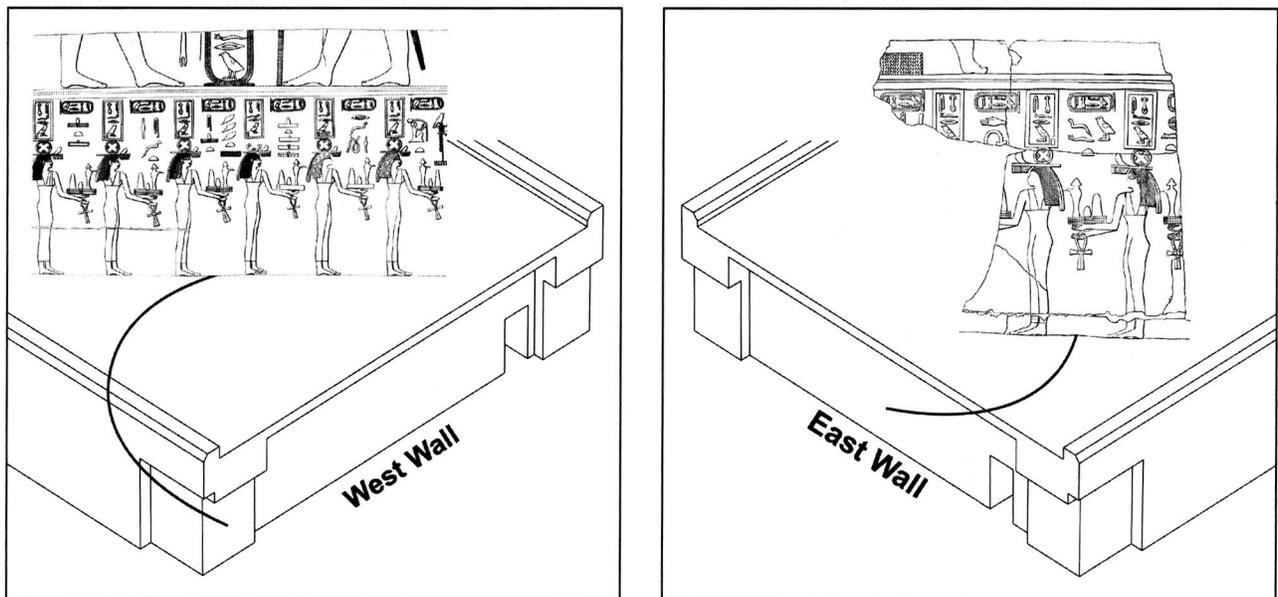


Fig. 18: (a) West wall of Sneferu entrance corridor with magnified view of relief, after Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, pt. I, ;* (b) East wall of corridor with magnified view of relief, after Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu II, pt. I, Fig. 25; from east wall, location unknown* (p. 55)

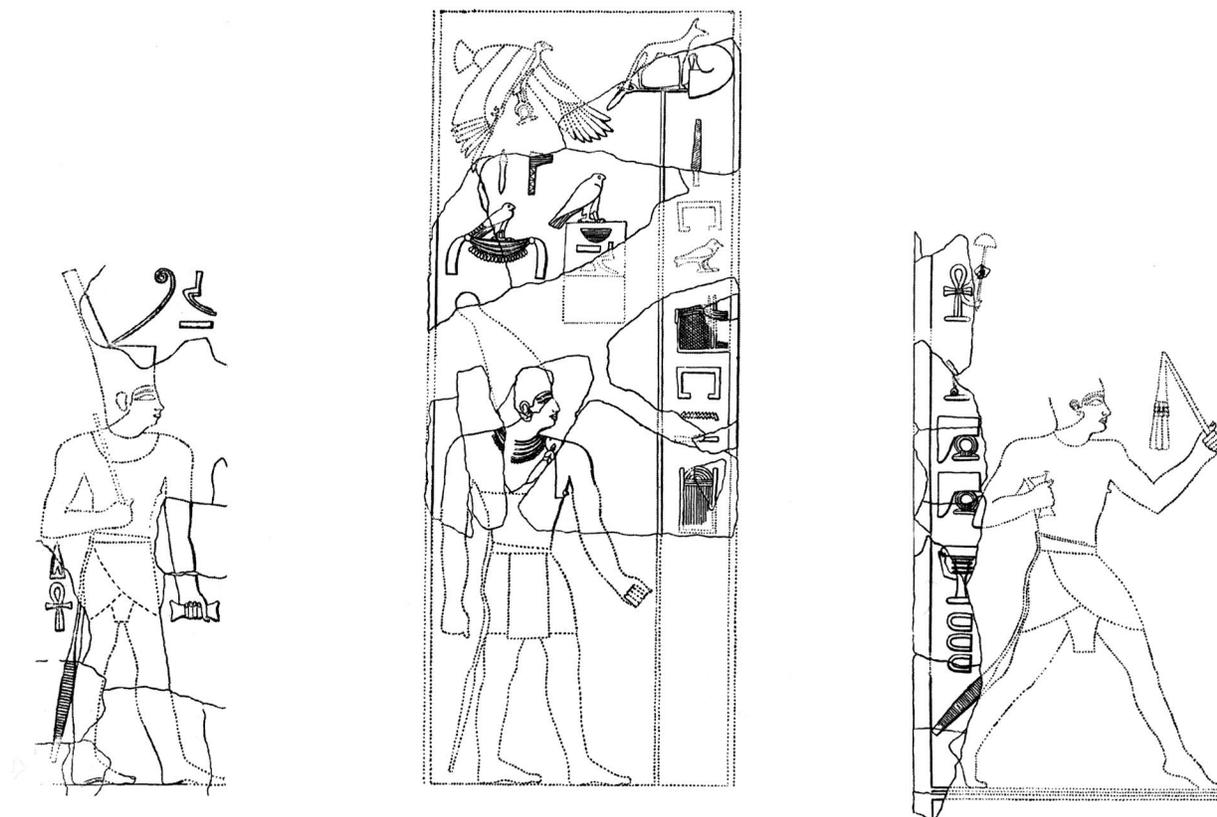


Fig. 19: Reconstructed images of Sneferu standing, with and without mekes; and running (as reconstructed) with mekes; after Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II*, pt. I, , Figs 120, 48, 43

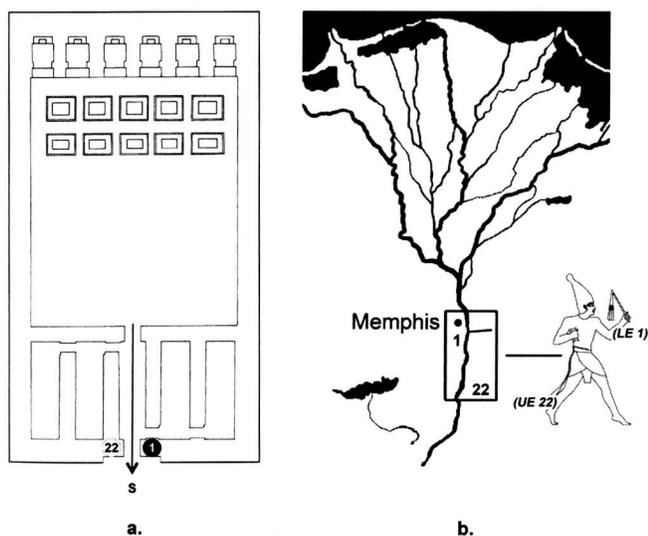


Fig. 20: (a) King exits temple to south: Upper Egypt nome 22 to his right and (probably) Lower Egypt nome 1 to his left places him east (b) in the Memphite area. Temple plan after Friedman, *JARCE 32* (1995), Fig. 21, after Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu II*, pt. I, Figs 1; 119

according to Fakhry, Lower Egyptian nome 1 on his left (Fig. 20a). Transferring the king to a map, these coordinates orientate him east and place him at the juncture of Upper and Lower Egypt, which is the politically and cosmically charged region of Memphis (Fig. 20b), the capital where in real life Old Kingdom *heb sed* festivals were celebrated. Dual orientation, south and east, has been achieved in Sneferu's temple through an integration of the architectural and relief programmes of the temple, the purpose being not only to provision the king through an eternal circulation of offerings from around the country, but also, and, most importantly, to accord him the eternal benefits of celebrating his *heb sed* in his capital.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ cf of the Unas pyramid's fifth dynasty use of dual-directionality, east and north, through the integration of pyramid text sequencing with architectural spaces, i.e. moving from sarcophagus chamber to antechamber, to exit and the outside. See J. P. Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid', in C. Berger et al. (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I* (BdE 106/1; Cairo 1994), 5–28, esp. 24, fig. 5, and J. P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Writings from the Ancient World 23; Atlanta 2005), 9. As with Djoser and Sneferu, and I believe Menkaure, an architectural programme has been integrated with another form of communication—in Unas's case, written text, the net effect being to allow the king to move in more than one direction in his afterlife. I see no *heb sed* reference with Unas, however.

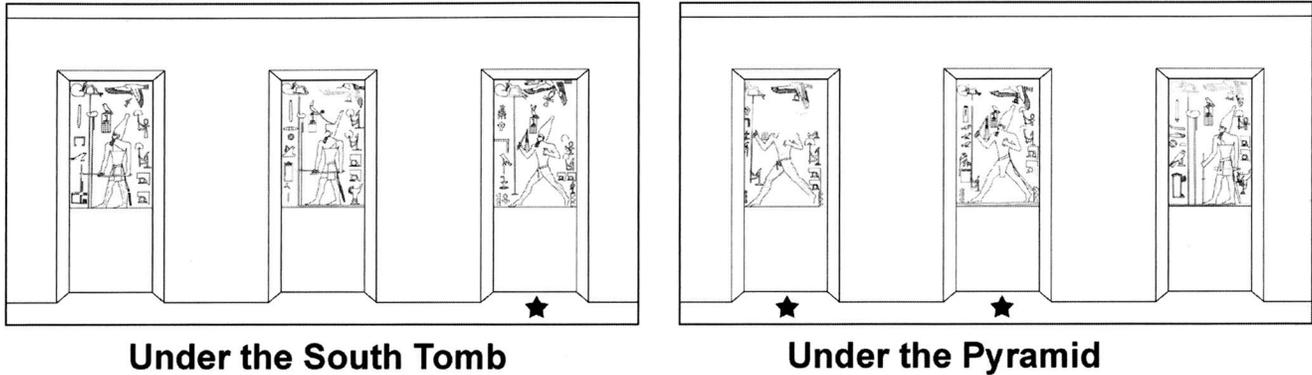


Fig. 21: The six underground relief panels from Djoser's Step Pyramid Complex. Running figures are starred. Drawings after Friedman, *JARCE* 32 (1995), Figs 2a, b

Multi-directionality at Djoser's Step Pyramid complex

The use of multi-directionality at Sneferu's temple made me think about the potential for movement in multiple directions found in the Menkaure triads, and how the architectural and statue programmes of Menkaure's valley temple might be integrated for related purposes. This led me to think about where else clearly depicted or implied movement appears in Old Kingdom royal architecture, which led me back to Djoser's Third Dynasty Step Pyramid Complex at Saqqara. Here, running as part of a *heb sed* ritual is illustrated in the king's underground relief panels, set within false doors, three under the pyramid and three under the south tomb. Three of the reliefs show Djoser standing, and three running (starred), all facing left (Fig. 21). As with all profile figures, he is also to be understood as facing forward, which would be east, giving him implicit dual directionality.

But there is more than dual-directionality here. There is multi-directionality, and it is played out in new and unique ways with Djoser. The panels under his pyramid are essentially on line with those under the south tomb, so that the two figures of Djoser running under the pyramid link to the one under the south tomb in a leftward, southern sequence (Fig. 22). These underground figures running south are to be understood as a narrative sequence that depicts Djoser in three different costumes, at three different times, as if he were actually running above ground along the path of *dnbw* territorial markers where he is to circuit around the markers ritually to claim Egypt during the *heb sed* (Fig. 23). The running takes the king in multiple directions, first south, then west, or right, with the curved arrow, and then back north and around. The *dnbw* markers seem to have a dual function: as physical 'stage scenery' and as large-scale hieroglyphs to be read. The meaning of the *dnb* sign probably comes from the verb *dnb*, meaning 'to turn away, turn round',⁴⁶ so that the markers are the equivalent of stage directions that tell the king when to turn.

All the panels' hieroglyphic captions typically face Djoser,⁴⁷ except in the final running scene under the south tomb (Fig. 24c), where the hieroglyphs in mid-inscription shift direction. The caption is almost the same caption from the previous panel: *hr wsht rsj(t) jmnt(t)*, 'at the southwest broad court'⁴⁸ (Fig. 24b), except now the hieroglyphs for 'southwest' switch orientation⁴⁹ and are transposed. The full caption reads: *ms(.t) hr wsht jmnt(t) rsj(t)*, 'Born at the southwest corner of the court' (Fig. 24 c). This last running figure of Djoser, under the south tomb, correlates with the foremost figure running above ground who is to turn, that is, shift direction, at the southernmost *dnb* marker (Fig. 23). The shift in orientation of the hieroglyphs is another 'stage direction', this time below ground, and again meaning 'now it's time to turn'. And not only 'turn round' but also 'turn direction' in order to go south-west – 'to be born' as a *ms*-created or dedicated statue of the king at that area of the Great Court.⁵⁰ Ensuring proper movement and direction was important enough that a redundancy of signalling systems ('stage directions') was put in place both above ground (with the *dnb* markers) and below (with the shift of hieroglyph orientation).

to the Sed-Festival', *JEA* 64 (1978), 52–55; Friedman, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 22.

⁴⁷ The hieroglyph for *bh*, Gardiner Signlist F18, is mis-orientated in the first panel (Fig. 22a), but this is surely an error derived from the artists' habit of drawing the sign for the left-orientated Behedite as preserved in Fig. 22d (=Fig. 24c). See Friedman, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 18.

⁴⁸ For inscriptions, also compare J. Kahl, *Inschriften aus der Zeit des Netjerchet* (ÄA 56; Wiesbaden 1995), 76–79.

⁴⁹ In Friedman, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 29, 36, I did not understand at the time of publishing this article that the shift in hieroglyph orientation was purposeful and 'to be read'. Moreover, I now wonder if the hieroglyph for ankh at the bottom of the column is to be read with the caption, as in: 'Born at the southwest corner of the court, the king (now) being alive'.

⁵⁰ See Friedman, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 29 and *passim* for suggestion that the panel reliefs depict statues of the king.

⁴⁶ A. J. Spencer, 'Two Enigmatic Hieroglyphs and their Relation

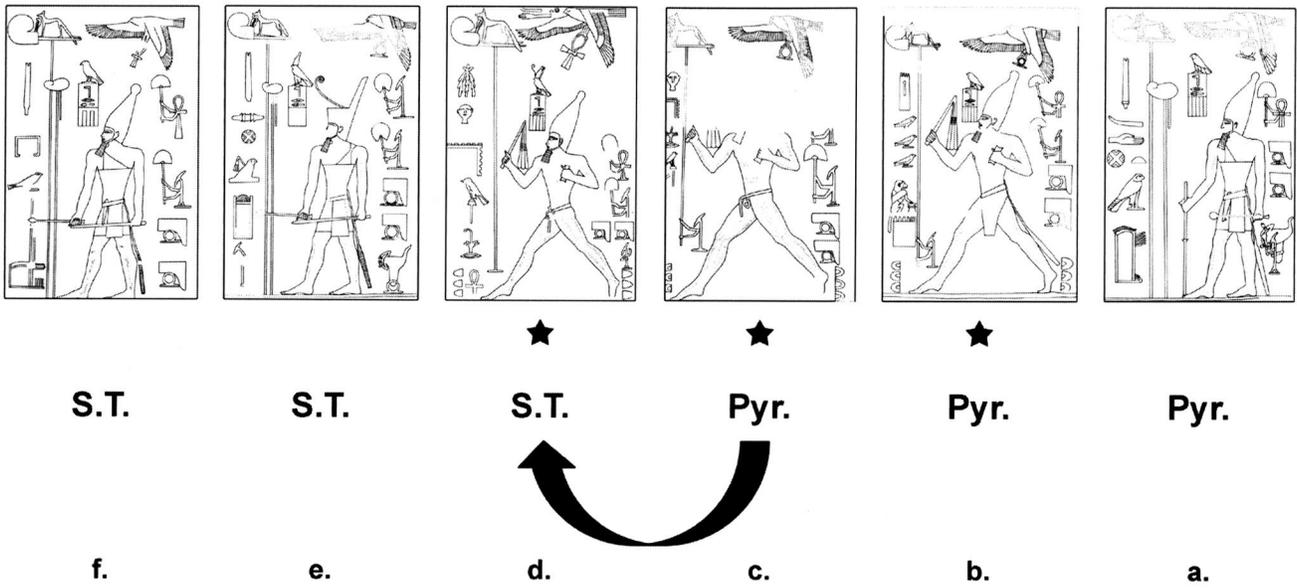


Fig. 22: Djoser figures are oriented left/south. The two running figures under the pyramid link to the one running figure under the South Tomb

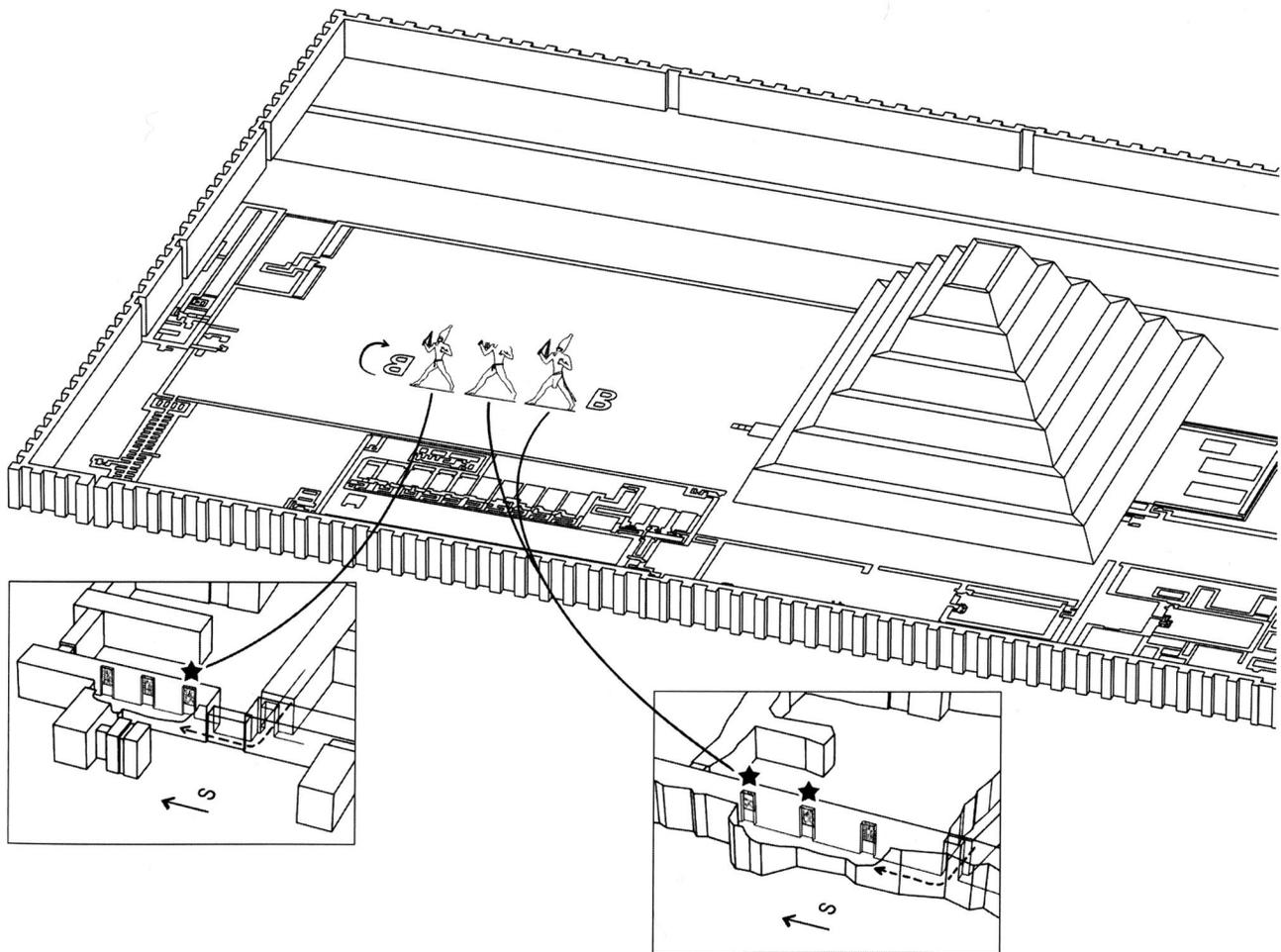


Fig. 23: The three running figures below ground understood as a narrative sequence of Djoser running the sed race above ground

goddess Nekhbet (?) for Sneferu,⁵¹ so the same principle obtains for Menkaure. That is, the open court of Menkaure's valley temple, lined with statues of him striding or standing, and some in possession of the *mekes*, was likewise for celebrating the *heb sed* through the vehicle of his sculpture and likewise under the auspices of deity, but now one that has been fully humanised and in the sole form of Hathor.

In short, Menkaure in his *heb sed* rituals is a moving player just as Djoser and Sneferu were. But the full extent of the rituals played out by the triads is not clear. That more than one *heb sed* related ritual was at work is suggested by additional ceremonies at the Djoser and Sneferu complexes. For example, at Djoser's monument, another ritual, and a further illustration of multi-directionality, is suggested by the alignment of a dummy gate with the line of travel along the *dnb* markers.⁵² Besides circuiting the markers and going south-west, Djoser was probably also understood to run straight ahead through the dummy gate and east to circuit the walls in the *phr h3 inb* ceremony, known to take place in conjunction with a king's accession and coronation (Fig. 27) and thus mimicking the real life ceremony which probably took place at Memphis.⁵³ And Sneferu may also perform another *heb sed*-related ritual while running with the *mekes*, namely, the Running of the Apis, which appears on a pillar fragment whose orientation, now lost to us, may have been significant.⁵⁴ And just as the potential for movement in multiple directions and even for multiple rituals at one and the same time is integrated through the architectural and sculptural programmes of the Djoser and Sneferu complexes, so it is, I believe, for the Menkaure triads.

Relevant features in the triads' titles

Just as there are indications for movement in the triad figures

themselves (shifted glances, turned bodies, advanced gaits), there may also be similar cues in the triads' inscriptions.

The titles of Menkaure also move. On the Theban Triad, his Horus name, *k3* Bull of the corporation (of the gods) is orientated right, and his *nswt-bity* dual king name, Menkaure, faces left (Fig. 28a). Moving north, on the Diospolis Parva triad, Upper Egyptian nome 7 (Fig. 28b), the titles switch places, into the same arrangement assumed in the Type 2 triad. But in the Cynopolis triad, Upper Egyptian nome 17 (Fig. 28c), something unusual happens: it omits the king's Horus name. It is not a question of there being too little space; there is room for it. What is not here is perhaps as important as what is. The Horus name is the oldest in the royal titulary and is rarely omitted. In fact, this is the only time I know of its absence in any inscribed Menkaure sculpture. The omission, as noted above, may signal something more substantive than a performance cue; it may signal that Menkaure was dead at the time of the statue's manufacture, suggesting that the plans for not only the architecture but also the sculpture of the valley temple were in flux between the reigns of Menkaure and Shepseskaf, with both sculptural as well as architectural plans finished by the latter. And the lack of the Horus name may suggest that an existential change in the king had taken, or was taking place—from living to dead to reborn—that would have been relevant to his ritual rejuvenation in the *heb sed* performance played out through the triads.

Summary

Menkaure's triads are highly efficient vehicles for carrying conflated forms of thematic information. The conflated themes are legitimation, provisioning, multi-directionality and the *heb sed*, with the major theme being the last. The triads compress time, in that all events are concurrent, as opposed to sequenced; and they compress space, through enabling the king to move in multiple directions at once. In short, the triads make available to the king the full spectrum of time and space that will enable him to celebrate eternal *heb sed*s. What was largely implicit with Djoser and Sneferu has become more explicit with Menkaure. And what were largely relief images under Djoser and Sneferu, have now become free-standing group sculptures whose 'action figures', with their subtle choreography, play out Menkaure's *heb sed* ritual in his open court.

A further study will look at the how meaning of the triads was enhanced through inter-relationship with the alabaster seated statuary in an adjacent room. The two media, assigned to different architectural spaces, carried separate iconography, texts and meaning, but functionally overlapped to bring the king into relationship with not only Hathor but Re.

⁵¹ Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu II*, Pt. 1, 71 for Nekhbet; and for other deities, see p. 87, Fig. 69 for Horus the Behedite (?); p. 126, Fig. 141 for Sekhmet (?); and p. 95, Fig. 84 for Seshat.

⁵² Just as two other markers in the House of the South originally aligned with a gateway in the earliest stage of the enclosure's design (Friedman, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 14.)

⁵³ T. A. H. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt* (London and New York 2000), 149 for *phr h3 inb* in Palermo Stone entry for Shepseskaf, PS v.I.2; Fig. 3; and 94–95. See also, W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs* (MÄS 32; München–Berlin 1975), 49.

⁵⁴ Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu II*, Pt. 1, 99, Fig. 96 shows a fragmentary image of the king, though clearly with *mekes* in hand, performing the *[p]hrr h[3]*... which Fakhry completes as 'going round of the Apis bull', a ritual he links to the *heb sed* (p. 98), as does W. Helck in *LÄ V*, 274–275 (Rituale 6).

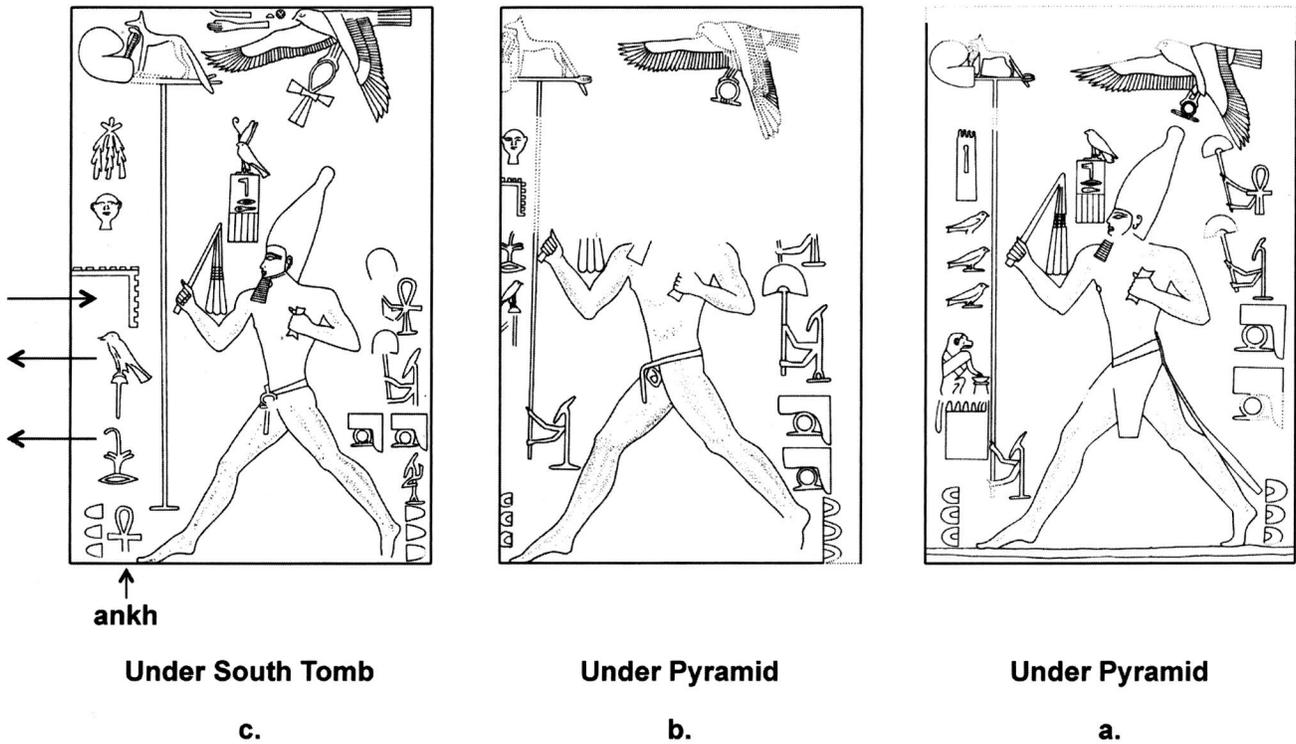


Fig. 24: Hieroglyphs switch orientation in last running panel (c)

The southernmost panel (Fig. 24c) of the Djoser running sequence is also noteworthy in that the *ankh* appears for the first and only time among the running scenes. And perhaps because of its life-giving significance, it is shown twice: once before the right foot of the running king (with *dnbw* markers), and second, as a glyph extended to the king by Horus the Behedite. It is noteworthy that this bird deity offers the *shen* in the previous running scenes (Fig. 24b, a), just as Hathor (in JE 46499) or Hathor and the female nome personification (in JE 40679) offered the *shen* in Type 1 triads, as opposed to the *ankh* in the culminating Type 2 triad. The sudden appearance of the *ankh* in this last Djoser running scene suggests to me that the *ankh* serves as a kind of punctuation mark, or signal, that some portion of the ritual has ended, just as it did in the Type 2 Menkaure triad where the nome, Hathor's deputy, extended the *ankh* sign. We see another such comparable use of the *ankh* in the sixth and final panel of the Djoser series, where, under the South Tomb, the king stands in (*rh' [m]*) the *pr-wr* shrine (Fig. 22f) as Horus the Behedite again extends an *ankh* after the *shen* was offered in the two previous standing scenes. So, at both the end of the running sequence and at the last of the standing scenes, a deity proffers the *ankh* to Djoser, in what seem to be ritual endpoints.

Relationship of Menkaure's triads to Djoser and Sneferu material

Menkaure expands on the Djoser and Sneferu precedents.

The Djoser and Sneferu reliefs pair standing and running kings in *heb sed* related images (Fig. 25a–e). With Djoser, the standing figures are understood as standing in the shrines around the *heb sed* court above ground, though without one to one correlation (Fig. 26); and, as noted, the running figures are understood as running the *heb sed* race in the Great Court, also above ground (Fig. 23). When running, Djoser always holds the *mekes*, just as Menkaure holds it in the Type 2 triad. Fragments of pillar reliefs in Sneferu's temple pick up the same standing and running themes, showing him standing in labelled shrines (Fig. 25c), as on the Djoser panels, and (probably as Fakhry reconstructed the scene) running with the *mekes* (Fig. 25d). But a transition occurs when Sneferu stands (as opposed to runs) while holding the *mekes*, seen in a relief that flanked one of his statue shrine images (Fig. 25e). This combination of features (standing while holding the *mekes*) also appears with Menkaure in the Type 2 triad (Fig. 25f).

Thus I suggest that the pairing of running and standing figures in the Djoser and Sneferu reliefs may have been assumed by the Menkaure Type 1 and 2 triads that show him striding without the *mekes* (Type 1) and standing with it (Type 2). In other words, the full range of features from Djoser and Sneferu (standing, running, *mekes*) is maintained, but recombined in a new way. And just as in the Djoser and Sneferu cases, standing, running and the acquisition of the *mekes* take place in *heb sed* courts under the tutelage of Horus the Behedite for Djoser, or the vulture

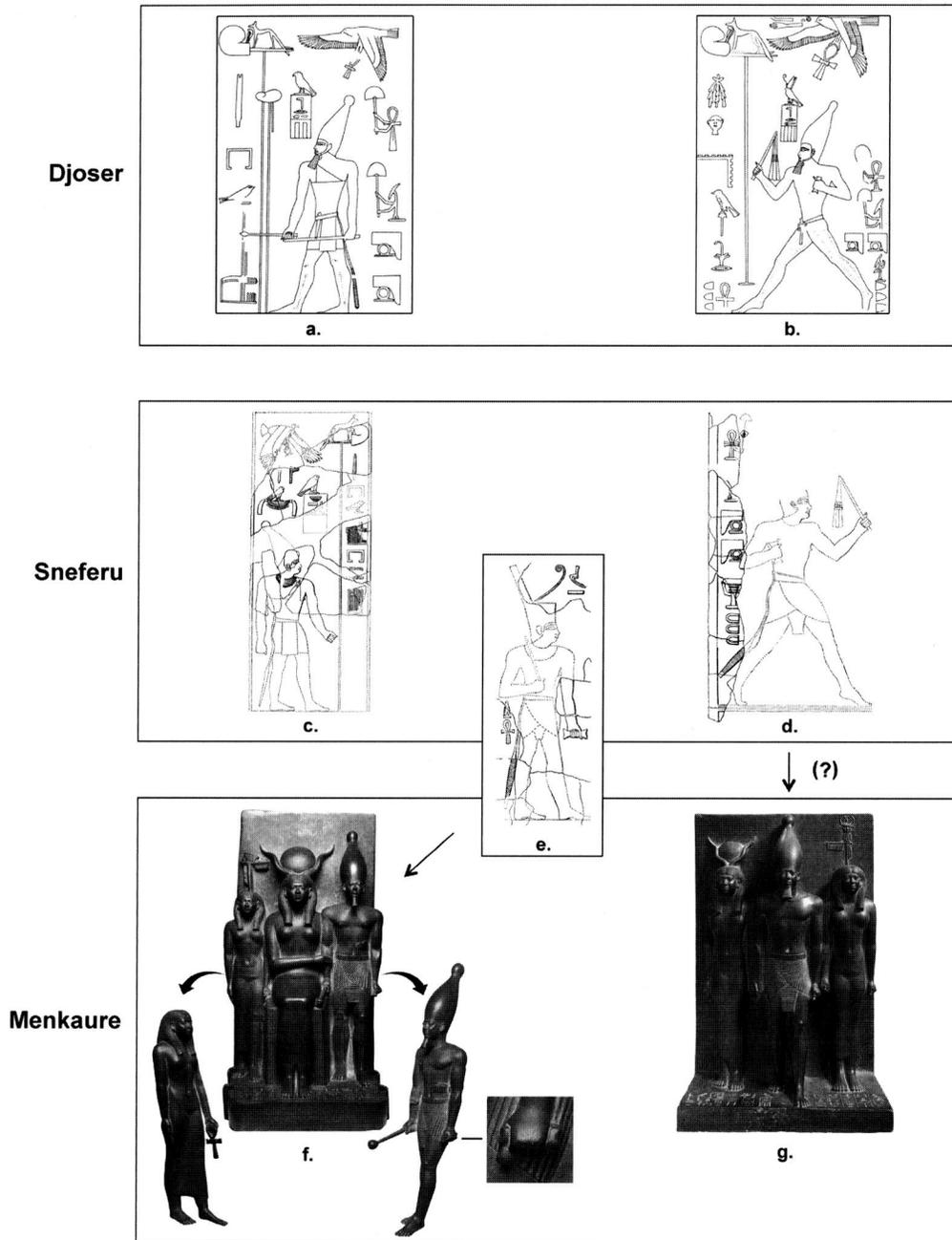


Fig. 25: (a) South Tomb, southern panel. Djoser stands ($\epsilon^{\text{h}}\epsilon$) in a shrine (*pr wr*), referring to shrines in the heb sed court. (b) South Tomb, northern panel. Djoser runs heb sed race holding mekes, understood to take place in Great Court above ground. Mekes is held only when king runs. (c) Sneferu (reconstructed) stands in shrines (*pr wr*, *pr nsr*). From a pillar relief (after Fakhry *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II*, pt 1, fig. 48; *Pillar B*, side 1; other pillar images orient him left, e.g. fig. 55, from a statue shrine; cf also fig. 63, and Edel, *Relieffragmenten*, reconstruction, Abb. 1; Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II*, Pt. 1, Fig. 99, and Edel, *Relieffragmenten*, reconstruction, Abb. 4; Fakhry II, Pt. 1, Fig. 110 and Edel, *Relieffragmenten*, reconstruction, Abb. 3). (d) Sneferu (reconstructed) runs, holding mekes. From a pillar relief (after Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II*, Pt. 1, fig. 43, p. 66; *Pillar A*, side No. 2. Other pillar images orientate him left, e.g. figs 55, 58, 63, 96). Lifted rear heel makes run clear, as in Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II*, Pt. 1, 65; cf fig. 25). (e) Sneferu (reconstructed) stands, holding mekes, from one of two reliefs flanking a central statue of the king in a statue shrine ('Chapel A'). With Sneferu the mekes can also be held when the king stands. (After Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II*, Pt. 1, Fig. 120, with modifications to kilt based author's corrections (113, n. 1; cf also figs 126, 127, 134.)) (f) Type 2 triad, MFA, Boston, 09.200. Menkaure stands, holding heb sed mekes, understood to be in heb sed court of valley temple. (g) Type 1 triad, JE 46499. Menkaure strides without holding mekes; understood to occur in heb sed court of valley temple. Mekes now transferred from running king (Djoser), to both running and standing king (Sneferu), to standing king (Menkaure)

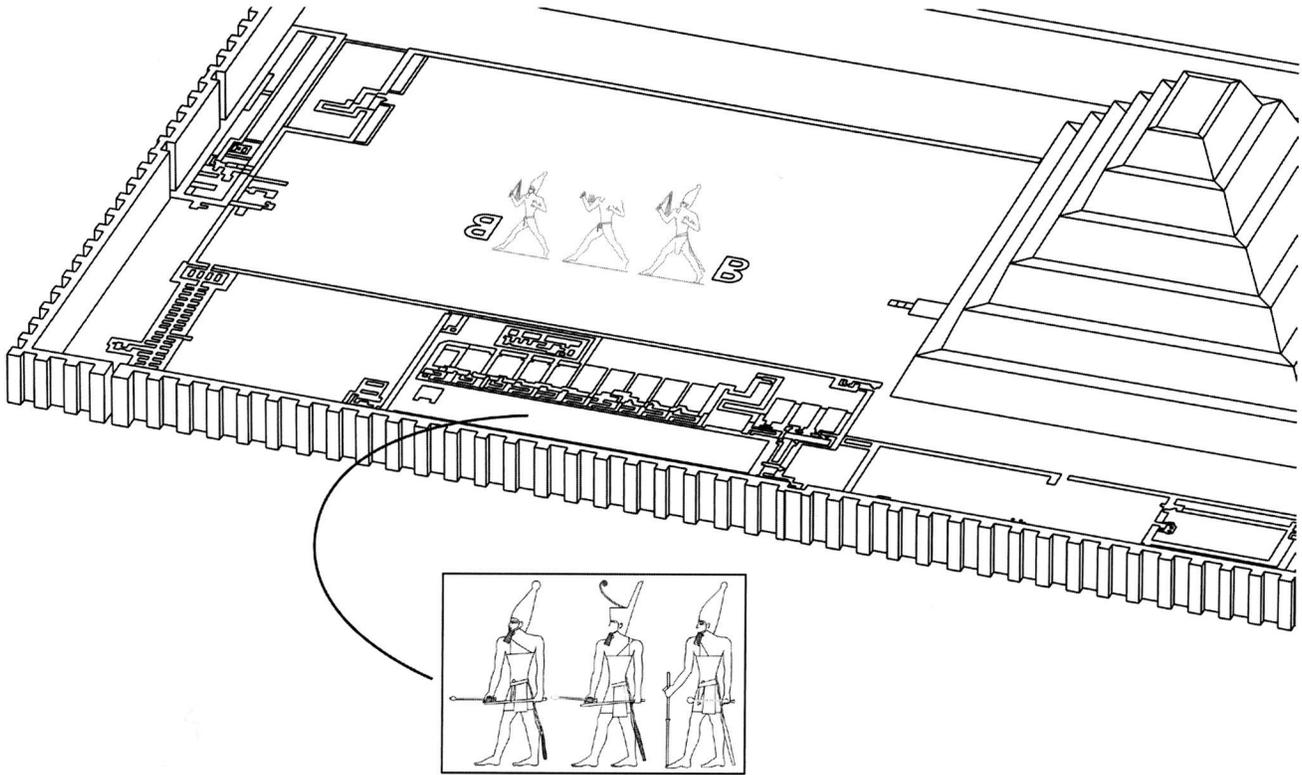


Fig. 26: The three figures of Djoser standing in shrines below ground (see Fig. 22) understood as king standing in shrines in the heb sed court above ground

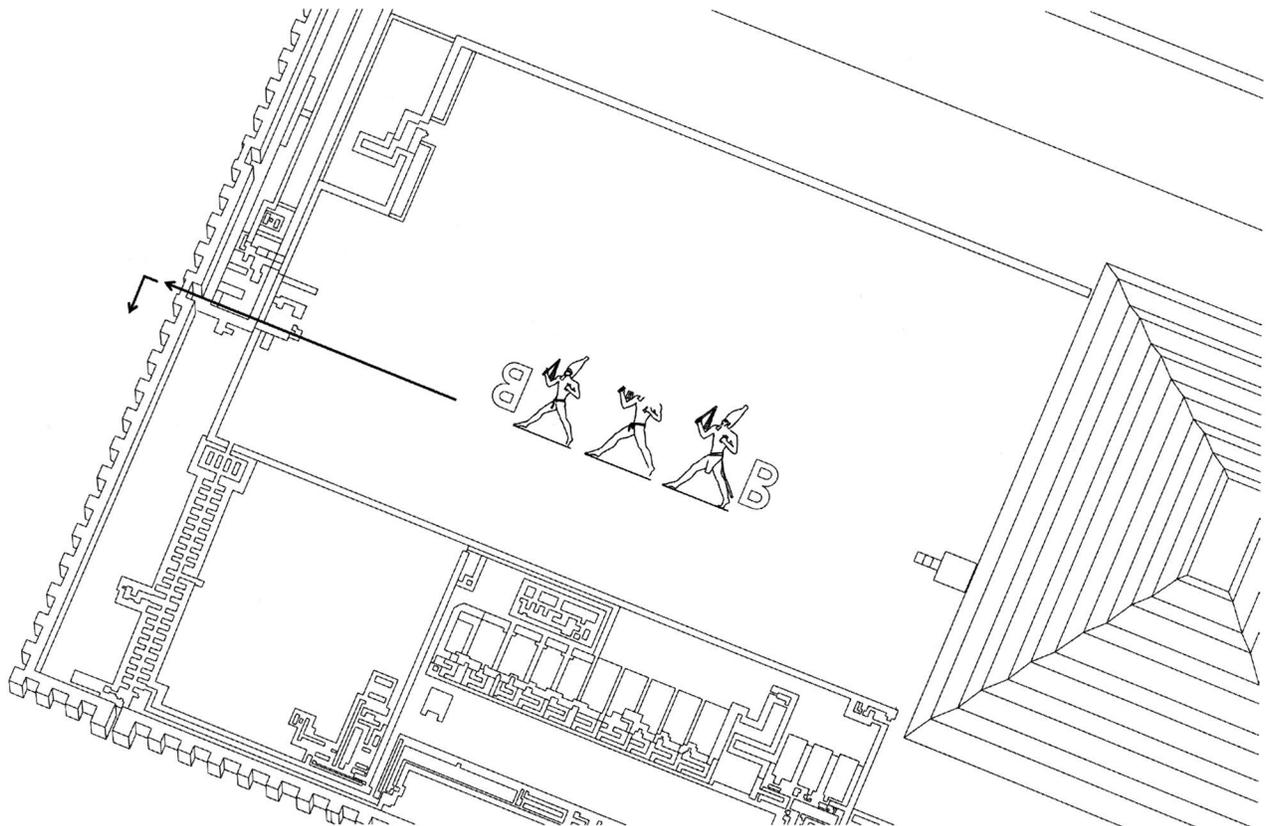


Fig. 27: Djoser's run beside the *dnb*-markers is on line with a dummy gate, out of which he runs for the *phr h3 inb* ritual

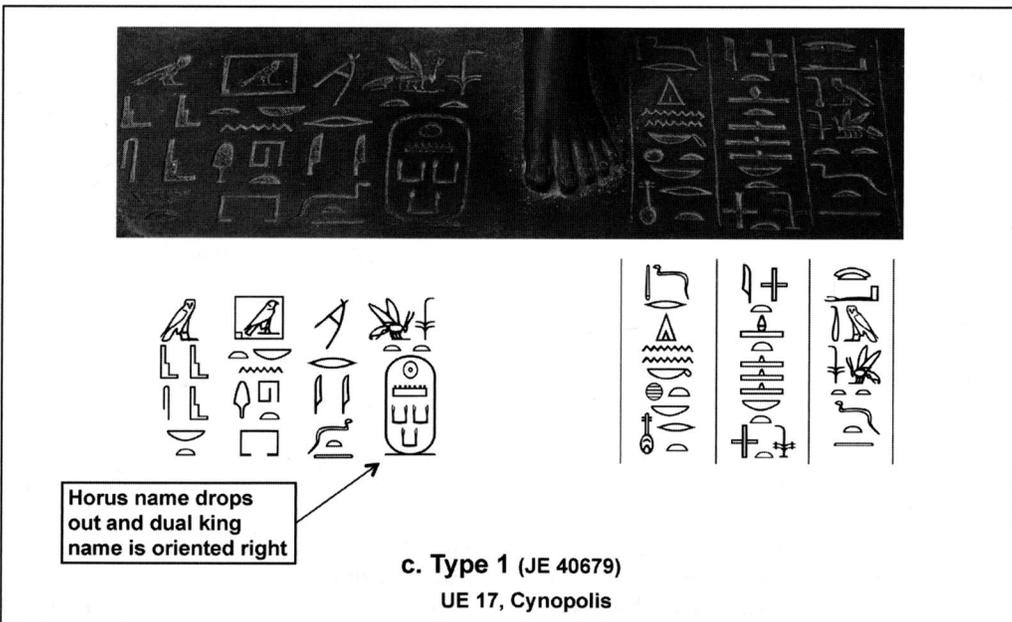
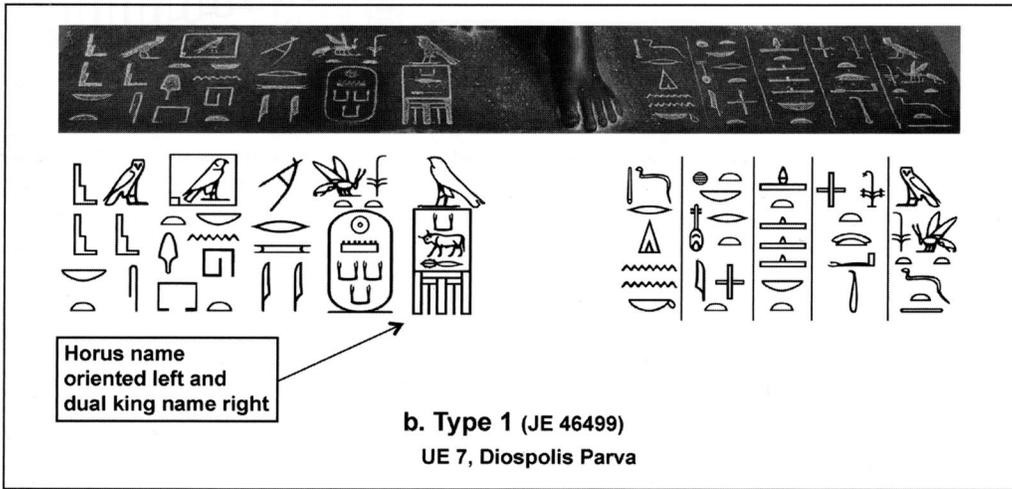
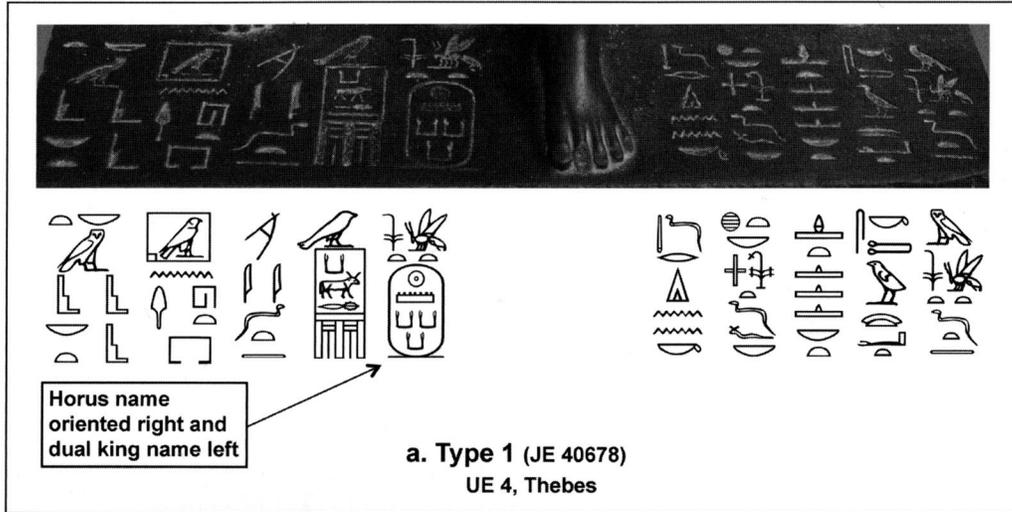


Fig. 28: Features of royal titles in Type 1 intact triads: (a) JE 40678, (b) JE 46499, and (c) JE 40679

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Recent research on all aspects of the Old Kingdom in Egypt is presented in this volume, ranging through the Pyramid Texts, tomb architecture, ceramics, scene choice and layout, field reports, cemetery layout, tomb and temple statuary. The contributions also show how Egyptology is not stuck in its venerable traditions but that newer forms of technology are being used to great effect by Egyptologists. For example, two papers show how GIS technology can shed light on cemetery arrangement and how 3D scanners can be employed in the process of producing facsimile drawings of reliefs and inscriptions.

The authors cover a wide range of sites and monuments. A large part of the work presented deals with material from the great cemeteries of Saqqara and Giza of the Old Kingdom capital city of Memphis but all the smaller sites are discussed. The book also includes a paper on the architecture of mastabas from the lesser-known site of Abu Roasch. The provinces are by no means overlooked, with articles on material from Deir el-Bersha, el-Sheikh Said and Akhmim. Between them, the authors discuss material from the milieu of the king right down to that which concerned the tomb workmen and those who supplied their basic needs, such as bakers, brewers and potters.

Containing papers presented at a conference at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge in May 2009, this book continues a series of publications of the latest research presented at previous meetings in Paris, Berlin and Prague.

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