

STRUCTURE AND SIGNIFICANCE

THOUGHTS ON ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE



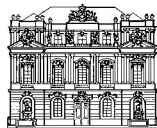
VERLAG DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
DENKSCHRIFTEN DER GESAMTAKADEMIE, BAND XXXIII

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UND LEVANTE DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
VON MANFRED BIETAK

BAND XXV



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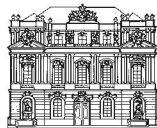
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Editor
Peter Jánosi



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Adela
OPPENHEIM

Decorative Programs and Architecture in the Pyramid Complexes of the Third and Fourth Dynasties

IT HAS BEEN A PRIVILEGE and an honor to work with Dieter Arnold on a number of projects. This article is offered in gratitude for our once and future discussions about the architecture and the relief decoration of pyramid complexes*.

Studies of the decorative programs of Old Kingdom pyramid complexes have tended to focus on those of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Much has been written about the meaning of these pyramid complexes and their wall reliefs as Egyptologists have struggled with questions of the purpose and the rituals surrounding these central monuments of the Old Kingdom. Pyramid temples have been described as the earthly setting for the king's funeral¹, the eternal palace in which the king would dwell during his afterlife², the embodiment of cosmos itself³, and a focus for *sed*-festival rituals⁴. Most of these discussions have treated the decorative programs of the pyramid temples according to broad iconographic themes.

Publications of Third and Fourth Dynasty pyramid complexes generally concentrate on the development of architectural forms or the statue programs found within the temples. The relief decoration of these complexes has been discussed largely in field reports, and there have been few attempts to understand the development of wall relief from sparse, simple beginnings during the Third Dynasty to more complex scenes and iconography in the Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties. Clearly the decorative programs of early pyramid complexes have been neglected because in most cases very little remains. However, a

* The author would like to thank Dorothea Arnold for her important insights and comments, Peter Jánosi for his help and patience, and Peter Der Manuelian for permission to use his plan of the Khufu pyramid temple.

1. H. Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur Ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs*, vol. I, *BeiträgeBf.* 4, 1944; *id.*, *Bemerkungen zur Ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs*, vol. II, *BeiträgeBf.* 5, 1950; S. Schott, «Bemerkungen zum Ägyptischen Pyramidenkult», in: *BeiträgeBf.* 5, 1950.

2. Dieter Arnold, «Rituale und Pyramidentempel»,

MDAIK 33, 1977, 1-14.

3. D. O'Connor, «The Interpretation of the Old Kingdom Pyramid Complex», in: *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet*, (eds. H. Guksch and D. Polz), Mainz 1998, 135-144.

4. M. Rochholz, «Sedfest, Sonnenheiligtum und Pyramidenbezirk: Zur Deutung der Grabanlagen der Könige der 5. und 6. Dynastie», in: *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm* (eds. R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz), *HAB* 37, 1994, 255-280.

detailed analysis of the existing evidence reveals interesting patterns in the decoration of these early monuments and shows the gradual development towards more complicated iconography and scenes along with greater coverage of temple walls.

The development of pyramid complexes actually begins with the Third Dynasty pharaoh Djoser. Although the centerpiece of his complex at Saqqara is not a true pyramid, it represents the first instance in which the burial place of the king is surmounted by an enormous, roughly triangular stone monument that is surrounded by an elaborate, aboveground configuration of ritually significant, permanent stone structures⁵. In Djoser's complex, the architecture, statuary, and some ritual implements were all that were deemed necessary to perpetuate kingship, cosmic order, and the afterlife of the pharaoh himself. Detailed and specific architectural forms were able to fulfill the necessary ritual qualifications without the assistance of either elaborate depictions of the rituals themselves or extensive inscriptions. Both the aboveground buildings and the underground apartments underwent a number of construction phases⁶ and the resulting complex appears to be a collection of disparate spaces and structures that do not interconnect or coordinate with each other in a perceptible linear or sequential fashion.

The only figural wall reliefs known to have existed in the entire complex are six panels equally divided between the elaborately conceived underground apartments beneath the step mastaba and the south tomb⁷. Each panel depicts Djoser carrying different objects, wearing different costumes, and either striding or running⁸, while Horus flies above his head. In front of the pharaoh are standards and brief, somewhat cryptic inscriptions describing his visits to various sites in Egypt. A variety of ritual insignia are depicted behind him. The king is the only human figure in the panels and the standards and emblems that are carried by male bearers in later reliefs here either lack visible supports or are held by animated *was*-scepters that have sprouted arms. In addition to the relief

5. For discussions of the step mastaba and its complex see, C.M. Firth, J.E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, 2 vols., Cairo 1935; J.-Ph. Lauer, *La pyramide à degrés*, vols. I and II, *L'architecture*, Cairo 1936, vol. III, *Compléments*, Cairo 1939; *id.*, *Histoire monumentale des pyramides d'Égypte*, vol. I, *Les pyramides à degrés (III^e Dynastie)*, Cairo 1962; *id.*, *Études complémentaires sur les monuments du roi Zoser à Saqqarah*, *BdE* 39, 1958; Ricke, *Bemerkungen* I, 61-110; R. Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden: Vom Ziegelbau zum Weltwunder*, Mainz 1991², 35-72.

6. The building phases of the complex are discussed in J.-Ph. Lauer, «Sur certaines modifications et extensions apportées au complexe funéraire de Djoser au cours de son règne», in: *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards*. (ed. J. Baines *et al.*) London 1988, 5-11; R. Stadelmann, «Origins and Development of the Funerary Complex of Djoser», in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. II, (ed. P. Der Manuelian), Boston 1996, 787-800; W. Kaiser, «Zur unterirdischen Anlage der Djoserpyramide und ihrer entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung», in: *Gegengabe:*

Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut. (ed. I. Gamber-Wallert and W. Helck), Tübingen 1992, 167-90; *id.*, «Zu den königlichen Talbezirken der 1. und 2. Dynastie in Abydos und zur Baugeschichte des Djoser-Grabmals», *MDAIK* 25, 1969, 1-21; H. Altenmüller, «Bemerkungen zur frühen und späten Bauphasen des Djoserbezirkes in Saqqara», *MDAIK* 28, 1972, 1-12. See also Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, 35-72.

7. Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, 5, 19, 33-34, 59-60, pls. 15-17, 40-44; Lauer, *Pyramide à degrés* I, 35, 107; II, pls. 35-37, nos. 1-3; *id.*, *Histoire monumentale*, 79-82, 129-130, pls. 9, 25-28; *id.*, «Remarques sur les stèles fausses-portes de l'Horus Neteri-khet (Zoser) à Saqqarah», *MAIBL* 49, 1957, 1-15; G. Jéquier, «Les stèles de Djeser», *CdE* 14, no. 27 (Jan. 1939), 29-35; F.D. Friedman, «The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex», *JARCE* 32, 1995, 1-42.

8. For a comparison of costume, pose, and regalia, see Friedman *JARCE* 32, 1995, 37, fig. 22; for other comparisons see Lauer, *MAIBL* 49, 1957, 1-15.

panels, some of the walls of the underground apartments were covered with thousands of small, blue faience tiles laid in patterns intended to replicate the mats used in archaic structures⁹. Included in the chambers of the south tomb are carved representations of doors that were roughly aligned with the relief panels¹⁰. Although the relief panels have understandably tended to receive a great amount of scholarly attention, one must bear in mind that the placement and the relatively small size of the panels in relation to the other underground elements indicates that they were not intended to be the focal points of the apartments, but only one element in a complex pattern that remains difficult to precisely decipher.

It is also important to remember that the panels were intentionally placed underground and divided between two distinct locations that lack a direct connection. It therefore remains an open question whether all six panels should be viewed as a unit¹¹, or whether the areas around both the king's actual tomb and his south tomb each needed their own set of three panels to function effectively. Based on their position in a part of the pyramid complex that was presumably inaccessible after the death of the king, the panels must have been intended for the sole "use" of the deceased pharaoh¹², who was imagined to dwell in the underground chambers, inhabiting the rooms and making use of the enormous quantity of stone vessels and other objects that were deposited in the apartments¹³.

The inscriptions on each of the panels refer to the king visiting different locations, though the festivals or rituals that must have occasioned these acts are not specified. Rather, the brief texts serve as captions or chapter headings that encapsulate a presumably more complex liturgy, while the images of the king summarize a series of ritual actions. The complete rites would have been known by the king, as well as the priests if the panels played any part in the burial rituals, and required no further elaboration. The question remains whether the texts and images were intended to describe actions that took place in a variety of distant locations, or whether they refer to rituals that occurred in the elaborate structures erected within the complex itself. Attempts have been made to identify the

9. For a recent discussion of the tiles, see F.D. Friedman (ed.), *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience*, (exhibition catalogue, Rhode Island School of Design), Providence 1998, 180-181, cat. nos. 17-20, with further references. See also C. Ziegler in: Do. Arnold, C. Ziegler (eds.) *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York 1999, 168-169, cat. no. 1.

10. Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, 61, pl. 45, no. 3; Lauer, *Pyramide à degrés* I, 108, fig. 89; II, pl. 37, no. 4; *id.*, *Histoire monumentale*, 130, pl. 23.

11. As advocated by Friedman, *JARCE* 32, 1995, 1-42; *ead.*, «Notions of Cosmos in the Step Pyramid Complex», in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, (ed. P. Der Manuelian) Boston 1996, 339-342.

12. The remote location of the panels indicates that the direction in which a priest or other cultic celebrant would encounter them was less significant. Friedman, *JARCE* 32, 1995, 12-14 discusses the panels in terms of the order in which a human visitor would see them, but instead, one must consider the viewpoint of the

deceased. Later kings were believed to read the pyramid texts inscribed in their burial chambers. As has been pointed out by J. Allen («Reading a Pyramid», in: *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. I, *Études pharaoniques*, [eds. C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal], *BdE* 106/1, 1994, 5-28 and esp. 23-24) the texts were arranged in a manner that envisaged the king arising from his sarcophagus and moving along the walls towards the entrance. Di. Arnold («Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms», in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt* [ed. B.E. Shafer], New York 1997, 47) has suggested that in the three pyramids of Snefru, the aboveground chapels are simple structures because the most important events were believed to occur underground and did not require the intervention of priests or rituals.

13. Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, 5, 20, 37, 41, 62-63, pls. 14, no. 1, 36, no. 4, 37; Lauer, *Pyramide à degrés* I, 39, 99-100; III, 1-41, pls. 1-19; *id.*, *Histoire monumentale*, 91-98, 120-21, pls. 11-12, 22.

king's actions and relate the placement of the panels to the aboveground architecture¹⁴, but given the additive quality of the complex and the numerous alterations it underwent, any attempt to find overarching themes across the complex remains tenuous.

As far as we know, the Djoser complex contains the only royal burial place of the Old or Middle Kingdom that included figural relief decoration on the walls of its burial chambers¹⁵. Although similar scene types were later placed in aboveground structures (see below), the transferal of the decoration from underground chambers that could have been "used" only by the deceased to aboveground temples accessible to authorized individuals must represent a profound transition in the conception of the royal cult and the king's afterlife. Perhaps when the Djoser complex was erected it was imperative to place depictions of certain ritual scenes along with representations of archaic architectural forms in greater proximity to the physical remains of the deceased pharaoh¹⁶.

The pyramid of Meidum and the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur, both built by the Fourth Dynasty pharaoh Snefru, had small chapels attached to their east sides, each of which contained two stelae. While the Djoser complex has a north-south orientation, the pyramid complexes from the Fourth Dynasty on are primarily oriented east-west, a development that probably results from the increasing importance of the sun cult¹⁷. The stelae found at Meidum were blank, but those found at Dahshur were inscribed for Snefru and depict him seated on a throne. Neither chapel appears to have had relief decoration on its walls.

Of great importance for the study of early relief decoration and architecture in pyramid complexes is the statue-cult temple of Snefru, an exceptional structure that is connected via a causeway to the Bent Pyramid (fig. 1)¹⁸. The arrangements of pillared courts and statue niches found in subsequent Fourth Dynasty pyramid temples appear to derive from the layout of this structure¹⁹. Here for the first time an extensive program of wall relief is included within a royal mortuary complex. Relief decoration in the temple was found in the entrance hall (processions of Upper and Lower Egyptian estates with large-scale ritual scenes above), on the east and west walls of the portico in front of the statue chapels

14. Friedman, *JARCE* 32, 1995, 1-42; *ead.* in: *Studies* I, 337-351.

15. Remains of paint were found on wall plaster and on objects in some Early Dynastic Abydos tombs (W. Kaiser and G. Dreyer, «Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 2. Vorbericht», *MDAIK* 38, 1982, 218); the possibility that at least some early tombs had figural decoration cannot be completely excluded.

16. Although it is highly speculative, one might consider that by alluding to certain locations and summarizing certain rituals, the panels somehow contributed to the revivification of the spirit of the deceased king and perhaps enabled him to ascend to the aboveground ritual structures of the complex. The ability of the king's spirit to leave his tomb for a variety of reasons is a key element of later pyramids, but whether or not this was an important aspect of the royal afterlife in the Third Dynasty remains unknown.

According to Ricke, *Bemerkungen* I, 103, the king should be viewed as emerging from the panel niches.

17. As noted by R. Stadelmann, «The Development of the Pyramid Temple in the Fourth Dynasty», in: *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, (ed. Stephen Quirke), London 1997, 2 and Di. Arnold in: *Temples*, 45-47, with further references.

18. This building is often erroneously referred to as Snefru's valley temple, but the structure did not adjoin a canal or border the cultivated land and its layout most closely resembles Fourth Dynasty pyramid temples. Therefore its function must have differed from that of a true valley temple. See Do. Arnold, «Royal Reliefs», in: Do. Arnold, Ch. Ziegler (eds.) *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York 1999, 98, n. 15. See also W. Helck, «Zu den "Talbezirken" in Abydos», *MDAIK* 28, 1972, 96.

19. Di. Arnold in: *Temples*, 47.

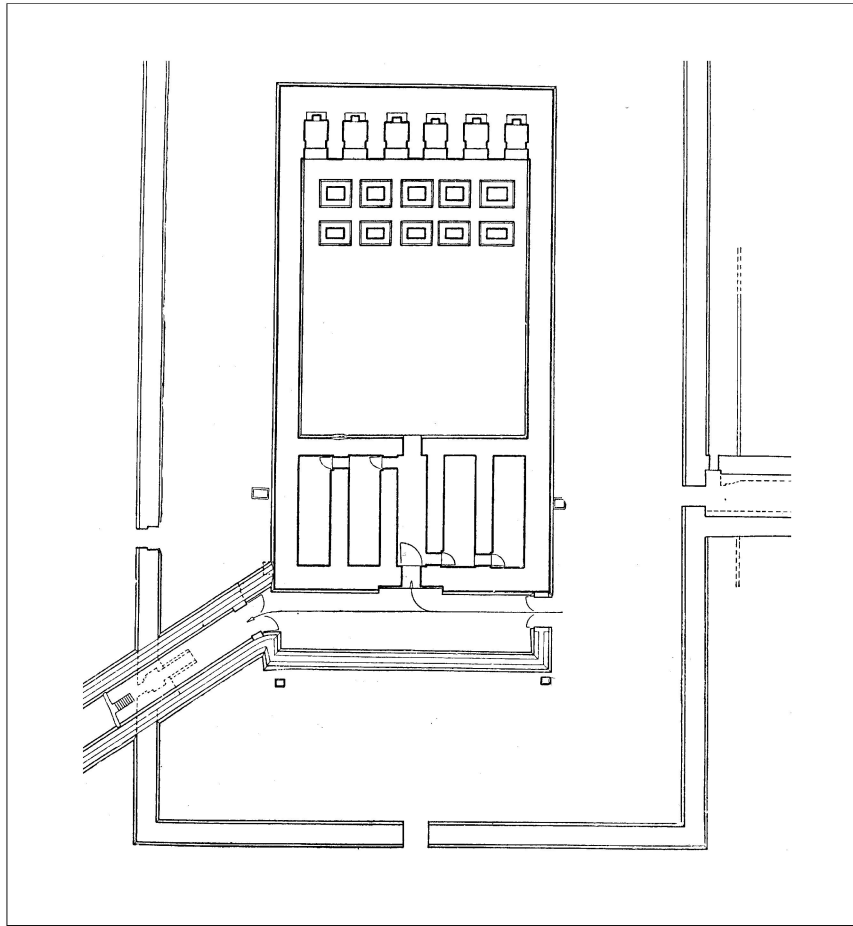


Fig. 1. Plan of the Snefru statue-cult temple at Dahshur
(after Fakhry, *Sneferu II*, 2, fig. 1).

(processions of Upper and Lower Egyptian estates with large-scale ritual scenes above), on the pillars in front of the statue chapels (pharaoh performing rituals alone or being embraced by single deities), and in and around the statue niches themselves (pharaoh performing rituals alone)²⁰. It is notable that despite both the location of the entrance hall along the central axis of the temple and the overall symmetrical arrangement of the structure, a person performing cult could not proceed directly across the center of the temple, as this route was blocked by the two innermost pillars. Rather, the celebrant would have had to either move awkwardly around the pillars or proceed along the walls, passing the relief decoration under the covered part of the temple and following the same “route” taken by the estate procession.

20. The decorative program is summarized in A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, vol. II, *The Valley Temple*, pt. 1, *The Temple Reliefs*, Cairo 1961, 6-18. For the estate processions, see also H.K. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, *BdE* 34, 1962, 125-137 and *passim*.

The relief decoration was confined to the entrance area of the temple and the innermost section around the statue shrines, while the central court and the rooms on either side of the entrance corridor were left undecorated²¹. It is possible that the bare walls of the open part of Snefru's court were meant to continue the tradition of apparently unornamented courtyards that began in the Early Dynastic Period. However, it may also have been considered more desirable to place sacred images in the secluded, roofed areas of a building. Such sparing, precise placement of relief decoration is part of the gradual development from the large, undecorated spaces of the Djoser complex to the more intricate decorative programs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.

Snefru's statue-cult temple contains the earliest secure representations in a pyramid complex of the king performing rituals together with deities²². Depictions of the king standing with or being embraced by a deity were carved onto the pillars. More detailed scenes were placed above the estate processions, but unfortunately only the feet of a few figures survive and it is not possible to determine the precise actions that were depicted, though they may have been connected with the *sed*-festival. From these scant remains, it appears that the scenes involved one or two large figures, that there were no broad tableaux dominating the walls, and that there were few, if any, human participants. In one area above the estates there are a group of feet that appear to belong to a procession of female figures, but it is not possible to determine whether they participated in a more complex ritual action or whether they were part of a repetitive composition that did not have a single focus. Unusual among the relief fragments found in the statue-cult temple is a small group of pieces depicting the netting of birds in a marshy environment²³; such scenes exist in later pyramid temples²⁴, but they are not securely attested in the Fourth Dynasty²⁵. The depiction of the pharaoh hunting in the marshes represents a departure from scene types that otherwise focus on actions that take place in otherworldly settings and include either single figures of the king or interactions between the king and individual deities.

Although a number of large feet are preserved above the procession of estates, only two can be definitively identified as belonging to figures of the king. One block from the east wall of the entrance corridor preserves a part of the bent back foot of the king that must come from a depiction of Snefru running the courses²⁶. The position of the king's foot

21. Undecorated courts may have been intended in the pyramid temples of Khafre and Menkaure (see below); in the court of Pepi II's pyramid temple, only the pillars were decorated (G. Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. III, *Les approches du temple*. Cairo 1940, 22-24, fig. 9, pls. 44-45).

22. A small relief plaque that depicts the pharaoh Qahedjet embraced by Horus could derive from a pyramid complex, but its origin remains uncertain (Ziegler in: *Egyptian Art*, 177-178, cat. no. 9, with further references).

23. Fakhry, *Sneferu II/1*, 110, figs. 117-118. Fakhry does not speculate on where this scene would have been placed in the temple. His brief discussion and illustrations of the pieces are included in the chapter on the pillars, but it is hard to imagine that a marsh scene,

which requires a fair amount of horizontal space, would have been crammed onto a narrow pillar.

24. The next example is found in Userkaf's pyramid temple (A. Labrousse, J.-Ph. Lauer, *Les complexes funéraires d'Ouserkaf et de Neferhétépès*, *BdE* 130, 2000, vol. I, 77-81, vol. II, figs. 99-115).

25. It is possible that a fragment from the Khufu pyramid temple found reused in the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht originates from a marsh scene (H. Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, *PMMA* XX, 1971, 20-23, no. 6). Desert hunt scenes found reused at the pyramid of Amenemhat I may have belonged to a Fourth Dynasty pyramid temple (*ib.*, 132-35, nos. 79-82).

26. Fakhry, *Sneferu II/1*, 55, fig. 25.

shows that Snefru was represented as if he was exiting the temple and that he faced in the opposite direction from the estates below. In a scene from the west wall, remains indicate that a standing Snefru confronted a standing deity with a cartouche resting between them on the groundline²⁷; here again the pharaoh faces towards the temple's entrance.

Despite the fragmentary survival of the upper registers, it is still possible to tentatively suggest the overall scheme of the statue-cult temple's east and west walls. In the lower registers of the entrance hall and at the back of the court, long lines of female estate personifications, arranged geographically according to their nomes, bring offerings that will revivify and sustain the king in his afterlife; the figures move into the temple and towards the statue niches. In the upper registers Snefru apparently confronts deities and performs certain rites; the king gradually moves towards the temple's entrance. In sum, one can view the decorative program and its placement within the architectural space as a repetitive loop that will revitalize the king throughout eternity: the estates will bring sustenance to the king's statues at the back of the temple and his animated spirit will be further restored by ceremonies performed with the deities, finally enabling the pharaoh to emerge from his temple (fig. 2).

Ten monolithic pillars stood at the north end of the court of Snefru's statue-cult temple, each bearing relief on three sides, resulting in a total of thirty carved faces; the north sides, which faced the chapels, were left undecorated. Because they were found in fragments, it was not possible to create reconstructions that placed particular scenes on specific pillars²⁸, and as a result the pattern and rhythm of the decorative program has been largely lost. Most of the pillars featured a single figure of Snefru either striding forward (fig. 3) or running; behind him were symbols and in front of him were vertical lines of text that provided short, caption-like descriptions of his actions²⁹. As a result of the limited number of poses and the variation in costume and regalia, the figures of the king appear to serve almost as hieroglyphs for the pharaoh performing different rituals.

The arrangements of single figures, symbols, and abbreviated texts on the decorated pillars are remarkably similar to those found on the underground panels in the Djoser complex. In both cases it must have been either deemed sufficient to refer to rituals concisely or thought undesirable to show the details of magical rites. However, by the time of Snefru, aboveground relief decoration was required, perhaps because the images played some role in rituals enacted by the priests on behalf of the deceased king or because pure architecture was no longer sufficient to guarantee the king's afterlife. On the Djoser panels the king appears in total isolation, but on the Snefru pillars, he is occasionally accompanied by individual deities and perhaps humans³⁰. This simplification stands in

27. Fakhry, *Sneferu* II/1, fig. 18.

28. Fakhry, *Sneferu* II/1, 59. Because the pillars were rectangular in plan, Fakhry was able to suggest the pillar face from which a few scenes originated. Unfortunately, Fakhry does not state how he determined that the north faces were left undecorated. Revised reconstructions have been proposed by E. Edel, «Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru», in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, (ed. P. Der Manuelian), Boston 1996, 199-208.

29. The single figure has been defined as the basic composition used for early Old Kingdom relief decoration by Do. Arnold in: *Egyptian Art*, 83-84.

30. Fakhry considered the possibility that a courtier was shown removing Snefru's sandals (*Sneferu* II/1, 91-92, fig. 78). In addition, at least some of the pillars included fecundity figures and perhaps highly abbreviated indications of landscape on lower registers (Fakhry, *Sneferu* II/1, 165, 169, fig. 275; Edel in: *Studies* I, 200-206, figs. 1, 3).

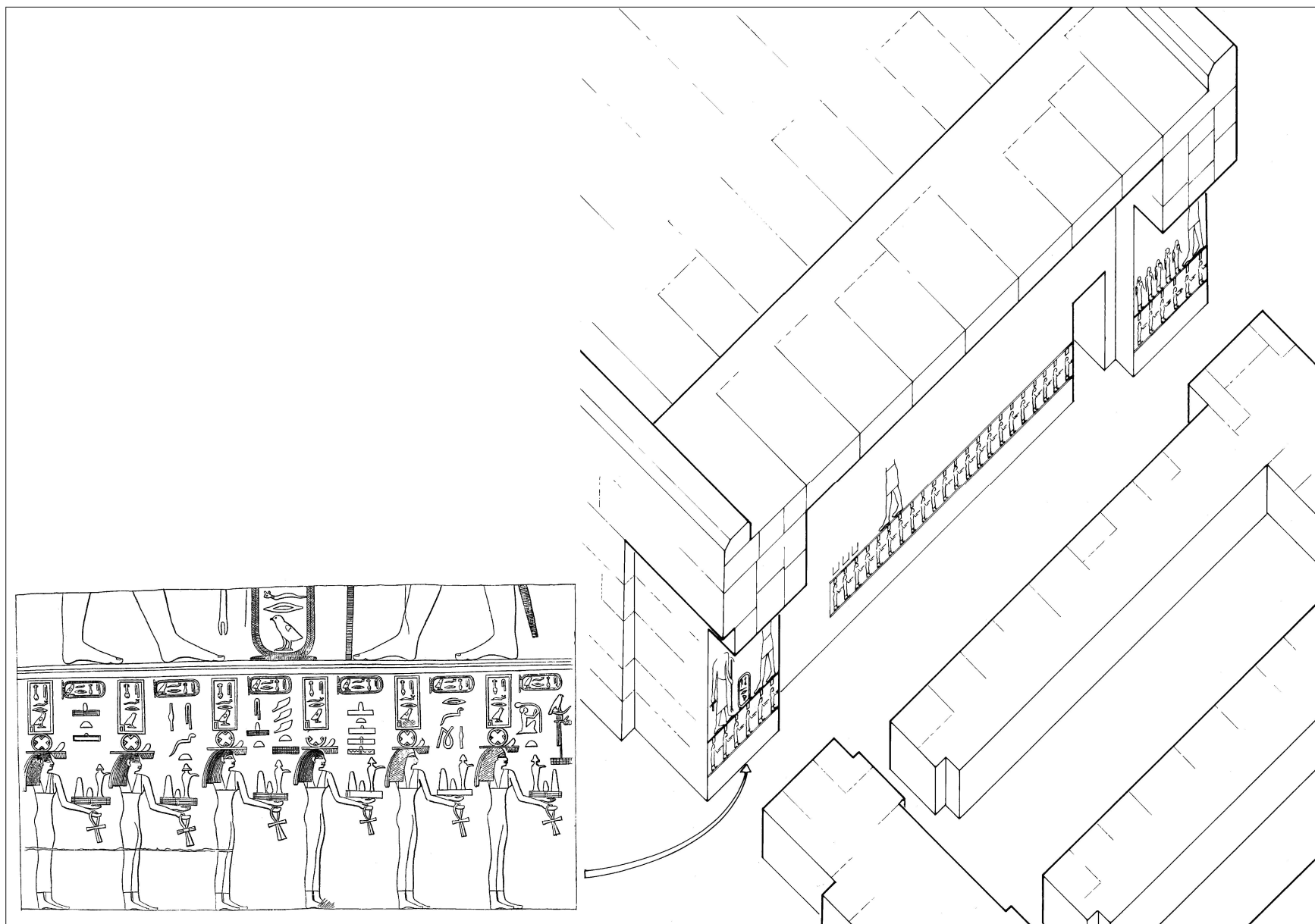


Fig. 2. Isometric reconstruction of the entrance corridor of the Snefru statue-cult temple at Dahshur (drawing Dieter Arnold in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 85, fig. 49; after Fakhry, *Sneferu II*, 45, fig. 18).

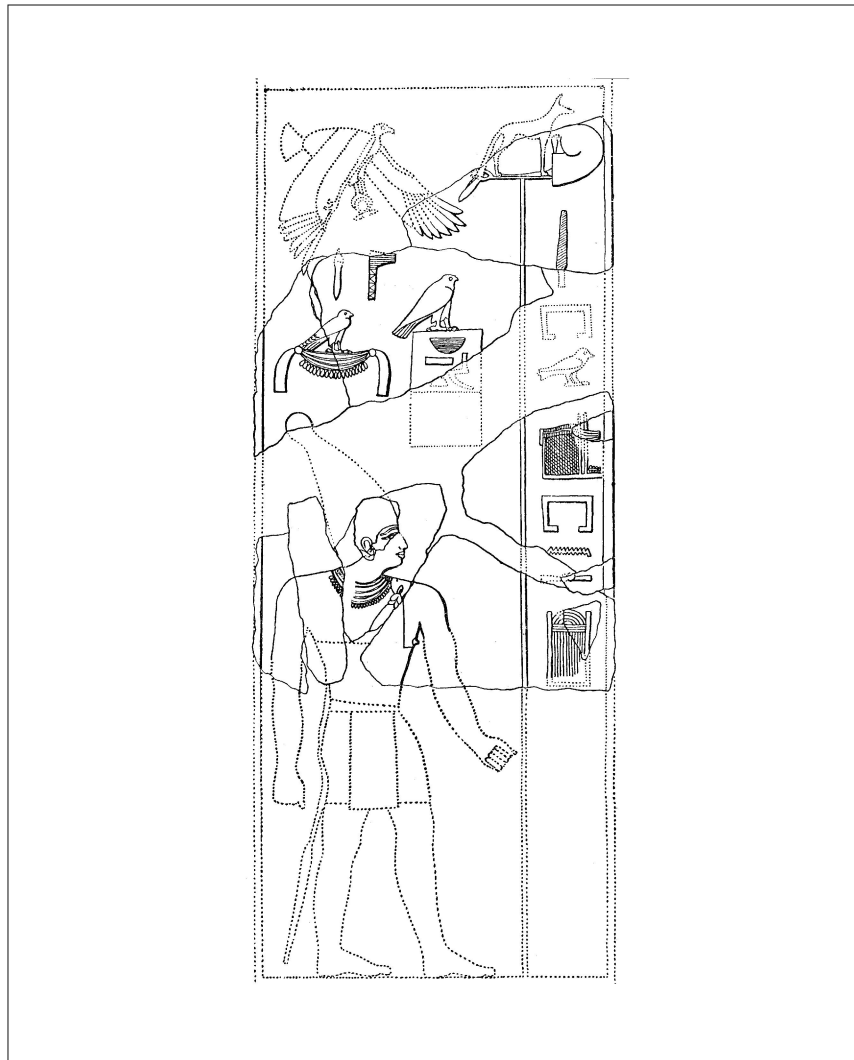


Fig. 3. Relief on a pillar from the Snefru statue-cult temple at Dahshur (after Fakhry, *Sneferu II*, 71, fig. 48).

contrast to the decoration of later pyramid temples, where it became necessary to show the details of the ceremonies, to include numerous mortal and divine participants, and to sometimes provide more specific elements of setting and landscape³¹. The brief phrases that summarize the action on the Snefru pillars are also similar to those found on Djoser's panels – both even mention the *per-weru* – but the Snefru texts in some instances refer to more precise actions. Viewed as a whole, the statue-cult temple of Snefru shows a movement towards specificity and more detailed representations of rituals within the pyramid complex.

A continuation of these trends in royal compositions may be found in the scanty remains of relief from the pyramid temple of Snefru's later North Pyramid at Dahshur; here for the

³¹. Complex compositions are known from the Early Dynastic Period (Do. Arnold in: *Egyptian Art*, 88-90; Friedman, *JARCE* 32, 1995, 1-8). Notably, the relief fragments from a structure built by Djoser at Heliopolis include evidence of somewhat more complex figural arrangements than the panels from Saqqara (W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*. New York 1978 [reprint], 133, fig. 48; Ziegler in: *Egyptian Art*, 175-176, cat. no. 7, with further references).

first time a true pyramid temple is placed in front of the east face of a pyramid. The few fragments of relief decoration recovered in the remains of the temple indicate that *sed*-festival scenes were included and that the images of the king were large³². Beyond stating that wall relief must have been confined to the east side of the Snefru's pyramid temple, which was the only section completed in stone, it is not possible to form even tentative suggestions about the arrangement of the decorative program.

A block that depicts an episode from the *sed*-festival, which was found reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht, may also originate from either Snefru's pyramid temple or possibly an early stage of the pyramid temple of Khufu (pl. I.1)³³. The reused Lisht block has a more complex composition that includes a significant number of human figures. It is therefore likely that in conjunction with the transition to true pyramid temples that occurred during Snefru's reign, or slightly later during the time of Khufu, there was also a shift from abbreviated scenes with few human actors to more descriptive compositions that included additional mortal participants³⁴.

All three of the Giza pyramid complexes included large pyramid temples dominated by spacious courts. Preserved evidence indicates that the statue programs were complex and particularly important³⁵, while the relief decoration seems to have been secondary. Relief decoration was executed only in the pyramid temple and possibly the unexcavated valley temple of Khufu and perhaps the pyramid temple of Khafre, but very few of these works were actually preserved at Giza³⁶. Instead, it has been assumed that the temples were at least partially disassembled during the early Twelfth Dynasty and their blocks reused as building material in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht. Several problems have resulted from this dislocation. First, because the Lisht fragments were found completely divorced from their original context, it is not possible to place the scenes

32. R. Stadelmann, «Die Pyramiden des Snofru in Dahschur: Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen an der nördlichen Steinpyramide», *MDAIK* 39, 1983, 230-234, fig. 5, pl. 73. For a reconstruction of the pyramid temple see R. Stadelmann *et.al.*, «Pyramiden und Nekropole des Snofru in Dahschur. Dritter Vorbericht über die Grabungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Dahschur», *MDAIK* 49, 1993, 259-263.

33. Based on stylistic considerations, Do. Arnold (in: *Egyptian Art*, 196-198, cat. no. 23) has suggested that the block originated from the Snefru's North Pyramid at Dahshur, rather than the earlier statue-cult temple or Khufu's pyramid temple. According to R. Stadelmann, at least some of the relief blocks recovered from the pyramid temple of the North Pyramid were "definitely not finished", (in: *The Temple*, 5). Goedicke (*Re-Used Blocks*, 35-41, nos. 16-17) assigned the reused Lisht relief to the time of Khufu. An important area for future study would be an evaluation of the style of early Fourth Dynasty royal relief that would include both the Snefru statue-cult temple and pyramid temple decoration, along with a reevaluation of the reused Lisht material.

34. Stadelmann, (*Pyramiden*, 98-99; *id.*, in: *The Temple*, 4) has expressed the opinion that the statue-cult temple was built towards the end of Snefru's reign and at about the same time as his North Pyramid. His opin-

ion is based on the north-south orientation of the statue-cult temple on a direct line to the North Pyramid. However, it is possible that the temple's orientation is either an archaistic feature or bears some relation to the concept that the king travels to the north in order to join the circumpolar stars. It is difficult to imagine that the statue-cult temple would have been finished when the pyramid temple in front of the king's actual burial place was not completed. Do. Arnold (in: *Egyptian Art*, 90) has noted new combinations of larger figures and rows of smaller ones during the period between the end of Snefru's reign and that of Khufu.

35. For a survey of royal statue programs of the Old Kingdom see Di. Arnold, «Old Kingdom Statues in Their Architectural Setting», in: Do. Arnold, Ch. Ziegler (eds.) *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York 1999, 41-44.

36. The valley temples of Khafre and Menkaure were undecorated (see below). Khufu's valley temple lies under a modern village and has not been comprehensively excavated (G. Goyon, «La chaussée monumentale et le temple de la vallée de la pyramide de Khéops», *BIFAO* 67, 1969, 49-69; Z. Hawass, «The Programs of the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Fourth Dynasty», in: *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, (ed. D. O'Connor and D.P. Silverman), *PA* 9, 1995, 224-226.

within the temples. Second, since few of the reused blocks include the name of a pharaoh³⁷, most of them have been dated based on stylistic comparisons to a very limited group of royal material and these attributions are not always secure. Finally, it is possible that some of the reused Lisht blocks do not originate from pyramid temples, but from deity temples whose the nature and location remain unknown³⁸.

The badly destroyed pyramid temple of Khufu was dominated by a large court with pillared porticos on all four sides (fig. 4). The court is believed to have been lined with

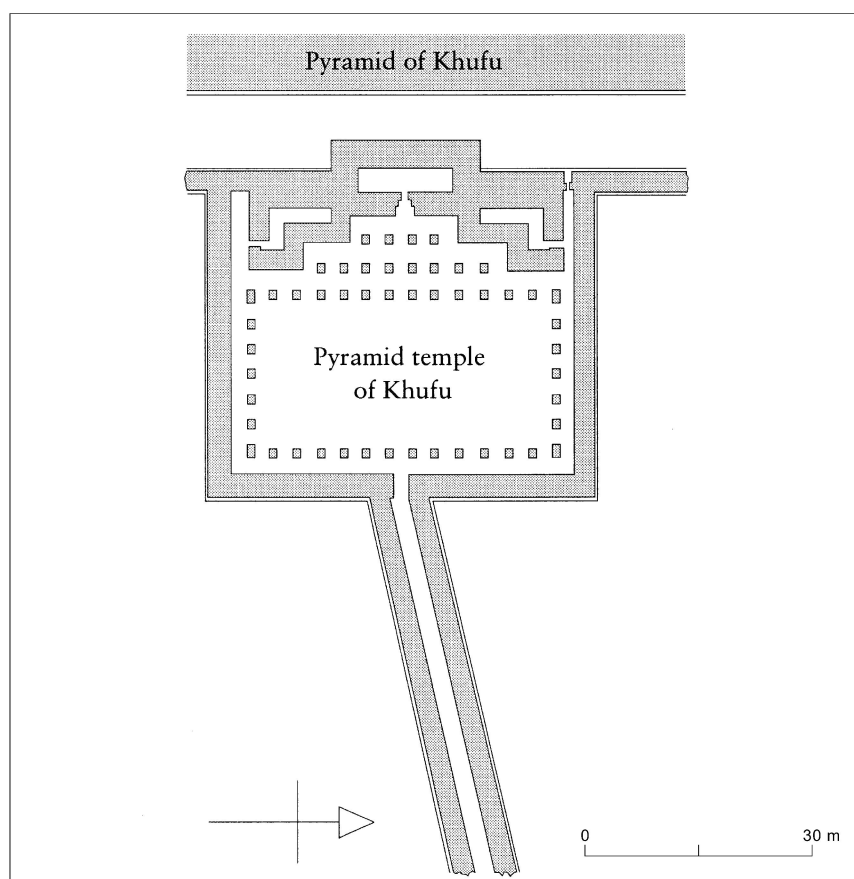


Fig. 4. Plan of the Khufu pyramid temple at Giza (computer drawing Peter Der Manuelian).

37. For the nine reliefs inscribed with a royal name, out of a total of ninety-two pieces, see Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks*, 8-28. For a tenth block excavated by the Metropolitan Museum Egyptian Expedition in 1991 see A. Oppenheim in: Do. Arnold, Ch. Ziegler (eds.) *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York 1999, 318-319, cat. no. 103. The pharaohs named are Khufu, Khafre, Userkaf, Unas, and probably Pepi II; it is possible that some of the blocks originate from structures built by other kings whose names have not been recovered.

38. One block with parts of three vertical lines of inscription and the cartouche of Khufu refers to «building the sanctuaries of the god(s)», (Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks*, 19-20,

no. 5), a text that might seem more appropriate in a temple dedicated to a deity rather than the mortuary temple of the king. For the question of large-scale deity temples in the Old Kingdom and the possibility that the reused Lisht blocks did not originate solely from pyramid temples, see Di. Arnold, «Hypostyle Halls of the Old and Middle Kingdom?», in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, (ed. P. Der Manuelian), Boston 1996, 39-54 and esp. 49-54. The possibility that Amenemhat I disassembled a temple built in the area of Lisht by Khufu was mentioned by J.-Ph. Lauer, «Note complémentaire sur le temple funéraire de Khéops», *ASAE* 49, 1949, 116. The idea that the Lisht blocks originated from a local temple was considered and rejected by Goedicke (*Re-used Blocks*, 4-5, 155). See here also note 52.

limestone, perhaps in contrast to the other pyramid temple courts at Giza (see below)³⁹. On the west side, the portico had two recesses and a doorway that led into the largely destroyed western section of the temple, which, like all pyramid temples at Giza, did not directly adjoin the pyramid. This separation of temple and pyramid may have its roots in the location of the Snefru statue-cult temple, which was placed away from the pyramid. Several reconstructions of the Khufu temple's west side have been proposed, ranging from a single, culminating space to a collection of smaller statue shrines⁴⁰. The overall arrangement of the pyramid temple is similar to the statue-cult temple of Snefru, but differs from it in several important respects. First, the Khufu causeway leads directly into the court, omitting the decorated entrance corridor found in the Snefru temple. Second, the Khufu court included pillars on all four sides⁴¹, while the Snefru statue-cult temple had pillars only at the back of the court. Finally, the culminating space at the back of the Khufu temple was isolated from the rest of the structure, but in the Snefru temple the statue niches were actually part of the court.

The relief decoration ascribed to the Khufu complex can be divided into two groups that need to be considered separately: pieces that were found in and around the king's pyramid temple at Giza and blocks that were reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht. The few reliefs found at Giza were scattered over a wide area, so that it is not always possible to definitively determine the structure from which they originated. Those pieces that have been assigned to the pyramid temple are believed to have come from the limestone-lined, pillared court, where they would have been protected by the roof of the portico. Unfortunately, the entire group of recovered fragments has never been published in a comprehensive manner with clear documentation⁴². The most interesting pieces preserve parts of large-scale figures of the king enacting rituals. One block depicts the king wearing a red crown and a tunic with a piece of fabric draped over his shoulder; behind him are two smaller registers, each with either one or two human figures on their own groundlines (fig. 5)⁴³. Another block includes parts of two scenes: on the right is a smaller scale image of the Pharaoh wearing a *sed*-festival cloak and enthroned in a pavilion, while on the left is part of the king's head preceded by four columns of text that include the name of Khufu's

39. Lauer, *ASAE* 46, 1947, 256; S. Hassan, *The Great Pyramid of Khufu and its Mortuary Chapel*, Excavations at Giza, Season 1938-1939, vol. X, Cairo 1960, 40. See also Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks*, 8-10.

40. Hassan, *Giza* X, 39-40, 42, figs. 10-12. For a summary of suggested reconstructions of the west side of the temple, see Lauer, *ASAE* 49, 1949, 116-23. See also Ricke, *Bemerkungen* II, 43-44, fig. 13.

41. Ricke (*Bemerkungen* II, 47) believed that pillars were placed in the court in order to provide a protective cover for the reliefs.

42. Khufu relief blocks are mentioned and/or illustrated in Lauer, *ASAE* 49, 1949, 111-123, pls. 1-2; G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. II. *The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops* (completed and revised by W.S. Smith), Cambridge

(Mass.) 1955, 4-5, figs. 4-7; S. Hassan, *The Solar Boats of Khafra*, Excavations at Giza, 1934-1935, vol. VI, pt. 1, Cairo 1946, 42, 68; *id.*, *Giza* X, 17, 20-24, 34-35, pls. V-VII, VIIIb. Hassan believed that the fragments originated from the causeway because they were found in this area; he also believed that the pyramid temple was decorated, though he did not assign any of the fragments to it.

43. Two reconstructions of the human figures have been proposed. Hassan, *Giza* X, 22, fig. 4, includes four figures; the lower two have their proper right hands across their chests. Reisner, Smith, *Giza* II, fig. 5, reconstructs single figures, with the lower one raising his arms over his head. Reisner's drawing has been reproduced here.

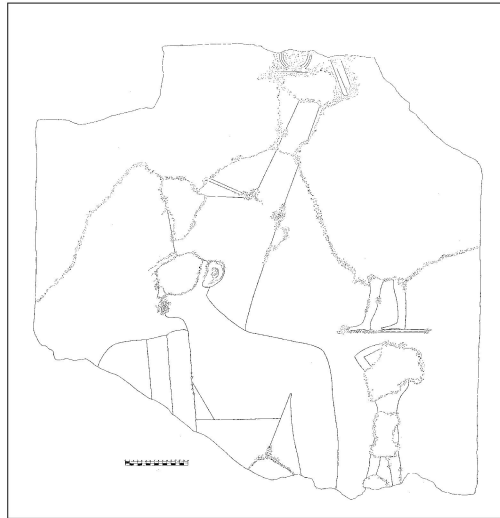


Fig. 5. Relief of the king and attendants from the Khufu pyramid temple (after Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, fig. 5).

pyramid⁴⁴. Two joined fragments depict part of the torso of the king wearing a beaded apron. Because the beads are not arranged in vertical rows, but are at an angle to the rest of the figure, it is assumed that the king is actively performing some sort of ritual⁴⁵.

Several themes can be distinguished among the reused Lisht blocks ascribed to Khufu, including rituals involving the king and deities, courtiers attending the king, sailing scenes, depictions of boat building, and processions of estates and domesticated animals (pl. I.2)⁴⁶. The possibility that some of these blocks may have originated from Khufu's unexcavated valley temple cannot be excluded and many were tentatively assigned to this structure by Goedicke⁴⁷. Among the fragments depicting the king, the most distinguishable show the torso and a bit of the striding legs of the pharaoh in a *sed*-festival cloak, and the lower torso and thighs of the pharaoh in a rectangular apron enacting some sort of ritual⁴⁸. One of the Lisht blocks depicts a larger figure of the king with multiple registers of smaller courtiers behind him, a composition that is similar to one of the Giza blocks, although the scale of the Lisht figures seems to be smaller⁴⁹. In general, the royal figures found on the

44. It has been suggested that this block may be part of a Saite restoration (Hassan, *Giza X*, 23). However, since it appears that the west side of the pyramid temple was desecrated during the Saite Period, it seems puzzling that the temple should also have been restored at this time. Unfortunately the blurry published photos do not convey any information about the style of the relief.

45. D.C. Patch, «A "Lower Egyptian" Costume: Its Origin, Development, and Meaning», *JARCE* 32, 1995, 108-109.

46. Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks*, 11-23, nos. 1-6, 29-47, nos. 10-22, 56-59, nos. 29-30, 95-96 no. 53, 100-106, nos. 56-60 (no. 10 is currently displayed in the Metropolitan Museum with the Middle Kingdom reliefs

from Lisht; nos. 16 and 17 have been redated by Dorothea Arnold to Snefru). Goedicke also broadly dated a number of pieces to the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty (*Re-Used Blocks*, 74-77, no. 43, 106-21, nos. 61-71, 124-129, nos. 73-76, 132-135, nos. 79-82; no. 43 has been dated by Dorothea Arnold to Khafre; nos. 61-67 have been dated by Adela Oppenheim to Userkaf, nos. 69 and 80 have been dated by Dorothea Arnold to Khufu). See also Do. Arnold in: *Egyptian Art*, 222-228, cat. nos. 38-42; Oppenheim in: *Egyptian Art*, 228-229, cat. no. 43.

47. Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks*, 153-154.

48. Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks*, 31-32, nos. 11-12.

49. Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks*, 33-35, nos. 14-15; for the references to the Giza block, see here note 42.

Lisht blocks appear to be somewhat smaller than the distinctly large-scale images of the Giza group. Another interesting comparison is a reused Lisht block that includes parts of two walking goats with a Giza fragment depicting the head of a goat, which was found along the causeway of Khufu's pyramid complex⁵⁰. Although the piece found at Giza has been published only in a sketch drawing, the Giza goat has textured hair at the top of its neck, while the Lisht goat lacks this detail⁵¹. As was mentioned above, it is not certain that all of the reused Lisht blocks originate from pyramid temples and these discrepancies in scale and perhaps in style could be an indication that the two groups of reliefs come from different structures built by Khufu⁵².

It can be tentatively stated that depictions of the solitary king surrounded by symbols and short inscriptions were not included in the decoration of Khufu's pyramid temple. No such images were found with the admittedly meager material, but more significantly the granite pillars of the courtyard do not seem to have provided a suitable surface for figural relief decoration (for the question of granite relief, see below). There are also indications of a movement away from abstract animated symbols towards the depiction of these symbols being manipulated by human actors. For example, the so-called door-pivot symbol, which is found as an independent object on the Djoser panels and the pillars of Snefru's statue-cult temple, seems to be carried by a human figure in the Khufu complex⁵³. The presence of additional human figures in the Khufu scenes is another instance of the greater tendency to depict rituals as they might have been enacted in an earthly context, trends that may have begun even slightly earlier (see above). Unfortunately, no figures that can be securely identified as deities have been found at Giza, but they are included among the Lisht blocks⁵⁴, where they were probably arranged in groups, rather than as single figures directly interacting with the king. New subjects that seem to be added to the repertoire of pyramid temple scenes include ships and processions of domesticated animals.

Khufu's successor Djedefre ruled for about eight years and built his pyramid complex not at Giza, but to the north in Abu Roash⁵⁵. Little remains of Djedefre's possibly unfinished

50. Lisht block: Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks*, 133–134, no. 80; Do. Arnold in: *Egyptian Art*, 227–228, cat. no. 42. Giza block: Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, fig. 7. Goedicke and Do. Arnold have noted the unusually shaped horns found on both the Lisht and Giza goats.

51. Dorothea Arnold noted a stylistic discrepancy between a reused relief found at Lisht that bears Khufu's cartouche and depicts a procession of cattle and a depiction of a cow found near Khufu's pyramid temple at Giza (in: *Egyptian Art*, 223, n. 9, cat. no. 38).

52. There are several troubling aspects involved in assigning the reused Lisht blocks to pyramid temples. First, the material seems to have been taken from the structures of at least five kings whose pyramid complexes were spread over the necropolis of both Giza and Saqqara. One must question why several complexes were chosen for partial demolition, rather than just one or two, and why such distant sites were selected rather than the more convenient pyramid fields of Meidum and Dahshur (for a possible exception, see here note 33). Second, one wonders why royal monuments were targeted rather than early Old Kingdom private mastabas, since the families of these tomb owners would certainly have stopped

maintaining and visiting them long ago. In contrast, the pyramid complexes of earlier kings still would have represented the power and continuity of Egyptian kingship, particularly the spectacular mass of the Khufu pyramid. Finally, as has been pointed out by Dieter Arnold in: *Studies I*, 50, the subjects found among the reused blocks do not belong exclusively to pyramid temples; instead, the blocks are more likely to have been removed from structures that were dismantled when the new residence was built in Itj-tawy.

53. The piece was found along the causeway, see Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 5, n. 6, no. 4, fig. 7, no. 37-3-4h.

54. Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks*, 42-45, nos. 19-20; the block illustrated on 29-30, no. 10, which depicts Wepwawet, is currently displayed in the Metropolitan Museum with the Middle Kingdom material from the pyramid of Amenemhat I.

55. For the most recent information about the excavation of Djedefre's pyramid complex, see M. Valloggia, *Au coeur d'une pyramide: Une mission archéologique en Égypte*, Gollion 2001, 49-77, 82-96, 109 with further references.

pyramid temple. Although there is no evidence of wall relief, remains of some of the most beautiful statuary to survive from the Old Kingdom have been recovered.

Khafre's valley temple is the best-preserved example of this type of this structure from ancient Egypt⁵⁶. The temple's façade has symmetrically arranged entrances on the north and south, each of which was originally guarded by two sphinxes. A pair of symmetrically placed entrance chambers, neither of which appears to have been dominant⁵⁷, leads into a narrow, rectangular, north-south entrance chamber followed by a T-shaped pillared hall, which is the largest space in the temple. The west side of the temple does not culminate in a single chamber or group of chambers. On the south side of the hall are storage rooms and on the north side is the exit into the causeway.

No relief decoration was carved into the valley temple's red granite walls. Rather, twenty-three statues of the enthroned king were ranged along the walls of the pillared hall, though none of them can be identified as the central cult image⁵⁸. Since we know very little about Fourth Dynasty valley temples, it is not possible to determine if the spare, geometric architecture and the extensive use of hard stone found in Khafre's temple was typical for this type of structure or whether it represents a new development.

Khafre's more elaborate pyramid temple consisted of an entrance area, a pillared hall that narrowed to the west and had long narrow chambers on either side, a rectangular pillared hall, a court with statues, five deep niches that held statues or other large sacred objects such as boats, and a section with storage rooms and long, narrow halls⁵⁹. According to the excavators, most of the temple's walls were of red granite; only the westernmost sections, that is the storerooms and the narrow halls, were lined with limestone⁶⁰. Controversy still surrounds the question as to whether or not a false door was placed on the west side of not only Khafre's pyramid temple, but also other pyramid temples of the Fourth Dynasty⁶¹.

A block that preserves parts of two registers is the only limestone wall relief fragment found in Khafre's complex that may have originated from the pyramid temple, but unfortunately the context in which it was excavated is unclear⁶². The upper register retains the legs of four figures, three males in short kilts and a fourth individual wearing a long garment. Because the legs of this last figure are parted they could belong to either a female offering bearer or a

56. U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren, Sieglin Exp.*, vol. I, 1912, 15-23, 37-50.

57. Following the suggestion that the valley temple was meant to receive visiting deities (Di. Arnold in: *Temples*, 51-52), it is possible that the north entrance accommodated those from Lower Egypt, while the south entrance was used by Upper Egyptian deities. Hölscher (*Chephren*, 16) suggested that the double entrance reflected the pharaoh's role as king of Upper and Lower Egypt. The north door was inscribed for Bastet and the south door for Hathor, supporting the idea that the entrances were connected with Lower and Upper Egypt (*ib.*, 16-17, figs. 7-8).

58. For their placement, see Hölscher, *Chephren*, pls. 5, 17. See also M. Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, vol. I, *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie*, HÄB 42, 1996, 20-24.

59. Hölscher, *Chephren*, 24-30, 50-59. Ricke (*Bemerkungen II*, 48-54, figs. 16-20, pl. 2) offered a different reconstruction of the court and its statues. See also Di. Arnold in: *Egyptian Art*, 263-64, cat. no. 65.

60. Hölscher, *Chephren*, 25, pl. 6.

61. See Arnold in: *Temples*, 57, 59, 265, n. 98; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, 104, 122, 130, 136-137, 149; *id.*, «Exkurs: Scheintür oder Stelen im Totentempel des AR», *MDAIK* 39, 1983, 237-241; P. Jánosi, «Die Entwicklung und Deutung des Totenopferhauses in den Pyramidentempeln des Alten Reiches», in: *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm* (eds. R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz) HÄB 37, 1994, 143-163 with further references.

62. G. Steindorff in: Hölscher, *Chephren*, 110-111, figs. 162-163; Steindorff does not specify where the piece was found.

fecundity figure⁶³. Below is a foreigner with his hands bound above his head facing an Egyptian who raises one hand to his face and stretches the other towards the prisoner. Several competing theories as to the date and origin of the relief have been proposed. Steindorff, postulating a complex series of events, suggested that the block actually originated from a Fifth Dynasty pyramid complex⁶⁴. Goedicke thought that it had migrated from Khufu's pyramid temple⁶⁵. Ricke stated that the block undoubtedly originated from Khafre's pyramid temple and used the piece to argue against Hölscher's assertion that the walls of the temple court were completely of granite. Instead, Ricke believed that the bases of the court's walls were granite while the upper parts consisted of decorated limestone⁶⁶. A recent stylistic analysis by Dorothea Arnold suggests that a fragment depicting five archers, which was found among the reused material at the pyramid of Amenemhat I, dates to the reign of Khafre and may be connected to the relief found at Giza (pl. I.3)⁶⁷. Both scenes are notable for capturing a fleeting moment, in direct contrast to the frozen, timeless arrangements of earlier scenes. If the block found by Hölscher does originate from a Fourth Dynasty pyramid or valley temple, it would be the first instance in which foreign prisoners were included in the decoration of a pyramid complex.

The questions of where the prisoner block originated and whether or not Khafre's pyramid temple was decorated with limestone relief remain difficult to solve because the evidence is so scanty. Certainly it seems tenuous to state positively that Khafre's court was decorated or to draw conclusions about the material used to construct it based on one displaced relief. If Hölscher's assessment that the rooms of the outer temple were completely lined with granite is correct, then the only possible location in Khafre's pyramid temple for the Giza and Lisht blocks would be its westernmost section, where the rooms were clearly dressed with limestone. Although one must be cautious in drawing comparisons between pyramid temples of the Fourth Dynasty and those of the later Old Kingdom, there are no parallels for the placement of foreigners or soldiers in the innermost rooms of a pyramid temple⁶⁸. The Giza block cannot be easily assigned to another structure, since the depiction of foreigners does

63. In the pyramid temple of Userkaf, female offering bearers walk with parted legs (Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf*, vol. II, figs. 52-53, 120-123, 128, 133, 365); in the pyramid complex of Sahure, female fecundity figures adopt the same pose (Do. Arnold in: *Egyptian Art*, 338-341, cat. no. 113).

64. Steindorff in: Hölscher, *Chephren*, 110.

65. *Re-Used Blocks*, 10.

66. Ricke, *Bemerkungen* II, 54, pl. 2. Stadelmann (*Pyramiden*, 137) also believes that the walls of the court were decorated. M. Lehner, «The Development of the Giza Necropolis: The Khufu Project», *MDAIK* 41, 1985, 125, states that the Khufu pyramid and valley temples were constructed using masonry methods different than those used to build the Khafre and Menkaure temples.

67. Do. Arnold in: *Egyptian Art*, 264-267, cat. no. 66. A block that includes parts of three columns of an inscription, images of two officials, and part of Khafre's cartouche was found reused in Memphis (D.G. Jeffreys,

J. Malek and H.S. Smith, «Memphis 1984», *JEA* 72, 1986, 13, fig. 7). The authors believed that the relief originated from the pyramid temple of Khafre, but the attribution seems to be based solely on the cartouche. Since only a line drawing of the piece was published, it is not possible to compare the style to either the block found in Khafre's complex or the reused Lisht relief.

68. In Sahure's pyramid complex depictions of foreigners were found in the valley temple, the causeway and in the pyramid temple in the columned hall and its surrounding corridors (L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, vol. II. *Die Wandbilder*, *WVDOG* 26, 1913, 1-23, 27-28, pls. 1-8, 12-13). In the pyramid complex of Pepi II relief depictions of foreigners were found in the causeway and in the transverse hall and vestibules of the pyramid temple, (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, vol. II, 11-24, 26-34, pls. 8-11, 36-40, vol. III, 8-17, 19-22, pls. 12-18, 36-37).

not fit with what we know of the decoration of Fourth Dynasty private mastabas⁶⁹. It is possible that the reused Lisht block originated from a temple built by Khafre in the area of ancient Itj-tawy, but one must admit that the survival of two stylistically similar blocks depicting military scenes suggests that they came from the same structure. Finally, given the movement towards the increasing presence of mortals, the greater emphasis on detailed action, and the already long tradition of scenes of the pharaoh triumphant⁷⁰, it would not be surprising to find the inclusion of military scenes at this time. Unfortunately, given the evidence that has survived, it is not possible to state definitively whether or not Khafre's pyramid temple included wall relief.

Both the pyramid and valley temples of Menkaure lacked relief decoration, at least in part because they were finished in mudbrick. Large amounts of statuary were preserved that depicted the king either alone or in the company of deities and nemeses, configurations that recall the simple groupings found in the relief decoration of the Djoser complex and the Snefru statue-cult temple. Menkaure's valley temple was not far advanced at the time of the pharaoh's presumed death and it is not possible to come to any conclusions as to whether or not the builders intended to cover the walls with relief decoration. However, the extensive statue program that was installed in the temple might be an indication that little or no wall relief was planned⁷¹.

Menkaure's pyramid temple⁷² was defined by a long, narrow entrance area that lead into an open court with a paneled brick lining⁷³, followed on the west side by a red granite-lined portico with rectangular granite pillars. Beyond the courtyard, the temple concluded with a long, narrow chamber lined with red granite, which probably housed a statue and perhaps a bark⁷⁴. Another structure was built to the west of the temple during the time of Menkaure, but significant additions were made to it after his death in order to conform to changes in cultic practice. Rather than a diffuse row of equally spaced statue shrines, Menkaure's temple culminated in a single focal point. A more linear arrangement is already apparent in Khufu's pyramid temple, where it is possible to follow a central axis across the courtyard and between the pillars and recesses on the west side of the court in order to reach the western rooms. In the pyramid and valley temples of Khafre, there is a great deal of symmetry and an emphasis on the central axis, but there are no decisive culminating spaces.

It is generally assumed that Menkaure's pyramid temple lacked relief decoration because it was unfinished, but it is also possible that little or no wall relief was intended. Certainly it appears that the red granite portico and statue chamber and the red granite pillars were not

69. Old Kingdom battle scenes in private tombs are rare. None are known from Giza and none are earlier than the later Fifth Dynasty (Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London 1987, 114-115).

70. See, for example, E.S. Hall, *The Pharaoh Smiles his Enemies*, *MÄS* 44, 1986, 4-10, figs. 5-15.

71. For discussions of the statue program in the valley temple, see G.A. Reisner, *Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1931, 34-54, 109-115, 123-124; W. Wood, «A Reconstruction of the Triads of King Mycerinus», *JEA* 60, 1974, 82-

93; Z. Hawass in: *Kingship*, 232-237; Seidel, *Statuen-gruppen*, 25-49.

72. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 6-33.

73. The courtyard had a paneled-brick lining that was certainly meant to recall the decoration of the earlier fortresses of the gods (Di. Arnold in: *Temples*, 58). Since the Early Dynastic fortresses seem to have been devoid of reliefs, the absence of decoration in the Menkaure temple may follow the earlier prototype.

74. For the statue see P. Lacovara, C.N. Reeves, «The Colossal Statue of Mycerinus Reconsidered», *RdE* 38, 1987, 111-115.

considered suitable surfaces for large-scale figural relief decoration during the Fourth Dynasty⁷⁵. According to Reisner, the builders intended to line the entrance chamber and the courtyard with “black granite,” another surface that would not have been appropriate for relief decoration. However, as is the case with Khafre’s pyramid temple, it is not possible to determine if the granite was meant to line the courtyard from floor to ceiling or simply cover the bases of the walls⁷⁶. It has been suggested that the builders’ original intention was to create a courtyard with pillars on all four sides, as in the Khufu pyramid temple; such a scheme might have included a provision for relief decoration under the portico and around the walls of the courtyard. If the walls of Menkaure’s entrance chamber were intended to be cased with limestone rather than granite, they could have been covered with reliefs, but it would seem strange to introduce this element at the front of the temple, if the rest of the structure’s walls were meant to be bare. The lack of relief decoration may reflect archaistic trends in the architecture of late Fourth Dynasty royal cult complexes, which include the use of paneled decoration in courtyards and the revival under Menkaure’s successor Shepseskaf of the royal mastaba with paneled decoration⁷⁷.

Based on the remains of the valley and pyramid temples of Khafre and the suggestions about the original intentions of Menkaure’s architects, the possibility cannot be excluded that all four temples were meant to be largely or completely devoid of wall relief⁷⁸. Instead, the focus would have been on the strong vertical and horizontal forms of the architecture enhanced by the brilliant, sparkling coloration of the speckled red and black granite. Rituals focused on the statues within the temples and there was little or no need to depict ceremonies that took place either within the structures or in other parts of Egypt. Since the statues depicted the pharaohs either alone or accompanied by one or two divine figures, they may have in some way recalled and replaced the simple compositions that dominated the relief decoration of the Third and early Fourth Dynasties.

No wall decoration was preserved in the temple attached to the enormous mastaba built by the pharaoh Shepseskaf⁷⁹. The plan of the temple is completely different from those of the rest of the Fourth Dynasty, a disjunction that is probably related to the sudden shift from a pyramid to a mastaba. Absent in the temple are both an imposing pillared court and centrally oriented rooms to house one or more statues; the structure seems to lack a clear ritual path and the spaces appear to have been generally small and narrow. Whatever factors

75. According to Reisner (*Mycerinus*, 26), these areas of the temple were lined with red granite from floor to ceiling. Although figural relief decoration in red granite is known from the Second Dynasty (N. Alexanian, «Die Reliefdekoration des Chaschemui aus dem Sogenannten Fort in Hierakonpolis», in: *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l’Ancien Empire*, (ed. N. Grimal) *BdE* 120, 1998, 1-21 with further references), decoration carved in this material during the Fourth Dynasty seems to have been confined to inscriptions on such elements as doorways, lintels, and pillars. See also Smith, *History*, 131-132, 157-159.

76. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 29. Walls constructed of different materials seem to have been used in the Userkaf south temple (Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf*, vol. I, 68). Ricke believed that only the bases of

Menkaure’s courtyard walls would have been of black granite, while the wall surfaces themselves would have been made of limestone and covered with relief decoration (Ricke, *Bemerkungen* II, 55-58, pl. 3).

77. One might even consider that the possibility that the brickwork used in Menkaure’s pyramid temple did not result from a hasty conclusion to the project, but reflects a deliberate choice to employ a building material that was used extensively during the Archaic and Early Dynastic Periods.

78. Herbert Ricke (Ricke, *Bemerkungen* II, 5) argued against the idea that there was an «anti-relief» aesthetic in Fourth Dynasty pyramid complexes.

79. G. Jéquier, *Le Mastabat Faraoun*, Cairo 1928, 13-16.

motivated Shepseskaf's unusual complex, they do not seem to have had much resonance and the architects that followed turned to the Giza complexes for their inspiration.

Large quantities of relief decoration covered the walls of the pyramid temple of Userkaf, the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, who built his pyramid at Saqqara in the shadow of the Djoser complex. Two structures adjoined Userkaf's pyramid: a small chapel on the east side⁸⁰ and a large temple to the south⁸¹, which uniquely combines architectural forms of the Fourth Dynasty with relief decoration that is more characteristic of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Userkaf's valley temple has not been excavated.

The primary entrance to the south temple was through a long, north-south hall, which was accessed from the causeway and lead into a slightly wider east-west hall. Beyond the second hall was a large courtyard with porticos fronted by inscribed granite pillars on the east, north, and south sides. From the courtyard on, the temple was oriented north-south, with the direction of ritual progression to the south, that is *away* from the pyramid. Past the court was a narrow transversal hall, followed by a room with two rows of four pillars and a statue chamber with five niches. Theories concerning the atypical orientation of the temple and its placement to the south of the pyramid have focused on either religious concerns or local topography⁸². Whatever the motivating factor, the unusual location of the statue niches away from the pyramid must be regarded as a conscious choice on the part of the builders, since the first entrance hall deliberately brings the visitor to the north end of the temple. Architectural solutions that would have moved the celebrants from south to north, that is in the direction of the pyramid, certainly would have been possible. In contrast to the large south temple, the diminutive east chapel consisted only of a central room with two pillars flanked by two smaller chambers; the size and placement of the structure recalls the chapels attached to Snefru's Meidum and Bent pyramids.

Although the architectural form of the Userkaf's south temple clearly derives from the pyramid temples of the Fourth Dynasty, the wall relief represents a striking new development in the decoration of royal monuments⁸³. As far as we know, relief decoration in the Fourth Dynasty was used sparingly or perhaps even omitted and the predominant subjects were religious rituals of an otherworldly nature described in an abbreviated manner. The rites were enacted either by the king alone or the king and a few divine individuals or high-ranking humans. In contrast, all the major rooms of Userkaf's south temple appear to have been covered with wall relief⁸⁴. Scene types have vastly expanded and now include ships being rowed or under sail while accompanied by masses of running sailors,⁸⁵ the king hunting in the deserts and the marshes⁸⁶, the capture of hippopotami, the netting of birds, the

80. Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf*, vol. I, 56-59.

81. Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf*, vol. I, 40-55.

82. See Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf*, vol. I, 39-40 with further references.

83. The fragments of relief, statuary, and architectural elements have been catalogued in: Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf*, vol. I, 63-140; II, figs. 70-340. For relief blocks that were found reused at Lisht but may originate from Userkaf's complex see Oppenheim in: *Egyptian Art*, 318-327, cat. nos. 103-107.

84. Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf*, vol. I, 69.

85. Scenes with ships and running sailors are among the reused blocks from Lisht assigned to the reign of Khufu (Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks*, 57-59, no. 30, 104-105, no. 59; Oppenheim in: *Egyptian Art*, 228-229, cat. no. 43), but these scenes do not seem to include the masses of figures found in the Userkaf reliefs.

86. Although a marsh scene appears to have been included in Snefru's statue-cult temple (see above), it was certainly not as elaborately conceived as that found in Userkaf's temple.

display of foreign prisoners, estates presenting a variety of offerings, butchers slaughtering cattle, men carrying offerings, and piled offerings. These scenes are crowded with figures including numerous depictions of lesser-status humans such as sailors and butchers⁸⁷. Also included and prominently depicted are carefully observed wild birds, animals, plants, and even insects. There is greater stress on the captured moment, a trend that seems to have started with the military scenes from the reign of Khafre, and there is much more focus on rituals that would have taken place in identifiable, earthly settings⁸⁸. Particularly striking is the new emphasis on motion, which is conveyed in the extraordinarily lively scenes of rowing sailors⁸⁹ and running troops (pl. I.4).

Even scene types that have their roots in the Fourth Dynasty have undergone a transformation. For example, the processions of estates that were such a prominent element of Snefru's statue-cult temple were also included in Userkaf's wall decoration⁹⁰. In Snefru's examples the more abstract nature of the personifications was stressed by having each figure adopt exactly the same pose and carry identical sacred implements. Although the surviving estate personifications in Userkaf's temple all seem to be arranged with one arm raised to balance a load on the head and the other arm in a vertical position⁹¹, these representations are more animated. Because most of the figures carry a variety of actual foodstuffs, rather than symbolic ritual elements, the representations relate more closely to the visible world. At the same time, the subtle transformation of these figures reflects a new stress on the need to provide the king with meat, fowl, bread, and other products in the afterlife. Since these subjects appear earlier and quite prominently in private tombs, this widening of scene types has been seen as indication of a new emphasis on the pharaoh's humanity that appears in the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties⁹². From the artistic point of view, the sculptors were already familiar with a variety of more complex, lively scenes in private tombs and were quickly able to adapt them to royal use once their inclusion became permissible.

In the pyramid temple of Userkaf's immediate successor, Sahure, the distribution of spaces and architectural forms undergoes important transformations that will be further developed during the remainder of the Old Kingdom. Key Fourth Dynasty elements such as a prominent court with pillars (or columns) and a row of statue niches are incorporated into structures that appear to accommodate a more complex vision of the rituals needed to sustain the deceased king. In the early pyramid temples, rituals revolved around the king's statues, while the wall relief concentrated on ceremonies that would have been undertaken by the king, including the *sed*-festival and rites that were possibly enacted in temples and shrines throughout Egypt. In the Fifth Dynasty and later, the statues and their attendant rituals are still integral to the temple, but there is a new emphasis in the wall decoration on the need to supply food and other provisions for the deceased king's spirit, which is also

87. For the development of complex, large-scale compositions during the early Fifth Dynasty, see Do. Arnold in: *Egyptian Art*, 90-92.

88. The presence of scenes that recall those found in private tombs is noted in Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf*, vol. I, 69-70.

89. Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf*, vol. I, 71-72, doc. 14; vol. II, figs. 80-81.

90. Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf*, vol. I, 83-89, vol. II,

figs. 120-123, 125-138.

91. Similar poses are found in estate representations in early Fourth Dynasty private tombs. For an example, see N.E. Scott, «Two Reliefs of the Early Old Kingdom», *BMAA* 19, March 1961, 197.

92. Di. Arnold in: *Temples*, 59. The relationship between private and royal relief decoration is explored in H. Goedicke, «Das Verhältnis zwischen königlichen und privaten Darstellungen im Alten Reich», *MDAIK* 15, 1957, 57-67.

expressed in the increased importance of the offering chambers and storerooms. At the same time, greater attention is paid to the king enacting rituals such as hunting in the marshes and subduing foreigners, which were either not included or were only minor subjects in the earlier pyramid temples. The developments in architectural form and relief decoration that occur around the time of Userkaf signal a movement towards an idea of kingship that is more firmly grounded in the realities in the visible world: the need for food and sustenance, the need for the land to be protected from outside enemies and unrestrained nature, and the plants, animals, and landscape in which earthly life is lived. These iconographic themes are reflected in the continued development of royal pyramid temples during the remainder of the Old Kingdom and are taken up again during the revival of pyramid complexes in the Twelfth Dynasty

ADDENDA

In the spring of 2003, the author was able to view a relief block in the Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim that depicts the lower part of a goddess facing to the viewer's left; the figure holds a sceptre in her outstretched forward hand and an ankh in her back hand. The relief was found by Hermann Junker in the debris of tomb G II S*, but its iconography is not appropriate for a private tomb of the Old Kingdom. Instead, it has been suggested that it originated from the pyramid complex of either Khufu or Khafre. Examination of the relief shows that it is stylistically quite distinct from the reused blocks found at Lisht. Overall, the workmanship of the relief in Hildesheim is somewhat rough and lacking in detail. In contrast, for example, the block depicting archers found reused in the Amenemhat I pyramid at Lisht and possibly originating from the Khafre pyramid complex, is finely work and exquisitely detailed. Comparison of these pieces is yet another indication that the reused blocks from Lisht may not originate from pyramid complexes. I would like to thank Eleni Vassilika and Bettina Schmitz for kindly allowing me to examine the goddess relief.

* H. Junker, *Giza X. Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza*, Vol. 10, Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide, Vienna 1951, 38-40, pl. 16a; K. Martin, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, pt 2, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*, Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, Lieferung 7, Mainz 1979, pp. 118-120, no. 3185.

Plate I



1. Sed-festival scene found reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922, 22.1.1; Rogers Fund, 1909, 06.180.18. Photo Bruce White).



2. Relief of cattle found reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht; the relief may originate from the pyramid complex of Khufu (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922, 22.1.3. Photo Bruce White).



3. Relief of archers found reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht; the relief may originate from the pyramid complex of Khafre (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922, 22.1.23. Photo Bruce White).



4. Relief of running troops found reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht; the relief may originate from the pyramid complex of Userkaf (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.3.1163. Photo Bruce White).