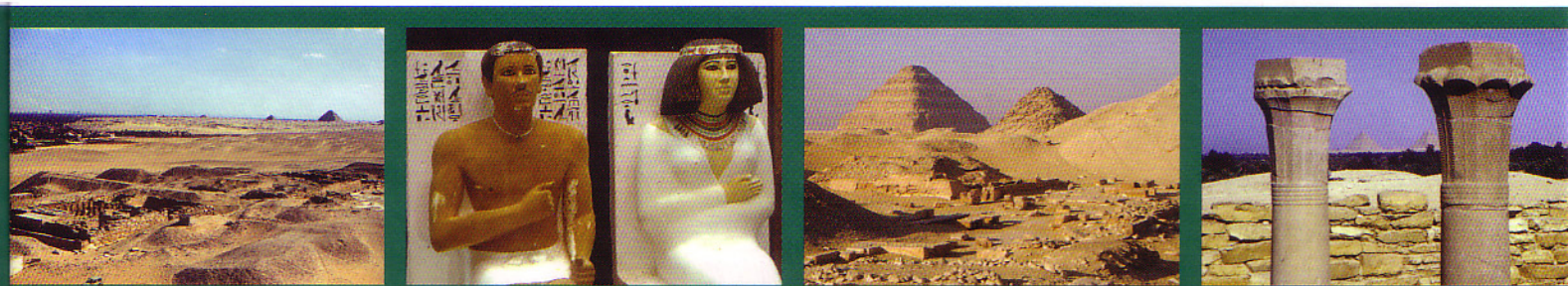


THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Proceedings of the Conference



Prague, May 31 – June 4, 2004

Miroslav Bárta
editor

THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN PRAGUE,
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Foreword

It is with pleasure that after more than two years the publication of the lectures held during the conference on the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology in Prague in the year 2004 (May 3 – June 4) has been made possible.

The conference held in Prague continued the tradition of previous meetings by being dedicated to the same subject: art and its dating in the Old Kingdom of Egypt: the period that forms the first apogee of the developing Egyptian state. The tradition of these irregular meetings was established in 1991 by Hourig Sourouezian and Rainer Stadelmann, at that time the Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, who organised the first conference.¹ The second meeting also took place in Cairo, at this time the place of the venue was the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology and the conference, held on November 10–13, 1994, was organised by its director Nicolas Grimal.² The penultimate meeting took place in Paris, France, on April 3–4, 1998, and was organised by Christiane Ziegler, Chief Conservator of Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre.³

The present volume continues a well-established and successful tradition of post-conference publications. As such, it makes available most of the contributions that were presented during the conference in Prague. It was mainly the scientific profile of the Czech Institute of Egyptology that led us to substantially widen the scope of the conference in 2004. The total of thirty-three contributions presented in this volume cover various aspects connected to Old Kingdom culture, not only its art, but also its archaeology and architecture, selected administrative problems, iconography, texts and the latest, often first time published results of ongoing excavations. From the list of contributions it becomes evident that natural sciences and their application in the widest sense receive general acceptance and support from among Egyptologists. It is one of the few aspects that can in the future significantly enhance our understanding of specific issues connected to the Old Kingdom art and archaeology.

Eng. Marta Štrachová carefully edited the manuscript and was essential in producing this volume. The advice and guidance of Eng. Jolana Malátková also proved indispensable. The Czech Academy of Sciences is to be thanked for the production of the book. Last but not least, it was Prof. Dr. Jean Leclant, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, and the chair of the European branch of the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini, and Prof. Dr. David Silverman, University of Pennsylvania, chair of the North American branch of the the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini and the respective committees that approved this publication and agreed to support it financially.

Miroslav Bárta

¹ The conference was held in the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo, on October 29–30, and the proceedings published in 1995 in the volume *Kunst des Alten Reiches. Symposium des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 28, Mainz am Rhein.

² N. Grimal, ed., *Lex critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 120 (Cairo, 1998).

³ Ch. Ziegler, N. Palayret, eds., *L'Art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 3 et 4 avril 1998* (Paris, 1999).

Bibliography

Abbreviations for journals, series and monographs used throughout the volume follow the system of *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (cf. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Band VII. Nachträge, Korrekturen und Indices*, founded by W. Helck and E. Otto, edited by W. Helck and W. Westendorf, Wiesbaden 1992, XIV–XXXVIII).

The following additional abbreviations are also used:

ACER – *The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports*, Sydney;
AOS – *American Oriental Society*, Michigan;
BSAK – *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte*, Hamburg;
CA – *Current Anthropology*, Chicago, Illinois;
Hannig, *Handwörterbuch* – R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.)*, Mainz 1995;
Harpur, DETOK – Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London and New York 1988;
Harvey, WSOK – J. Harvey, *Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom. A Typological Study*, *Egyptological Memoirs* 2, Leiden 2001;
KAW – *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt*, Mainz am Rhein;
LingAeg – *Lingea Aegyptia, Journal of Egyptian language Studies*, Göttingen;
OrMonsp – *Orientalia Monspeliensia*, Montpellier;
PAM – *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, Warsaw;
SAGA – *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens*, Heidelberg;
WES – *Warsaw Egyptological Studies*, Warsaw.

Some aspects of the non-royal afterlife in the Old Kingdom

James P. Allen

It has long been recognised that Egyptians in the Old Kingdom thought of their own afterlife in somewhat different terms than the one they imagined for their king. The king's destiny, as revealed above all in the Pyramid Texts, was expected to be primarily celestial: as one of the gods, his spirit would join the sun and the stars in their daily journey across the sky, receiving each night the capability for this new life through union with Osiris.¹ The afterlife of his subjects was more mundane: in Kees's words, 'a life perceived as completely analogous to that on earth'.² It has also been recognized that this distinction began to disappear at the end of the Old Kingdom, as all Egyptians began to anticipate an afterlife like that of the king – a process famously characterized by Breasted as the 'the royal hereafter democratised'.³

Of course, the distinction between these two modes of existence was not completely dichotomous. The Pyramid Texts also say that the king 'shall live with the living as Sokar lives with the living: as he lives with the living, this Pepy shall live with the living' (Pyr. 1289c–d), and non-royal tombs already in the Fifth Dynasty refer to the deceased journeying to the same celestial regions as the king.⁴ Yet the distinction was probably valid overall, particularly in the early Old Kingdom. Though textual evidence is meager, the difference between royal and non-royal funerary architecture clearly reflects two different visions of the afterlife. The tombs of the elite – at least those in the cemeteries associated with the capital – give the impression of houses in a village, with courtyards and interior rooms and streets between the individual buildings, and were clearly meant to be visited by the deceased's family and friends. The royal tombs are not only grander in scale but also distinctly less domestic: access to their interface with the living – the mortuary temple – was restricted, and the buildings themselves are more like a royal audience hall than a place of residence.

Despite the implications of Breasted's characterization, the distinction in these two views of the afterlife was probably one of focus rather than privilege. The king's destiny reflects the higher plane of existence he occupied during life: by its very nature, it presupposes daily communion with the gods. In the same manner, the non-royal afterlife reflects the more 'down-to-earth' existence of the king's subjects: they belong more to the world of people than to that of the gods.

These observations are hardly innovative: they can be found in one form or another in most Egyptological literature. Despite their familiarity, however, – or perhaps because of it – their implications have not always been fully appreciated or explored. There is general agreement about the meaning and function of most of the elements of a non-royal tomb of the Old Kingdom – its architecture, decoration, furnishings, and texts – but little thought has been given to the way in which those features were influenced by or reflect the afterlife they were designed for.

¹ See especially W. Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den verstorbenen König*, MÄS 39 (1981).

² Kees, *Totenglauben*, 31: 'Jedenfalls ist für den Toten zunächst ein Leben vollkommen in der Art wie auf Erden vorausgesetzt'.

³ J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York, 1933), 223–249; see also Kees, *Totenglauben*, 108–131.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 112. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, 18: *j.h[p].f hr w3wt nfri r' nb r shi htp* 'that he travel on the ultimate paths every day to the Field of Rest'; similarly, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 133. For analogous sentiments in the royal afterlife, see Pyr. 284b, 698c, 1087a, 1216a, 2062b–c.

To judge from their evidence, the prevailing view of the non-royal afterlife in the Old Kingdom was an existence centered on the tomb. Initially, in fact, that afterlife seems to have been essentially restricted to the tomb, or at most to its immediate environs.⁵ Evidence for a wider sphere of existence appears in the Fifth Dynasty, primarily in the privilege of the *hṯp-dj-nswt* formula ‘that he travel in the ultimate paths of the west (or “of the necropolis”) that the *jm3ḥw* travel in’.⁶

Given this restricted sphere, the decoration of the tomb with scenes of daily life was not just a guarantee of eternal provisions: it was also a means of bringing the world of the living, to which the deceased no longer had access, into the more limited environment in which he would spend eternity. Some themes clearly express the first of these motives: in particular, scenes of butchery and offering bearers. For others, however, the second motive was apparently the more important: for example, depictions of entertainment, markets, or sailing on the Nile. For those that can reflect both motives – such as scenes of agricultural activity, animal husbandry, and hunting – it is debatable which of the two was primary: these can be read both as a source of the necessities of daily life and, because the deceased is generally shown observing them, as a means of involving him in the activities. Depictions of fowling in the marshes, like those of hunting, may express control over chaotic elements of the world, but they also allowed the deceased to participate vicariously in an activity that was clearly enjoyed during life.

Most elite tombs of the Old Kingdom were not isolated but one of many in a larger cemetery complex. The impression is that of a village of the deceased similar to those of the living, and in fact the cemetery itself was occasionally referred to as a *njw* ‘town’.⁷ The passage from life to afterlife was understood to involve a transition from one domain of residence to another, encapsulated in the common autobiographical statement *j.n.j* (or *pr.n.j*) *m njwt.j* *h3.n.j* *m sp3t.j*.⁸ This is normally understood as two parallel statements ‘I have come (or ‘come up’) from my town and descended from my nome’, although Berlev has shown that *sp3t* was not only the term for ‘nome’ but also, and more basically, the designation for the cultivable land between *njw*s, which is perhaps the more germane meaning here.⁹ The usual translation also overlooks the fact that the verb *h3j* ‘descend’ denotes movement from a higher level to a lower one, whereas the necropolis is invariably situated at a higher elevation than the zones of habitation. An Egyptian speaking from his tomb should therefore refer to *pr.j* ‘ascending’ from his *sp3t*. That usage does in fact occur in two variants of the statement from the late Fifth Dynasty: [*j.n.j m*] *njwt.j pr.n.j m sp3t.j h3.n.j m jz.j pn* ‘[I have come from] my town, come up from my *sp3t*, and descended into this my tomb’¹⁰ and *j.n.j m njwt.j pr.n.j m sp3t.j krs.j m jz.j pn* ‘I have come from my town, come up from my *sp3t*, and been buried in this my tomb’.¹¹

These last two examples expand the usual statement from two clauses to three, and it is significant that the third clause speaks of ‘descending into’ or ‘being buried in’ the tomb. In the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, the two-clause statement has a further variant with the same theme: *pr.n.j m pr.j h3.n.j m jz.j* ‘I

⁵ Kees, *Totenglauben*, 24–25, 121.

⁶ Barta, *Opferformel*, 17. The nearest analog to this privilege in the Fourth Dynasty provides merely that ‘he will go to the west as a possessor of worthiness’ (*ibid.*, 8).

⁷ *Urk.* I, 154, 15 *jr.n.j jz pw m njwt tw nt nb.j* ‘I have made this tomb in this town of my lord’; similarly, A. M. Abu Bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949–1950* (Cairo, 1953), 73 fig. 47 and pl. 37. For another possible instance, see n. 14, below.

⁸ E. Edel, ‘Untersuchungen zur Phraeologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches’, *MDAIK* 13 (1944): 47–48; Janssen, *Autobiographie* I, 59–60 and 83; L. Depuydt, *Conjunction, Contiguity, Contingency: on Relationships Between Events in the Egyptian and Coptic Verbal Systems* (New York, 1993), 27–28; N. Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zu Phraseologie und Entwicklung*, *BSAK* 8 (2002), 54–60.

⁹ O. Berlev, *Trudovoe Naselenie Egipta v Epohu Srednego Carstva* (Moscow, 1972), 234–242.

¹⁰ A. Badawy, *The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhemankh–Ptah and Kaemnofert at Giza*, *University of California Publications: Occasional Papers* 9: Archaeology (Los Angeles, 1976), fig. 19.

¹¹ *Urk.* I, 57, 11–12.

have come up from my house and descended into my tomb'.¹² The verbs here are specifically contrastive: *prj* 'come up' and *h3j* 'descend', as are their complements, expressing the transition from life ('house') to afterlife ('tomb'). The verbs in the earlier two-clause statement are also antonyms, either explicitly (*prj* versus *h3j*) or implicitly (where the first verb is the less specific *jj* 'come').¹³ This suggests that its two clauses were also meant to be understood as contrastive rather than parallel statements: 'I have come/come up from my town and descended into my *sp3t*'.¹⁴ If this analysis is correct, *sp3t* must refer here to the realm of the afterlife or to the necropolis, as it does in other contexts at least as early as the Coffin Texts.¹⁵ Like their verbs, the two usual subjects *njw*t and *sp3t* were probably antonyms as well, and the statement as a whole expresses the same transition from life to afterlife that its later variant does.

Such statements are evidently the only context in which the realm of the non-royal afterlife in the Old Kingdom is referred to as *sp3t*. The more usual term is *hrj-ntr* '(the place) where the god is', which is also used to refer to the earthly necropolis.¹⁶ For a royal necropolis, the god in question was the king around whose pyramid (or mastaba) the non-royal tombs were clustered.¹⁷ The necropolis itself was not merely a 'town' (*njw*t) but 'the town of my lord' (*njw*t nt nb.j: see. note 7), and a tomb in it was seen as 'burial ... at the very end of old age, near the great god, lord of burial, (as) one *jm3hw* with the king'.¹⁸

The term 'great god' (*ntr 3*) in the Old Kingdom is usually unspecified as to its referent; at the end of the Old Kingdom, however, the god in question is either the sun or Osiris.¹⁹ In the Pyramid Texts, where the term can refer to either god, the 'great god' is usually one of the deities with whom the deceased interacts, but in some cases he is also the deceased king himself.²⁰ This last identification was

¹² Edel, *MDAIK* 13 (1944): 48; Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 83–84. For *h3j m* 'descend into' see *Wb.* II, 472, 9/11/15.

¹³ For the sense of the *jj* clause, cf. J. Vandier, 'Une tombe inédite de la VI^e dynastie à Akhmîm', *ASAE* 36 (1936): 33–44 and plate: *j.n.j hm r hr-ntr* 'and I have come to the necropolis'.

¹⁴ The sense of the second clause has also been proposed by Goedicke, 'The Egyptian Idea of Passing from Life to Death', *Or* 24 (1955): 233. For *m* with this sense after *prj*, cf. Pyr. *1952b (Nt 783) *pr hwt.k nfrt m kbhw* 'your good report has come up into the sky' as well as the expression *prj m b3h* 'come forth into the presence' (*Wb.* I, 524, 2), attested in the First Intermediate Period: R. Hannig, *Hannig-Lexica*, 4. *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, KAW 98 (2003), 460. In this light, the second clause in the two longer examples cited above (nn. 10–11) should perhaps be understood as 'I have come up into my *sp3t*'. I have found only one Old Kingdom example that does not seem amenable to this interpretation: Hassan, *Gîza* III, 80 fig. 69 [*j.n.j* (or *pr.n.j*)] *m pr.j h3.n.j m njw*t.j, but these two clauses may still be antonymous if *njw*t refers to the necropolis: 'I have come (or 'come up') from my house and descended into my town (of the afterlife)'. In *Urk.* I, 137, 14–15, *h3.k r rdjt jt.j [pn m jz.f(?)]* *m w'rt* 'I came down to put [this] my father [in his tomb(?)] on the desert edge', the verb *h3j* is contrastive to *Urk.* I, 136, 11 *pr.k r jnt jt.j pf* 'I went up (to Nubia) to get that father of mine'.

¹⁵ *Wb.* IV, 98,22–99,2 (New Kingdom and later). The Middle Kingdom example in Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 72, 11–12, is uncertain. Probable examples from the Coffin Texts include *j n.k jmjw sp3wt phr n.k jmj(w) hrt-ntr* 'Those in the *sp3wt* have come to you, those in the necropolis will serve you' (CT VI, 104c–d); *jnpw jst hnt jmntjw hnt sp3wt* 'as Anubis, foremost of westerners, foremost of the *sp3wt*' (CT VII, 138r); and the expression *sp3t jgrt 'sp3t* of silence' (CT V, 333h; VII, 221o). Cf. also CT IV, 207b–d *j.n.j m njw*t.j *pr.n.j m t3.j h33.j r sp3t.j wnn.j hn' jt.j tm m hrt hrw nt r' nb* 'I have come from my town and come up from/into my land; when I descend to my *sp3t* I will exist with my father Atum during the course of every day'.

¹⁶ *Wb.* III, 394, 10–11.

¹⁷ Kees, *Totenglauben*, 27 and 122.

¹⁸ Hassan, *Gîza* IX, 23 and pl. 8: *krst jm.f j3w nfr wrt hr ntr 3 nb krst jm3hw hr nswt*. Similarly, *idem*, *Gîza* I, 102 fig. 172.

¹⁹ See especially Kees, *Götterglaube*, 270–278; E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen: ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen* (Darmstadt, 1973), 181–183; J. Baines, 'Greatest God' or Category of Gods?, *GM* 67 (1983): 13–28.

²⁰ The sun: Pyr. 760c, 1471c, 2095a. Osiris: Pyr. 2000a–b, perhaps also Pyr. 1180d. The deceased king: Pyr. 272b, 274c, 1616c, *1825b (P F/Ne iii 89, Nt 360), *1831d (P F/Ne iii 97, Nt 367–368).

perhaps foremost for the non-royal deceased. Whether the term also refers to the sun or Osiris is immaterial, since the king became both gods at death.²¹

In the Pyramid Texts the deceased king communes with all the gods, whether individually or as a group.²² The non-royal dead of the Old Kingdom, however, interacted primarily with the ‘great god’.²³ In Eyre’s characterization, this deity was ‘the figure who carried out the functions of king among and for the dead, an amalgam of all dead kings continuing to function for their contemporaries’.²⁴ The relationship is expressed most often as one in which the non-royal deceased is *jm3hw hr* the ‘great god’, which will be dealt with at the end of this paper.²⁵ The deceased also relied on the ‘great god’ for redress from those who might seek to damage their tombs, as expressed in the common threat of legal action before that deity:²⁶ for example,

[j]r hm rmt nb [jr]t.s ht dw r nw jrt.s ht nbdt r nw zjnt.sn zh3 jm [w]nn wd^c-mdw.j hn^c.sn hr.s jn ntr 3 nb wd^c-mdw m bw ntj wd^c-mdw jm (Urk. I, 70, 15–71, 2)

And as for any people who will do something badly to this, who will do something destructive to this, who will erase writing from it, the judgment of my case about it with them will be by the great god, lord of judgment, in the place where judgment is (held).

The Pyramid Texts make clear that the dead king was the ‘lord of judgment’ in the afterlife,²⁷ and variants of this common threat indicate that ‘the place where judgment is (held)’ was the necropolis (*hrj-ntr*).²⁸ The deceased’s own actions during life were governed by ‘the thought of judgment in the West’²⁹ and the wish that ‘it go well for me with the great god’.³⁰ After death he aspired to ‘ascend to the great god’ and to be ‘valuable with the great god’, mirroring at least in part his earthly relationship with the living king.³¹

²¹ The deceased king’s identification with Osiris appears throughout the Pyramid Texts. In these texts the deceased is usually the sun-god’s son but he is also identified more directly with the sun himself: see especially Pyr. 452b, 703a–b, 1687c, 1688b, 1695a.

²² For the latter, see Pyr. 578b, 590c, 620a, 775a, 847a, 1632c, 1645c, 1647–48.

²³ Interaction with other gods is limited essentially to the *jm3hw hr* formula, for which see G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches, unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen*, SDAIK 21 (1986), 211–215.

²⁴ C. Eyre, ‘Work and the Organisation of Work in the Old Kingdom’, in M. A. Powell, ed., *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, AOS 68 (1987), 22.

²⁵ For *jm3hw hr ntr* 3 ‘honored with the great god’, see Lapp, *Opferformel*, 213–214.

²⁶ Edel, MDAIK 13 (1944): 9–12; S. Morschauer, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt: a Study of the History, Structure and use of Threats and Curses in Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1991), 73–76.

²⁷ Pyr. 273b, 289c, 347b, 712c, 731c, 770d, 1093d, 1127a, 1406a, 1564b, 1619a, 1714a, 1750a, 1761a, *1935e (P F/Se 69, N 729, Nt 765), 2005a, 2045b, 2046b.

²⁸ Urk. I, 263, 10; H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, II. *Archaic Period to Second Intermediate Period* (Warminster, 1979), pl. 37, 4.

²⁹ Hassan, Giza II, 173 fig. 206: *nj hm jn.t n.j jnr n rmt nb r jz pn n sh3t wd^c-mdw m jmnt* ‘nor was a stone belonging to any person(s tomb) fetched to this tomb, because of the thought of judgment in the West’.

³⁰ E.g., Urk. I, 123, 1 and 133, 1. For this expression see Edel, MDAIK 13 (1944): 34–37. Note also H. G. Fischer, in W. K. Simpson, W. M. Davis, eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980* (Boston, 1981), 62–64 and fig. 4: *n mrt w3h tp t3 nfr n.j m [hr]-ntr* ‘for the sake of lasting on earth and it going well for me in the necropolis’. In a late Old Kingdom tomb the deceased promises his benefactor *iw.j r rdjt 3h n.f hr ntr 3 nfr n.f hr tpjw t3* ‘I will make it effective for him with the great god and good for him with those on earth’: G. Goyon, ‘Le tombeau d’Ankhou a Saqqarah’, *Kêmi* 15 (1959): pl. 1, 2.

³¹ Urk. I, 88, 1–2 [*iw.j gr r*]h.k j^ct nij n ntr 3 *iw.j gr rh.k špss nij [hr ntr 3]* ‘I also know that because of which one ascends to the great god, I also know that because of which one is valuable with the great god’; cf. also Edel, MDAIK 13 (1944): 59–60; H. Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, AVDAIK 42 (1998), 87–88, fig. 1, pls. 1–2. For individuals as *špss* ‘valuable’ to the living king, see Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 83–84; Klooth, *Biographische Inschriften*, 151–153. For the parallel between the deceased’s relationship to the king on earth and in the afterlife, cf. Urk. I, 195, 11–12 [*jn*]k dd m3^c whm nfr m ht mrrt nswt j.mr.j nfr n.j jm hr nswt hr ntr 3

This vision of the non-royal afterlife reflects the dominant sentiment of the Old Kingdom tomb biographies, in which the individual's sense of personal identity and self-worth is measured in terms of his relationship to the king.³² The same sentiment is expressed concretely in the great royal cemeteries of the Old Kingdom, where the kings' tombs are nuclei around which the tombs of their officials gravitate. To be sure, some officials were buried in cemeteries far removed from those of their king, particularly toward the end of the Old Kingdom as the administration became increasingly decentralized.³³ But there as well the view of an afterlife dependent on the 'great god' remained central – so much so that even at the end of the Sixth Dynasty an official could feel the need to justify the placement of his tomb away from the royal necropolis:

jr.n.j nw m t3-wr 3bdw m jm3hw hr hm n nswt bjt NFR-K3-R^c 'nh dt hr hm nswt bjt MRJJ-R^c nswt bjt MR.N-R^c n mrwt sp3t ms.tw.j jm.s (Urk. I, 118, 14–119, 1)

Though I have made this (tomb) in Abydos of 'Great-Land' nome, it is as one *jm3hw* with the incarnation of the Dual King Neferkara, alive forever, and with the incarnation of the Dual King Meryra and the Dual King Merenra, and for love of the nome I was born in.

We have little information on the deliberation and negotiations that must have preceded the choice of a tomb site, either in the royal cemeteries or elsewhere. At least for the former it is likely that some degree of royal approval was needed, just as it was for a position in the central administration during life. This is occasionally reflected in statements by the tomb owner himself:

*jr jz pn jn swt bjt MN-K3W-R^c ['nh dt r]dj n.j st.f*³⁴

As for this tomb, the Dual King Menkaura, alive forever, is the one who gave me its site.

*jr jz pn jrjj m hr-ntr jn nswt rdj n.j st.f m jm3hw hr nswt*³⁵

As for this tomb made in the necropolis, the king is the one who gave its site to me as one *jm3hw* with the king.

These two statements, from Giza in the reign of Menkaura and Saqqara in the reigns of Teti–Pepy I, respectively, suggest that royal permission lay behind the construction of such tombs throughout the Old Kingdom, at least in these two cemeteries.

Architectural evidence indicates that some officials received from the king not only approval for their tombs but the tombs themselves, at least in Giza during the Fourth Dynasty.³⁶ Statements to that effect also appear throughout the Old

'I am one who spoke correctly and repeated well in matters that the king loves, wishing that it go well for me with the king and with the great god'.

³² Cf. J. Assmann, *Ma'at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1990), 51–57. For a survey of the relationship between officials and the king from tomb biographies, see Kloth, *Biographische Inschriften*, 128–211.

³³ The two studies dealing with this administrative phenomenon in detail are those of N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster, 1980), and N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985).

³⁴ Urk. I, 18, 10; Hassan, *Giza IV*, 168 fig. 118 and pl. 48. Hassan's reading *st.f* is confirmed by personal observation of V. Chauvet, *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2004), Cat. 136, n. 1. See also the contribution of N. Alexanian in this volume.

³⁵ A. El-Khouli, N. Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara North-west of Teti's Pyramid II* (Sydney, 1988), pl. 3, 4.

³⁶ The evidence has been collected and evaluated most recently by Chauvet, *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom*, Chapter I.1. Much of the discussion that follows is based on Chauvet's research, though I do not agree with all of her conclusions.

Kingdom.³⁷ In the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties several of these occur in the context of the *hṭp-dj-nswt* formula inscribed on the tomb:

*hṭp-dj-nswt jnpw hntj zh-nṯr rdj n.f jz.f pn kṛst jm.f j3w nfr wrt hr nṯr ʿ3 nb kṛst jm3ḥw hr nswt*³⁸

An offering that the king and Anubis at the fore of the god's booth have given, he having been given this tomb of his and burial in it, at the very end of old age, near the great god, lord of burial, (as) one *jm3ḥw* with the king.

*hṭp-dj-nswt rdj n.f jz.f pn kṛs jm.f*³⁹

An offering that the king has given, he having been given this his tomb and buried in it.

*hṭp-dj-nswt dj jnpw tpj ḏw.f rdj n.f jz.f pn*⁴⁰

An offering that the king has given and that Anubis atop his mountain has given, he having been given this his tomb.

*hṭp-dj-nswt rdj n.f jz.f pn kṛs jm.f j3w nfr m jm3ḥw hr nṯr ʿ3 nb kṛs*⁴¹

An offering that the king has given, he having been given this his tomb and buried in it, at the end of old age, as one *jm3ḥw* with the great god, lord of burial.

*hṭp-dj-nswt jz*⁴²

An offering that the king has given: the tomb.

These may have been meant to acknowledge the king's gift of the tomb itself or, more loosely, royal permission for the tomb's construction; the latter is perhaps likelier, since the mass of evidence indicates that most tombs after the Fourth Dynasty were built from the owner's own resources.⁴³

Goedicke has argued that the *hṭp-dj-nswt* formula itself reflects, at least in origin, the king's release of what is legally his own property to private ownership.⁴⁴ In his study of the formula, Barta concluded that the king's role became merely titular by the end of the Old Kingdom.⁴⁵ Evidence for a more literal interpretation, however, exists at least as late as the Middle Kingdom, judging from the statement on the coffin of a courtier buried near the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht:⁴⁶

hṭp-dj-nswt jnpw tpj ḏw.f mr ʿhnwt nḥt ḏd.f jr kṛst tn jn nswt [rdj] n.j st m [hr-nṯr] m hṭp-dj-nswt

An offering that the king and Anubis atop his mountain have given. Interior-overseer Nakht says: 'As for this burial, the king is the one who has given it to me in the necropolis as an offering that the king has given'.

While the extent of royal involvement in every *hṭp-dj-nswt* formula may be debatable, the formula itself can be seen as a statement of official sanction for the

³⁷ Collected and evaluated by Chauvet, *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom*, Chapter III.9, where the five examples that follow are also discussed.

³⁸ Hassan, *Giza IX*, 23 and pl. 8 (Fifth Dynasty).

³⁹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, 283–284 (Saqqara, Fifth Dynasty, temp. Menkauhor).

⁴⁰ CG 1461: Borchardt, *CG 1295–1808*, 105 (Saqqara, Fifth Dynasty, temp. Izezi-Unas).

⁴¹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, 278–279 (Saqqara, Fifth Dynasty, temp. Izezi-Unas).

⁴² N. Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V: The Tomb of Hesi*, *ACER* 13 (1999), pls. 6b and 50b (Saqqara, Sixth Dynasty, temp. Teti-Pepy I).

⁴³ Chauvet, *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom*, Chapter III.4.

⁴⁴ H. Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, *WZKM Beiheft* 5 (Vienna, 1970), 37.

⁴⁵ Barta, *Opferformel*, 278; *idem*, 'Opferformel', *LÄ IV* (1982), cols. 585–586.

⁴⁶ J.-É. Gautier, G. Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, *MIFAO* 6 (1902), 85 fig. 102 (coffin of Nakht).

object or actions referenced in it. Satzinger's study of the formula has demonstrated that the verb form was probably always understood as past – 'an offering that the king has given' – and the examples just cited indicate that the offerings themselves were not merely 'pleas' (Barta's *Bitte*) but privileges already granted, which the formula commemorates and perpetuates.⁴⁷ Franke's recent study also shows that the gods whose names follow the initial *htp-dj-nswt* were not recipients of the 'offering' but granters of it with, and occasionally in place of, the king.⁴⁸

In this light it is significant that the gods whose names appear in the earliest examples of the formula, in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, and most often thereafter, are those specifically associated with the necropolis, the west, or the earth itself: Anubis, 'lord of the sacred land (*ḥt ḏsr*)' and 'foremost of the sacred land'; Osiris; Foremost of Westerners, 'lord of the western desert'; and Geb.⁴⁹ These are the gods in whose domain the necropolis lay; their assent, as well as – if not more than – that of the king himself was essential for an afterlife in that domain. The same sentiment is expressed later, in the Middle Kingdom, where the names of deceased kings appear as granters in the formula. In most cases these occur on architectural elements or other objects from tombs in the cemeteries associated with these kings' pyramids.⁵⁰ As such, they can be seen as a statement of official authorization for burial in the royal necropolis and for access by the living in order to perpetuate rites at the tomb.

For the purposes of the *htp-dj-nswt* formula it is immaterial whether or not those granting offerings of food or other commodities reflected the actual distribution of such largesse from the king's own stores or those associated with the gods.⁵¹ In many instances they undoubtedly came from the tomb owner's own funerary estate – which was, of course, the rationale behind the establishment of such estates. The formula's force did not necessarily depend on the actual donation of offerings from the king or the gods it referenced. Its value was that of royal or divine approval for such offerings to be made – for construction of a tomb, burial in it, and rites conducted by the deceased's relatives and employees in the domain that belonged to the king and the gods.

While there is little evidence for the administration of cemeteries in the Old Kingdom, official approval of some sort was undoubtedly a prerequisite for any private funerary establishment in the necropolis. For the Middle Kingdom, the stela of Neferhotep I from Abydos demonstrates royal involvement in the protection of a cemetery (*ḥt ḏsr*) from any unauthorized tomb construction,⁵² and the tomb-robbery papyri of the late Ramesside period show that private tombs were as strictly policed as those of royalty. The same kind of control must also have governed access to the necropolis in the Old Kingdom. In that atmosphere, the *htp-dj-nswt* formula – usually displayed prominently on the most public parts of the tomb – was more than a mere ritual utterance: it was instead the official imprimatur of the king and the gods for the presence of this monument and its owner in the realm of the afterlife.

⁴⁷ H. Satzinger, 'Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie und Praxis', *LingAeg* 5 (1997): 177–188.

⁴⁸ D. Franke, 'The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas – a Challenge', *JEA* 89 (2003): 39–57.

⁴⁹ Barta, *Opferformel*, 8 and 15.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 56–57. Other examples can be found in Gautier, Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, 103, figs. 125–126. Excavation records of the Metropolitan Museum of Art contain an unpublished example with the name of Amenemhat I, probably from the mastaba of Nakht, discovered near that king's pyramid. Recent excavations of the Metropolitan Museum at Dahshur have revealed an example with the name of Senwosret III on a mastaba just north of the king's pyramid.

⁵¹ See Eyre, in Powell, ed., *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 22–24.

⁵² W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, KÄT 6 (1975), 18–19. For the administration of the Abydene necropolis in the Middle Kingdom, see W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: the Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*, *PPYE* 5 (1974), 5 n. 30.

The same sentiment underlies the common epithet *jm3hw*.⁵³ This is regularly, if not exclusively, a quality of the deceased, who is *jm3hw hr* ‘with’, or occasionally *n* ‘of’, someone – in the Old Kingdom, usually the king or the ‘great god’.⁵⁴ As Jansen-Winkeln has suggested, the term itself probably shares a common root with the noun **m3h* ‘sheaf of grain’: this is most likely an otherwise unattested verb **m3hj* meaning something like ‘bundle’, in which case *jm3hw* is probably a passive participle denoting ‘bundled’, ‘grouped’, or the like.⁵⁵ Whatever its derivation, the term clearly expresses an association between the deceased and those with whom he is *jm3hw*.

Following Helck, this is now generally understood as a relationship entailing provision for the funerary estate by the one with whom the deceased is *jm3hw*.⁵⁶ While this may have been true in many cases, however, it can hardly have applied to instances in which the deceased is described as *jm3hw hr ntjw hn^c.f* ‘with those who are with him’, *hr rmt* ‘with people’, and even *hr rmt nb* ‘with everyone’.⁵⁷ The basic meaning of *jm3hw* is probably one of general association, and the context in which it occurs suggests the added connotation of worth: as *jm3hw hr nswt* or *jm3hw hr ntr* ³, the deceased is ‘worthy of being associated with the king’ or ‘worthy of being associated with the great god’. Material support is a secondary consideration; where it is involved it derives naturally from the relationship itself, as does support in familial relationships.

The root meaning of ultimate association between the deceased and the king underlies the expression *m šw jm3h.j* ‘in the shade of my association’:⁵⁸ for example,

jr.n.j jz pw m šw jm3h.j hr nswt jn n.j krs (Urk. I, 51, 2)

I have made this tomb in the shade of my association with the king, who got the sarcophagus for me.

Where the deceased’s tomb was located near that of a king, this expression may have been intended almost literally. As with the term *h3w* ‘vicinity’, however, it probably had a temporal as well as a spatial connotation, and this seems paramount in most examples: for instance,

*jn sn.s dt mr-hst-pr-³ nj-m3^ct-r^c jr n.s jz pn dt.s sk sj m hnw m jp3t-nswt m šw jm3h.s nfr hr nswt r^c nb*⁵⁹

Her estate-brother, singing-overseer of the royal estate Nimaatre, is the one who made this tomb and her estate for her, while she was (still) within the king’s private apartments, in the shade of her ultimate association with the king every day.

⁵³ See W. Helck, ‘Wirtschaftliche Bemerkungen zum privaten Grabbesitz im Alten Reich’, *MDAIK* 14 (1956): 63–75; K. Jansen-Winkeln, ‘Zur Bedeutung von *jm3h*’, *BSEG* 20 (1996): 29–36; Kloth, *Biographische Inschriften*, 67–74.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 31–32; and 69–72. The arguments of Jansen-Winkeln, *BSEG* 20 (1996): 30–31, that the epithet could also be applied to the living have been effectively countered by Chauvet, *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom*, Chapter III.3.

⁵⁵ Jansen-Winkeln, *BSEG* 20 (1996): 33–35; *Wb.* II, 31, 7. A root *n^ch* or *n^chj* ‘bundle’ appears in the Middle Kingdom in a stative *n^ch.w* ‘bundled’ and in the Ramesside period in the noun *n^ch* ‘bundle’, both referring to flax: see J. P. Allen, *The Heqanakht Papyri*, *PMMA* 27 (2002), 68 and 176. It is conceivable that this later root is a dialectical variant of the Old Kingdom *m3h*, involving the phonological shift of medial *3* > *j* (cf. *h3m* ~ *hjm*, *Wb.* III, 31) and *j* > ^c before *h* (cf. *jhm* ~ ^c*hm*, *Wb.* I, 125, 13; *jhmt* ~ ^c*hmt*, *Wb.* I, 125, 17; *jhhm* ~ ^c*hhm*, *Wb.* I, 126, 2).

⁵⁶ Besides the references in n. 53, above, see also Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 37–38 and 56; J. Assmann, ‘Totenkult, Totenglauben’, *LÄ* VI (1986), cols. 661–662; Eyre, in Powell, ed., *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 22. A recent analysis of the term with regard to private tombs is that of Chauvet, *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom*, Chapter III.3.

⁵⁷ *Urk.* I 47, 2; 222, 5; T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi*, *ASE* 30 (1953), pl. 6, D(3). Further examples in Kloth, *Biographische Inschriften*, 68–69. Cf. Lapp, *Opferformel*, 215–217.

⁵⁸ See Kloth, *Biographische Inschriften*, 70; also discussed by Chauvet, *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom*, Chapter III.3.

⁵⁹ Hassan, *Giza* II, 205 fig. 226; similarly, 173 fig. 206, 213 fig. 231, 220–221 fig. 240; also *Urk.* I, 222, 18–223, 6.

Statements such as these express the same ethic as those in which the deceased records his having acted out of concern for 'the thought of judgment in the West' and the desire that 'it go well for me with the great god'. Like the tomb biographies, they reflect a value system whose standard was the individual's relationship with king, both as an effective official during life and in the hope of eternal association with the king in the afterlife. The force of this relationship lay in the notion of *k3* 'life force': the deceased were 'those who have gone to their *k3*' and the king himself was the source of *k3* in the world of the deceased as he was in that of the living.⁶⁰

All of the phenomena discussed above derive ultimately from this single, powerful standard: the notion of the tomb as the center of existence in the afterlife; the royal necropolis as the 'town' (*njw*) or 'countryside' (*sp3t*) in which the afterlife would be lived; the necessity of royal and divine authorization for access to that realm, commemorated in the *h3tp-dj-nswt* formula; and the need for continued association with the king and the other inhabitants of the afterlife, expressed in the notion of *jm3h*.

Such a vision of the afterlife seems limited in comparison with the cosmic range of existence that all Egyptians came to anticipate at the end of the Old Kingdom. In essence, however, it was nothing more than a refinement of the impulse that led officials before the Old Kingdom to accompany the king into eternity by ending their own lives at his funeral. The Old Kingdom notion of the non-royal afterlife may have been somewhat more civilized, but it was no less compelling.

⁶⁰ The deceased as *šmw/zjw n/h3r k3w.sn*: Pyr. 598c, 829d, 836e, 948b, 975c, 1165b; Wb. III, 430, 1–2; also as *nbw k3w* 'possessors of kas': Pyr. 1215d, 1574b. The king as the source of *k3*: H. Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter*, *ÄF* 8 (1939), 49–61; Pyr. 149d, 161b, 311a, 315b, 512d, 2040a.

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