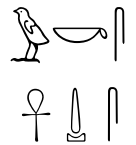


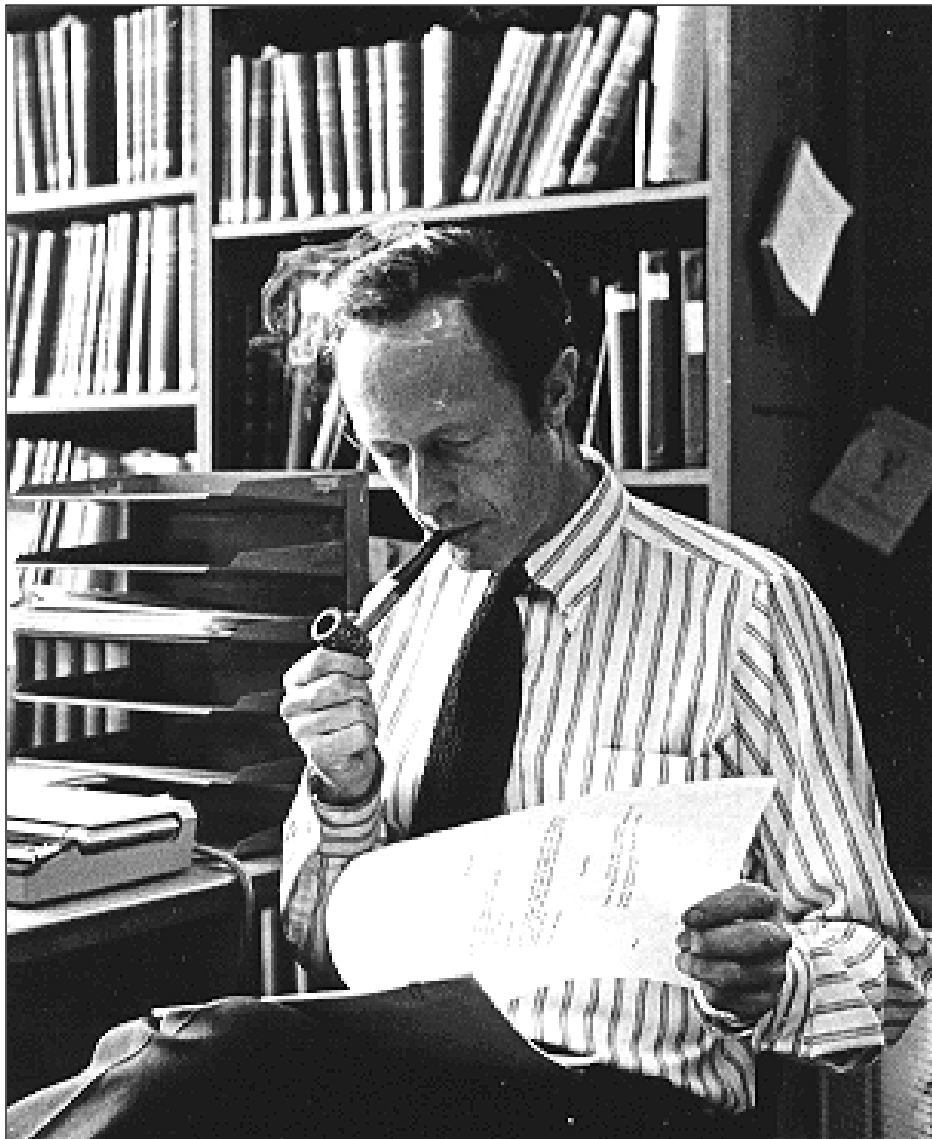
Studies in Honor of
William Kelly Simpson



VOLUME I
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson





William Kelly Simpson

*Studies in Honor of
William Kelly Simpson*

VOLUME I



Peter Der Manuelian
Editor

Rita E. Freed
Project Supervisor

DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN,
NUBIAN, AND NEAR EASTERN ART

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON
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Preface



IN OUR GENERATION, FEW EGYPTOLOGISTS HAVE ACHIEVED THE INTERNATIONAL acclaim and earned the universal respect that is enjoyed by William Kelly Simpson. As scholar, curator, teacher, and excavator, he has made significant contributions to nearly every aspect of Egyptology and already claims a major legacy of students taught directly or indirectly through his nearly twenty books and over 130 articles. Hardly a member of the lay public interested in Egypt has not read and enjoyed his *Literature of Ancient Egypt, An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry* (edited and translated with R.O. Faulkner and E.F. Wente) or learned from his *Ancient Near East: A History* (co-authored with W.W. Hallo).

To know Kelly, as friends and acquaintances all address him, is to know a man profoundly interested in and knowledgeable about a wide variety of topics. He is a leading collector of modern and contemporary art, and has generously lent to many shows in those areas. He has served as trustee of institutions as diverse as the Caramoor Center for Music and the Arts, the French Institute–Alliance Française New York, and the Museum of Primitive Art. The International Association of Egyptologists, the American Research Center in Egypt, the American University in Cairo, and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens have all acknowledged his leadership abilities by electing him president, vice-president, or chairman.

Born in New York City on January 3, 1928, Kelly Simpson graduated from the Buckley School (New York) and Phillips Academy (Andover, Massachusetts) before attending Yale University. At Yale, he received his B.A. and M.A. in English. In search of a job afterwards, he was hired by W.C. Hayes and Ambrose Lansing in the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Department, where he served as Curatorial Assistant from 1948 to 1954. Within a year of accepting the job, he published his first Egyptological articles, on a Fourth Dynasty head and the Tell Basta treasure, the first two in a long list covering a tremendous breadth of material in the field. Taking classes at the Metropolitan while he worked there, Kelly pursued a Ph.D. in Egyptology under the tutelage of Ludlow Bull and wrote his dissertation on the Metropolitan Museum's excavation of the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht. It was also during his years at the Metropolitan Museum that he participated in his first archaeolog-

ical excavation (in Nimrud, Iraq, under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology) and served in the New York National Guard, retiring as First Lieutenant.

Upon completion of his Ph.D. in 1954, Simpson received the prestigious Fulbright Fellowship and visited Egypt for the first time. In addition to touring museums and archaeological sites, he also excavated at the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur under the directorship of Ahmed Fakhry and at Mitrahineh with the University of Pennsylvania, where he worked with Rudolph Anthes. After two years in Egypt, he returned to the U.S. to Harvard University, accepting a position as Research Fellow at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

Recognizing a young scholar with stellar potential, Yale University offered William Kelly Simpson an assistant professorship in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures in 1958. He was promoted to Associate Professor of Egyptology in 1963 and made full professor two years later, a position he still holds.

It was thanks to Kelly Simpson that Yale University became involved in archaeological fieldwork in Egypt in 1960. Responding to the international call for help in rescuing the monuments of Nubia at the time of the building of the Aswan High Dam, Simpson led a joint team from the University of Pennsylvania and Yale to Toshka and Arminna for three seasons, excavating and recording New Kingdom Egyptianizing tombs and Late Meroitic cemeteries, which he published in 1963. The Pennsylvania–Yale team then moved north to work on the Middle Kingdom remains at Abydos under the co-directorship of Simpson and his student, David O'Connor, now Lila Acheson Wallace Professor of Ancient Egyptian Art at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. Simpson's 1974 volume that was inspired by this work, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, forms a basis for any scholarship done on stelae, administration, or social organization of the Middle Kingdom.

It was also during his years at Yale that he completed three out of four landmark volumes on the Middle Kingdom hieratic texts from Naga ed-Deir known as Papyrus Reisner. To quote one of its many glowing reviews:

The . . . volumes . . . are monuments of careful and painstaking scholarship which yield almost an embarrassment of material to broaden our paleographical and lexicographical knowledge of Middle Egyptian, as well as furnishing material for the administrative study of the Middle Kingdom. . . .¹

¹ A.R. Schulman, *JARCE* 6 (1967), p. 175.

In 1970, a year after completing a three-year tenure as Chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at Yale, Kelly Simpson was offered the Curatorship of the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art (now called the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art) at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which he accepted in addition to his Yale professorship. For the next seventeen years, he split his time weekly between Boston and New Haven, and devoted full-time attention to each job. With the collection as his primary focus, he refurbished galleries and added fully 500 objects to the collection. Hiring students interested in Egyptology every summer, he saw to it that a younger generation was given the opportunity to work in the Department, its present curator and most of its present staff included.

Recognizing the need to publish the tremendous legacy of Giza mastabas excavated by George A. Reisner, Simpson reopened the Museum of Fine Arts' excavations at Giza in 1970, after a nearly thirty-year hiatus, in order to complete the recording of the tombs and finalize their publication. He remains its principal project director. Also in 1970, the inaugural volume of the Giza Mastabas series, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, was published under the joint authorship of Simpson and Dows Dunham. As of 1996, a total of six volumes have been published in the series (four by Simpson) and an additional six are in preparation.

In 1986 Kelly Simpson resigned the curatorship in Boston to devote his full attention to teaching and writing, which he does to this day. Upon his departure, the administration of the Museum of Fine Arts appointed him Consultative Curator in gratitude and recognition of his accomplishments at the museum and in the expectation and hope that he would continue to serve in an advisory capacity. To date, he is the only person in the museum's history to hold this title and distinction.

These sixty-eight articles written by scholars from nine countries are offered in gratitude and tribute to a great man. The substantial task of administering, editing, and designing these volumes was admirably borne by Peter Der Manuelian, another scholar whose entry into the field of Egyptology was made possible by William Kelly Simpson. From the entire staff of the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, a resounding *ꜥnh, wdꜣ, snb* (life, prosperity, health) to Kelly, with affection.

Rita E. Freed
Curator, Department of Ancient Egyptian,
Nubian, and Near Eastern Art
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

IN THE EARLY 1970S, I WAS AN UNDERGRADUATE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF Pennsylvania. Having participated in one of the University's excavations in Greece, I began attending the annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America. It was at one of these meetings that I first met Kelly Simpson. I was immediately impressed by the fact that he was *both* professor of Egyptology at Yale *and* Curator of Egyptian Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

In the fall of my senior year, as I pondered whether to pursue graduate studies or to gravitate towards law or business school, out of the blue I received a telephone call that was to change my life. Kelly Simpson was on the line, informing me that he had an assistant's opening in the Egyptian Department at the Museum and asking if I would be interested in discussing it with him. Needless to say, I was on the next plane, and thus began my lifelong love both of Egyptology and of the Museum of Fine Arts.

I was, however, curious as to why he would consider me for the position rather than one of his graduate students or someone else far more qualified than I. In his characteristically candid way, he replied that this was a curatorial position and that, in his opinion, it would be more productive for the Museum to take on someone who had an interest in ancient art and archaeology and train him in Egyptian art than to bring in one of his graduate students—all of whom at the time were philologists—and try to get them to look at an object as a work of art.

Ever since that first telephone call, Kelly has had a profound influence on my life as teacher, mentor, and friend. He was (and is) a demanding professor with a razor-sharp mind and quick wit, but at the same time he gives freely of his advice and wisdom. His interests extend far beyond his chosen field, both in art and in his love of the opera. Given the enormous impact he has had on students, colleagues, and friends alike, it is only fitting that so many of the leading scholars in the field have contributed to this book. Enjoy!

Miguel de Bragança
MFA Overseer and Chairman of the
Visiting Committee to the Department of
Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art

Bibliography of William Kelly Simpson



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Fig. 1. W.K. Simpson at the Metropolitan Museum, 1952. Photograph by Nora E. Scott.

Fig. 2. Archaeological team at Toshka, 1961. On the left: Anthony Casendino and Edward L.B. Terrace. On the right, Maher Saleeb and Nicholas B. Millet. Kneeling: W.K. Simpson.



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Fig. 3. Studying rock shrine on south side of Gebel Agg, Toshka East, 1961.

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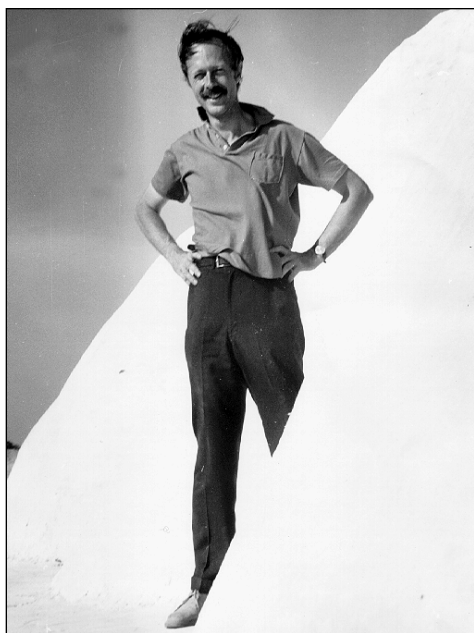


Fig. 4. At Abydos, 1969.

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Fig. 5. With Gamal Mokhtar and MFA Visiting Committee members, Boston, 1975.

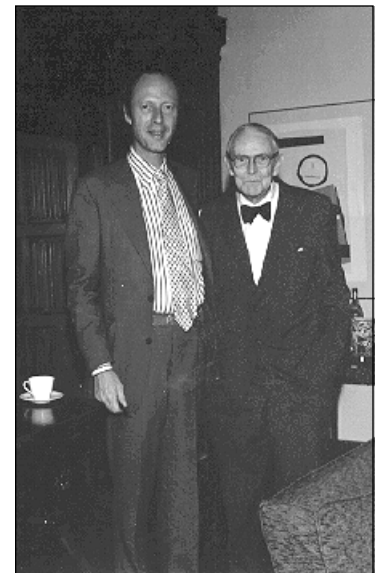


Fig. 6. With Dows Dunham, Boston, 1975.

Fig. 7. With Omar Sharif by the colossal statue of Mycerinus in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, mid-1970s.



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Fig. 8. In the garden of Presiden Sadat (right), Ismalia, with trustees of the American University in Cairo, late 1970s.

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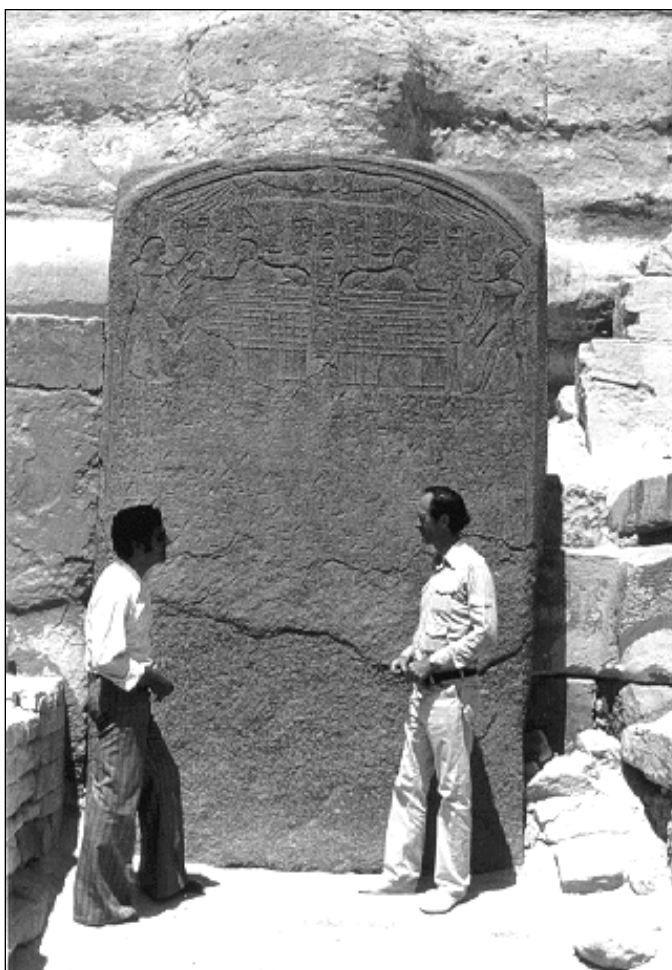


Fig. 9. With Zahi Hawass in front of the stela of Thutmose IV between the paws of the Sphinx at Giza, 1977; photograph by Robert E. Murowchick.

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Fig. 10. At the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1985.

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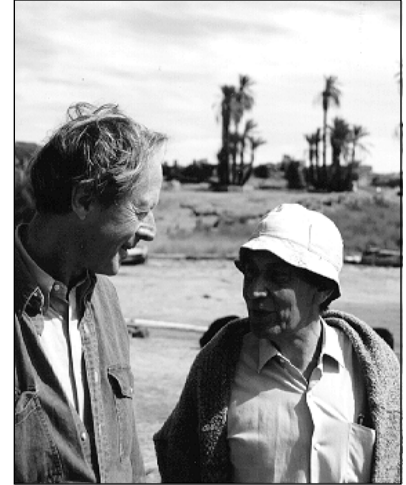


Fig. 11. With Werner Kaiser on the island of Elephantine, 1994.

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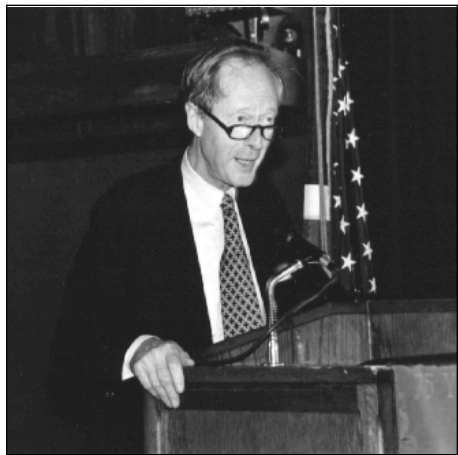


Fig. 12. Speaking at the American University in Cairo 75th Anniversary Forum, May 18, 1995. Photograph by Richard Laird.



Some Theban Officials of the Early Middle Kingdom



JAMES P. ALLEN

OVER THE COURSE OF HIS EGYPTOLOGICAL CAREER, THE NAME OF William Kelly Simpson has become nearly synonymous with Middle Kingdom studies. Although his interests have included most aspects of ancient Egyptian civilization, Kelly's first love has always been the literature, art, and history of the Middle Kingdom. The list of his publications bears eloquent witness to just how much his scholarship has expanded and enriched our knowledge in these areas over the past forty years. It is my privilege to offer the present study—which covers an equivalent span of time in the formation of the Middle Kingdom—in tribute to Kelly's scholarship, and with affection to an esteemed colleague and a treasured friend.

The recent redating of the tomb of Meket-re (TT 280, fig. 1) to the early years of Amenemhat I has provided a new benchmark for the art and history of the early Middle Kingdom.¹ Given the service of Meket-re under Mentuhotep II (see below), this new dating now provides evidence for an official career stretching from the last decades of Mentuhotep II (ca. 2030–2010 B.C. in the traditional chronology), through the reign of Mentuhotep III (ca. 2010–1998 B.C.) and the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, to the first years of Dynasty 12 (ca. 1991–1981 B.C.).

The titles preserved in Meket-re's tomb are *mr ḥtmt* "Overseer of the Seal" and *mr pr wr* "Chief Steward."² The former identifies him as

¹ Dorothea Arnold, "Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes," *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 21–32; J. Allen, "The Coffin Fragments of Meketra," *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 39–40. I am grateful to Dorothea Arnold for discussing the subject of the present paper with me and for offering numerous valuable comments. In Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 23 and p. 38 fig. 62, and Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 39, the bookroll with two ties, which appears on a fragment from Meket-re's coffin, was cited as partial evidence for the date of the tomb. A further search of the fragments of tomb relief has revealed another instance of the same sign, also with two ties, in carved relief (MMA 20.3.1018).

² On fragment, MMA 20.3.962 (MMA Theban Expedition drawing AM 691), and a fragment in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, respectively. The latter is reproduced in Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), p. 21 fig. 26, and discussed *ibid.*, p. 23.

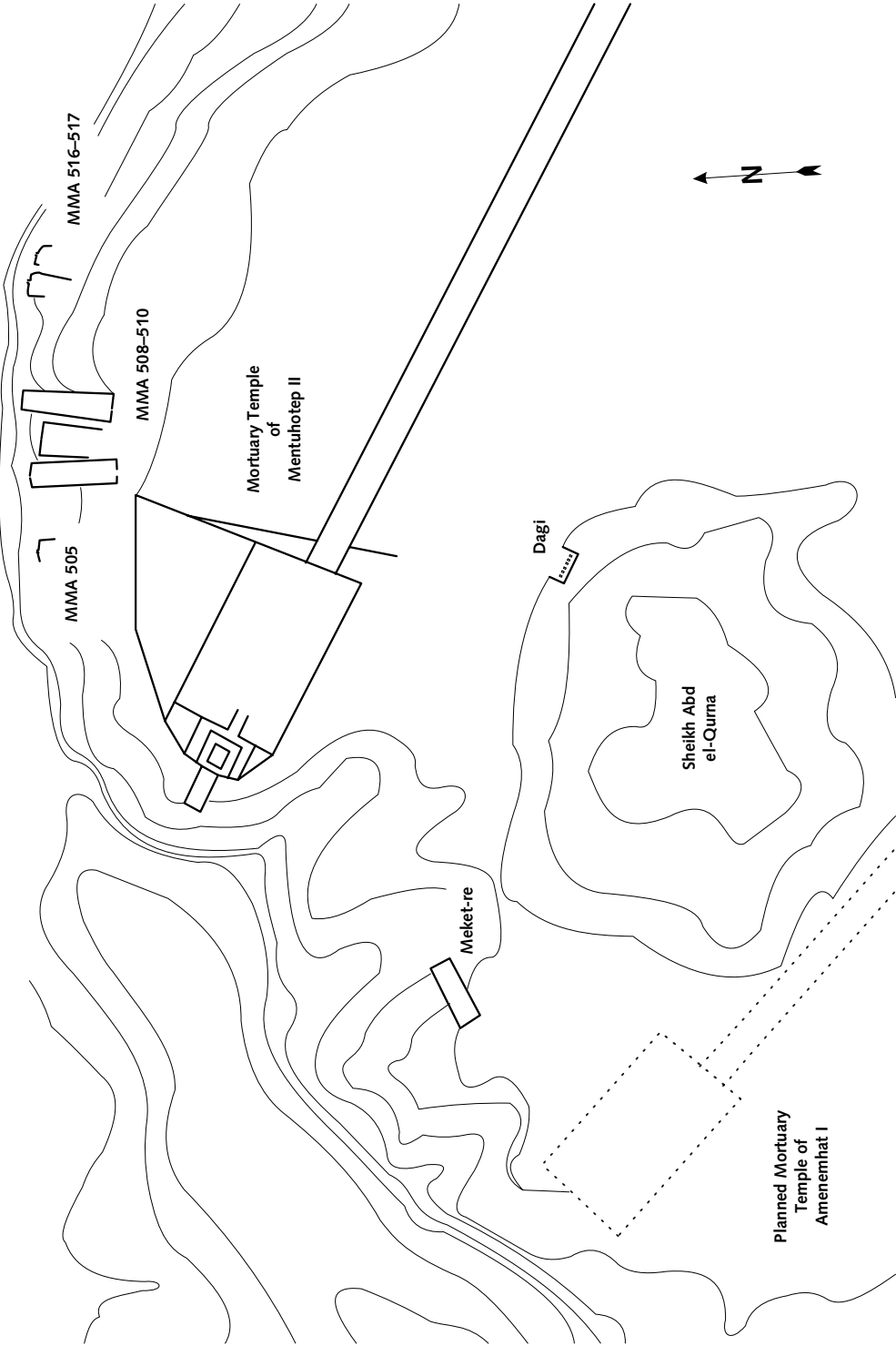


Fig. 1. The Theban Necropolis in the early Middle Kingdom.

the official responsible for the personal property of the king; the latter, as the administrator of state property.³ Meket-re also appears as *mr ḥtmt* in fragments from the reliefs of the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II.⁴ He had thus attained the office sometime in the final two decades of Mentuhotep's reign,⁵ and presumably exercised it under succeeding kings until his death in the early years of the Twelfth Dynasty. The title of *mr pr wr*, which appears only in his tomb, was presumably conferred on him by Amenemhat I.

Meket-re's predecessor as *mr ḥtmt* was probably Khety, the owner of TT 311 (MMA tomb no. 508), above Mentuhotep's temple in the north cliff of Deir el-Bahari (fig. 2). Khety appears with this title in two graffiti from the Wadi Shatt el-Rigala, where he is shown before the figure of Mentuhotep II.⁶ In a nearby group of graffiti commemorating other officials of Mentuhotep's court, Meket-re is identified only as *mrr nb=f mꜣ<ꜣ> mikwt-rꜣ* "Truly beloved of his lord, Meket-re."⁷ These may date to Mentuhotep II's Year 39, but are probably a few years later (see below).

³ W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 3 (Leiden, 1958), pp. 77–79 and 92. For the function of *mr ḥtmt*, see also B. Schmitz, "Schatzhaus(vorsteher)," *LÄ* 5, cols. 539–43; and G. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier* (London, 1988), pp. 61–62. For the office of *mr pr wr*, first attested in Dyn. 12, see Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), p. 23; O. Berlev, "The Date of the 'Eloquent Peasant'," in *Form und Mass, Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht*, ed. by J. Osing and G. Dreyer, *ÄAT* 12 (Wiesbaden, 1987), p. 79; F. Arnold, "The High Stewards of the Early Middle Kingdom," *GM* 122 (1991), pp. 7–14.

⁴ Fr. 5344 = BM 1452: E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari* 2, EEF 30 (London, 1910), pl. 9D; J.J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XIème dynastie*, BAe 10 (Brussels, 1948), no. 28r3: ... *smr* *wꜣ[t](i) mr ḥtmt mikt-rꜣ*. The mortuary temple relief has been studied by B. Jaroš-Deckert. Her papers are now in the MMA's Department of Egyptian Art, and I am grateful to Dieter Arnold for making them available to me for study. These show Meket-re on at least two other fragments: 5342 (BM 1398), which depicts him carrying a collar, with the legend *r[p]ꜣ ḥtmti-bit(i) smr-wꜣt(i) mr ḥtmt mikwt-rꜣ*; and 1464, with the partial title *[mr]-ḥtmt m[i]kwt-rꜣ*. All three inscriptions mentioning Meket-re are in raised relief, and thus integral with the original decoration of the temple, rather than secondary additions. Other references to fragments from the mortuary temple in the present article are derived from Jaroš-Deckert's papers; all the fragments are in raised relief.

⁵ The fragments of temple decoration derive from building phase D; for the date, see Dieter Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari*, PMMA 21 (New York, 1979), pp. 41–45.

⁶ W.M.F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt, 1887* (London, 1888), pl. 16 no. 489 and pl. 15 no. 443; H. E. Winlock, "The Court of King Neb-ḥepet-rēꜣ Mentu-ḥotpe at the Shatt er Rigāl," *AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 142 (and fig. 7) and p. 143 fig. 8 = idem, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (New York, 1947), pls. 36–37.

⁷ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 15 no. 455; Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), pp. 147, 148 fig. 10D, 149–50 = *Rise and Fall*, pp. 66–67 and pl. 39D. An initial *mr* preceding this graffito was erased. The title *mr ḥwt 6 wrt*, which follows Meket-re's name and which was read by Petrie and Winlock with it, belongs to another graffito (discussed below).

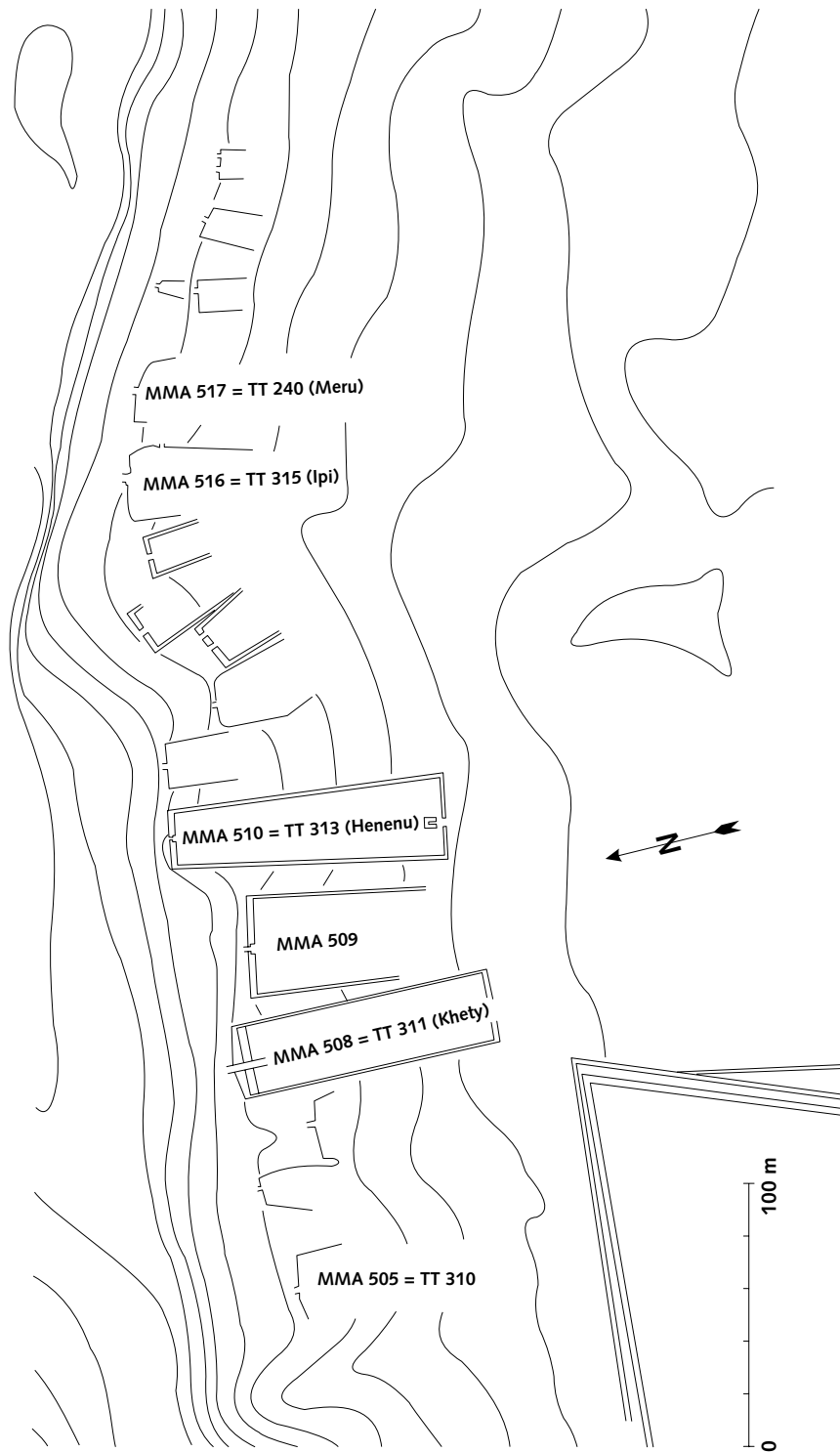


Fig. 2. Early Middle Kingdom tombs above the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II; after Arnold, *Das Grab des Inj-iti-f*, pl. 1.

Evidence for Meket-re's title at this time, while Khety was still in office, is preserved in a graffito of Mentuhotep's Year 41 from Aswan:⁸

ḥsbṯ 41 ḥr 9 ḥrw ZM3-T3Wì (n)swt bit(i) NB-ḤPT-Rc ḥḥ mi-rc dt
iwt ḥtmti-bit(i) smr-wṯi mr ḥtmww 10 ḥty ms.n zst-rc m3ct ḥrw
ḥrw n w3w3t mikwt-rc ḥtmt(i)¹¹

Year 41 under the Horus UNITER OF THE TWO LANDS, King of Upper and Lower Egypt NB-ḤPT-Rc, alive like Re forever. Return of the King's Sealbearer, Unique Friend, Overseer of Sealers Khety, born of Sit-Re, justified; boats of Wawat; and Meket-re the Sealbearer.

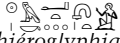
In light of this inscription, Meket-re's appointment as *mr ḥtmt* can be dated to Mentuhotep II's Year 41 at the earliest, following his return from Aswan and the death of his predecessor.¹²

Khety's office is attested throughout the reliefs from his tomb, as well as in his sarcophagus and on the offering table from the tomb's entrance.¹³ The reliefs preserve a number of his other honorary and functional titles as well, including *rpḥ ḥst(i)-c ḥtmti-bit(i) smr wṯ(i)* "Hereditary Noble, High Official, King's Sealbearer, Unique Friend," *ḥrp rḥw-(n)sw* "Director of the King's Acquaintances," *rḥ-(n)swt [imi] ib3f* "King's Acquaintance and Intimate," *[(i)t]-nṯr mry-nṯr* "God's Father and Beloved," *mr prwì-ḥḏ* "Overseer of the Two Treasuries," *imì-r ḥḏ ḥnr nbw mr ḥsbḏ mfk3[t]* "Overseer of silver and gold, Overseer of lapis-lazuli and turquoise," and *mr 3b wḥmw nšmt šw* "Overseer of horn, hoof, scale, and feather."¹⁴ His name and title also occur on linen from the tombs of Mentuhotep's queens Aashyt and Henhenet, in the king's

⁸ *AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 147 = *Rise and Fall*, pp. 65–66; W. Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben*, AA 12 (Wiesbaden, 1965), no. 359. The graffito is reproduced in Petrie, *Season*, pl. 8 no. 213.

⁹ For *ḥr* alone introducing the king's name, see the *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* 3, 316, 1. The sign shown in Petrie's copy between the numeral and *ḥr* is probably nothing: H.E. Winlock, in *MMA Theban Expedition Journal* 3, p. 84.

¹⁰ For this spelling, cf. G.T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* (Oxford, 1971), pl. 5 no. 18. The individual in question is probably not the same as the *mr ḥtmt* Khety: see below.

¹¹ Petrie's copy can plausibly be read as . For the spelling of the title, cf. J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Ham-mâmât*, MIFAO 34 (Cairo, 1912), no. 113, 12. Its position after the name is unusual, but not unparalleled: R. Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub*, UGAÄ 9 (Leipzig, 1928), no. 19, 5; cf. also Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), pp. 148 fig. 10K, 152 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 69 and pl. 39K.

¹² Thus substantiating the chronological arguments of Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 21–22.

¹³ For the offering table, see H.E. Winlock, "The Egyptian Expedition 1922-1923," *BMMA* 18 (1923), Part 2, p. 14 fig. 4 and p. 17 fig. 7. The relief and sarcophagus fragments are unpublished: MMA Theban Expedition drawings AM 705–706 and 713, respectively. For the burial chamber, see C.K. Wilkinson and M. Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings* (New York, 1983), p. 67.

mortuary complex;¹⁵ and from Tomb 23 in the triangular court north of the temple, which also yielded linen dated to Year 40.¹⁶

Nearly all of Khety's attestations are associated with the final phase of Mentuhotep's reign, marked by the Horus name *zmꜣ-tꜣwꜣ* and prenomen *NB-ḤPT-Rꜥ*.¹⁷ Besides the graffiti from the Wadi Shatt el-Rigala, this titulary also occurs, along with the king's image, in the fragmentary stelae from Khety's tomb.¹⁸ The graffiti are commonly dated to Mentuhotep's Year 39 on the basis of year-dates scratched secondarily on either side of the two main inscriptions showing the figure of the king.¹⁹ The relationship between the dates and the graffiti is not completely certain, but the fact that the king is shown, in one instance, in Sed-Festival garb suggests that Khety was involved in the planning or celebration of this event, probably sometime between Years 30 and 39.²⁰ The linen marks from the queens' burials also suggest that Khety had attained his high office earlier than, or at the latest around the beginning of, the reign's final phase.²¹ Those from Tomb 23 show that he was serving as *mr ḥtmt* in or after Year 40. He may also appear in the reliefs of Mentuhotep's mortuary temple, like Meket-re, although the evidence is not unequivocal.²² If so, he must have died while the temple was being decorated, since there is no evidence for more than one royal *mr ḥtmt* in office at any one time. The combined evidence indicates that Khety

¹⁴ MMA Theban Expedition drawings AM 705–706 and AM 709; MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, p. 116. Khety's reliefs (AM 705) contain what appears to be the first known use of the "tongue" sign (Gardiner F20) as a writing of the word "overseer" (*imi-r*), in the sequence *imi-r ḥtmt imi-r ḥꜣ ḥnꜥ nbw*; the usage is next attested under Senwosret I: W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (Bonner Orientalistische Studien, 13: Bonn, 1962), § 7.

¹⁵ Aashyt: Winlock, *BMMA* 18 (1923), Part 2, p. 12 fig. 2 (MMA 22.3.3; MMA Theban Tomb Card 61). Henhenet: MMA 07.230.1c3; MMA Theban Tomb Card 31 (unpublished).

¹⁶ Noted by Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 146 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 65; otherwise unpublished: MMA 25.3.262 (MMA Theban Expedition photograph M6C 424, MMA Theban Tomb Card 93) (*mr ḥtmt ḥty*) and MMA 25.3.264 (MMA Theban Expedition photograph M6C 423, MMA Theban Tomb Card 94) (*ḥsbt 40*).

¹⁷ As suggested, in slightly different terms, by Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 146 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 65. For the king's titulary, see Dieter Arnold, "Zur frühen Namensformen des Königs *Mntꜣw-ḥtp Nb-ḥpt-Rꜥ*" *MDAIK* 24 (1969), pp. 38–42.

¹⁸ Unpublished: MMA Theban Expedition drawings AM 708 (including fragments of the king's figure: MMA 26.3.354B-C) and AM 705.

¹⁹ Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), pp. 153 and 143 fig. 8 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 70 and pl. 37.

²⁰ For the date of Mentuhotep II's Sed-Festival, see Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari* 1, AV 8 (Mainz, 1974), p. 66 and n. 178.

²¹ The burial of Henhenet, and probably also that of Aashyt, was sealed by the temple's Phase C: Arnold, *Tempel* 1, p. 64; idem, *Mentuhotep*, p. 41. This building phase seems to have been inaugurated at the time of Mentuhotep's adoption of the Horus name *zmꜣ-tꜣwꜣ*: idem, *Mentuhotep*, pp. 42 and 56.

became *mr ḥtmt* sometime before the final decade of Mentuhotep II and was succeeded by Meket-re in the king's last years, before the decoration of the mortuary temple had been completed.

In this respect, several monuments attributed to the Khety of TT 311 (hereafter distinguished, for convenience, as "Khety I") should probably be assigned to other individuals. Winlock identified Khety I with the expedition-leader named in the Aswan graffito of Year 41, cited above.²³ The identification is tempting, but the title *mr ḥtmww* makes such an equation problematic,²⁴ since it is apparently a variant of the more common title *mr ḥtmtyw*, of lower rank than *mr ḥtmt*.²⁵ If the two men were identical, Khety could have become *mr ḥtmt* in Year 41 at the earliest. This in turn would date the burial of Mentuhotep's queens, and building phase C of his mortuary temple, also to Year 41 at the earliest. Though barely conceivable, the time span is probably too short to accommodate the architectural and historical events that occurred before the king's death in Year 51: building phases C and D of the royal mortuary temple,²⁶ Khety's career and the construction of his own tomb, and Khety's death and the succession of Meket-re. At any rate, the likeliest interpretation of the Wadi Shatt el-Rigala graffiti indicates that Khety I was already *mr ḥtmt* at the time of Mentuhotep II's Sed-Festival, in Year 39 at the latest.

At the other end of the scale, Khety I has also been identified with the owner of a statue from Karnak and a second offering-table that may come from the same place.²⁷ The statue was inscribed for the *ḥtmt(i)-biti smr wꜣ(ti) (i)t-nꜥr mr ḥtmt m tꜣ r dꜣꜣf imꜣḥ ḥty mꜣꜣ ḥrw* "King's

²² Frs. 82 (...) *ḥtmt ḥ[t]y[...]*, 660 (... *ḥtm]t ḥty*), 3078 (...) *ḥtmt ḥty*). The relief mentioned by E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I*, EEF 28 (London, 1907), p. 40 n. 1, showing "the king, enthroned as Osiris, receiving the homage of the vizier Khety," depicts Mentuhotep, identified as (*n*)*swt bit(i) [NB]-ḤPT-[Rꜣ]*, in Sed-Festival garb, receiving a procession of officials, the first two of whom are identified as (*i*)*t-nꜥr mry-nꜥr ḥ<t>y* and *mr ḥtmt [...]* (fr. 5130). Although the first title is attested for the *mr ḥtmt* Khety (see above), the fact that it is followed by a separate *mr ḥtmt* suggests that the individual in question is another Khety, or Khety followed by his predecessor. The relief is at a small scale and unlike the others in which Mentuhotep II's officials are depicted.

²³ *AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 147 = *Rise and Fall*, pp. 65–66.

²⁴ As noted by Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), p. 45 n. 108.

²⁵ For the latter, see Helck, *Verwaltung*, pp. 83–84, 181; S. Quirke, "The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom," *RdE* 37 (1986), p. 118 and n. 39.

²⁶ The sanctuary of the mortuary temple bore a cornice inscription mentioning the king's first Sed-Festival: Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari 2*, AV 11 (Mainz, 1974), pl. 1. On that basis, Arnold has suggested that the temple's decoration was completed around the time of the Sed-Festival: *Tempel* 1, p. 66; 2, p. 20. The evidence assembled in the present article indicates that this inscription is more probably commemorative.

²⁷ Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), pp. 146–47 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 65.

Sealbearer, Unique Friend, God's Father, Overseer of the Seal in the entire land, revered Khety, justified."²⁸ The offering-table bears two dedicatory texts: *imꜥḥ ḥr nꜥr ʿ3 (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏) nb ꜥbdw (i)t-nꜥr mry-nꜥr ḥty mꜥr ḥrw* "Revered by the Great God, lord of Abydos, God's Father and Beloved Khety, justified" and *ḥtp-ḏi-(n)swt ḥꜥ t ḥnqt kꜥ ḥꜥd sꜥ mnḥt n mr ḥtmt imꜥḥ ḥty mꜥr ḥrw* "A royal offering of a thousand of bread and beer, beef and fowl, alabaster and clothing for the Overseer of the Seal, revered Khety, justified."²⁹ Although the inscriptions on these two monuments contain the name and titles of Khety I, the objects themselves belong stylistically in the early Twelfth Dynasty, or even later.³⁰ The statue's closest parallel, particularly in the treatment of the legs, is that made for Nakht, Chief Steward of Senwosret I, sometime during the reign of Amenemhat I.³¹ The offering-table displays a pair of basins linked by curving channels to the central spout, a feature well attested in Twelfth-Dynasty examples; antecedents in the late Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasties tend to have straight channels.³² Stylistically, its closest analogues are a slab made for Ameny, vizier under Amenemhat II,³³ and another dedicated to Wah-ka I or II, nomarch of Qaw el-Kebir in the latter half of the Twelfth Dynasty.³⁴ It is quite different from the much simpler offering-table found at Khety's tomb, which has a large, \ominus -shaped central element covered with depictions of offerings in raised relief, two basins without channels, and no spout.³⁵ If the Karnak pieces

²⁸ A. Mariette, *Karnak 1* (Leipzig, 1875), p. 44 no. 12; 2, pl. 8j. P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseum der Altertümer in Leiden 3* (Hague, 1910), p. 5 no. 40, pl. 21 fig. 13.

²⁹ M. Kamal, "Journal d'entrée, no. 67858," *ASAE* 38 (1938), pp. 15–19 and pl. 3.

³⁰ Thus probably also not attributable to the *(i)t-nꜥr mry-nꜥr* Khety who appears in reliefs from Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple (see n. 22 above). I am grateful to Dorothea Arnold for discussing these objects with me, and for pointing out stylistic parallels.

³¹ Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), p. 30. Nakht's statue (C 409) comes from his mastaba in Lisht (LN 493): J. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Les fouilles de Licht* (MIFAO 6: Cairo, 1902), p. 100 and figs. 121–22; L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* (CG 1–1294: Berlin, 1925), pp. 20–21 and pl. 67; G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (Munich, 1929), pl. 22. The statue of Khety is unfortunately headless: cf. Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 147 n. 31 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 65 n. 30.

³² See Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), p. 9; H.G. Fischer, "Some Early Monuments from Busiris, in the Egyptian Delta," *MMJ* 11 (1976), pp. 165–66. For Dyn. 12 examples (from Lisht), cf. A. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes* (CG 23001–23256: Cairo, 1909), nos. 23029, 23049–56, 23062, 23064.

³³ C 23027: Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, pp. 22–23 and pl. 12. For Ameny, see D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich* (ÄA 41: Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 18 and Dossier 117; W.K. Simpson, "Lepsius Pyramid LV at Dahshur: the Mastaba of Si-Ese, Vizier of Amenemhet II," in J. Baines et al., eds., *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (EES Occasional Publications 7: London, 1988), p. 59.

³⁴ W.M.F. Petrie, *Memphis 1* (BSA 15: London, 1909), pl. 4. See Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 200.

date to the Twelfth Dynasty, they cannot have been made at the behest of Khety I, who evidently died in the final decade of Mentuhotep II's reign. They must then be posthumous donations to Khety's cult, or objects made for a later individual of the same name and titles, who evidently served under Amenemhat I and perhaps into the next reign, as a successor of Meket-re, probably following the service of the *mr ḥtmt* Intef, who was buried in Meket-re's complex and who may have succeeded him in office.³⁶

In his rise from *ḥtmt(i)* in Mentuhotep II's Year 41 to *mr ḥtmt* before the king's death, Meket-re seems to have bypassed the intermediate rank of *mr ḥtmtiḥw* "Overseer of Sealbearers."³⁷ In Year 41, this office was apparently held by the expedition-leader Khety (if the two titles *mr ḥtmww* and *mr ḥtmtiḥw* are the same), under whom Meket-re visited Aswan. In the Wadi Shatt el-Rigala graffito of Mentuhotep II's courtiers, it is associated with a man named Meru, who appears in at least two inscriptions: as *ḥtmti-bit(i) smr wct(i) mr ḥ:swt i3btt iḥ n=f wrw m ksw r r(w)t pr-(n)swt mry-nb=f mr ḥtmtiḥw mrw* "King's Sealbearer, Unique Friend, Overseer of the Eastern Hill-country, to whom the great come bowing at the gate of the King's House, his lord's chosen, Overseer of Sealbearers Meru,"³⁸ and as simply *mr ḥtmtiḥw mrw* "Overseer of Sealbearers Meru."³⁹ Since there is no clear evidence for two royal *mr ḥtmtiḥw* serving at the same time, a third graffito in the same group should perhaps be assigned to the same individual: it names the *mḥ-ib-*

³⁵ Winlock, *BMAA* 18 (1923), Part 2, pp. 14 fig. 4 and 17 fig. 7. The fragmentary offering-table made for Mentuhotep II's queen Tem has comparable features: Arnold, *Tempel* 1, p. 54 and pl. 25b.

³⁶ For the tomb of Intef see H.E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942), p. 20 and fig. 2. Intef's title is preserved on a statue base from the tomb, identical to one made for Meket-re, with the inscription *prt-ḥrw t ḥnqt k3 3pd n im3ḥ ḥr nḥr 3 mr ḥtmt in-t=f m3 ḥrw* (MMA 20.3.961: MMA Theban Expedition drawing AM 691). Both bases originally measured ca. 55 x 35cm.

³⁷ For the offices, see Helck, *Verwaltung*, pp. 83–84 and 181; S. Quirke, *RdE* 37 (1986), p. 118 and n. 39. There is no direct evidence associating Meket-re with the office of *mr ḥtmtiḥw*. A fragment from his tomb has the partial inscription *ḥtmtiḥw n* (MMA 20.3.1002), but the context and reference are unknown. Winlock's reading of a Wadi Shatt el-Rigala graffito as *mr ḥtmtiḥw mikwt* (*AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 155 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 71) is questionable: see the copy in Petrie, *Season*, pl. 14 no. 409. It is not associated with those of Mentuhotep II's courtiers, and is evidently of a different individual; Meket-re's name is not otherwise attested without the *r* element. A [...] *ḥtmt mikti* appears in the mortuary temple reliefs (fr. 5332; see n. 22), perhaps identical with the [*ḥri*] *3 mr ḥtmt m* [...], who also occurs in the mortuary temple (fr. 345), and with the *ḥtmw mikwt* attested in the Wadi Shatt el-Rigala (Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 155).

³⁸ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 15 no. 459; Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), pp. 148 fig. 10G, 150–51 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 68 and pl. 39G.

³⁹ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 15 no. 478; Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 151 and n. 50 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 68 and n. 40.

(n)sw m st=f nb ḥz.n nb=f mꜣꜥ ḥtmti-bit(i) mr ḥtmtiw mry “King’s trustee in all his places, whom his lord has truly favored, King’s Sealbearer, Overseer of Sealbearers Mery.”⁴⁰

If there was in fact only a single *mr ḥtmtiw* in office at any one time, and if the title of the expedition-leader Khety in the Aswan graffito was in fact equivalent to *mr ḥtmtiw*, Meru’s appearance with the same title in the Wadi Shatt el-Rigala graffiti dates these inscriptions to Year 41 or later. The two dates of “Year 39” scratched next to the graffiti depicting Mentuhotep II must then refer to the year of the event commemorated (the king’s Sed-Festival?) and not to that of the inscriptions themselves—if, in fact, they have any contemporary relevance at all. At any rate, Meru is firmly attested as *mr ḥtmtiw* in Year 46 of Mentuhotep II by a stela of his, which was probably erected in Abydos.⁴¹ The same title appears in the sarcophagus from his tomb (TT 240, MMA tomb no. 517), the easternmost in the row of early Middle Kingdom tombs in the north cliff of Deir el-Bahari (fig. 2).⁴² The date of Meru’s death is unknown, but could be as late as the beginning of Dyn. 12 on the basis of his tomb’s architecture and the orthography of his sarcophagus.⁴³ In that case, he will have been roughly the same age as Meket-re, under whom he apparently served for most of his professional career.

As noted above, Meket-re’s title of *mr pr wr* “Chief Steward” was evidently conferred on him late in life by Amenemhat I, since it is not attested before the Twelfth Dynasty. His predecessor in this office seems

⁴⁰ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 15 no. 474+472; Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), pp. 148 fig. 10J and 152 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 69 and pl. 39J. The graffito of a *mr ḥtmtiw sbkw-ḥtp* is not associated with those of Mentuhotep’s court, and is probably later: Petrie, *Season*, pl. 17 no. 586; Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 153 and fig. 12 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 69 and pl. 38D. Meru’s name is not otherwise attested in the spelling *mry*, but the variant *mrwꜣ(i) ~ mriꜣi* is plausible: cf. Schenkel, *FmāS*, § 18. An Aswan graffito of Year 41 that Winlock assigns to Meru (Petrie, *Season*, pl. 8 no. 243; *AJSL* 57 (1940), p. 152) belonged to a man named *mrr-tty*: cf. Schenkel, *MHT*, no. 358. Winlock apparently changed his mind about the attribution, since it is not repeated in *Rise and Fall*, p. 69.

⁴¹ Turin 1447: Schenkel, *MHT*, no. 387. A good photograph can be found in L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, AHAW 6 (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 22 fig. 14. For the stela’s origin, see Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940) p. 151 = *Rise and Fall*, p. 68; Fischer, review of W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, in *BiOr* 23 (1966), p. 30. Meru does not seem to appear in the mortuary temple reliefs, although fr. 3650, with the inscription [...]*rw*, could attest to his presence among the other officials honored there.

⁴² R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, 1849–59), Abt. 2, pl. 148c–d. The small tombs to the east of Meru’s belong to Dyn. 12 or later: Winlock, in *MMA Theban Expedition Journal* 3, p. 181; Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), p. 48 n. 196 (for TT 316 = MMA tomb no. 518).

⁴³ The tomb’s architecture is discussed below. The sarcophagus displays the group $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, otherwise attested only in Dyn. 12: Schenkel, *FmāS*, § 4; Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), p. 9 and n. 33. I know of no other royal *mr ḥtmtiw* that can be firmly dated to the time between Year 46 of Mentuhotep II and the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.

to have been the Steward (*mr pr*) Henenu, a contemporary of Khety I. The tomb of Henenu (TT 313, MMA tomb no. 510) is similar in design to that of Khety, and lies to its east (fig. 2). His name (*mr pr ḥnnw*) occurs on linen from the tomb of Mentuhotep II's queen Miyet, in the king's mortuary complex, like that of Khety in the burials of Aashyt and Henhenet.⁴⁴ Henenu's tomb, like Khety's, commemorated the titulary associated with the final phase of Mentuhotep's reign, both on its entrance doorway and in at least one of the two wall-stelae flanking the entrance.⁴⁵ Besides his chief office, the fragments from Henenu's tomb record a number of his other titles, honorary and functional:⁴⁶ *ḥtmt(i)-biti smr wꜣt(i)* "King's Sealbearer, Unique Friend,"⁴⁷ *ḥri-tpi-[(n)sw]* "King's Confidant,"⁴⁸ *mr [ꜣb] wḥmw šw nšmt* "Overseer of horn, hoof, feather, and scale,"⁴⁹ *mr qbḥ pꜣwt ḥnn[t]* "Overseer of fowl that swim, fly, and land,"⁵⁰ and *mr nt[t] iw[tt]* "Overseer of what is and is not."

The title *mr pr* occurs throughout Henenu's tomb, as well as on fragments from his sarcophagus.⁵¹ On Stela A it has the unique form *[m]r pr ꜣ*, perhaps also *m[r pr ꜣ] m tꜣ r ḏr=f*.⁵² Unlike the Twelfth Dynasty's *mr pr wr*, the adjective here probably does not qualify the title *mr pr* ("Great Steward") but is to be read with *pr* alone—i.e., "Overseer of the *pr ꜣ*."⁵³ Hence, perhaps, the additional qualification *m tꜣ r ḏr=f* "in the entire land." Given the scope of Henenu's stewardship, this is evidently a forerunner of the later title *mr pr wr* "Chief Steward," which Amenemhat I bestowed on his successor, Meket-re.

The linen mark from Miyet's tomb indicates that Henenu, like Khety, came into office before the final phase of Mentuhotep II's reign.

⁴⁴ MMA 22.3.7, unpublished: MMA Theban Expedition Tomb Card 65, photograph MCC 133.

⁴⁵ The doorway is unpublished: MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, p. 142, photograph M7C 133. The fragmentary stela (A) was published by W.C. Hayes, "Career of the Great Steward Henenu under Nebhepetre Mentuhotep," *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 43–49 and pl. 4.

⁴⁶ Primarily from Stela A (see preceding note). Additional sources (all unpublished) are noted separately.

⁴⁷ From the entrance doorway (see n. 45).

⁴⁸ On Stela C: MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, 157, photograph M7C 135. Cf. also line 3 of Stela A: *iw [ir].n=f w(i) m ḥri-tpi=[f]* "He made me his confidant."

⁴⁹ Also on Stela C (see preceding note).

⁵⁰ See Hayes, *JEA* 35 (1949), p. 47 (c).

⁵¹ The latter are unpublished: MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, pp. 147–48, photograph M7C 136.

⁵² Hayes, *JEA* 35 (1949), pl. 4 line 1 and right frame. Hayes's restoration of the latter as *m[r pr wr] m tꜣ r ḏr=f* is improbable: Berlev, in *Form und Mass*, p. 81.

⁵³ For the *pr ꜣ* in the Middle Kingdom, see O.D. Berlev, in B.G. Gafurova et al., eds., *Труды 20-й Международной Конференции по истории и культуре Древнего Востока*, 1 (*Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth International Congress of Orientalists* 1) (Moscow, 1962), pp. 143–44 and 145–46.

It is uncertain whether he is represented in the Wadi Shatt el-Rigala grafiti, although the traces of one partially erased inscription can be plausibly read as *mr pr ḥnn/w*.⁵⁴ From their titles, Khety and Henenu would appear to have divided the administration of Mentuhotep's personal and state property between them (see n. 3 above). Their common responsibility for property may account for the fact that both bear the title *mr ḥb wḥmw nšmt šw* "Overseer of horn, hoof, scale, and feather" apparently at the same time: in Khety's case, the title may denote the king's private livestock; in Henenu's, that of the state.

The titulary of Mentuhotep II in Henenu's tomb shows that he survived with Khety into the king's final decade. Like Khety, he may have been represented in the reliefs of Mentuhotep's mortuary temple.⁵⁵ In construction and decoration (discussed below), Henenu's tomb is somewhat earlier than that of Khety. For this reason, Henenu is probably not identical with the Steward Henu who led an expedition to the Wadi Hammamat in Year 8 of Mentuhotep III.⁵⁶ Since no other stewards of comparable rank are known from the late Eleventh Dynasty,⁵⁷ Henu seems to have been Henenu's successor as (Chief) Steward and Meket-re's predecessor. His tomb is not known, but it could be one of the anonymous structures in the north cliff—perhaps MMA 511, just west of Henenu's.

Apart from Meket-re, Khety, and perhaps also Henenu, two other high officials are known to have been honored by the inclusion of their names and figures in the reliefs of Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple. The first of these, the vizier Bebi, occurs only once, as the last of a row of officials; the accompanying inscription (the only one preserved) reads: *ṯṯ(ti) zṣb ṯṯiti bbi* "Vizier, Dignitary of the Curtain, Bebi."⁵⁸ The second, the vizier Dagi, is attested on several fragments, one of which names him as *ḥst(i) ḥ mr nwt ṯṯ(ti) zṣb ṯṯiti dṣg[i]* "High Official, Overseer of the Pyramid Town, Vizier, Dignitary of the Curtain, Dagi."⁵⁹ Since there is no evidence for two viziers in office at the same time during this period,

⁵⁴ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 15 no. 487; Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), pp. 149 and 148 fig. 10C = *Rise and Fall*, p. 67 and pl. 39C.

⁵⁵ A [...] *ḥnr[t] ḥnnw* appears on one fragment (646), but a title with this element is not otherwise attested for the Steward Henenu.

⁵⁶ Couyat and Montet, *Hammâmât*, no. 114. Hayes, *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 43 and 47(a); Schenkel, *MHT*, no. 426.

⁵⁷ For the Steward Shedwi-Ptah, under Mentuhotep IV, see Schenkel, *MHT*, 260 n. a.

⁵⁸ H.R. Hall and E.J. Lambert, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum* 6 (London, 1922), pl. 24; Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, § 28r4; N. de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, ASE 21 (London, 1913), p. 39. This is fr. 5341 (BM 116). The beginning of the inscription is lost.

one or the other must have died during the decoration of the temple—most probably Bebi, who is not known elsewhere.⁶⁰ Dagi appears with other members of Mentuhotep's court in the graffiti of the Wadi Shatt el-Rigala, as *mr ḥwt 6 wrt dꜣg ms.n nmt(i)* "Overseer of the Great Enclosure of Six, Dagi, born of Nemti."⁶¹ This inscription commemorates Dagi's career at a stage where he had assumed at least partial responsibility for the office of vizier.⁶² Since Bebi's name does not appear in the graffiti, it is conceivable that he had died and that Dagi was in fact vizier in his own right. If so, Dagi's inscription dates the Wadi Shatt el-Rigala graffiti to a time when the decoration of Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple (phase D) had been started but not yet completed.

Dagi is also attested as vizier in his tomb on the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, south of the causeway of Mentuhotep's mortuary temple (TT 103, fig. 1). The tomb was decorated in two stages, the second of which—probably begun after Dagi's appointment as vizier—involved

⁵⁹ Fr. 471: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, p. 39; Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, no. 28r5. The beginning of the inscription is lost; the word *nwt* "town" has a "pyramid" determinative. Dagi also appears in fr. 5352 ([...] *zꜣb tꜣiti dꜣg*) and probably also fr. 1097 ([...] *tꜣ r dꜣrꜣf dꜣg[i]*).

⁶⁰ Fr. 5352, cited in the preceding note, may join with another (fr. 1496), which would identify the official preceding Dagi as *tꜣ(tꜣ) zꜣb [tꜣiti ...]*—perhaps honoring Dagi's immediate predecessor, Bebi. Whether this indicates that the two viziers were in office simultaneously, however, is debatable. For the question, see E. Martin-Pardey, "Wesir, Wesirat," *LÄ* 6, cols. 1227–28, with additional references there.

⁶¹ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 15, 455+456; Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), pp. 148 fig. 10D-E, 150 = *Rise and Fall*, pp. 57–68 and pl. 39D–E. Winlock read the title as part of Meket-re's graffiti, and the name as part of graffiti E (Petrie 456). It is evident, however, from the facsimile (and photograph in H.E. Winlock, "The Egyptian Expedition, 1925–1927," *BMMA* 23 (1928) Section 2, p. 23 fig. 24) that Petrie's 455+456 = Winlock's D-E actually consists of three separate graffiti. The first of these, chronologically, constitutes the beginning of Winlock's E: *whmw n (n)swt rḥ.n nꜣr rnꜣf sd(m) šmrw mḥw mry-nbꜣf mꜣr zꜣ-mꜣḥzꜣ* "Herald of the King, whose name the god knows, whom the Nile Valley and Delta hear, his lord's true chosen, Si-Mahes." For the epithet *sdm šmrw mḥw*, cf. W. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), nos. 745, 748, 750. The name *zꜣ-mꜣḥzꜣ* is apparently otherwise unattested, but cf. the feminine *s(s)t-mꜣḥsꜣ* (MK): H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* 1 (Glückstadt, 1935–77), p. 288, 27; the *ꜣ*-bird above and between the *mꜣ* and *ḥ* signs appears to belong to this inscription, inserted secondarily. Meket-re's graffiti (the beginning of Winlock's D) was inscribed next, above that of Si-Mahes (E); its signs seem to have been adjusted around the superlinear *ꜣ* of E. The two lines of Dagi's text were added last, to the left: the upper line is lower than Meket-re's, and the bottom line is higher than that of Si-Mahes. The spelling *dꜣg* also appears in the mortuary temple reliefs (fr. 5352: see note 59 above) and in Dagi's tomb (Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 38, 1); the vizier Dagi is also depicted with a woman named *nmti* there (Davies, op. cit., p. 32 n. 8, p. 37, and pl. 34).

⁶² The title *mr ḥwt 6 wrt* is a common, and nearly exclusive, feature of the vizier's titulary: cf. W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (ÄF 18: Glückstadt, 1954), p. 73; W.C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*, Wilbour Monographs 5 (Brooklyn, 1955), p. 74; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 186–98. Only exceptionally is it borne by officials other than the vizier: Strudwick, op. cit., pp. 178 and 186.

among other changes the application of a fine limestone face to the walls of the entrance corridor, as in the tombs of Khety, Henenu, and Meketre.⁶³ The sarcophagus from this tomb contains several paleographic features that point to a date at the end of Dyn. 11, if not in early Dyn. 12.⁶⁴ The only title recorded on this object, however, is *mr rwyt* "Overseer of the Gate," which has led to speculation that the sarcophagus was made either before Dagi became vizier, or for a different individual.⁶⁵ An official with the same title is attested in a relief from Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple, which could date, like the fragment mentioning the vizier Bebi, to a time just before Dagi became vizier.⁶⁶ Dagi's promotion from *mr rwyt* to vizier is conceivable, since the former title is often qualified by the designation *ḥtmti-biti* "King's Sealbearer," indicating membership in the king's inner circle of advisors.⁶⁷ It is less likely, however, that the sarcophagus was made before this promotion, given the late indications of its paleography noted above. It could conceivably have been decorated for another Dagi, perhaps a son of the vizier, but there is no evidence for a burial other than Dagi's in the tomb.⁶⁸ In this light, it is arguable that the sarcophagus was made for Dagi himself, just prior to his burial. The fact that it does not mention his highest title is disturbing, but not completely unparalleled: the sarcophagus of the

⁶³ Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pp. 28–30; Dieter Arnold, *Das Grab des Inj-jtj.f*, AV 4 (Mainz, 1971), p. 40; B. Jaroš-Deckert, *Das Grab des Inj-jtj.f*, AV 12 (Mainz, 1984), p. 131. Dagi's vizierial titles appear on the stonework: Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁶⁴ Schenkel, *FmäS*, § 42f. Cf. also H. Willems, *Chests of Life*, MVEOL 25 (Leiden, 1988), p. 112. The sarcophagus is published in Lepsius, *Denkmäler 2*, pls. 147–148b; and P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, CG 28001–28126 (Cairo, 1903 and 1906), no. 28024.

⁶⁵ Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pp. 38–39; Arnold, *Inj-jtj.f*, p. 40.

⁶⁶ Fr. 5333 ([...] *mr ryt d[s]g*), part of the scene noted in n. 22, above: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, p. 39; Clère and Vander, *TPPI*, p. 42 n. b. For the title, see Helck, *Verwaltung*, p. 65; H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millenium B.C.* (Locust Valley, NY, 1968), p. 166.

⁶⁷ Quirke, *RdE* 37 (1986), pp. 123–24. Cf. the references in Ward, *Titles*, no. 236. The sequence *ḥtmti-bit(i) smr wrt(i)* appears on the exterior ends of Dagi's sarcophagus: Lacau, *Sarcophages*, no. 28024. Traces at the beginning of the inscription cited in the preceding note may also suit [*ḥtmti*] *bit(i)*. An early Twelfth-Dynasty holder of the title had the sequence *rpḥ ḥst(i) ḥtmt(i)-biti mr rwyt*: A. Nibbi, "Remarks on the Two Stelae from the Wadi Gasus," *JEA* 62 (1976), pl. 9. The office of *mr rwyt* seems to be closely linked with that of the *mr ḥtmt*, to judge from a stela associating the *mr ḥtmt* Ikhernefret and the *mr rwyt* Inpi: H.O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, CG 20001–20780 (Cairo, 1902–1925), no. 20683; cf. Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 27. An official of the later Twelfth Dynasty was both *mr ḥtmt* and *mr rwyt*: Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, nos. 433–436; cf. Franke, *op. cit.*, Dossier 340.

⁶⁸ No family members are identified in the tomb other than the woman Nemti, who seems to have been his mother (see n. 61 above). A row of seated men, however, is commonly supposed to represent his sons: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 30 no. 1; W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 1 (New York, 1953), p. 163 fig. 99 (MMA 12.180.243).

vizier Mentuhotep, who served under Senwosret I, and the tomb chamber of Siese, vizier of Amenemhat II, also bear no evidence of their owners' service as vizier—perhaps in deference to their successors—although at least the sarcophagus of Mentuhotep was made near the end of its owner's life.⁶⁹

Though fraught with uncertainties, the bulk of evidence thus suggests that Dagi initially served as *mr rwy*t during the viziership of Bebi and was promoted to vizier after the latter's death sometime in the final decade of Mentuhotep II's reign. Among the titles preserved in his tomb are several comparable to those held by the Chief Steward Henu in Year 8 of Mentuhotep III: *mr prw*i-*ḥd* *mr prw*i *nbw* *mr šnw*t*i* "Overseer of the Double Treasuries of Silver and Gold, Overseer of the Double Granary."⁷⁰ If this is of any significance, it may serve to date Dagi's death to the same year, at the latest. At any rate, he cannot have survived beyond Year 2 of Mentuhotep IV, when Amenemhat is attested as vizier.⁷¹

Dagi's probable date of death, between Year 8 of Mentuhotep III, at the earliest, and Year 2 of Mentuhotep IV, at the latest, has further ramifications for the date of the vizier Ipi, the owner of TT 315 (MMA tomb no. 516). On the basis of his tomb's position, just west of Meru's in the row of tombs lining the north cliff of Deir el-Bahari, Ipi has generally been dated to the reign of Mentuhotep II. Unlike the other tomb-owners in this row, however, Ipi is not attested outside his tomb, and the tomb itself bears no evidence of an association with that king.⁷² The tomb's position alone makes it unlikely that Ipi preceded Bebi as vizier. This leaves only two periods within the late Eleventh Dynasty when Ipi could have been in office: a few years between Bebi and Dagi in the last decade of Mentuhotep II; or a maximum of six years between the death of Dagi and the accession of the vizier Amenemhat, assuming that the latter was appointed by Mentuhotep IV. The former is improbable, not only because the vizier Ipi does not appear in the reliefs of Mentuhotep's mortuary temple, unlike Bebi and Dagi,⁷³ but also because the time involved would seem to be too short for the construction of his tomb. The latter

⁶⁹ See Simpson, in *Pyramid Studies*, p. 60. Cf. Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 112. The sarcophagus of Ipi, however, bears his vizieral titles (MMA Theban Expedition drawings AM 138 and 774); L.S. Bull, "A New Vizier of the Eleventh Dynasty," *JEA* 10 (1924), p. 15. The sarcophagus of Mentuhotep will be published in J. Allen, *Funerary Texts from Lisht* (PMMA, forthcoming).

⁷⁰ Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 32. For Henu's titles, see n. 56 above. For the titles, see Helck, *Verwaltung*, pp. 180–82; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 290–99.

⁷¹ Couyat and Montet, *Hammâmât*, nos. 110, 113, 192.

⁷² As noted by Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), p. 36.

is conceivable, though equally limited in time. More importantly, however, Ipi's tomb bears several features that point to a later date for its construction.

Although most of the late Eleventh-Dynasty burials in the north cliff of Deir el-Bahari were accompanied by wood models, as was that of Meket-re, only the tombs of Ipi, Meru, and Meket-re contained separate chambers for such models, excavated in each case in the floor of the entrance corridor.⁷⁴ This feature alone places Ipi's tomb in a group dating probably (Meru) or certainly (Meket-re) to the early Twelfth Dynasty. His tomb also has a number of other characteristics found otherwise only in the tomb of Meket-re. Both complexes contain a contemporary subsidiary tomb excavated in the upper righthand corner of the courtyard: that of Wah, Meket-re's storekeeper (*mr st*); and that of Meseh, in the case of Ipi.⁷⁵ In the same corner, each complex also exhibits a small crypt in which the owner's embalming materials were interred.⁷⁶ This last peculiarity is linked to another significant characteristic of Ipi's burial: the presence of a canopic chest alongside the sarcophagus. Of all contemporary nonroyal Theban tombs, only that of Ipi and the coordinate burials of Meket-re and Intef exhibit this feature.⁷⁷ The separate burial of the viscera in a canopic chest seems to be a northern practice, adopted in the south only after the reunification and for nonroyal burials in Thebes apparently only at the very end of the Eleventh Dynasty or

⁷³ See Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), p. 48 n. 195. An official identified only as [...]pi appears among those honored in the reliefs of Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple (fr. 3346).

⁷⁴ For plans of TT 315 (Ipi) and TT 280 (Meket-re), see Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 54 fig. 6 and 18 fig. 2, respectively. The plan of TT 240 (Meru) is unpublished (MMA Theban Expedition drawing AM 4330). An antecedent exists in the burial of Mentuhotep II: Arnold, *Tempel* 1, pp. 45–46; 2, pp. 11–13. The feature is absent, however, from the tombs of Mentuhotep's queens, although that of Neferu (TT 319) has several small niches that could have been used to store models: Winlock, *op. cit.*, p. 102 fig. 8. The use of a separate chamber thus appears to have been initially a feature of the royal burial, and adopted only much later for non-royal tombs. Arnold's impression that "nearly all the large tombs in the northern cliff" had model chambers (*ibid.*, 1, p. 46 and n. 105) is mistaken. Of the "large tombs" (nos. 508–517), only that of Ipi (516 = TT 315), cited by Arnold, and Meru (517 = TT 240) have a distinct chamber like that of Meket-re. Nos. 508 (TT 311) 509, 512, 513 (TT 314), and 515 have none at all (MMA Theban Expedition drawings AM 759, 1285, 768, and 1287–88). No. 510 (TT 313, Henenu) has three, all apparently later excavations (MMA Theban Expedition drawings AM 766, 1295; Winlock, *MMA Theban Expedition Journal* 3, p. 146). No. 511 has a crude shaft with two chambers, sunk in the floor of its chapel (MMA Theban Expedition drawing 1283), probably associated with the six burials of early Twelfth-Dynasty coffins found in this tomb (MMA Theban Expedition Tomb Cards 1738–43). No. 514, a "gallery" tomb for multiple burials, has five subterranean chambers off its entrance corridor (MMA Theban Expedition drawing AM 1286).

⁷⁵ Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 29–30 and 55. See also Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 34–37.

⁷⁶ For Meket-re, see Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 18 fig. 2; finds from this cache are recorded on MMA Theban Expedition Tomb Cards 3484–87. For Ipi, see Winlock, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–56.

more probably in Dyn. 12.⁷⁸ As with separate model chambers, the use of this feature appears first in the burial of Mentuhotep II (though perhaps only in jars, without a canopic chest) and only much later in the tombs of court officials.

The distinctive architectural features that Ipi's tomb shares with that of Meket-re indicate that it was constructed, like the latter, at the beginning of Dyn. 12. If so, Ipi's service as vizier must be placed in the same period, presumably as the first vizier of Amenemhat I and successor of the vizier Amenemhat. Barring the discovery of another late Eleventh-Dynasty vizier, Dagi's tenure will then have stretched from the death of Bebi to the appointment of Amenemhat in the final years of Mentuhotep III or early in the reign of Mentuhotep IV. The careers of Dagi and the other officials discussed above, during the forty years from the last decades of Mentuhotep II to the first of Dyn. 12, are summarized in the table in fig. 3.

This proposed chronology, and the attendant discussion above, involves of necessity some revision in the picture of the Theban necropolis and its development in the late Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasties. The two ends of the process are anchored by the tombs of Khety (TT 311) and Meket-re (TT 280). Meket-re's appearance as *mr ḥtmt* in the mortuary temple reliefs of Mentuhotep II dates the death of Khety fairly securely to the last decade of Mentuhotep's reign, and Meket-re's own tomb has been dated to the early years of Amenemhat I, as noted above.

⁷⁷ For Ipi, cf. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 54 fig. 6; "The Egyptian Expedition, 1921-1922," *BMMA* 17 (1922), Part 2, p. 38 fig. 29. The chests of Meket-re and Intef are recorded in plan in MMA Theban Expedition drawing AM 645; Meket-re's was placed under the sarcophagus. All three are of stone. Winlock's published plan of Khety's tomb (*Excavations*, p. 69, fig. 7) shows a canopic chest beside the sarcophagus, but this is simply speculative. The original plan (MMA Theban Expedition drawing AM 723) records the box only as a reconstruction. No fragments of such a chest were actually found. The assumption that there was one is based on the general shape of the pit in which the sarcophagus was constructed. The photograph of this pit as found (M4C 113) shows only a crude excavation in one of its sides, with rough walls and an uneven floor, unsuited for the placement of a canopic chest. If it had any purpose at all, the feature is more probably a slot for the wood beams used to maneuver the large slabs of the sarcophagus.

⁷⁸ Two wood heads, probably from canopic jars, were found in the tomb of Mentuhotep II: Arnold, *Tempel 2*, p. 49 and pl. 62a. The bodies of Mentuhotep's queens, however, were buried with viscera intact: Winlock, MMA Theban Expedition Tomb Card 22. Of the non-royal examples collected by B. Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Kanopenkästen*, HÄB 31 (Hildesheim, 1990), pp. 96-113, those identified as pre-Dyn. 12 (mostly of wood) are predominantly from Saqqara (nos. 3-7, 14, 19, 23, 37-38, 40-41, 64, 68, 72, 76-78, and 103—the last of stone), and Haraga (nos. 95-97). Examples from Middle Egypt, less certainly pre-Dyn. 12, are from Beni Hasan (nos. 46, 48-49, and 79) and Bersha (nos. 82-85). Only one example possibly prior to the Twelfth Dynasty is known to have originated in the south, at Nag ed-Deir (no. 53). Another (no. 104) is of unknown provenience.

DECADE	<i>mr ḥtmt</i>	<i>mr pr</i>	<i>vizier</i>	<i>mr ḥtmtiḥw</i>	<i>other</i>
30-41 MH II	KHETY (I) (WSR, linen, TT 311; MT?)	HENENU (WSR, linen, TT 313; MT?)	BEBI (MT)	KHETY (II) (Aswan)	MT C-D queens' burials Sed-Festival
41-51 MH II	MEKET-RE (MT)		DAGI (WSR, MT, TT 103)	MERU (WSR, stela)	MT D
1-12 MH III		HENU (WH 114)			
1-2 MH IV + 5 YEARS		?	AMENEMHAT (WH 110, etc.)		
1-10 A I	INTEF (TT 280)	MEKET-RE (<i>mr pr wr</i>) (TT 280)	IPI (TT 315)		MT in Thebes Arnold, <i>MMJ</i> 26 (1991), 5-16

Fig. 3. Chronology of the high officials of the early Middle Kingdom. The following abbreviations are employed in the table:

- MH II-IV Mentuhotep II-IV
- A I Amenemhat I
- WSR Wadi Shatt el-Rigala graffiti
- Aswan Aswan graffito of Year 41
- MT mortuary temple: of Mentuhotep II (C and D = construction phases), and Amenemhat I
- WH Wadi Hammamat graffiti
- linen linen marks from the tombs in Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple
- stela Meru stela of Year 46.

The term "decade" indicates only the period in which service began or ended, not the full length of such service.

Khety's tomb is the westernmost of the three largest tombs in the cliff to the north of the mortuary temple (fig. 2). It was decorated in two stages. The statue chamber at the end of its entrance corridor was originally plastered and painted, in a "local" style analogous to—but different from—that found in the earlier tombs of Intef (TT 386) and Djar (TT 366).⁷⁹ The walls of this chamber and those of the corridor were subsequently lined with limestone and carved in incised relief, in a style most comparable to that used in the earlier tomb of Mentuhotep's queen Neferu (TT 319); Khety's painted sarcophagus chamber is also similar in style to that of Neferu.⁸⁰ The two stelae from the tomb, originally placed opposite each other on the walls of the corridor just inside the entrance, were decorated with the figure of Mentuhotep II in a fairly high raised relief similar to that of the final construction phase (D) in the king's own mortuary temple.⁸¹ Altogether, this combination of styles

⁷⁹ Jaroš-Deckert, *Jnj-jtj.f.*, p. 130 and pl. 10d. This phase of decoration bears Khety's name: Winlock, MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, p. 96. For the date of Intef's tomb, see Arnold, *Jnj-jtj.f.*, p. 49. The tomb of Djar is being prepared for publication by Catharine Roehrig.

places the decoration of Khety's tomb in a period contemporaneous with the last two decades of Mentuhotep II—fully in accord with the historical evidence for Khety's career noted above.

The tomb of Henenu (MMA 510 = TT 313) is the easternmost of the three largest tombs in the cliff north of the mortuary temple. Very little remains of its decoration. A fragment of incised relief from the entrance shows the figure of Henenu in a style somewhat less attenuated than that of Khety, with thicker arms and waist more like those found on the stela of Meru from Year 46.⁸² The low raised relief of Henenu's Stela A is also more advanced than that of Khety's stelae, and stylistically comparable to relief from the sanctuary of Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple; in concept and execution it appears to be somewhat earlier than the stela of Intef, son of Tjefi, which shows marked Memphite influence and is perhaps the latest attributable to the reign of Mentuhotep II.⁸³ Taken together, these features indicate that Henenu's tomb was decorated a few years after that of Khety. This is possible historically, since Khety and Henenu appear to be contemporaries.

Other remains from the tomb, however, exhibit an earlier style. Henenu's Stela B, which was apparently placed opposite Stela A inside the vestibule of the tomb, was carved in a very high relief most closely paralleled in reliefs from the tomb of Neferu.⁸⁴ The few remnants of his sarcophagus show that it was rather crudely painted on the interior with texts and object friezes; the latter include human figures, in the "Upper Egyptian" style exemplified elsewhere by coffins from Gebelein and

⁸⁰ R. Freed, *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief Sculptural Schools of Late Dynasty XI* (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1984), pp. 55–60 and 164–65; Jaroš-Deckert, *Jnj-jtj.f*, p. 130. A sample of Khety's incised relief appears in Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 165 fig. 101 (MMA 26.3.354). For his sarcophagus chamber, see Wilkinson and Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, p. 67; Winlock, *Excavations*, pl. 16. For that of Neferu, see Winlock, *op. cit.*, pl. 13. For the date of Neferu's tomb, see Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, p. 19.

⁸¹ Freed, *Development*, p. 59. For the stela, see n. 18, above.

⁸² Unpublished: Winlock, MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, p. 141; photograph M7C 132.

⁸³ Freed, *Development*, pp. 71–73. For Henenu's Stela A, see n. 45, above. Henenu's fragmentary stelae C and D (unpublished) were similar in style, though less well executed: Winlock, MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, p. 152. For the stela of Intef, see Freed, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–78; H.G. Fischer, "An Example of Memphite Influence in a Theban Stela of the Eleventh Dynasty," *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), pp. 240–52; *idem*, "The Inscription of *IN-IT.F*, Born of *TFi*," *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 258–68.

⁸⁴ See Freed, *Development*, pp. 73–75; Jaroš-Deckert, *Jnj-jtj.f*, p. 136. For the stela's placement, see Hayes, *JEA* 35 (1949), p. 43 n. 6. A photograph of the figure of Henenu from the stela (MMA 26.3.218) was published by H.G. Fischer, "Flachbildkunst des Mittleren Reiches," in C. Vandersleyen, ed., *Das alte Ägypten*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15 (Berlin, 1975), pp. 299–300 and pl. 268a. No titles are preserved from this stela.

Assiut and in Thebes exclusively by coffins and sarcophagi predating the final phase of Mentuhotep's reign.⁸⁵ This evidence indicates that the decoration of Henenu's tomb was begun before that of Khety.

The tombs of Khety and Henenu lie on either side of MMA 509, an unfinished tomb of the same type, whose owner is unknown. No decoration survives from this tomb, other than the cartouche of a king [...]-*HTP*—presumably Mentuhotep II—inscribed on the wood door at its entrance.⁸⁶ Its facade and entrance court are larger than those of either Khety or Henenu. The owners of these three tombs were clearly honored with the most favorable position in the row, closest to the king. Khety and Henenu appear to have been roughly of the same generation, although Henenu evidently survived somewhat longer. Between them, they shared responsibility for the management of the king's property, private (Khety) and state (Henenu). In view of the relationship and rank of these two tomb-owners, it seems probable that the unknown official buried in MMA 509 was of the same generation and equally high office—perhaps, therefore, the vizier Bebi, who apparently died during the final decoration of Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple.

All three tombs lie east of the fieldstone wall that marked the eastern limit of the temple enclosure during its first two construction phases (figs. 1–2).⁸⁷ The courts of MMA 509 and 510 (Henenu) are aligned on an axis roughly parallel to this wall, suggesting that they were excavated during the same period. That of MMA 508 (Khety), however, is skewed some ten degrees to the east, even though it lies just to the east of the fieldstone wall. This indicates that it was laid out after the northeast corner of the “shield-shaped” enclosure wall, erected during construction phase C of the mortuary temple (figs. 1–2) was in place.⁸⁸ If Khety's court had been built on the same orientation as MMA 509 and 510, the sightline up to the tomb's facade would have been partly

⁸⁵ The fragments, which bear Henenu's title of *mr pr*, are unpublished: Winlock, MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, pp. 147–50; photographs M7C 136–40. The human figures appear in one fragment representing a bull-slaughtering scene (caption *zft iw3*). Henenu's burial chamber was undecorated. For the “Upper Egyptian” comparanda, see G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie*, SAGA 7 (Heidelberg, 1993), §§ 306–308 (Assiut), 348–71 and 414–16 (Thebes), and 427–30 (Gebelein). The sarcophagus from Khety's tomb apparently had only horizontal dedicatory inscriptions around the exterior: Winlock, MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, p. 86; drawing AM 713.

⁸⁶ Winlock, *BMMA* 18 (1923), Part 2, p. 15 and fig. 5 (in situ); Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 257 and fig. 163 (MMA 23.3.174). A few fragments of raised relief found at the bottom of the cliff were identified as coming from MMA 509, but the attribution is uncertain: Winlock, MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, p. 139; photograph M8C 221.

⁸⁷ For the date of the wall, see Arnold, *Tempel* 1, p. 63; idem, *Mentuhotep*, pp. 8–9, 40.

⁸⁸ For the date of the wall, see Arnold, *Tempel* 1, p. 65; idem, *Mentuhotep*, p. 41.

obscured by the northeast corner of this wall.⁸⁹ Khety's tomb was therefore built later than MMA 509 and 510: if it had been the first tomb constructed in the row, it could easily have been located farther east, to better expose its court and facade to visitors coming from below.

Before the construction of Khety's court, MMA 509 clearly had the most advantageous position with respect to the royal mortuary temple. This relationship, added to the evidence from the orientation of Khety's court, indicates that MMA 509 was the first tomb constructed in the north cliff. Its owner—whether the vizier Bebi or some other high official—evidently died before it was decorated. The tomb of Henenu may have been licensed either at the same time as MMA 509 or slightly later; in the first case, its position would indicate that Henenu's rank was in some respect junior to that of the anonymous owner of MMA 509. The insertion of Khety's tomb between MMA 509 and the mortuary temple could indicate that the owner of MMA 509 had died, but it may also reflect the close association with Mentuhotep that Khety presumably enjoyed as manager of the king's private estate. In this regard, the relationship of his tomb to the royal monument can be seen as antecedent to that between the later tombs of Meket-re and his storekeeper Wah.

The tomb of Dagi (TT 103), Bebi's apparent successor, is not among those lining the north cliff; it lies instead to the south of the royal complex, on the north face of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, directly opposite MMA

⁸⁹ MMA 507, to the west of Khety's tomb, is almost certainly later, and therefore cannot have influenced the latter's position. This tomb, which consists of a number of "galleries" off a central corridor, was the burial place of some sixty soldiers killed in battle: H.E. Winlock, *The Slain Soldiers of Neb-hepet-Re Mentu-hotpe*, PMMA 16 (New York, 1945), pp. 1–6 and pl. 1. The grading of Khety's court buried a stairway of mudbrick whose axis, projected, points to the entrance of MMA 507 (*ibid.*, p. 3 and pl. 1). Partly on the basis of this feature, Winlock dated the tomb to the reign of Mentuhotep II, and suggested that Khety's tomb was built later. The relationship of the stairway to the two tombs, however, is not certain. Winlock suggested that it could also have been built to facilitate the climb to Khety's tomb before the court was finished (*ibid.*, p. 3); the problem cannot be settled without further excavation. More importantly, the prosopographic evidence from MMA 507 points convincingly to a Twelfth-Dynasty date. Linen recovered from the tomb bore private names clearly modelled after those of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I: *sh̄tp-ib*, *h̄pr-kz*, and *z-n-wsrt* (*ibid.*, pp. 28–30, nos. 17, 23, 29, 30, 33); cf. G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (Brussels, 1940), p. 32; H. de Meulenaere, "Contributions à la prosopographie du Moyen Empire," in *Bulletin du Centenaire, BIFAO* 81 Supplement (1981), p. 78; P. Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire*, *Studia Pohl* 13 (Rome, 1986), p. 113. For the historical implications of this redating, cf. H. Willems, "The Nomarchs of the Hare Nome and Early Middle Kingdom History," *JEOL* 28 (1983–84), pp. 98–99. Of the other large tombs to the west of Khety's, MMA 506 has a "gallery" substructure like MMA 507 (see Winlock, *op. cit.*, pl. 1), and is evidently of the same date; it was largely empty when excavated: Winlock, *MMA Theban Expedition Journal* 3, p. 66. TT 310 = MMA 505 is discussed below.

509 (fig. 1). Since the north cliff seems to have been originally designated for Mentuhotep's highest officials, this location may indicate that Dagi began the tomb before he became vizier. Evidence in favor of an earlier date exists in the tomb's plan, which is marked by a facade of pillars excavated from the bedrock and by a relatively short entrance corridor: the same features appear in tombs built prior to the latest phase of construction in the royal mortuary temple, such as that of the General Intef (TT 386).⁹⁰ In Dagi's case, this plan was eventually altered: a limestone facing was applied to the walls of the statue chamber and entrance corridor, and extended out the door to the two central pillars, thus lengthening the corridor and placing the tomb's entrance directly at the end of the court rather than behind a row of pillars. The changes effectively converted the original plan to that of the higher-status tombs in the north cliff,⁹¹ and were most likely initiated after Dagi's appointment as vizier.

The decoration of Dagi's tomb consists of painting and relief, both generally exhibiting a style more advanced than that found in the tombs of Khety and Henenu.⁹² Of all the Theban tombs of this era, Dagi's is the first in which the paintings show the same degree of northern, "canonical" influence as the relief, with figures more compactly proportioned than those of the post-unification Theban style.⁹³ The carved decoration reflects even more strongly the influence of Memphite traditions.⁹⁴ Although some fragments exhibit features reminiscent of earlier relief, such as that from Neferu's tomb,⁹⁵ others are more evocative of later styles. The meticulous carving of interior details displayed in the feathers and uraei of a winged sundisk is characteristic of the art of Mentuhotep III.⁹⁶ The relief of a row of seated men (usually identified as Dagi's sons) is lower and flatter than even the latest work from Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple, and more like that of the succeeding

⁹⁰ Arnold, *Jnj-jtj.f*, pp. 39–41. Arnold's classification of Meket-re's tomb among these, however, has been revised by the later study of Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 21–32; for the significance of Meket-re's pillared facade, see *ibid.*, p. 22.

⁹¹ Arnold, *Jnj-jtj.f*, p. 40 and pl. 18 (PM 103).

⁹² Jaroš-Deckert, *Jnj-jtj.f*, p. 131.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Jaroš-Deckert, *Jnj-jtj.f*, p. 131; Freed, *Development*, pp. 60–63.

⁹⁵ E.g., MMA 12.180.265: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 30 no. 10. See Freed, *Development*, p. 63.

⁹⁶ Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 30 no. 3. Cf. Freed, *Development*, p. 180; *idem*, "A Private Stela from Naga ed-Der and Relief Style of the Reign of Amenemhet I," in W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis, eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in honor of Dows Dunham* (Boston, 1981), p. 72.

reign as well.⁹⁷ As in the later relief of Meket-re, the figures appear almost as if they were pasted onto the stone rather than carved from it; the detailed painting of interior features that characterizes Meket-re's relief, however, is absent here.⁹⁸

In its combination of earlier and later stylistic features, the decoration of Dagi's tomb undoubtedly belongs in the period between the death of Mentuhotep II and the beginning of Dyn. 12, and most probably in the reign of Mentuhotep III. This agrees with the historical evidence for Dagi's career as well as with the paleographic evidence from his sarcophagus, and makes it even more probable that his tenure as vizier extended from the final years of Mentuhotep II to the appointment of the vizier Amenemhat, perhaps as late as Year 2 of Mentuhotep IV.

The probable length of Dagi's service as vizier makes it unlikely, in turn, that the vizier Ipi was in office before the first years of Amenemhat I—a conclusion strengthened by the architectural features of Ipi's tomb, as noted above. In this light, however, the location of Ipi's tomb is seemingly anomalous: unlike the tomb of Meket-re, which dates from the same period, it was not constructed near the funerary monument of Amenemhat I,⁹⁹ but lies instead among the tombs of Mentuhotep II's high officials, in the north cliff of Deir el-Bahari (fig. 2). Moreover, it is situated just west of the tomb of Meru, who began his career as *mr ḥtmtiw* under Mentuhotep II.

From all indications, the two tombs (MMA 516–517) were built at roughly the same time. Although they lie at the easternmost end of the cliff, both were clearly designed along the lines of the earlier tombs of Khety and Henenu to their west (MMA 508 and MMA 510), and display the same orientation as MMA 509–510.¹⁰⁰ Both have a plain facade equal in size to those of Khety and Henenu, and much the same interior plan,¹⁰¹ but neither was finished to the same extent. Ipi's tomb was

⁹⁷ MMA 12.180.243: Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 30 no. 1; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 163 fig. 99. See Freed, *Development*, p. 63; idem, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, p. 71.

⁹⁸ For the relief of Meket-re, see Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 22–23.

⁹⁹ In the valley south of Deir el-Bahari, formerly attributed to Mentuhotep III: Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 5–16.

¹⁰⁰ The present format does not allow for consideration of the evidence for the date of the tombs that lie between Henenu's (MMA 510) and Ipi's (MMA 516). The location of these intervening tombs, however, does not necessarily indicate that they were constructed before those of Ipi and Meru. The eastward turn of the cliff face in this region, reflected in the axes of all but MMA 511 (fig. 2), could well have been undesirable for the construction of tombs oriented to the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II. Winlock notes that the rock in this area is badly faulted, and could also have been avoided for that reason (MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, p. 158).

¹⁰¹ Arnold, *Jnj-jtj.f*, p. 45 and pl. 20.

supplied with a rudimentary court; that of Meru exhibits only the excavated facade. Neither tomb was decorated. Meru's burial chamber is similar to that of Khety, lined with limestone and painted with texts; his sarcophagus, unlike Khety's, was painted on the interior with object friezes and texts.¹⁰² Ipi's tomb had only a sarcophagus and canopic chest, the former also decorated on the interior like Meru's.¹⁰³

Despite their obvious similarity to the tombs of Khety and Henenu, however, the tombs of Ipi and Meru are separated from the latter not only by distance but also by the reigns of at least two kings (Mentuhotep III–IV). As already noted, both are distinguished by features that date their construction to the first years of Dyn. 12, near the end of their owners' lives. Although Meru at least, if not Ipi as well, began his career in the final years of Mentuhotep II¹⁰⁴ by the beginning of Dyn. 12 his association with this king may have become less important than another relationship to the mortuary temple—the annual visit of Amun of Karnak “in his first festivals of the summer, when he rises on the day of sailing to the Valley of *nb-ḥpt-r*.”¹⁰⁵ Of all the tombs in the north cliff, in fact, only MMA 508–510 reflect a direct relationship with Mentuhotep II per se rather than with his mortuary temple. With the possible exception of MMA 511, the tombs east of Henenu's (MMA 510) may have been built where they are in order to allow their owners posthumously to partake in the benefits of Amun's annual visit to the temple. MMA 516 (Ipi) and 517 (Meru) may have been the first of these later tombs, to judge from their size and their location in the best area of the remaining cliff (see n. 100 above). Since they were built at about the same time, the precedence accorded Ipi's tomb probably reflects his higher official rank.

In the sequence of early Middle Kingdom Theban tombs proposed here, the tomb of Meket-re is an apparent anomaly. If, as suggested

¹⁰² The burial chamber is unpublished: MMA Theban Expedition drawings AM 793–96; photographs M6C 32–37, M6C 223, M7C 203. The sarcophagus (without texts) is reproduced in Lepsius, *Denkmäler* 2, pl. 148c–d; also MMA Theban Expedition drawings AM 797–99 and photographs M6C 38–42.

¹⁰³ Unpublished: MMA Theban Expedition drawings AM 138–40 and 773–74. For a photograph of the burial chamber with sarcophagus and canopic chest in situ, see Winlock, *BMMA* 17 (1922) Part 2, p. 38 fig. 29.

¹⁰⁴ For Meru, see the stela cited in n. 41, above. The fragment of relief cited in n. 73 above could have represented Ipi at the beginning of his career.

¹⁰⁵ Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 40, no. 1. For this festival in the early Middle Kingdom, see *ibid.*, pp. 86–90; Arnold, *Tempel* 2, p. 33. A relationship between the Middle Kingdom tombs in the Assasif and the festival was first suggested by Do. Arnold, “The American Discovery of the Middle Kingdom,” in N. Thomas, ed., *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Los Angeles, forthcoming).

above, it is contemporary with the tombs of Ipi and Meru, why are the latter two not located in the new royal valley south of the Assasif—or conversely, why was Meket-re’s tomb not built in the same row on the north cliff? Dieter Arnold’s study of these tombs has suggested a possible answer.¹⁰⁶ Some sixty meters to the west of Khety’s tomb lies an unfinished tomb that was apparently never occupied (MMA 505 = TT 310). Although it was evidently planned along the lines of MMA 508–510, with the same orientation to the temple of Mentuhotep II, its position is clearly less advantageous, and for that reason alone it is probably later in date.¹⁰⁷ Its substructure is also different from those of the tombs to its east: where the latter have a sloping corridor leading from the back wall of the antechamber to the burial chamber, the burial chamber of MMA 505 is reached via a deep shaft in the floor of the antechamber. Among the Theban tombs of the early Middle Kingdom, the clearest analogue of this plan is to be found in the tomb of Meket-re. On that basis, Arnold has suggested that MMA 505 may have been originally intended for the burial of Meket-re but was abandoned before completion in favor of a site closer to the new mortuary temple of Amenemhat I.¹⁰⁸

Apart from the architectural evidence, Arnold’s theory has much to recommend it. The identification of MMA 505 as Meket-re’s original tomb places it squarely in the sequence of tomb development already exemplified by the tombs of his contemporaries Ipi and Meru. Its plan indicates that it was begun after the latter two tombs—like the tomb of Meru, therefore, only toward the end of its owner’s life. This may account in part for its location on the cliff, though it also usurps the favored position of Meket-re’s predecessor, Khety, closest to the temple. The latter may have been the more important factor, since Meket-re’s new tomb near the mortuary temple of Amenemhat I has the same relationship to the royal monument. The fact that Meket-re was able to abandon MMA 509 and at least begin work on his final resting place in the south valley suggests that he lived somewhat longer into the Twelfth Dynasty than Ipi and Meru.

In the dynastic system that we have adopted from Manetho, it is often too easy to forget that the lives of real people lie behind the historical change from one dynasty to another. The beginning of the Middle

¹⁰⁶ Arnold, *Jnj-jtj.f*, p. 45 and 41 n. 162.

¹⁰⁷ This was Winlock’s conclusion: MMA Theban Expedition Journal 3, p. 64.

¹⁰⁸ Arnold dated MMA 505 to the reign of Mentuhotep II and TT 280 to that of his successor, Mentuhotep III (n. 106, above). The chronology has since been revised by the more recent study of Arnold, *MMJ* 26 (1991).

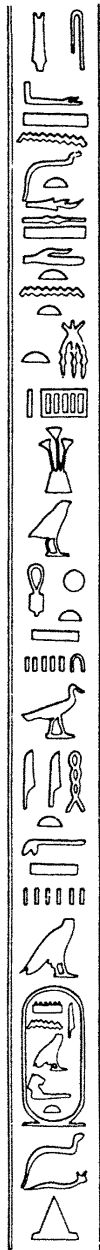
Kingdom, from the third decade of Mentuhotep II to the first of Amenemhat I, encompassed only some forty years—well within the lifetime of many officials, as the careers of Meket-re and Meru show. Of the high officials attested under Mentuhotep II, some, such as Bebi and Khety, probably did not outlive him. Others, however, seem to have belonged to a younger generation, whose political careers were only beginning in the final years of Mentuhotep II. These officials, including Meket-re, Dagi, and Meru, served through the end of Dyn. 11 and, in some cases, into the beginning of Dyn. 12. Such men, as much as the kings they served, were the founders of the Middle Kingdom.



Geburtsschrein und Geburtshaus



HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER



DIE STIFTUNG EINES GEBURTSSCHREINS UNTER AMENEMHET II.
Am Beginn seiner Alleinregierung ließ Amenemhet II. in seiner Totenkultanlage einen Geburtsschrein errichten. Das Ereignis war so bedeutend, daß es in den Annalen des Königs aufgezeichnet worden ist (M 14; Abb. 1):¹

„Aufstellen (<i>sḥr</i>) (aus) Akazienholz:	
Schrein der Geburt (<i>sšdt nt mst</i>)	1
<i>ḥꜣw ḥtm</i>	15
<i>bꜣhyt</i>	6
im (Pyramidentempel Amenemhets II.)	
‘Versorgt ist Amenemhet’	
(<i>Dfꜣ-Imn-m-ḥꜣt</i>).“	

Bemerkenswert sind die Platzwahl und das Baumaterial. Der Geburtsschrein wird nicht im Palast oder in der Pyramidenstadt aufgestellt, sondern im Totentempel,² der zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch eine Baustelle ist. Das Bauwerk besteht aus Holz und nicht aus Stein. Daraus leiten sich Fragen nach Art, Funktion und Bedeutung des Geburtsschreins ab, denen im folgenden nachgegangen werden soll.

DIE BETTLAUBE DES ALTEN REICHES

Eine direkte Identifizierung des Geburtsschreins in der Pyramidenanlage Amenemhets II. ist nicht möglich, weil die Holzkonstruktion selbst nicht erhalten geblieben ist. Das im Annaleneintrag verwendete Determinativ zeigt ein querrrechteckiges Gebäude mit 6 Säulen oder Pfeilern und erinnert durch seinen Prospekt an die Darstellungen der sog. Bettlaube in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches.³ Mit dieser Bettlaube soll das Bauwerk zunächst verglichen werden.

Die Bettlaube des Alten Reiches besteht aus einer Holzmattekonstruktion, in deren Innenraum ein Bett aufgestellt ist. Die das Dach

¹ Hartwig Altenmüller–Ahmed M. Moussa, „Die Inschrift Amenemhets II. aus dem Ptahtempel von Memphis. Ein Vorbericht,“ *SAK* 18 (1991), S. 11 Nr. 19; Jaromir Málek–Stephen Quirke, „Memphis, 1991: Epigraphy,“ *IEA* 78 (1992), S. 13 ff.

² Hartwig Altenmüller, „Die Pyramidennamen der frühen 12. Dynastie,“ *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt, Studies presented to László Kákósy*, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14 (Budapest, 1992), S. 33–42.

Abb. 1. Zeile M 14 der Inschrift Amenemhets II. aus Memphis nach H. Altenmüller–A.M. Moussa, *SAK* 18 (1991), Falttafel.

tragenden Säulen haben die Form von Zeltstangen oder Lotossäulen. Bei Nebemachet in Giza sind sie einmal mit Hathorköpfen bekrönt und erinnern dadurch an die späteren Sistrumsäulen.⁴ Der obere Abschluß der Laube ist horizontal⁵ gebildet und gelegentlich zusätzlich mit einem *Cheker*-Fries dekoriert.⁵ In einigen Fällen, vor allem in der Provinz, haben die Decken die Form eines leicht geschwungenen Pultdachs.⁶ Das im Inneren der Laube aufgestellte Bett wird fast immer durch Bedienstete mit einem Laken bezogen und mit einer Kopfstütze ausgerüstet. Neben und unter dem Bett sind Matten, Kästen, Salbgefäße, Kleidungsstücke und Gerätschaften des Haushalts zu sehen; gelegentlich hängen an den Deckenbalken Schurze. Daß es sich bei diesen Konstruktionen um begehbare Räume handelt, zeigt die seitlich angebrachte Tür bei einigen Abbildungen in den Gräbern von Saqqara⁷ und auf einem Relief in Brooklyn (Inv. Nr. 71.10.1).⁸ Zwischen den Zeltstangen befinden sich Matten.⁹

Mit Hilfe der Ikonographie läßt sich der Grundplan der Bettlaube einigermaßen sicher bestimmen. Das Bauwerk besteht aus zwei Raumeinheiten, und zwar aus einem vorderen und einem hinteren Teil. Bei Kaemanch in Giza sind beide Raumeinheiten jeweils mit einem eigenen Pultdach versehen.¹⁰ Eine ähnliche Unterteilung des Gebäudes ist bei den Darstellungen im Grab des Neferseschemtah und Sehentiu

³ Die Belege aus dem Alten Reich hat, mit anderer Zielsetzung und anderer Deutung, Vera Vasiljević in ihrer Hamburger Dissertation "Untersuchungen zum Gefolge des Grabherrn in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches" (Kapitel 5) zusammengestellt. Dazu gehören die Belege:

a) Giza: Dows Dunham–William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, Giza Mastabas 1 (Boston, 1974), Abb. 8; Hassan, *Giza IV*, S. 140 Abb. 81; Junker, *Giza IV*, S. 40 Abb. 10a;

b) Saqqara: Boris de Rachewiltz, *The Rock Tomb of Irw-k3-Pth*, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui IX (Leiden, 1960), Taf. 12 a-b; Selim Hassan, *Mastabas of Ny-ankh-Pepy and Others, Excav. at Saqqara (1937–1938)*, vol. II (Cairo, 1975), S. 97–98 Abb. 39–41; Duell, *Mereruka II*, Taf. 91–95; Ahmed M. Moussa–Friedrich Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, AV 9 (Mainz, 1975), Taf. 1–2; Peter Munro, *Der Unasfriedhof Nord-West I* (Mainz, 1993), Taf. 22; Hartwig Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu*, AV 42 (Mainz, im Druck), Taf. 52–53; Brooklyn Mus. 71.10.1 = Richard A. Fazzini, "Some Egyptian Reliefs in Brooklyn," *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), S. 41 Abb. 7.

c) Dahschur: Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II* (Kairo, 1964), S. 199, Taf. 106 (CG 1777).

d) Provinz: Deir el Gebrawi II, Taf. 23; Naguib Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim I* (Sydney, 1980), Abb. 9; Mohamed Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, AV 14 (Mainz, 1977), Taf. 4, 13.

Die Bettlaube des Alten Reiches ist ikonographisch von der sog. Wochenlaube des Neuen Reiches zu trennen: Emma Brunner-Traut, "Die Wochenlaube," *MIO* 3 (1955), S. 11–30.

⁴ Ludwig Borchardt, "Zu LD. II, 14", *ZÄS* 35 (1897), S. 168; Hassan, *Giza IV*, S. 140 Abb. 81.

⁵ Hassan, *Giza IV*, S. 140 Abb. 81; Moussa–Junge, op.cit., Taf. 1–2; Fazzini, op.cit., S. 41 Abb. 7.



Abb. 2. Nach Ahmed M. Moussa-Friedrich Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, AV 9, (Mainz, 1975), Tafel 1, unten.

in Saqqara zu erkennen, wo die drei ersten Zeltstangen im vorderen Teil des Baus enger nebeneinander stehen als die übrigen Zeltstangen (vgl. Abb. 2).¹¹ In etwa dem gleichen Sinn dürfte das Torgebäude bei *Iy-n-rnh* und auf dem Relief in Brooklyn (Inv. Nr. 71.10.1) zu interpretieren sein, das sich durch seinen *Cheker*-Fries von der Laube ohne *Cheker*-Fries ikonographisch absetzt.¹² In welchem der beiden Räume die Tür angebracht war, ist nicht sicher zu entscheiden. Der innere Raum ist der "intime" Bett- und Schlafraum und war vermutlich mit einer Tür versehen.

⁶ Junker, *Giza IV*, S. 40 Abb. 10a.; *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, Taf. 23; Kanawati, op.cit., Abb. 9; Saleh, op.cit., Taf. 4, 13.

⁷ Moussa-Junge, op.cit., Taf. 1-2; Hassan, *Ny-rankh-Pepy*, S. 98 Abb. 41; Munro, op.cit., Taf. 22.

⁸ Fazzini, op.cit., S. 41 Abb. 7.

⁹ Moussa-Junge, op.cit., Taf. 2.

¹⁰ Junker, *Giza IV*, S. 40 Abb. 10a.

¹¹ Moussa-Junge, op.cit., Taf. 1, 2.

¹² Hassan, op. cit., S. 98 Abb. 41; Fazzini, op. cit., S. 41 Abb. 7.

Der vordere Raum diente als Empfangsraum für Besucher und benötigte daher keine eigene Tür.¹³

Raum A.10 im Grab des Mereruka in Saqqara bildet eine solche Bettlaube nach (Duell, *Mereruka*, Taf. 77–103).¹⁴ Der Bau weist vier Pfeiler auf, die an die Laubenkonstruktion der sog. Bettlauben erinnern.¹⁵ Sein oberer Wandabschluß wird, und dies ist ungewöhnlich im Alten Reich, durch einen *Cheker*-fries gebildet, der auch in den Abbildungen der Bettlauben zu beobachten ist. Die Zweiteilung des Bauwerks in einen vorderen und einen hinteren Raum wird auch durch die Wanddekoration angedeutet. Am Eingang werden der Grabherr und seine Frau bei der Entgegennahme von Kultgerät, Stoffen und Kästen (ibid., Taf. 96–99) und beim Empfang von Lebensmitteln (ibid., Taf. 78–82) gezeigt. Im hinteren Raumabschnitt sind in aufeinander folgenden Szenen das Herrichten des Bettes und der Gang zur Bettlaube (ibid., Taf. 91–95) dargestellt. Ebenfalls in den hinteren Raumabschnitt gehören die Szenen von Musik und Tanz vor einer Statue des Grabherrn (ibid., Tf. 83–87 + Tf. 97A). Alle diese Bilder geben einen Hinweis auf das reale Geschehen. Das abgebildete und gefeierte Ereignis ist das Zusammensein des Grabherrn mit seiner Frau mit dem Ziel von Zeugung und Geburt. Raum A.10 in der Mastaba des Mereruka erweist sich damit als das Geburtshaus eines hohen Beamten des Alten Reiches.¹⁶

DER GEBURTSSCHREIN AMENEMHETS II.

Bei der Suche nach einer Zweiraumkonstruktion mit der Gestalt einer Bettlaube und der Funktion eines Geburtsraums stößt man auf das Mammisi des späten Ägypten.¹⁷ Trotz des fast 2000-jährigen zeitlichen Intervalls besitzen die Mammisis eine markante Ähnlichkeit mit der Bettlaube des Alten Reiches und zeigen in wesentlichen Teilen die gleiche Struktur. Die Anlagen sind von einem Säulenumgang umgeben; sie bestehen aus einem Pronaos und einem Kernbau. Die Säulen sind als

¹³ Der Vorraum einer solchen Bettlaube ist vermutlich im Grab des Nefer und Kahay abgebildet. In der Laube sitzt eine Frau mit ihrer Tochter, vor der ein Tanz ausgeführt wird: Ahmed M. Moussa-Hartwig Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, AV 5 (Mainz, 1971), Taf. 10–11; vgl. auch Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, Abb. 11.

¹⁴ *PM III*², 530 Room X.

¹⁵ Georges Daressy, "Le Mastaba de Mera," *Extrait des Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, (Kairo, 1898), S. 540 spricht von insgesamt 8 Pfeilern in zwei Viererreihen; ähnlich Duell, *Mereruka*, S. 9.

¹⁶ Zu ähnlichen Räumen vgl. z.B.: Ptahhotep (LS 1): *PM III*², 653; Kagemni, Raum III: *PM III*², 522-523; Mereruka, Raum A.X: *PM III*², 530-531; Anchmahor, Raum VI: *PM III*², 514.

¹⁷ Ludwig Borchardt, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, BeiträgeBf 2 (Kairo, 1938); François Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens* (Paris, 1958).

Pflanzensäulen gebildet und haben einmal sogar die Form von Sistrumsäulen,¹⁸ wie dies auch im Alten Reich bei der Bettlaube des Nebemachet der Fall ist. Interkolumnien zwischen den Säulen versperren den Blick auf den Kernbau und erinnern in ihrer Funktion an die Matten der Bettlauben des Alten Reiches. Die Mammisis sind für die Geburt des Götterkindes bestimmt.

Gute Gründe sprechen für die Annahme, daß der Geburtsschrein (*sšdt nt mst*) in der Totenkultanlage von Amenemhet II. eines der Zwischenglieder in der baugeschichtlichen Entwicklungsreihe von den Bettlauben des Alten Reiches bis hin zu den Mammisis der Spätzeit ist. Es ist daher naheliegend, diesen Geburtsschrein des Mittleren Reiches sich wie die Bettlaube des Alten Reiches und das Mammi der Spätzeit als Zweiraumkonstruktion vorzustellen. Dadurch eröffnen sich neue Möglichkeiten zur Erklärung der in den Geburtsschrein hinein gestifteten *bšhyt* und *ḥšw-ḥtm* genannten Gegenstände. Die *bšhyt* könnten etwas, das "vorne" (*m-bšḥ*),¹⁹ d.h. im "Vorraum," ist, benennen und die *ḥšw-ḥtm*-Art etwas, das sich "hinten" (*ḥš*),²⁰ d.h. im "Hauptraum," befindet.

Trotz der möglichen Verteilung der *bšhyt* und *ḥšw-ḥtm* genannten Gegenstände auf Vor- und Hauptraum eines Geburtsschreins des Mittleren Reiches bleibt zunächst unklar, was genau die *bšhyt* und *ḥšw-ḥtm* sind. Zur näheren Bestimmung muß daher das für beide Wörter verwendete gleichartige Determinativ herangezogen werden. Dieses zeigt einen querrrechteckigen schmalen Gegenstand, dessen Bedeutung allerdings nur schwer zu erkennen ist.

Aufgrund der Tatsache, daß die Wände der Bettlauben des Alten Reiches aus Vorhängen oder Matten bestehen, ist zu überlegen, ob die als *bšhyt* und *ḥšw-ḥtm* bezeichneten Gegenstände Vorhänge oder Matten des Vorraums und Hauptraums darstellen. Unwillkürlich denkt man dann bei dem für beide Wörter verwendeten querrrechteckigen Determinativ an einen Vorhangkasten, wie er im Alten Reich im Zusammenhang mit dem Bettbaldachin der Königin Hetepheres gefunden worden ist.²¹ Dieser besitzt eine Länge von 157,5 cm (= 3 Ellen), eine Tiefe von 21,5 cm und eine Höhe von 18,5 cm, hat also längliches Format und ist als Vorbild für das Determinativ zu den *bšhyt* und *ḥšw-ḥtm*-Gegenständen durchaus geeignet. Der Kasten könnte in übertragener

¹⁸ L. Borchardt, op.cit., S. 3–5, Blatt 1.

¹⁹ *Wb* I, 422.5.

²⁰ *Wb* III, 8.12.

²¹ Reisner, Giza II, S. 26, Taf. 12.

Bedeutung die Gegenstände determinieren, die in ihm aufbewahrt worden sind. Wird darin die Lösung gesehen, könnten die mit dem Vorraum in Verbindung gebrachten *bꜣhyt* luftige und leichte Vorhänge bezeichnen²², während die *ḥꜣw-ḥtm* genannten Vorhänge des Hauptraums als geschlossene (*ḥtm*) Matten die Funktion von Wänden gehabt haben. Es wird sich weiter unten zeigen, daß allem Anschein nach die *ḥꜣw-ḥtm* des Hauptraums Darstellungen aufnehmen konnten.

Die Verteilung der angenommenen Vorhänge (*bꜣhyt*) und Matten (*ḥꜣw-ḥtm*) auf Vor- und Hauptraum paßt sich der Struktur der in Skelettbauweise errichteten Holz-Matten-Konstruktion an. Jeweils 3 *bꜣhyt* waren auf den beiden Seiten des Vorraums angebracht, davon 2 auf der Längsseite und 1 an der Fassade und neben der Tür. Die 15 *ḥꜣw-ḥtm* des Hauptraums waren so verteilt, daß sich je ein *ḥꜣw-ḥtm* neben der Eingangstür, 3 *ḥꜣw-ḥtm* auf der Rückseite und jeweils 5 *ḥꜣw-ḥtm* an den Längsseiten des Hauptraums befanden (Abb. 3). Aus der Anordnung der 6 Vorhänge (*bꜣhyt*) und 15 Matten (*ḥꜣw-ḥtm*) lassen sich dann auch die ungefähren Ausmaße des Gebäudes errechnen. Sofern *bꜣhyt* und *ḥꜣw-ḥtm* jeweils die Breite des Vorhangs der Hetepheres I. von 1,575 m (= 3 Ellen) gehabt haben, ergibt sich für den Geburtsschrein Amenemhets II. eine Gesamtlänge von 7 Vorhangsbreiten (11,025 m; 21 Ellen) und eine Gesamtbreite von 3 Vorhangsbreiten (4,725 m; 9 Ellen). Die auf diese Weise errechneten Größenverhältnisse stimmen fast exakt mit den Raummaßen des bei Mereruka als Nachbildung eines Geburtssaums angesprochenen Raums A.10 überein, der 11 m (= 21 Ellen) lang ist.²³

DIE FUNKTION DES GEBURTSSCHREINS IN DER KULTANLAGE DES TOTENTEMPELS

Obwohl der Geburtsschrein (*sꜣḏt nt mst*) im Totentempel bisher nur inschriftlich für den Totentempel Amenemhets II. nachgewiesen werden kann, haben solche Institutionen mit Sicherheit bereits im AR existiert.²⁴ Diese haben in der Architektur der Totentempel des Alten Reiches allerdings keine sicher identifizierbaren Spuren hinterlassen. Dennoch ist es möglich, ihr Bildprogramm zu bestimmen und die Dekoration zu rekonstruieren.

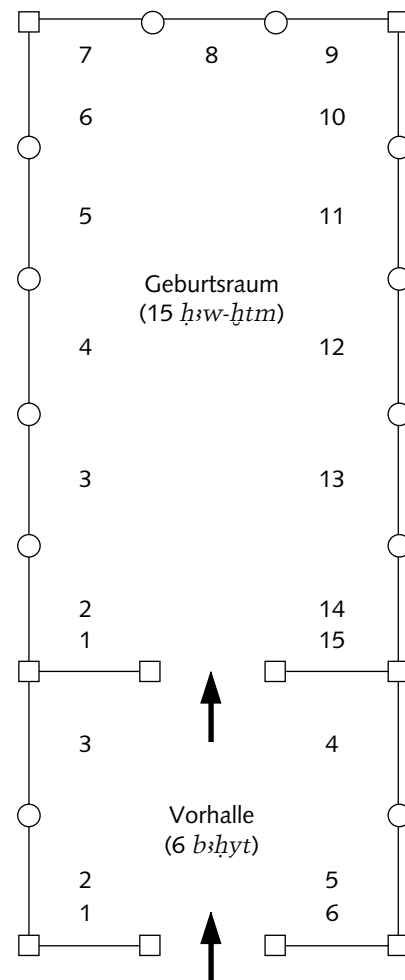


Abb. 3. Verteilung der *bꜣhyt* und *ḥꜣw-ḥtm*.

²² *Bꜣhyt* bezeichnet Schurze oder Perlengänge: vgl. *Wb I*, 422.5; Jéquier, *Frisés d'Objets*, S. 21–22, 108; Harco Willems, *Chests of Life*, Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het vooraziatisch-egyptische Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux" XXV (Leiden, 1988), S. 223. Die im Grab des Neferseschemtah und Sechentiu und bei Snofru-ini-ischetef (CG 1777) von den Deckenbalken der Laube herabhängenden Schurze sind aber sicher nicht diese *bꜣhyt*, sondern Beamtenschurze für die Regeneration des Grabherrn als "Beamten."

²³ Maße nach Duell, *Mereruka*, Taf. 1; vgl. auch Duell, *Mereruka*, S. 9.

Bei Abwägung der verschiedenen Möglichkeiten zur Rekonstruktion der Dekoration eines solchen Geburtsschreins im Totentempel muß man sich zwischen zwei Versionen entscheiden. Die eine Version ist mythenfrei und dürfte den Sachverhalt so darstellen, wie er in den Privatgräbern des Alten Reiches zu beobachten ist; die andere Version verlegt das Ereignis in die Götterwelt und dürfte das Geschehen in der gleichen Art wie im Zyklus von "der Geburt des Gottkönigs" ausdeuten.²⁵ Dieser Bilderzyklus ist zwar erst seit dem Neuen Reich bekannt, geht aber nachweislich auf Vorlagen aus einer Zeit noch vor der 4. Dynastie zurück,²⁶ so daß er zeitlich in das Bildprogramm der Totentempel des Alten und Mittleren Reiches passen würde. Positiv für diesen zweiten Bildtyp spricht, daß zwei der erhaltenen Exemplare des Neuen Reiches (Hatschepsut, Ramses II.) in einem königlichen Totentempel aufgezeichnet worden sind (Deir el Bahari,²⁷ Ramesseum²⁸) und daher im gleichen funktionalen Zusammenhang stehen wie die anzunehmenden Exemplare des Alten und Mittleren Reiches. Eine für die Geburt des Götterkindes redaktionell überarbeitete und umgedeutete neue Fassung des Zyklus findet sich in den Mammisis des späten Ägypten.²⁹

Ein direkter Nachweis für die Ausschmückung eines Geburtsschreins des Alten und Mittleren Reiches mit dem Bildzyklus der "Geburt des Gottkönigs" kann bisher nicht geführt werden. Dennoch lassen sich für die Zusammengehörigkeit von Geburtsschrein und Bildzyklus wichtige Indizien anführen. Der Zyklus besteht in den vollständigen Exemplaren von Hatschepsut in Deir el Bahari und von Amenophis III. in Luxor aus 15 Bildern, die wegen ihrer auffälligen Anzahl mit den 15 *h3w*-

²⁴ Den deutlichsten Hinweis darauf geben die Titel der königlichen Frauen (Prinzessinnen, Königsgemahlinnen, Königsmütter), die mit dem Namen des Totentempels bei der Pyramide gebildet sind. Vgl. zu diesen Namen: Pierre Montet, "Reines et Pyramides," *Kêmi* 14 (1957), S. 92–101; Klaus-Peter Kuhlmann, "Die Pyramide als König?", *ASAE* 68 (1982), S. 223–235; Jaromir Málek, "Princess Inti, the Companion of Horus", *JSSEA* 10 (1980), S. 236–240; Jean Leclant, "Noubounet—une nouvelle reine d'Égypte," *Gegengabe, Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* (hgg. Ingrid Gamer-Wallert und Wolfgang Helck) (Tübingen, 1992), S. 218 Abb. D.

²⁵ Brunner, *Geburt des Gottkönigs*, passim.

²⁶ Brunner, op.cit., S. 183, 186–187.

²⁷ *PM II*², 348–349; Naville, *Deir el Bahari II*, Taf. 46–54.

²⁸ G.A. Gaballa, "New Evidence on the Birth of Pharaoh," *Or* 36 (1967), S. 299–304, Taf. 64–65; Labib Habachi, "La reine Touy, femme de Séthi I, et ses proches parents inconnus," *RdE* 21 (1969), S. 27 ff.; Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, "Le mammisi de Ramsès au Ramesseum", *Memnonia* 1 (1990/1991), S. 25–46.

²⁹ Vgl. auch die Beispiele im Tempel von Luxor: *PM II*², 326–327; Brunner, op.cit., Taf. 1–15. Die Bilder im Bezirk des Khonspakhrod des Mut-Tempels in Karnak haben erstmals mit der Geburt des Götterkindes zu tun: *PM II*², 271 (8)–(10).

htm genannten Matten des Geburtsschreins Amenemhets II. in Verbindung stehen könnten. Dargestellt werden die Zeugung, die Geburt und die Annahme des später zum König berufenen Kindes durch den Gott. Am Zyklus beteiligt sind der göttliche Vater, die Königsmutter und das Kind. Eine Abbildung des göttlichen Vaters findet sich in Sz. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 und 14, ein Bild der Königsmutter in Sz. 1, 4, 7, 8, 9 und 12; das Kind wird in Sz. 6 vor der Geburt und in den Sz. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 nach der Geburt gezeigt. Verteilt man die Szenen in der Reihenfolge des Zyklus von Deir el Bahari von links nach rechts auf die 15 Felder des rekonstruierten Geburtsschreins gelangt das Geschehen vor der Geburt auf die linke Wand (Sz. 1, 2–6), die eigentliche Geburt (Sz. 7–9) auf die Rückwand—dort unter Verschränkung der Sz. 7–9–8—und das Geschehen nach der Geburt auf die linken Wand (Sz. 10–14, 15) (Abb. 4). Der göttliche Vater geht in das Innere des Geburtsschreins hinein,³⁰ die im Inneren des Schreins vorgestellte Mutter blickt nach außen; das Kind wird mit Blick nach außen dargestellt. Eine vergleichbare Disposition findet sich in den Mammisis der Spätzeit.³¹

Durch eine derartige Verteilung der Szenen von der "Geburt des Gottkönigs" auf die 15 Felder des Geburtsschreins gelangen die Szenen mit der auf einem Bett sitzenden Königsmutter stets in eine Mittelposition: In der Mitte der rechten Wand befindet sich das Bett für die Zeugung (Sz. 4), in der Mitte der gegenüberliegenden linken Wand das Bett für das Stillen des Kindes durch die Königin und die Ammen (Sz. 12) und in der Mitte der Rückwand wird die Geburt auf einem Bett dargestellt (Sz. 9). Die zentrale Wandposition der Szenen mit dem als Löwenbett gestalteten Bett läßt nur eine Erklärung zu: Hier liegt die götterweltliche Ausdeutung jener Szene vor, die in den Privatgräbern des Alten Reiches durch das Bett in der Bettlaube angezeigt ist.³²

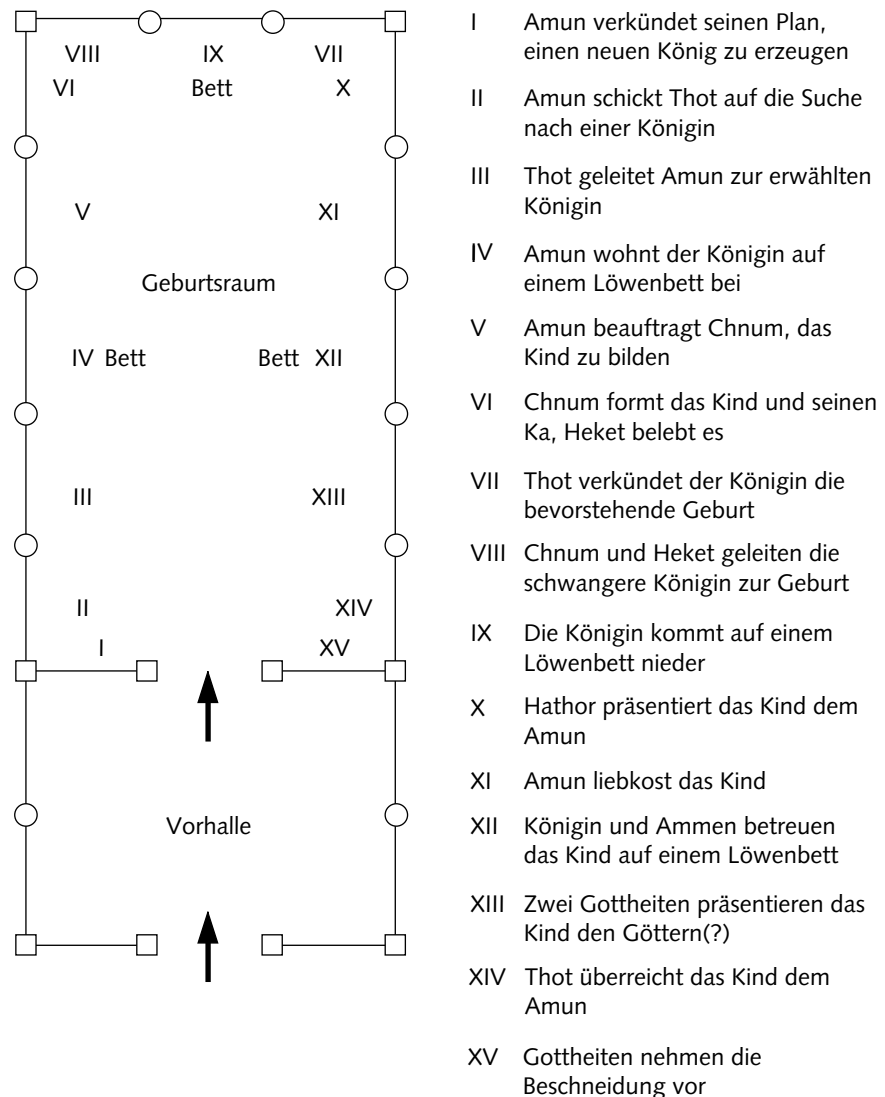
Auch bei der Verteilung der übrigen Szenen ist eine sinnvolle Anordnung zu erkennen, die die Rekonstruktion des Bildprogramms des Geburtsschreins hervorragend unterstützt. Der göttliche Vater tritt in das Innere des Geburtsschreins ein, um die Königsmutter aufzusuchen, und

³⁰ Dies gilt auch wohl auch für die Sz. 1 und die beiden Sz. 10–11, die in Deir el Bahari seitenverkehrt, d.h. gegen die Zyklusrichtung, dargestellt sind.

³¹ In Luxor steht der Bildzyklus auf der Westwand von Raum XIII (PM II², 326–327 (152)). Die Vorlage von Sz. 1, 2–6 war für eine rechte Wand, die von Sz. 7–9 für eine Rückwand und die von Sz. 10–14, 15—weil seitenverkehrt—für eine linke Wand bestimmt. Die Bilder sind in Luxor in drei Registern angeordnet, die Sz. 1–6 im untersten Register v.r.n.l., die Sz. 7–9 und 10–11 im darüber liegenden mittleren Register dazu bustrophedon v.l.n.r., die Sz. 12–15 im dritten Register v.l.n.r.

³² Zur Bettendarstellung im königlichen Zyklus vgl. H. Brunner, *Geburt des Gottkönigs*, S. 38–42.

Abb. 4. Vorschlag für eine Rekonstruktion der Dekoration eines Geburtsschreins des Alten und Mittleren Reiches.



wird daher mit dem Blick nach innen dargestellt.³³ Das Kind ist der für die Thronbesteigung vorgesehene König, dessen Wirken außerhalb des Geburtsschreines liegt, und der daher mit dem Blick nach außen gezeigt wird. Den Schlußpunkt des Zyklus bildet nicht die Krönung, sondern die Beschneidung (Sz. 15). Diese gelangt in der rekonstruierten Fassung auf die rechte Eingangswand des Raumes. Auch hier ist eine direkte Übereinstimmung zum Bildprogramm der Privatgräber zu erkennen: Bei

³³ Nach W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, MÄS 32 (Berlin, 1975), S. 19 ff. spielt diese Rolle zunächst Horus, dann der Sonnengott Re.

Anchmahor ist eine vergleichbare "mythenfreie" Beschneidungsszene an der rechten Eingangswand jenes Raumes abgebildet, der aufgrund seiner Architektur und seiner Lage das Gegenstück zum Geburtsraum des Mereruka (A.10) ist.³⁴

DIE BEDEUTUNG DER GEBURTSHÄUSER IN DEN TOTENTEMPELN UND ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die bis hierher geführten Untersuchungen haben gezeigt, daß unter dem Namen Geburtsschrein (*sšdt nt mst*) im Mittleren Reich eine Einrichtung belegt ist, die mit der Bettlaube der Privatgräber des Alten Reiches verglichen werden kann. Auf die Existenz solcher Einrichtungen in den königlichen Totentempeln verweisen die seit der 6. Dynastie bis zum Beginn des Mittleren Reiches mit dem Namen des Pyramidenbezirks gebildeten Titel der Frauen des Königshauses. Bauliche Formen des Geburtsschreins sind im Alten und Mittleren Reich allerdings bisher noch nicht mit Sicherheit nachgewiesen.

Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der Geburtsschreine erschließt sich aus dem Zyklus der "Geburt des Gottkönigs." Das mit diesem Ereignis verbundene Ritual dient dem Nachweis der Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs. Ort der Handlung ist der Totentempel, vermutlich weil dort die Göttlichkeit des Königs frühzeitig und am deutlichsten nach außen hin dargestellt werden kann. Die ersten Festfeiern werden eng mit der Thronbesteigung des Königs verbunden gewesen sein. Denn erst mit der Krönung erfüllt sich die in die Vergangenheit zurück zu datierende Folge der Ereignisse, in deren Verlauf das Kind durch den Gott gezeugt, als Sohn angenommen und als Herrscher bestimmt worden ist. Die Darstellung dieses Mythos in Form eines Rituals ist für das Alte Reich zwar ungewöhnlich, hat aber im Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus ihre Parallele.³⁵

Die flachbildlichen Darstellungen von privaten Geburtsschreinen sind in den Gräbern von hohen Beamten des Alten Reiches seit der 4. Dynastie belegt. Ihre dreidimensionale Umsetzung in Stein findet sich in einigen Mastabas der 6. Dynastie. Mit ihrer Einrichtung ist die Hoffnung verbunden, daß bei einer Wiedergeburt der Grabherr seine ehe-

³⁴ *PM III*², 514 (21b); Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, Taf. 25–26; Text S. 45–46; Alexander Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhem'ahor*, University of California Publications: Occasional Papers 11: Archaeology (Berkeley, 1978), Abb. 27, Taf. 30.

³⁵ Vgl. Hartwig Altenmüller, "Zur Lesung und Deutung des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus," *JEOL* 19 (1965–1966, 1967), S. 432–436; Jan Assmann, "Die Verborgenheit des Mythos in Ägypten," *GM* 25 (1977), S. 21 Anm. 29.

malige Beamtenposition wieder erreicht.³⁶ Die Beispiele aus dem privaten Bereich lassen erkennen, daß derartige Geburtsschreine aus Stein auch in den gleichzeitigen Totentempeln der Könige seit dem Alten Reich existiert haben, auch wenn deren Identifizierung bisher noch nicht gelungen ist.³⁷ Das Bildprogramm der in Stein umgesetzten königlichen Geburtsschreine dürften dabei unter dem Aspekt der Wiedergeburt des Königs und der Herrschaftserneuerung gestanden haben.³⁸



³⁶ Vermutlich sind aus diesem Grund die Beamtenchurze in der Bettlaube abgebildet.

³⁷ Als "Geburtsraum" kommt am ehesten die "antichambre carrée" in Betracht, deren Dekoration Themen der Regeneration behandelt. In der Mastaba des Mehu liegt der durch sein Bildprogramm als solcher gekennzeichnete "Geburtsraum" im Vorraum zur Opferhalle, der von der Lage her der "antichambre carrée" der königlichen Architektur am ehesten entspricht.

³⁸ Dieser Gedanke ist am besten durch den Sedfestgedanken vertreten, bei dem die "Löwenmöbelfolge" einen direkten Hinweis auf Wiedergeburt und Herrschaftserneuerung im Sinne der Geburtsszenen liefert.

Hypostyle Halls of the Old and Middle Kingdom?



DIETER ARNOLD

THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS EVOLVED FROM DISCUSSIONS with Rita Freed on the origin of the columns of the temple of Herakleopolis magna and seem to be an appropriate contribution to studies honoring William K. Simpson, whose work is so closely connected with problems of the art and architecture of the Old and Middle Kingdom.¹

Since 1842, remains of monolithic papyrus bundle, palm capital and Hathor(-Sistrum) columns have been uncovered in temples of Ramesses II and kings of the Third Intermediate and Late Period in the Faiyum and Delta. These columns certainly originated in older buildings, and are generally believed to have been removed from Old and Middle Kingdom Memphite pyramid temples.² Unfortunately very few columns have been adequately measured or recorded and several of them have remained unpublished. The major examples are listed below (cf. fig. 1).

PALM CAPITAL COLUMNS

During the Old and Middle Kingdom there was a preference for granite columns, while between the Eighteenth and Twenty-first Dynasties new granite columns were rarely made, leading to the conclusion that most of the columns described below have an early date.³

Palm capital columns are not known from Middle Kingdom temples but do appear in three pyramid temples of the Fifth Dynasty (Sahura, Djedkara and Unas) and a temple of Niuserra, suggesting that all reused granite palm capital columns originated from the Old Kingdom.

Tanis

¹ I wish to thank Adela Oppenheim for her comments.

² Eric P. Uphill, *The Temples of Per Ramesses* (Warminster, 1984), was the first to collect and systematically study the question of older building material in the various Delta sites. His data base is of great importance and quoted below as Uphill, no. XY.

³ Probably of New Kingdom origin are granite columns from the chapel of Thutmosis III in Luxor Temple, columns of Amenhotep III found in Cairo, and three columns of Thutmosis IV in Vienna.

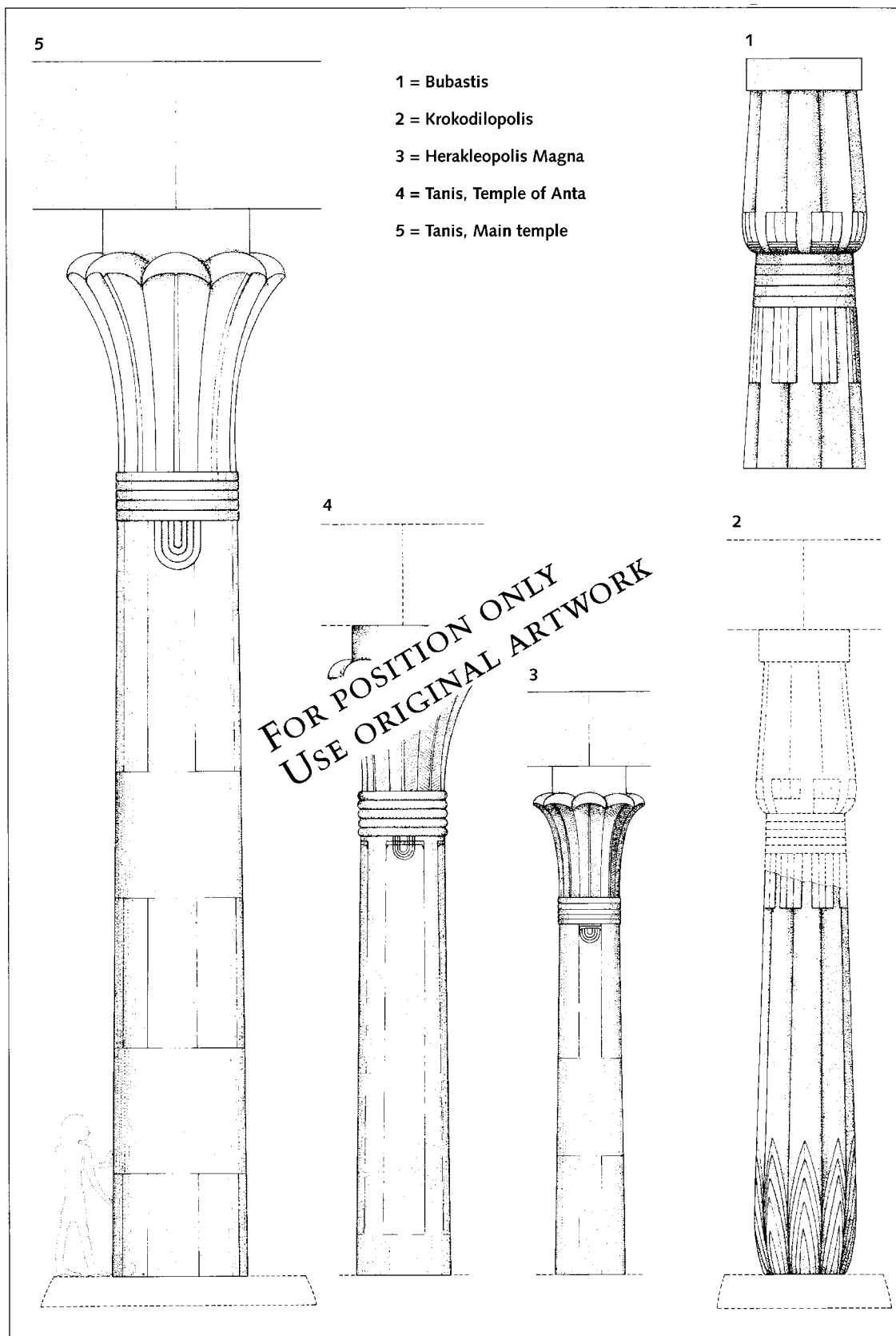


Fig. 1. Bundled papyrus columns of the Middle Kingdom from Bubastis and Crocodilopolis (1-2), and palm capital columns of the Old Kingdom from Herakleopolis Magna (4) and Tanis (4-5).

1) Kiosk between the gate of Sheshonk III, and the first pylon (fig. 1[5])⁴
 Behind the huge entrance gate of Sheshonk III the remains of a kiosk of colossal 10.82 m high, granite palm columns were excavated ("hall of columns"). Parts of probably four monolithic columns are preserved with nine fronds (without barbs). Their style and perfect execution indicate that they date to the Old Kingdom and were usurped by Ramesses II with additional inscriptions by Merenptah. Possibly they alternated with papyrus bundle columns of limestone. Since the limestone columns are attested by only two fragments the date of their manufacture cannot be determined.

2) Court of the temple of Anta (fig. 1[4])

In the precinct of the temple of Anta six granite palm capital columns were found, which probably formed a kiosk.⁵ Some capitals have fronds with barbs, while others do not include these details. The abaci were round, a highly unusual feature in Egyptian architecture that is also found on the columns from the East Temple (see below). The columns are dated by their style and perfect execution to the Old Kingdom and were usurped by Ramesses II. The total height was 6.70 m (including abacus), the width of the abacus 1.04 m. Two broken and incomplete columns are now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, while one column is in the Louvre.⁶

3) East Temple

Ten more granite palm capital columns with barbed fronds were found by Mariette in the so-called East Temple, usurped by Ramesses II and reused by Osorkon II. The abaci were from different blocks and inserted into the square sockets of the capitals. The round abaci and similar dimensions suggest that the columns have the same origin as those in the temple of Anta. The columns had a height of 7.0 m, an upper diameter of 0.817 m, and a lower diameter of 0.955 m.⁷

⁴ W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Tanis 1* (London, 1885), p. 14; idem, *Tanis 2* (London, 1888), pp. 10, 27–28, pl. 5; Pierre Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929–1932)* (Paris, 1933), pp. 63–69, pls. 28, 31; idem, *Le lac sacré de Tanis* (Paris, 1966), pp. 21–31; Uphill, T. 43–46; *Tanis, l'or des pharaons*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1987), fig. on p. 29.

⁵ Montet, *Nouvelles Fouilles*, pp. 95–101, pls. 45–47 [upper], inscriptions pls. 48–53; *Studies Presented to F.L. Griffith*, pp. 407–8, pl. 65; *Revue Biblique* 39 (1930) pl. 4[1]; for the history of their discovery and removal see Georges Goyon, *La découverte des trésors de Tanis* (Paris, 1987), pp. 55, 173–91, figs. pp. 56, 175–89.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. p. 189.

⁷ P. Montet, "Les fouilles de Tanis en 1933 et 1934," *Kemi* 5 (1935), p. 14; Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeaux d'Osorkon II à Tanis* (Paris, 1957), pp. 29–33, pls. 3–4; *Tanis, l'or des pharaons*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1987), fig. on p. 69.

Bubastis

1) The Main Temple of Bastet

Behind the famous Sed-festival gate of Osorkon II was a hypostyle hall or colonnaded court, about 23 m wide and 55 m deep. The excavation reports of Edouard Naville and Labib Habachi indicate that this area contained fragments of at least four monolithic, granite palm capital columns from the Old Kingdom.⁸ They were reinscribed by Ramesses II and Osorkon II.⁹ Petrie gives their dimensions as 6.34 m high (including the abacus, but without the base of about 0.15 m) with a 99 cm wide abacus and a diameter of 95 cm at the foot.¹⁰ One column is now in the British Museum (1065).¹¹

Smaller versions of the same type of column were found in the Hall of the Sed-Festival Gate but they were not documented.¹²

2) Temple of Mihos

In the small temple of Mihos was found a group of seven granite palm capital columns (and two papyrus bundle columns), inscribed by Osorkon II. One fragment is of quartzite. Habachi assumed that because of their small size and poor quality, these columns might have been produced for Osorkon II. Habachi estimated their height to have been about 4.25 m.¹³

Herakleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el-Medina) (fig. 1[3])

In 1892(?) Naville excavated parts of the Herishef temple at Herakleopolis magna, uncovering a group of at least six palm capital columns. The matching bases of the columns, which formed a pronaos of two rows of eight columns, were excavated in 1904 by Petrie.¹⁴ The columns were monolithic, granite palm capital columns usurped by Ramesses II from an older building and later reinscribed by Merenptah; they were found in association with blocks of the Old Kingdom as well as Middle Kingdom blocks of Senwosret II. and III. The columns are 5.23

⁸ Edouard Naville, *Bubastis* (London, 1891), pp. 11–13, pls. 5–7, 9, 23–24, 53; W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Ehnasya 1904* (London, 1905), p. 14; Labib Habachi, *Tell Basta*, Supplément ASAE 22 (1957), pp. 61–70, pls. 17–21.

⁹ Nestor l'Hôte, *MSS 20369*, p. 359 verso.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Ehnasya 1904*, pp. 13–15.

¹¹ Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 11; Budge, *Guide, Sculpture* (London, 1909), p. 164, no. 598; Uphill, B. 12.

¹² Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 11; Uphill, B. 12–15.

¹³ Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 49–50; Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp. 46–48.

¹⁴ Edouard Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh* (London, 1894), pp. 9–11, pls. 5–6 and frontispiece; Petrie, *Ehnasya 1904*, pp. 10, 13–15, pls. 6–9, 10[c]; Mohamed Gamal El-Din Mokhtar, *Ihnasya El-Medina*, BdE 40 (Cairo, 1983), pp. 82–86, pl. 6.

m high (including the abacus but excluding a base of perhaps 0.15 m), with the width of the abacus of 0.75 m and a diameter of 0.72 m at the foot of the column. Gamal El-Din Mokhtar suggests (from field observations?) that the twenty-four columns of the hypostyle hall behind the pronaos were also palm capital columns, allowing for a total of forty columns. From the lower diameter of the hypostyle hall columns (1.2–1.3 m) one can estimate a height of at least 7–8 m, which is considerably higher than the pronaos columns. The central aisle of the hypostyle hall was not higher than the side aisles. Complete columns of the pronaos are now in the British Museum (1123)¹⁵ and in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (91.259).¹⁶ Incomplete columns are in the Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, The Manchester Museum, the Bolton Museum and Art Gallery (United Kingdom), and in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia (636).¹⁷

Cairo

Several Cairo mosques include reused pharaonic palm capital columns of granite, which were probably removed from the ruins at Heliopolis and Memphis, and perhaps include some from Memphite pyramid temples of the Old Kingdom. The following examples are mentioned in literature:¹⁸

a) The Mosque of Amir Altunbuga al-Maridani (739–40/1339–40) includes columns taken from the Rashida Mosque outside Old Cairo (founded 393/1003). The Maqsura has eight granite columns, two of which are complete palm columns; four have palm column shafts only and were topped with Corinthian and late Egyptian composite capitals. Three more palm column shafts are visible at the court front of the Qibla-Riwaq.¹⁹

¹⁵ Budge, *Guide, Sculpture*, pp. 164–65 [599].

¹⁶ William Stevenson Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1942), pp. 73–74, fig. 43; Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya El-Medina*, pl. 6[A].

¹⁷ Hermann Ranke, *The Egyptian Collections of the University Museum (University Museum Bulletin 15)* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 100–101, fig. 59; Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya El-Medina*, pl. 6[B].

¹⁸ I wish to thank Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, Berlin for kindly drawing my attention to her article “Spolien in der mittelalterlichen Architektur von Kairo,” *Ägypten Dauer und Wandel* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp. 131–42 and for further personal communications. Since the columns have never been measured or drawn, it is impossible to match them with specific monuments.

¹⁹ V. Meinecke-Berg, “Spolien in der mittelalterlichen Architektur,” p. 132 no. 10, p. 133 no. 16.

b) The Arcade of the palace of Maq'd Mamay (901/1496) has four palm capitals, placed on top of different shafts.²⁰

c) The six columns in the arcades of the Qibla-Iwan of the Madrasa of Sultan Qala'un (684/1285) are made of palm column shafts combined with Corinthian capitals.²¹

The existing reused palm columns are summarized in the following table:

Tanis 1	5 + x	11.00 m (Amun Temple)
Tanis 2	6 + x	6.70 m (Anta Temple)
Tanis 3	10 + x	7.00 m (East Temple)
Bubastis 1	4 + x	6.50 m (Bastet Temple)
Bubastis 2	7 + x	4.25 m (Mihos Temple)
Herakleopolis	6 – 16	5.38 m
Cairo	17 + x	?
TOTAL:	55 + x ATTESTED PALM COLUMNS	

PAPYRUS BUNDLE COLUMNS

Because the monolithic granite papyrus bundle column with six to twelve main stems (with additional secondary bundles of buds) was the favored column type during the Middle Kingdom,²² all these columns are dated to that period. As a confirmation, the columns of Crocodilopolis mentioned below are inscribed with the name of Amenemhat III. Another type of papyrus bundle columns with only six stems, a protruding abacus, no secondary bundles of buds and an angular collar must be assigned to the Old Kingdom.²³

²⁰ Ibid., p. 133 no. 23; Edmond Pauty, *Les Palais et les Maisons d'Epoque Musulmane au Caire*, MMFAO 62 (Cairo, 1932), p. 47, pl. 16; Jacques Revault-Bernard Maury, *Palais et Maisons du Caire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle* 1, MIFAO 96 (Cairo, 1975), p. 19, pls. 6–9.

²¹ U.A.C. Creswell, *The Architecture of Egypt* 2 (Oxford, 1959), pl. 74b.

²² Examples come from the pyramid complexes of Senwosret I, Senwosret III, Amenemhat III at Dahshur and Hawara, the temple of Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV at Medinet Madi, and the temple of Month at Medamoud (F. Bisson de la Roque and J.J. Clère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1928)* [Cairo, 1929], pp. 79–81, figs. 73–76). For the few New Kingdom examples see note 3.

²³ Dated examples in the pyramid temple of Niuserra (Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re* [Leipzig, 1907], pp. 66–68, pl. 13) and the so-called queen's pyramid of Djedkara.

Tanis

a) Several fragments of granite papyrus bundle columns were found reused and redressed in the area of the main temple.²⁴ They had a protruding abacus but lacked bundles of secondary buds and bands, suggesting a shaft with six stems. Traces of the name of Niuserra on one of the columns confirm their Fifth Dynasty origin.

b) A few granite fragments from the East Temple can be reconstructed to form a 90 cm high capital with an upper shaft diameter of 73 cm. The capital had bundles of secondary buds and seems to originate from the Middle Kingdom.²⁵

Bubastis

1) The Main Temple of Bastet (fig. 1[1])

The above-mentioned hypostyle hall or colonnaded court behind the Sed-festival gate of Osorkon II also contained fragments of at least four monolithic, granite papyrus bundle columns, found together with parts of granite architraves (some now in the British Museum), usurped by Ramesses II from Senwosret III.²⁶ None of the columns was completely preserved, but from the size of the only published capital one can estimate an original height of about 7–8 m (including the abacus). A capital and upper part of a column are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (89.555);²⁷ broken and incomplete examples remain at the site.²⁸

2) Temple of Mihos

Naville and Habachi excavated fragments of two or more red granite papyrus bundle columns, inscribed by Ramesses II and usurped by Osorkon II.²⁹ One fragment is now in the Louvre.

Crocodylopolis, Arsinoe (Medinet el-Faiyum) (fig. 1[2])

In 1937, Habachi recorded a group of fourteen incomplete shafts of red granite papyrus bundle columns, lying on the Kiman Faris, about 1 km south of the Ptolemaic Sobek Temple of Crocodylopolis. Some columns

²⁴ P. Montet, *Le drame d'Avaris* (Paris, 1941), pp. 52–53, figs. 24–25; P. Montet, *Le lac sacré de Tanis* (Paris, 1966), p. 30, fig. 5.

²⁵ Montet, *Le lac sacré de Tanis*, fig. 4[b].

²⁶ Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 11–13, pls. 5–7, 9, 23–24, 53; Petrie, *Ehnasya 1904*, p. 14; Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp. 61–70, pls. 17–21; Uphill, nos. B 8–11.

²⁷ Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 11, pl. 7; Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp. 67–69; Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pp. 79–80, fig. 44; Uphill, B. 11.

²⁸ Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 11, pls. 7, 17, 21[A]; Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp. 67–69; Uphill, B. 8–10.

²⁹ Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 49; Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp. 46–55, pl. 11B.

still retained parts of the original building inscription of Amenemhat III with later additions by Ramesses II and Ramesses VI.³⁰ Builders had apparently collected the columns for Ptolemaic structures. The upper parts of the columns and capitals were missing, but Habachi estimated their original height to have been about 7.20 m. Two column shafts are now in the garden of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Herakleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el-Medina)

In front of the gateway of an unidentified temple at the Kom el-Akârib, four granite bundled papyrus columns are still standing. Originally inscribed by Queen Sobeknofrure, they were cut in half and reused probably by Ramesses II.³¹ The gateway itself contains about ten huge granite beams which may have the same origin as the columns. Two colossal statues were also found in the area; they were usurped by Ramesses II and are thought to have originated from the time of Senwosret III. The columns have never been measured.

HATHOR CAPITAL COLUMNS

Hathor capital or Sistrum columns appear in temples of female gods of all periods. From the Eighteenth Dynasty onward, the capital shows the face of Hathor on all four sides and is capped by a chapel. Examples with the Hathor faces on two opposite sides and without the chapel are believed to be of Middle Kingdom origin. Only the latter type will be considered here.

Bubastis

At least nine Hathor capital columns were recorded in the area of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Bastet at Bubastis.³² They are inscribed with the names of Ramesses II and/or Osorkon II. They were found in three sizes:

a) Five or more, granite Hathor capitals of Osorkon II were 7 ft. high (= 2.13 m) and had Hathor faces on two opposite sides. A complete capital is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; incomplete ones are in

³⁰ L. Habachi, "Une 'vaste salle' d'Amenemhat III à Kiman-Farès (Fayoum)," *ASAE* 37 (1937), pp. 85–95. One of the columns was seen already by Golénischeff, see Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* 1 (Cairo, 1907), p. 259.

³¹ Now in the garden of the Cairo Museum JdE 45975–76. Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya El-Medina*, pp. 89–90, pls. 7–8; Maria del Carmen Perez-Die and Pascal Vernus, *Excavaciones en Ehnasya el Medina (Heracleópolis Magna)* (Madrid, 1992), pp. 20–21, pl. 148B.

³² Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 11–12, pls. 9, 23 A–B, 24 B; Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp. 61–67, pls. 18–20.

the British Museum (1107 = 768), the Louvre, and in Berlin (10834).

b) Four Hathor capitals had Hathor faces on two opposite sides, the two other sides being empty. They were inscribed with the name of Osorkon II, and were said to be “smaller and more simple.” Labib Habachi, however, states that the head in Sydney had “almost” the same dimensions as those of the first group. One capital is now in Sydney, Australia.

c) One complete red granite capital along with fragments of others were found by Labib Habachi in 1939 in the Bastet temple. The Hathor faces are on two opposite sides, while one other side was decorated with the lily and the other with the papyrus symbols. The 1.43 m high capital was inscribed with the name of Osorkon II and is now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JdE 72134).

The columns described above, as well as other building elements (architraves, door frames, wall blocks) and statuary, are usually said to have originated from the pyramid complexes of the memphite area. They would have been removed either by Amenemhat I or later by Ramesses II to new construction sites in the Delta and elsewhere.³³ Some of them were again reused by rulers of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties at Tanis.

We now have to ask the question, whether or not the approximately fifty-five remaining, reused palm capital columns described above could be accommodated in the Memphite pyramid temples, given the number of missing palm columns. Three pyramid temples of the Old Kingdom contained such columns (Sahura, Djekara and Unas). In the Sahura pyramid temple, eleven of sixteen 6.40 m high columns from the court of the pyramid temple were found when the complex was excavated in 1907.³⁴ The valley temple has a maximum of eight empty positions, but the column types used in this building are unknown.³⁵

The pyramid temple of Djekara contained sixteen palm capital columns, of which an undetermined number lie broken at the site. The

³³ Eric Uphill, “Pithom and Rameses: Their Location and Significance,” *JNES* 27 (1968), pp. 291–316, *JNES* 28 (1969), pp. 15–39; idem, *The Temples of Per Rameses* (Warminster, 1984), pp. 230–32.

³⁴ Two now in Cairo [39527, 39529], five columns in Berlin [31605], and one in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [acc. no. 10.175.137].

³⁵ Only one fragment of a round column was found, which might have belonged to the plain shaft columns used at the side entrance; cf. Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sashu-Re* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 10, 32–33.

remaining pieces have a diameter of 0.74 m, suggesting that the columns were smaller than the columns of Sahura. Eight more palm capital columns might have been placed in the unexcavated valley temple, increasing the number of empty positions to a maximum of eighteen. However, J.-Ph. Lauer assumes that the missing Djedkara columns were reused in the pyramid temple of Unas.³⁶ Eighteen 6.30 m high palm capital columns were erected in the pyramid temple of Unas, seven of which were found at the site.³⁷ His valley temple may have contained ten palm capital columns, two of which were reerected in the 1970s.³⁸ The missing palm capital columns can be summarized as follows:

Sahura:	5 columns in court of main temple	h. 6.45 m
	Perhaps 8 columns in valley temple	h. 6.45 m(?)
Djedkara:	18 columns	h. 5.25 m(?)
Unas:	11 columns	h. 6.30 m
	8 columns	h. 6.30 m(?)
TOTAL:	50 MISSING PALM COLUMNS	

The figure of 50 missing columns is exceeded by the 55 existing, reused columns, which must represent a small percentage of the original one to two hundred columns.

Another issue is the height of the columns. A comparison of the missing and the existing columns shows that the reused columns are generally higher than those found in the pyramid temples. The columns of Tanis 1 are—at 11.00 m—nearly double the height of those from the pyramid temples (5.25–6.45 m). The only exception is the columns of the Pronaos of Herakleopolis, which, at 5.38 m, are close in height to those from the temple of Djedkara (5.25 m?).

The following evidence also refutes the assumption that the reused papyrus bundle columns came from pyramid temples of the Middle Kingdom:

³⁶ A. Labrousse, J.-Ph. Lauer, and J. Leclant, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, BdE 73 (Cairo, 1977), p. 25 n.1.

³⁷ Two in Cairo (JdE 35131) and one each in the Louvre (E 10959), the British Museum (1385), and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 07.229.2); see Labrousse et al., *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, pp. 23–29, pls. 9–11.

³⁸ A.M. Moussa, “Excavations in the Valley Temple of King Unas at Saqqara,” *ASAE* 70 (1985), pp. 33–34.

The pyramid temple of Senwosret I contained only one papyrus bundle column, in the square antechamber, that was about 5–6 m high.³⁹ This column was never found. The pyramid temple of Amenemhat III at Dahshur contained another granite papyrus bundle column, the shaft of which is now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo.⁴⁰ According to Lepsius' reconstruction,⁴¹ the granite and limestone papyrus bundle columns in the "labyrinth" of Amenemhat III at Hawara were about 6.30 m and 7.9 m high. These latter columns would offer the closest parallels to those found reused at Tanis and Bubastis, but since Greek and Roman travellers describe the labyrinth as being intact to the height of the roof, the columns cannot have been removed before that time.

That the Hathor columns of Bubastis did not originate from pyramid temples is certain, since we have no evidence that such columns were used in these buildings.⁴²

This discussion should make it clear that the pyramid complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdom cannot have been the origin of the reused columns. An alternative solution, that the columns could have been removed from other temples in the Memphite region, must also be eliminated. During the pharaonic period, older temples were only demolished to make way for a larger substitute. The idea that Amenemhat I would have replaced older Memphite temples with grander new buildings and shipped the old material to build (less important?) temples in the Delta seems unlikely.

The only convincing alternative would be to assume that the older building material originated from the same sites where it was reused. Since nearly all these sites have longstanding cult and building traditions, the existence of Old and Middle Kingdom temples is not extraordinary. This assumption does not exclude the possibility that building material was occasionally transferred between neighbouring sites such as Tell ed-Dab'a, Qantir and Tanis.⁴³

³⁹ Dieter Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York, 1988), p. 47. Twelve stems. Lower diameter 0.93 m, height unknown.

⁴⁰ In my publication, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III. in Dahschur* (Mainz am Rhein, 1987), pp. 61–63 (pl. 60), I suggested that the court of the pyramid temple was surrounded by a number of such columns. Based on the evidence collected in the temple of his predecessor Senwosret III at Dahshur, I assume now that no such court existed and the Cairo granite column stood in the square antechamber; perhaps 2–4 limestone papyrus bundle columns were placed in a porticus.

⁴¹ LD 1, pl. 47, Text 2, pp. 16–17; Ludwig Borchardt, *Die ägyptische Pflanzensäule* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 31–32, fig. 55. One fragment in Berlin (no. 1167). Some magnificent fragments are still at the site.

⁴² The cult of Hathor generated such columns, however, in the mortuary temples of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III and Amenhotep III at Thebes.

A study of the reuse of Old Kingdom material cannot omit the question of the origin of the Old Kingdom blocks found reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht.⁴⁴ The decoration and inscriptions of these blocks do not include subjects found exclusively in royal cult and pyramid temples (such as offering lists, the king at the offering table, scenes from the square antechamber). On the contrary, the subjects of the reliefs are found in royal or divine temples that are not associated with burial places. The potential existence of one or more Old Kingdom temples in the area of El-Lisht, ancient Itj-tawy, helps to explain the presence of blocks dating to Cheops, Chephren, Userkaf, Unas and Pepi II. This hypothetical building of the Old Kingdom would have been dismantled during the coregency of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I in order to make room for projects connected with the building of the new residence. It is significant that granite architraves and probably pillars but no columns of the Old Kingdom were found reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I. If the Old Kingdom structure contained columns, they were apparently left in place.

The available material suggests that at least four hypostyle halls existed during the Old and Middle Kingdom in a) the area of Tanis–Qirqafa–Tell el-Dabʿa, b) at Bubastis (cf. fig. 2), c) at Crocodilopolis and d) at Herakleopolis. There is no doubt that more hypostyle halls existed at places such as Memphis, and Heliopolis, but the evidence for them is meager.⁴⁵

a) If one assumes that all columns found reused at Tanis originated in the same building,⁴⁶ one could reconstruct a hypostyle hall of 4 x 4 (or

⁴³ I do not intend to suggest identifying Tanis with Avaris/Pi-Ramesse, a theory that was convincingly disproven by Manfred Bietak, *Tell el-Dabʿa 2* (Vienna, 1975), pp. 179–88. The possibility of Old and Middle Kingdom structures at a hitherto unexplored part of the enormous tell of Tanis cannot be completely ruled out; cf. A. Lézine, “Le temple nord de Tanis” *Kêmi* 12 (1952), p. 54, n. 3.

⁴⁴ See Hans Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht* (New York, 1971). A few more were not included in this publication and seven more were found in excavations at the pyramid in 1991. Another example is the reuse of temple blocks of Djedkara in the pyramid of Unas, see Labrousse et al., *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, pp. 124–29.

⁴⁵ The author is aware of the completely hypothetical character of the reconstructions offered. They are meant to attract fresh attention to a unique assembly of monuments that need better documentation and investigation.

⁴⁶ Montet considered this possibility in his *Le lac sacré de Tanis*, pp. 23–24. No traces of actual buildings before the Twenty-first Dynasty have been found at Tanis proper. Earlier remains, if existing, would have been removed when the foundation pits of the Twenty-first Dynasty temples were dug, and again when the temple foundations were torn out by stone robbers.

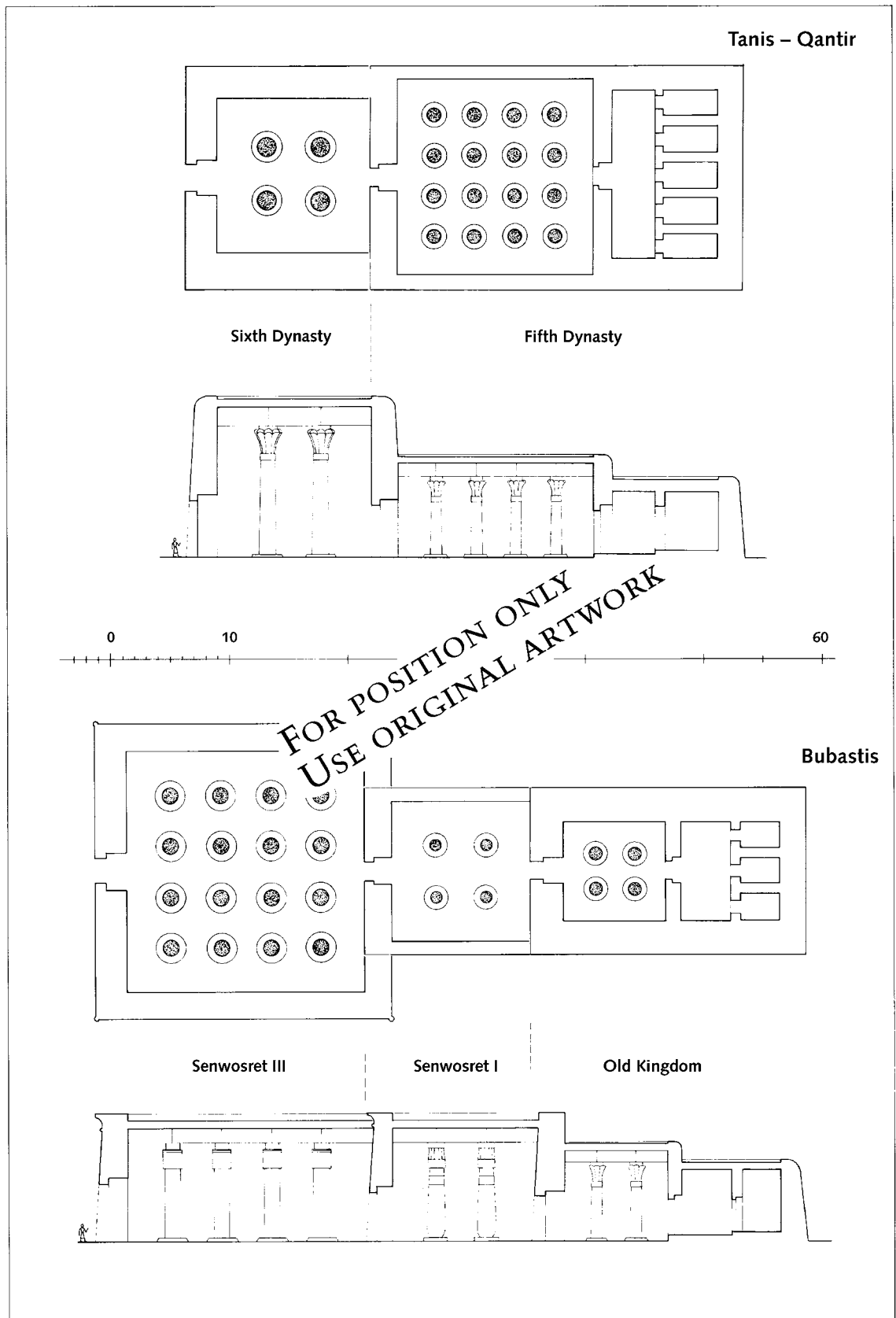


Fig. 2. Hypothetical reconstruction of hypostyle halls of the Old and Middle Kingdom from the area of Tanis-Qantir and Bubastis.

more) smaller Fifth Dynasty columns (fig. 2, upper). A hypostyle hall would have been added in the Sixth Dynasty; the roof of this hall would have been supported by the four + x larger palm columns found in the area. The interior height of the hall of about 12.34 m suggests a total exterior height of about 13 m (25 cubits would be 13.125 m), a dimension only surpassed by the pronaos of later temples at Esna (14.98 m) and Edfu (15.67 m). The proportions of the columns are astonishingly slender. They remain, however, well within the style of the later Old Kingdom.⁴⁷ According to the ratio used in other porticoes of the Old Kingdom,⁴⁸ the distance between the columns should actually have been half their height, that is 5.25 m. This distance might have been reduced to 4.725 or even to 4.20 m because of the immense size and weight of the granite architraves (36 tons!). If a fifth column was actually found (see above) we would have—for reasons of symmetry—to place at least six columns forming a longitudinal hall divided by two rows of three columns into three aisles.

Middle Kingdom activity in the northeastern Delta is further suggested by granite papyrus bundle columns, a granite architrave and other blocks of Senwosret III, and royal statuary of Amenemhat I, Senwosret I, Amenemhat II, Senwosret II and the Thirteenth Dynasty from Tanis.⁴⁹

b) A hypothetical reconstruction of the old temple of Bubastis must include four palm and four papyrus bundle columns, in addition to the famous group of granite Hathor capitals, generally attributed to the Twelfth Dynasty. Naville differentiated a larger and a smaller group, while Habachi thought that they were variations of the same columns (height “little above 7 feet” or 2.15 m according to Naville); from this measurement one may estimate that the columns were 6–8 m high.

Hypothetically, one could reconstruct an Old Kingdom hypostyle hall (fig. 2, lower) consisting of four, 6.34 m high palm capital columns, enlarged in the earlier Twelfth Dynasty (Amenemhat I/ Senwosret I) by a second hall of four, 8.0 m high papyrus bundle columns. About the time of Senwosret III, the temple would have been enlarged by the addition of a hypostyle of sixteen Hathor columns. The existence of a Middle Kingdom monumental stone temple at Bubastis is further substantiated

⁴⁷ The relation between lower diameter and total height is at Tanis 1/7.9. The columns of Sahura show 1/6.94, those of Unas 1/8.1. The columns of Herakleopolis have a ratio of 1/7.26. Only in the New Kingdom does the palm capital column become more compact, at Soleb 1/5.3, at Sesebi 1/3.7, and at Antaeopolis 1/5.

⁴⁸ The relation between distance of the axis and total height: Sahura 1/1.86, Unas 1/2.27. Tanis might have been 1/2.4.

⁴⁹ See *PM* 4, pp. 15–25.

by the discovery of relief blocks of Senwosret I and Senwosret III, the remains of a granite colossus of Amenemhat III, and other sculpture of the period.⁵⁰

c) For the reconstruction of the hall of Amenemhat III at Crocodilopolis, at least sixteen columns are available, though without the outlines of the groundplan the reconstruction remains uncertain. One could suggest a hypostyle hall of at least four by four 7.20 m high papyrus bundle columns built in front of a sanctuary of the Old or early Middle Kingdom. The existence of a monumental stone temple of the Middle Kingdom is also confirmed by the discovery of wall blocks of Amenemhat III and sculptures of Amenemhat I and Amenemhat III.⁵¹

d) The Middle Kingdom temple of Herakleopolis, as indicated by Flinders Petrie, seems to have retained the same dimensions after the restoration by Ramesses II (22 x 42.5 m). Beneath the temple Flinders Petrie found burials of the Eleventh Dynasty, which suggest that the Old Kingdom temple must have stood somewhere else. One can assume that the Old Kingdom Temple was completely dismantled and rebuilt at the later site by Senwosret II, who may have used the palm capital columns in a front hall. Several blocks inscribed with the name of Senwosret III suggest that he completed this work of his predecessor. Numerous wall blocks and statuary of the Sixth Dynasty, of Senwosret II, Senwosret III, and Amenemhat III originated from this monumental stone temple.⁵²

One final observation must be added. If we assume that hypostyle halls with 8 to 12 m high columns existed, one also has to consider that the walls of these halls must have been built of stone because brick walls would not have carried the weight of the stone architraves and roof slabs. These walls would certainly have been built of limestone; only doors and door sills and orthostates would have been of granite. Whereas granite columns had a better chance of surviving, limestone and granite wall blocks were much easier to dress down into smaller blocks or burn for lime. This would explain why so few decorated or inscribed wall blocks of the Old and Middle Kingdom have endured.⁵³

To sum up: temple architecture of huge dimensions outside the residential royal funerary complexes has hitherto seemed inconceivable

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99 and Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d’Égypte* 1, p. 259.

⁵² See *PM* 4, pp. 118–19.

⁵³ Uphill lists twelve at Tanis (T. 13–15, 17–19, 22–24) and five at Bubastis (B. 1–2, 5–7). Petrie excavated twenty at Ehnasya and the expeditions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York about 100 at Lisht-North.

before the New Kingdom. The preceding analysis combined with recent studies of Thinite temple architecture by Bruce Williams and David O'Connor,⁵⁴ urges an adjustment. Stone temples for the gods during the Old and Middle Kingdom were certainly less numerous than in later periods and many may have been of modest size. A few, however, could have attained monumental proportions, matching or even outshining the royal mortuary temples.



⁵⁴ B. Williams, "Narmer and the Coptos Colossi," *JARCE* 25 (1988), pp. 35–59; D. O'Connor, "The Status of Early Egyptian Temples: An Alternative Theory," in *The Followers of Horus: Studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman*, Oxbow Monograph 20 (Oxford, 1992), pp. 83–98. For the decoration of early sanctuaries see also L. Morenz, "Zur Dekoration der frühzeitlichen Tempel am Beispiel zweier Fragmente des archaischen Tempels von Gebelen," in *Ägyptische Tempel—Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 37 (Hildesheim, 1994), pp. 234–35.

Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture



JAN ASSMANN

IN 1988, WHEN W. KELLY SIMPSON INVITED ME TO TEACH AT YALE FOR a couple of weeks and when I was preparing a lecture on Egyptian portraiture, I had the opportunity to discuss this topic with Kelly and to profit from his great knowledge and infallible judgment. I thought it appropriate, therefore, to contribute a version of this lecture to his *Festschrift*, in affectionate memory of his hospitality and our many conversations on Egyptian art, literature and other subjects.¹

I. SCULPTURAL AND INSCRIPTIONAL SELF-THEMATIZATION

Portraiture is by far the most important and productive genre of Egyptian art, just as biography is the most ancient and productive genre of Egyptian literature. Both genres are self-thematizations² of an individual subject, one in the medium of art, the other in the medium of language. To be sure, the Egyptian portraits are not self-portraits in our sense of the term, nor are the biographical inscriptions autobiographies in our sense. It is not the self of an artist or writer which is revealed by a statue or speaking in an inscription, but the self of the patron, who had the portrait sculptured or the inscription carved. What matters is the “self” that gives the order, not the one that executes it. I shall use the term “self-thematization” for every kind of sculpture, relief or inscription representing such an order-giving individual. By using the term portraiture in this sense of self-thematization, we are spared the thankless task of discussing whether there is any “real” portraiture or biography in ancient Egypt. In this essay, the focus is shifted from the sculptor to the model. Consequently, we can dispense with the anachronistic idea of “artists”

¹ I wish to thank Dr. Christine Lilyquist for the invitation to deliver a lecture on Egyptian portraiture at the MMA, New York, on Sept. 25, 1988, and my friend Dr. Dorothea Arnold for her kind assistance. The paper has profited greatly from discussions with W.K. Simpson, M. Lehner and J.P. Allen during my stay at Yale Sept./Oct. 1988. I am grateful to William Barrette and Peter Der Manuelian for providing photographs, and to Maria S. Rost for correcting my English.

² Cf. J. Assmann “Sepulkrale Selbstthematisierung im alten Ägypten,” in: A. Hahn and V. Kapp, eds., *Selbstthematisierung und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis* (Frankfurt, 1987), pp. 196–222.

being “attracted” by, for example, “faces that express experience and sharp intelligence.”³ We can deal rather with the order-giving, self-thematizing self, which wants to convey these qualities in its iconic self-thematization.⁴ No one will deny that self-thematization prevails in the artistic and inscriptional evidence of Ancient Egypt to an extraordinary degree and that both genres of self-thematization account for the singular character of Egyptian culture. For underlying almost every Egyptian inscription and every monument there is such an “order-giving self.” Since, as has rightly and repeatedly been stressed,⁵ Egyptian art is always functional and never decorative, it is this notion of self which seems to determine its functional contexts to the greatest extent. These are closely linked to Egyptian ideas about immortality, about self-eteralization and self-monumentalization. As everybody who has had some experience with Egyptian monuments is very well aware, there is a deep desire for eternity, for overcoming death and transience, at the root of almost everything Egyptian culture has bequeathed to us, which Paul Eluard called “le dur désir de durer.” In this essay I shall investigate how this desire for eternity is linked to conceptions of the self and how these conceptions are translated into forms of artistic expression.

2. REALISM AND IDEALIZATION IN PORTRAITURE

Egyptian portraiture ranks among the most enigmatic and amazing challenges which history has in store for us. The enigma does not lie in the fact of its remoteness and strangeness, but quite to the contrary in its very closeness, its seeming familiarity and modernity. The bust of prince Ankh-haf, for example, which is from the Fourth Dynasty and thus removed by more than four and one-half thousand years, shows the face of modern man. This work, slightly restored and cast in bronze, and exhibited in the hall of any official building, could very well pass for a statesman or businessman of our time.⁶ The bust of queen Nefertiti from the Amarna Period (some twelve hundred years later) was, after its discovery, immediately welcomed into the world of Helena Rubinstein and Elizabeth Arden, where it decorates the windows of innumerable beauty salons. But these busts of Ankh-haf and Nefertiti appeal to the

³ B.V. Bothmer “Revealing man’s fate in man’s face,” *ARTnews*, 79 no.6 (New York, 1980), p. 124f.

⁴ For a similar approach, cf. L. Giuliani, *Bildnis und Botschaft: Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (Frankfurt, 1987). Cf. also W.K. Simpson “Egyptian Sculpture and Two-dimensional Representation as Propaganda,” *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 266–71, whose concept of “propaganda” is akin to “self thematization.”

⁵ Cf., e.g., W.K. Simpson, *The Face of Egypt: Permanence and Change in Egyptian Art* (Katonah, N.Y., 1977).



Fig. 1. Bust of Ankh-haf from Giza G 7510, MFA 27.442. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 2. Bust of Nefertiti from Amarna, Berlin 21 300; from W. Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin* (Berlin, 1967), cat. 767.

modern eye in two different ways. Nefertiti seems to incarnate an ideal of beauty which we share, while with Ankh-haf just the opposite applies; there is a total absence of any idealization or type. Instead, there is an incredibly realistic rendering of individual traits in their almost expressionless, unemphatic state of relaxation.

⁶ Cf. the experiment of D. Dunham, who had a cast of the bust “fitted with modern clothing in a somewhat jocular effort to satisfy the writer’s curiosity as to what an ancient Egyptian would look like living today in our own familiar world”: “An Experiment with an Egyptian Portrait. Ankh-haf in Modern Dress,” *BMFA* 41, (1943), p. 10. The cast was “tinted in flesh tones and the eyes, eyebrows and hair were coloured in an approximation to lifelike values.” The result, shown in a photograph, is most striking. Ankh-haf wears Mr. Dunham’s clothing, hat, shirt, tie, and tweed jacket which fit him perfectly (D. Dunham being then, as he indicates, 6 feet tall and weighing 160 pounds) and looks absolutely plausible. What we have in mind is, of course, an experiment of a different kind. We do not propose to convert the bust into a modern mannequin which shows clothes, but into a modern portrait which shows a face.

Realism and individualism are not commonly found at the beginning of a tradition of portraiture. In fact, two points are generally taken for granted. One is that realism and individualism always coincide, and the other is that this syndrome can only appear at the end of a very long evolutionary process.

Thus at the beginning there is ordinarily the general, the abstract, the non-individual. Individualization evolves by differentiation, by a "gradual sub-division of the general image."⁷ This evolution of individuality started with abstract geometric symbols like menhirs, developed into highly idealized figures like the Greek *kouroi*, and only at the very end of this process was the scene sufficiently prepared for the entrance of the individual. In Egypt, this evolutionary process was turned upside down. Here, tomb sculpture started with portraits of the utmost realism.

3. MAGIC REALISM

The typical tomb sculpture of the Fourth Dynasty is the so-called reserve head.⁸ Generally, the reserve heads render individual features, but in a much more summarizing or abstract way than does the bust of Ankh-haf. Most of these heads show a remarkably coarse treatment. The surface of the stone has in most cases not received the final polish. The plaster coating, which covers the Ankh-haf head and into which the details of the facial features are modelled, is missing in all of them. Some even seem unfinished, perhaps because the original plaster coating is now missing. The beauty of the more carefully worked examples, like the heads in figs. 3–6, lies in the summarizing treatment of features which nonetheless must be recognized as individual, for there is in general very little resemblance between them. They are not realizations of a common ideal or convention. The two examples shown in figs. 3–4 are from the same mastaba in Giza and represent a man and his wife who are clearly different from one another. Also, the two examples in Cairo (figs. 5–6)—the left one a man, the right one a woman—do not seem to reflect some generalized conception of a human face, but rather to render individual physiognomies. The hooked nose of Nefer (fig. 7) reappears on his relief representations. On the reserve head, it is the result of a rather coarse reworking. Nefer was apparently not content with the first version and wanted his nose, which he may have regarded as a particularly distinctive feature, to be more emphatically shown on his

⁷ Ernst Buschor, *Das Porträt. Bildniswege und Bildnisstufen in fünf Jahrtausenden* (Munich, 1960).

⁸ W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2nd ed. (London, 1949), pp. 23–27.



Fig. 3. Male reserve head from Giza G 4440, MFA 14.718; courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

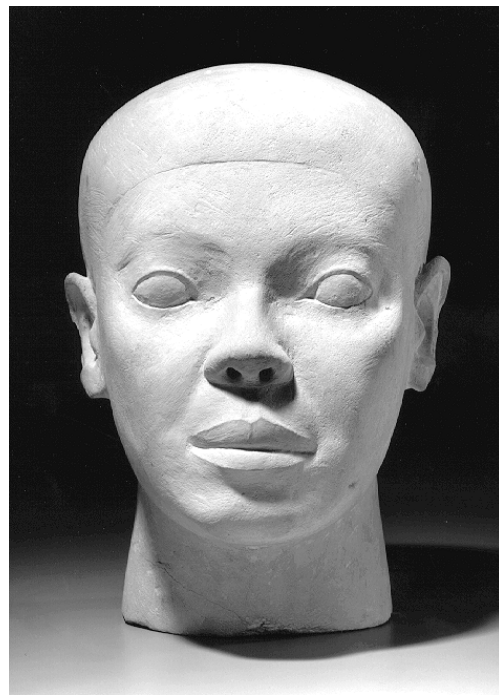


Fig. 4. Female reserve head from Giza G 4440, MFA 14.719; courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

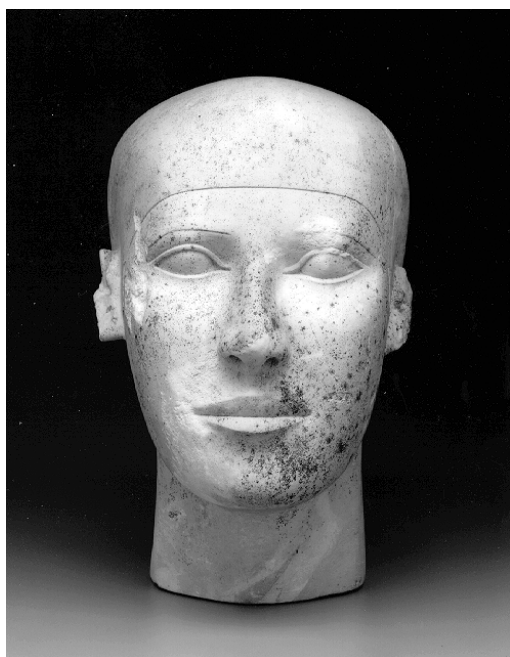


Fig. 5. Male reserve head from Giza G 4140, MFA 14.717; courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

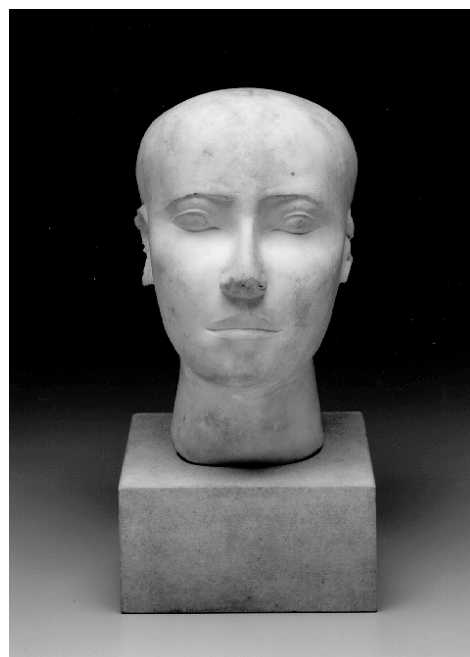


Fig. 6. Female reserve head from Giza G 4540, MFA 21.328; courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

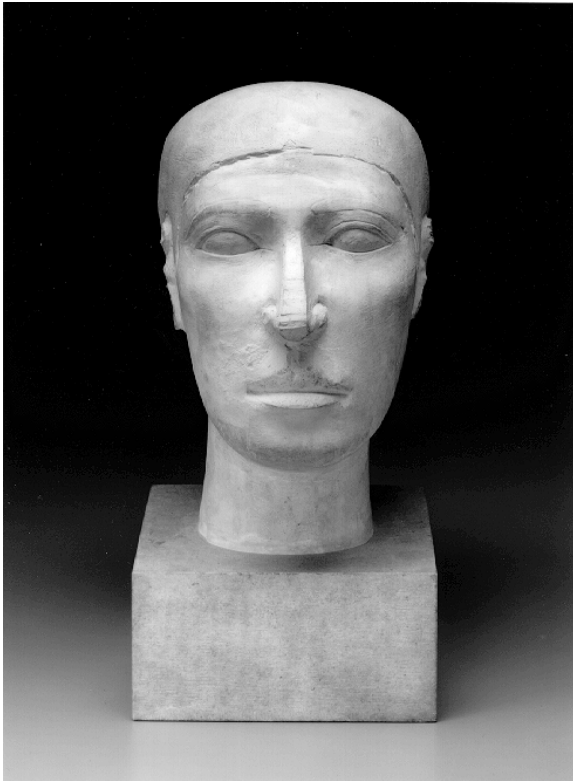


Fig. 7. Reserve head of Nefer, from Giza G 2110 A, MFA 06.1886; courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

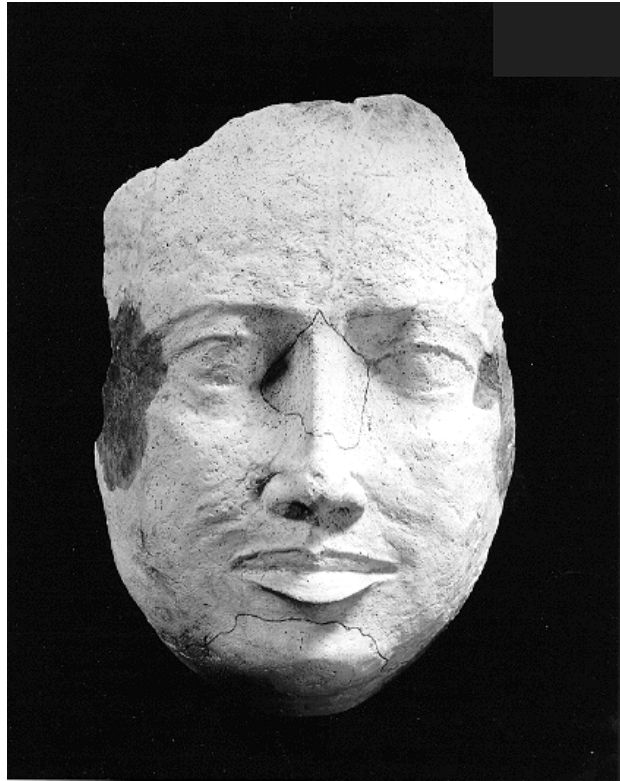


Fig. 8. Plaster mask from Giza G 2037b X, MFA 39.828; courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

portrait head. Such individual features seem to have been of great importance to the men and women who had themselves represented in this way.

What is the nature of the concept of “self” and of the interest in “self-thematization” that possibly underlie these portrait heads? Obviously, the concept of “self” seems to have been very closely identified with the face and its individual appearance. What seems to me very significant in this context is the fact that the first attempts at mummification fall within the same period. There are even direct links between mummification and portraiture.⁹ Plaster masks like that shown in fig. 8 have been found in connection with rudimentarily mummified corpses. The “reserve heads” seem to be functionally equivalent to these plaster

⁹ The early mummification technique is in fact a remodelling of the body by means of wrapping and resin, cf. D. Spanel, *Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture*, exhibition catalogue (Birmingham, Alabama, 1988), pp. 19, n. 44 and 35, n. 104. For the relationship between mummification and sculpture, cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 22–30 and Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture. Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York, 1964), pp. 9–22.

masks. Even if they cannot be considered death masks in the strict sense, because they are not casts made from the face of the deceased,¹⁰ but modelled on the face over a thin layer of linen,¹¹ it is highly probable that casts did exist as a transitory stage in the fabrication of the Ankh-haf bust and some of the more detailed reserve heads.

Self-thematization, as seen in the reserve heads and mummy masks, must be interpreted as self-preservation. The portrait has no apparent communicative and commemorative meaning. It is not meant as a “sign” but as a “body,” to make a somewhat illegitimate use of the Platonic pun on *soma* (body) and *sema* (sign). “Body” and “sign,” *soma* and *sema*, can also be regarded as the two foci on which the tomb as a “bifocal” structure is centered. This applies by definition to all tombs, not only to the Egyptian ones. Every tomb fulfils the double and even antagonistic function of hiding the body (the corpse) and of showing a sign of the deceased within the world of the living. In the Egyptian monumental tomb, both these aspects or foci are widely extended. The body focus is expanded into the techniques of mummification and the expenditures of funerary equipment. The sign focus is expanded into monumental architecture and lavish wall decoration. The question arises as to which focus statuary belongs, and the answer can—with regard to the private sculpture of the Old Kingdom—obviously point only to the “body” focus. It is the body, and not the sign, which is extended by this type of tomb sculpture.

Indeed, the total absence of the “semiotic” dimension seems to me of prime importance to the problem of realism. There is a gulf between what may be called “somatic” and “semiotic” realism, one being a technique, the other a language of art. The question is not whether or not an artist is able to render the individual traits of a given physiognomy, but whether or not he chooses to use the individual physiognomy to create a message of general import. In the frame of our investigation, which focuses not on the artist but on the owner patron, the question arises whether or not an individual chooses to convey information about his distinctive traits and qualities in his iconic self-thematization. In Egypt, at this early stage, we are clearly in the realm of “somatic” realism, realism not as a language but as a technique serving functions similar to those of mummification. In the Pyramid Texts, the deceased is occasionally asked “to put on his body” (*wnḥ.k dt.k*) the idea obviously being

¹⁰ But even those existed, cf. J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907/8)*, SAE (Cairo, 1909), pl.55, pp. 20, 112–23; Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 27.

¹¹ Cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 27–28. For a very remarkable plaster coating of the whole body, cf. Sue D’Auria et al., eds., *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, exhibition catalogue (Boston, 1988), cat. no. 23, p. 91f.

that the body may temporarily be re-animated by the returning spirit, the Ka of the dead person.¹² The reserve heads may have served to attract and direct the indwelling Ka by preserving the physiognomy and assuring the recognizability of the subject.

There does not seem to be any functional difference between reserve heads, busts and entire statues. The three forms never occur together and are therefore in complementary distribution, which is indicative of functional equivalence. The statues also belong to the sphere of self-preservation and not self-presentation; this means that they are hermetically blocked and protected against profanation much like the mummified corpse itself.¹³ But they are also meant in a way to participate in the mortuary cult. These dual and antagonistic functions of seclusion and participation were realized by a hidden chamber or "serdab" within the mastaba block, communicating with the cult chamber through one or more small slots, thus enabling the statue to smell the incense but to remain unseen and inaccessible.¹⁴

The statues reveal the same realism as do the reserve heads. Function and style are both identical. Only the treatment of the surface is different, and much of the even more striking realism of the statues (and of the Ankh-haf bust) is due to that treatment. Without the painting, the heads of Rahotep and Nofret,¹⁵ for example, look exactly like the reserve heads. Another famous case is provided by the extraordinary statue in Hildesheim of Prince Hemyunu (fig. 9),¹⁶ the architect of the Great Pyramid, where the realism extends to the bodily features. Here too, the stylistic resemblance to the reserve heads is complete. The statue of Prince Kai, the famous Louvre scribe, dates from the early Fifth Dynasty and comes not from Giza, but from a Saqqara mastaba (fig. 10).¹⁷ His head could not pass for a reserve head, even without the color. The difference affects the sub-structure and is especially noticeable in the expressive rendering of the mouth. The expression of concentrated attention must probably be attributed to the type of the scribe statue and

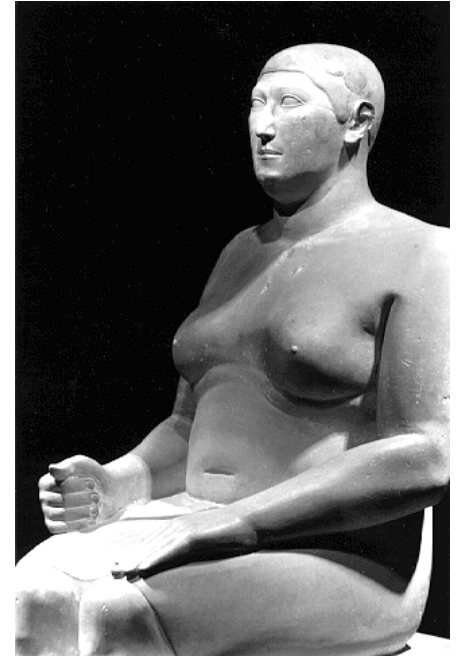


Fig. 9. Statue of Hemyunu from Giza G 4000, Hildesheim 1962; courtesy Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim.

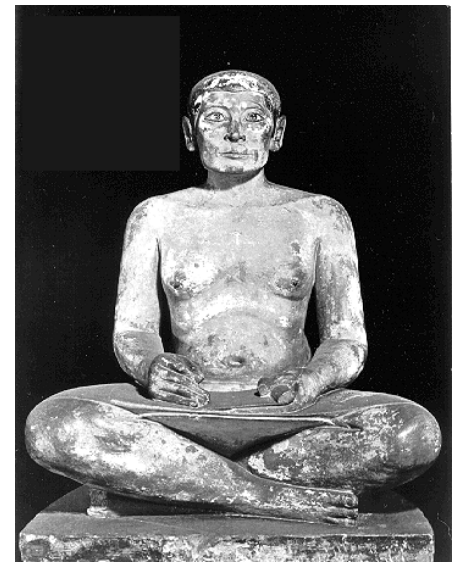


Fig. 10. Statue of Prince Kai from Saqqara; Paris, Louvre.

¹² Pyr. 221c; 224d; 1300b/c.

¹³ But cf. H. Junker, *Giza 12* (Vienna, 1955), pp. 124–26. A notable exception of the rule of inaccessibility is shown in *Mummies and Magic*, cat. no.14, fig. 47, pp. 83–87 (statue installed in cult chamber).

¹⁴ E. Brovarski, "Serdab," in *LÄ 5* (1984), cols. 874–79; *Mummies and Magic*, p. 88.

¹⁵ Cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 23–27 and recently M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke im Ägyptischen Museum in Kairo (Offizieller Katalog)* (Mainz, 1986), cat. 27 (with bibliography).

¹⁶ Junker, *Giza 1*, pp. 153–57; Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 22f.; B. Porter, and R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings III.1, Memphis*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1975), p. 123.

¹⁷ *PM III.2*, p. 458f.



Fig. 11. Head of Mycerinus from Giza, MFA 09.203; courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

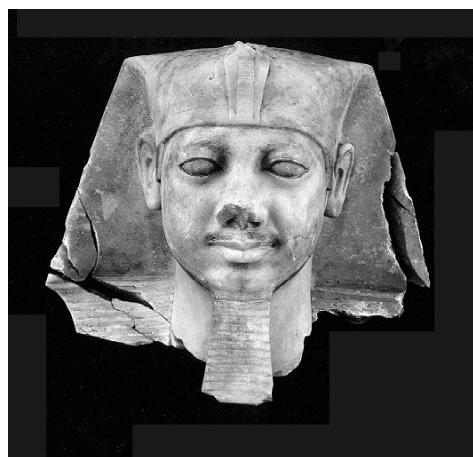


Fig. 12. Head from colossal statue of Mycerinus from Giza, MFA 09.204; courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

the attitude of listening rather than to the individual physiognomy of prince Kai.¹⁸ But the same observation applies to other examples as well, where the tradition of realistic portraiture persists exceptionally in the later part of the Old Kingdom. Generally, the realism now becomes more a matter of depth structure than of surface treatment and can be appreciated much better when the color is gone.¹⁹

4. ROYAL STATUARY: FROM "SOMATIC" SELF-PRESERVATION TO "SEMIOTIC" SELF-REPRESENTATION

Turning to royal portraiture, we find pieces which seem close enough to the "somatic" or "magic" realism of private portraiture like the heads in Boston of King Mycerinus (figs. 11–12).²⁰ Although the facial type with its fleshy roundness is different and the insignia of kingship create a difference, the realism seems quite the same here as in the private sculpture. The piece most striking in its realism is perhaps the colossal statue in Boston of Mycerinus, where the much-too-small head, the protruding eyes, the painted moustache (now to be seen only on excavation photographs, cf. fig. 12), and the strangely shaped mouth with its thin upper and heavy lower lip are rendered with unmitigated frankness. But these examples appear to be exceptions that confirm a rule which points in quite a different direction. The individual features of King Mycerinus do not recur on his other sculptures, at least not with such unmitigated directness. The cheekbone, for example, the absence of which gives such a striking expression in conjunction with the protruding eyes on the colossus, is decidedly present on the triads or the group statue in Boston with queen Khamerernebty II, where the mouth, which has such a unique shape on the colossus, is also rendered in quite a conventional way (fig. 13). The face, circular on the colossus, is elongated in the group statue. What could these mitigations mean?²¹

The famous cycle of statues in Cairo of Chephren, which come from the valley temple of his pyramid in Giza,²² shows a shift in emphasis: it

¹⁸ Cf. B.V. Bothmer, "On Realism in Egyptian Funerary Sculpture of the Old Kingdom," *Expedition* 24 (1982), pp. 27–39, esp. p. 34f. where he confronts, as examples of "realism in mature persons," Rahotep of Medum, the reserve head of Nefer, the bust of Ankh-haf, and the scribe statue of Kai.

¹⁹ Cf. D. Spanel, *Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture*, p. 21, n. 49, with regard to the wooden statue of Senedjemib Mehi in Boston (MFA 13.3466).

²⁰ Smith, *HESPOK*, pl.12a: Boston MFA 21.351 (Chephren).

²¹ Reisner, as is well known, attributed the difference between unmitigated and mitigated realism to two different schools of art. The unmitigated realism is characteristic of his "Sculptor B," who is essentially a realist, striving for exact portraiture, and the more generalized rendering of the face is characteristic of "Sculptor A," who is "not so much an idealist as the creator of the formula of a type of face which influenced all his work;" cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 35.



Fig. 13. Detail of pair statue of Mycerinus and Khamerernebtj II from Giza, MFA 11.1738; Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 14. Detail of statue of Chephren from Giza, Cairo JE 10062; courtesy H.W. Müller.

is now not so much the recognizability of the bodily features that matters, but the expression, the “radiance” of the whole royal appearance (fig. 14). The insignia and symbols of kingship, the nemes headdress, the beard, the falcon, and the throne contribute greatly to this general expression. The material, the very hard diorite, polished to a shine of supernatural radiance, seems to be equally important. The emphasis is shifted towards expressiveness, and what is to be expressed pertains more to the divine institution of kingship than to the individual person of the king: dignity, majesty, divinity, superhuman power. With these statues we are obviously leaving the realm of mere somatic self-preservation and are entering the realm of “semiotic” self-representation. These statues “communicate,” conveying an evident message.

These stylistic observations are in conformity with the functions and the architectural installation of the royal statues, which differ

²² For a possible cultic context cf. D. Arnold, “Rituale und Pyramidentempel,” *MDAIK* 33 (1977), pp. 1–14.

widely from private statuary. These statues were not installed in a hermetically closed serdab, but in the temple courtyard, thus exposed to daylight and human view. They belong to the general appearance of the architectural structure, thus functioning in the context of a superordinate “text.” What we have called the shift from bodily self-preservation to semiotic self-representation corresponds to the shift from closed to open installation. The portrait is here not an extension of the body—*soma*—but of the funerary monument—*sema*, thus functioning within the sphere of the semiotic rather than in the sphere of the somatic.

5. CONVENTIONALISM AND HIEROGLYPHIC GENERALIZATION: PRIVATE PORTRAITURE IN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH DYNASTIES

In private portraiture, however, there is a very substantial change to be observed in the course of the Fifth Dynasty. The realism prevailing in private statuary from the late Third until the early Fifth Dynasty gives way to conformity and conventionalism. The statues of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties look very much alike. The face is rendered in a very summary and generalized way, which is commonly considered “idealized.”²³ According to the conventional wisdom, the faces and figures resemble one another so very closely because they all represent a common ideal of beauty.²⁴ However, the following chapter will demonstrate that such a concept of “idealization” does not apply in this context. We are dealing with something else and should find a different term. In an attempt to characterize more closely what this something else might be, there are three points to be made, all of them very closely related.

1) “Industrialization:” the production of non-royal statuary increases during the course of the Fifth Dynasty by some five to ten thousand percent. What was very high privilege, restricted to members of the royal family during the Fourth Dynasty, now becomes extended to the entire upper class. This increase in production in itself leads to routinization and standardization. Wherever there is industrialization, there is a tendency towards reproduction or serial production, copying the same models over and over again, resulting in *Kunst vom Fließband* (art from the assembly line) as the German Egyptologist D. Wildung aptly but somewhat unkindly called this tradition.²⁵ Industrialized serial production places the emphasis on the reproducibility of the model, thus on its perfection. This leads to a Platonist view of the world, split-

²³ This interpretation is too general to need bibliographical references. For a recent example, cf. Spanel, *Through Ancient Eyes*, who speaks in passing of idealization, the ideal being Maat, but also “beauty” which seems to be quite the same (e.g., on p. 5: “eternally beautiful” and “the model of a sinless life”).

²⁴ Cf. H. Sourouzian, “Schönheitsideal,” in *LÄ* 5 (1984), cols. 674–76.

²⁵ D. Wildung, in H. Altenmüller, and W. Hornbostel, eds., *Das Menschenbild im Alten Ägypten*, exhibition catalogue (Hamburg, 1982), pp. 8–10.



Fig. 15. Pair statue of Demedj and his wife, Henutsen, New York, MMA 51.37; courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art.

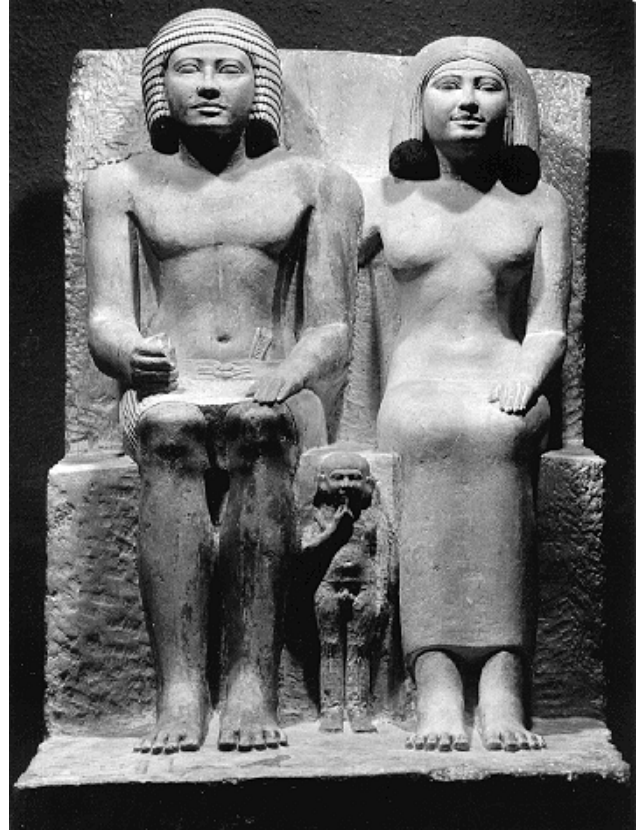


Fig. 16. Pair statue of Kaemheset and family; Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

ting reality into “types,” and “tokens,” models and copies, the general and the particular.

2) “Inscription:” it is obvious and perhaps trivial to point out that virtually all Egyptian portrait sculpture bears an inscription giving the name and the titles of its owner, the only exception being the busts and reserve heads of the Fourth Dynasty. There, the great concern for individual facial features seems to ensure identification without an identifying inscription. But the statues, which do bear inscriptions, show the same physiognomic realism, so that the presence or absence of inscripational identification does not seem to make any difference with regard to style. In the Fifth Dynasty, on the other hand, the inscription tends to be regarded as a sufficient means of individuation and thus makes physiognomic individuation dispensable. Image and inscription cooperate in conveying the same message, but “on different wavelengths: [as] two types of supporting communication,” to quote W.K. Simpson.

3) “Hieroglyphicity:” the third point has to do not with just the presence, but with the nature of hieroglyphic writing. The inscriptions which generally accompany Egyptian statues do not simply make resemblance dispensable as a means of identification. They also transform the image itself. They are not external to the image, belonging to a different medium as cuneiform or Greek

characters would, but internal in the sense that they are images themselves, exactly as the image itself functions as a hieroglyph. There is no clear-cut line of demarcation between hieroglyphic writing and representational art.²⁶ The images function in the context of hieroglyphic writing as “determinatives.” This intimate interrelation between art and writing has been amply and convincingly demonstrated by Henry G. Fischer in many of his writings.²⁷

As images, hieroglyphs refer not only to language, as every script does, but also to things. They are understood to be the “models” of these things, whether natural or artificial. Thus, “industrialization” and “hieroglyphicity” point towards the same platonic view of reality. In the context of Egyptian thought, this platonic world view finds its clearest expression in the figure and the theology of the Memphite god Ptah, who is the creator of the world and at the same time the patron of artisans and craftsmen. He is believed to have created the world, not with his hands, but with his “heart,” that is, by planning, designing, and conceptualizing.²⁸ He conceived the models or the “generative grammar” generating all the “well-formed” elements that constitute reality. These may be compared to “ideas” in the platonic sense, but not to “ideals.” A hieroglyph is a generalized formula, referring to a norm. Ideals never refer to norms, but to goals which on earth are only approximately attainable.²⁹ The term “idealization” is understood to refer not to “ideas,” though, but to “ideals.” This difference, which to me seems rather important, tends to be constantly blurred by our terminology. Thus I propose to use the term “generalization” for what we observe as a tendency in Old Kingdom private portraiture and to reserve the term “idealization” for artistic traditions, which are in fact oriented by ideals.

²⁶ This principle has been explained in Assmann, “Hierotaxis. Textkonstitution und Bildkomposition in der altägyptischen Kunst und Literatur,” in J. Osing, and G. Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst* (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 18–41. The concept of “hierotaxis” which I attempt to introduce in that article is related to what here is called “hieroglyphicity” and tries to explain certain characteristics of Egyptian art that are commonly (within the theory of “aspective”) held to be unconscious cognitive preconditions as elements of a very consciously achieved “language of art.”

²⁷ Cf. especially H.G. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'égypte ancienne. Quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaoniques*, Collège de France, Essais et Conférences (Paris, 1986).

²⁸ Cf. J.P. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt. The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*, Yale Egyptological Studies 2 (New Haven, 1988).

²⁹ The Kantian distinction between *Normalidee* and *Vernunftidee* is relevant here. The representation of the *Normalidee* is perfect, if only it does not contradict any condition of beauty. The *Normalidee* is the quintessence of correctness, not of beauty. Cf. H.G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode* (Tübingen, 1960), p. 44f.

6. IDEALIZATION: ART AND BEAUTY IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

A brief chapter on what I take to be such an “idealizing” style in Egyptian art may make this more clear. This brings us back to queen Nefertiti, whose statuary marks the very apex of this stylistic moment. The statues of Nefertiti may be regarded as love-poems in stone. Their most conspicuous features, the long neck, the slim waist, the broad hips and heavy thighs, recur in the love-poems of the age; they recur also in other statues and evidently pertain to the ideal of beauty of that time rather than to the individual appearance of Nefertiti.³⁰

There is a very refined sensuousness and an almost erotic grace and radiance in the art of this period, an expression of “*luxe, calme et volupté*,” which is totally absent from the sober, dry and clear-cut features from the Old Kingdom that are characteristic of Egyptian art in general. This artistic sensuousness, pointing to an ideal of tenderness, grace and beauty, starts in the time of Amenophis III and—though at first violently opposed by the almost expressionist and caricaturistic outbursts of the revolutionary style—dominates the whole of Amarna and post-Amarna art well into the reign of Haremhab. It is during this short period that Egyptian art comes closest to Greek art, as seen, for example, in the head of an unknown official in Cairo, shown in fig. 17. The common element of these two traditions is the tendency to idealize, which in Greek art is characteristic especially of the late archaic period. In the context of Egyptian art, it is to be regarded as a quite exceptional episode, a temporary emancipation from and the very opposite of the hieroglyphic formula.

But is Amarna really “idealized” rather than “realistic”? How is one to account for the many plaster casts, masks and models which have been found in the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose?³¹ All this testifies to a keen interest in the accidental traits of a living face, in “nature.” This goes well with a realistic or “naturalistic” art, but not with an “idealized” one. Even the royal heads seem close to the physical form. Nevertheless this is not inconsistent with what I understand by idealization. The sketches found in the house of the sculptor Thutmose prove beyond a doubt that in Amarna the living face in its individual form is the object of plastic representation, and not a super-individual



Fig. 17. Head of an unknown official; Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 849.

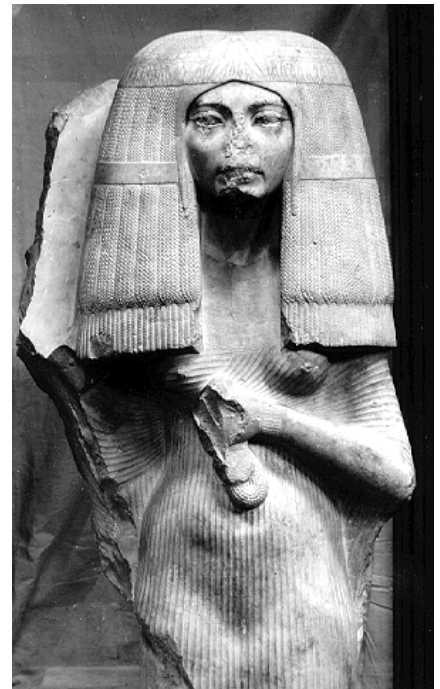


Fig. 18. The wife of Nakhtmin; Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 31629; courtesy Eva Hofmann.

³⁰ In my article “*Ikonographie der Schönheit im alten Ägypten*,” in Th. Stemmler, ed., *Schöne Frauen, schöne Männer. Literarische Schönheitsbeschreibungen*, 2. Kolloquium der Forschungsstelle für europäische Literatur des Mittelalters (Mannheim, 1988), pp. 13–32, I elaborated on this comparison between plastic arts and love poetry in the New Kingdom in greater detail.

³¹ Cf. G. Roeder, “*Lebensgroße Tonmodelle aus einer altägyptischen Bildhauerwerkstatt*,” *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* (1941) pp. 145–70.

ideal of beauty. We must not forget, however, that these finds illustrate the starting point and intermediate stages, and not the final product of the artistic process. They show that this process starts from “nature” and not from preconceived ideas and point to the well known “perceptual” rather than “conceptual” character of Amarna art. It is this perceptual character that makes this artistic movement so exceptional in the context of Egyptian art, which is generally a conceptual art par excellence. But perception is exactly what “beauty” means. Beauty is something to be perceived and not conceived. It is a sensual quality in that it addresses the senses. Thus, idealization—understood as an ideal of beauty to be aimed for—is a stylistic tendency which is well in keeping with a perceptually oriented art.

But there is still another point to be made concerning beauty. Beauty, as an ideal of iconic self-representation, is not only to be distinguished from “hieroglyphic normality” but also from the concept of “perfection,” of a spotless outward appearance that distinguishes the literate upper class, the “literatocracy,” from the hard-working lower classes. In 1970, Kent Weeks clearly showed how, in wall decoration of private tombs, especially in the Old Kingdom, certain deviations from the normal type of physical appearance serve as indicators of social rank and professional occupation.³² They are *déformations professionnelles*. In order to stress the typical character of these features, Weeks coined the term “personification” as opposed to “individuation.” In all these seemingly individualizing portrayals of bodily anomalies, we are dealing in fact with personification, because these features are indicative of class and thus of the social, not of the individual, self. Thus body hair, beards, stubble, baldness, paunchiness, etc., seem to be associated with people, “who were forced by their work to stay away from home for a while,” i.e., herdsmen, fishermen, field hands and, less frequently, boatmen, bakers, and netters of birds. Incidentally, the same sense of humor with regard to the physical imperfections of the lower classes is displayed in the famous “Satire of the trades,” a Middle Kingdom classic which, apart from being a favorite text itself, has stimulated a great many imitations.³³ Beauty, in the sense of spotless outward perfection, is—and has always been—a prerogative of the leisure class.

The representations of craftsmen, peasants, shepherds, and so forth in the tombs of all periods do not belong to “portraiture” in the sense of

³² Kent Weeks, *The Anatomical Knowledge of the Ancient Egyptians and the Representation of the Human Figure in Egyptian Art*, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1970.

³³ Cf. P. Seibert, *Die Charakteristik. Untersuchungen zu einer altägyptischen Sprechsitte und ihren Ausprägungen in Folklore und Literatur*, Äg. Abh. 17 (Wiesbaden, 1967).

our definition, because they are no self-thematizations. Had these people been in a position to have themselves represented in a statue or stela or tomb wall of their own, they would no doubt have chosen different attire. This speculation is not altogether theoretical; there are plenty of stelae and even tombs of craftsmen and artisans preserved in Egypt, the best known being the tombs of Deir el Medinah. Everywhere, the owner appears in the attire and makeup of the literate official, the scribe with clean hands and white garments, who—in the satirical texts mentioned above—looks down with considerable disdain and derision on the working classes of which the tomb owner is himself a member.

The opposite of these bodily imperfections is not beauty, however, but perfection. Beauty and perfection are of course closely related, but not synonymous. There is a difference, which might not be irrelevant in the context of this discussion. Perfection is the *degré zero* in the representation of the human figure. It is merely the absence of any distinguishing abnormalities like baldness, paunchiness, etc. Even beauty may appear as a deviation from the norm. This is quite frequently the case with, for example, the representations of female musicians and dancers in New Kingdom tombs. The bodily features of these girls deviate from the overslim female norm. In self-thematization, this alluring rendering of breasts, waist, hips, and thighs would be impossible. But it is exactly this characterization of beauty that becomes the norm in Amarna art.³⁴

In representational art, bodily perfection may be just the absence of any distinguishing peculiarities, impressed upon the body by hard labor and/or extended absence from home. But in life, it is much more than just a *degré zero*: it is a state which is difficult to achieve and which signifies something. The maintenance of a perfect outward appearance must have been a very exacting task which only the members of the upper classes could fulfill, disposing of their time so as to meet the requirements which the extensive devices of Egyptian cosmetics imposed on a person, whether male or female. It is common in dealing with ancient Egyptian portraiture to complain of the uniformity of appearance and the absence of individuality, to the extent of denying these statues the character of portraiture altogether. It is highly probable, however, that this uniformity was a fact of life, and not only of art. Cosmetics as practised in ancient Egypt was an art in itself, applied to the body and giving it the uniformity of perfection. Epilation, hair dressing, the wearing of wigs, eye makeup, dress and other demanding operations collaborated in

³⁴ Cf. also J.R. Harris, "The Cult of Feminine Beauty in Ancient Egypt," *Apollo* 77 (July, 1962), pp. 355–59.

transforming the individual appearance of a person into something super-individual and uniform to a degree where people closely resembled each other, and even the sexes may have been hard to distinguish. Cosmetics, to use Kent Weeks' term, is a device of "personification." Many of the tendencies and characteristics typical of Egyptian art—and especially of portraiture—pertain to the sphere of what Erving Goffman called "the presentation of self in everyday life." In this sphere, personification, and not individuation, is the norm.

Beauty is something more than perfection. It transcends the standard, however high, of physical spotlessness which the cosmetic devices of personification can attain. It is an enhancement of perfection in the direction of a specific ideal. It is also again a matter of emphasis: idealization emphasizes certain features, placing them in the foreground, whereas perfection is a state of perfect balance. While the general concept of perfection, apart from some changes of fashion, remains constant throughout the phases of Egyptian art and history, beauty as a form of sculptural self-thematization appears only during a short period.

With these distinctions in mind, we are now in a position better to evaluate the achievement of late Old Kingdom portraiture. It has now become evident that the uniform character of private statuary from the latter parts of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties has nothing to do with an ideal of beauty that became generally *de rigueur* during those centuries. We have also seen that, besides the conformist and uniformist tendencies of industrialization and "hieroglyphization" prevailing in art, there is a third tendency of equally uniformist influence, prevailing not in art, but in life, namely, cosmetics. This tendency cannot be dismissed in dealing with portraiture. The face we show to our neighbors even in everyday life is already a form of self-thematization, of personification, a "social mask."³⁵ Beautiful princess Nofret may have painted her face every morning exactly as the painter did in painting her Meidum statue.

7. EXPRESSIVE REALISM: MIDDLE KINGDOM PORTRAITURE

With the end of the Old Kingdom, tomb sculpture disappears. When it reappears some two hundred years later in the Middle Kingdom, it looks at first—at least in the north—very much as it did in the late Sixth Dynasty. This may be illustrated by comparing the Sixth Dynasty statue in Boston of Tjeteti³⁶ with the Twelfth Dynasty statue in New York of Sesostriankh (figs. 19–20).³⁷ Towards the end of the Old Kingdom,

³⁵ Cf. E.H. Gombrich, "The Mask and the Face," in E.H. Gombrich, J. Hochberg, and M. Black, *Art, Perception, Reality* (Baltimore, 1972), pp. 1–46.

³⁶ *PM* III.2, p. 566.

portraits acquire a certain expressiveness, concentrated in the over-sized eyes. This concentration of emphasis destroys the tradition of Old Kingdom sculpture. Due to the extreme traditionalism typical of the Lower Egyptian schools, the same traits reappear in the early Middle Kingdom. But a very different style developed in the south, one which soon prevailed all over Egypt: The statues which Sarenput II, nomarch of Elephantine, had set up in the sanctuary of Heqaib, a deified predecessor in the function of nomarch, are only a generation later than the statue of Sesostrisankh. One shows his father Khema (fig. 21), the other himself (fig. 22).³⁸ In the strict sense of our definition, only Sarenput's own statues can be considered as "self-thematization." The statue of his father is ordered by someone else (the son) and made from memory. This may account for the very remarkable difference between the two.³⁹ The statue of Khema is very close to a "hieroglyphic" representation in its very general and summarized features. The statue of Sarenput II is the complete opposite in its richness of detail, its realism, and its expression of power, wealth and dignity. Both are much closer to royal traditions of portraiture in the Old Kingdom than to private statuary. This is partly due to iconography,—they wear the royal kilt—partly to the material, dark and polished hard stone, and partly to style, the expression of dignity and power. In a sense, these characteristics apply to all Middle Kingdom portraiture. The sharp line of demarcation which in the Old Kingdom separates royal from private portraiture seems blurred in the Middle Kingdom. The use of polished hard stone such as diorite, granite, schist, and quartzite becomes the rule with private statuary. The most striking innovation is the creation of new types of private statuary, which in a most felicitous way combine the organic and the geometric elements of Egyptian sculpture: the coat statue and the block statue.⁴⁰

These very fundamental stylistic changes are closely correlated to correspondent changes in function and architectural setting. With the end of the Old Kingdom, the serdab disappears. Private portraiture now emerges from the hermetically concealed sphere of the "body" and enters the sphere of the "sign," the monument. It no longer serves as a device for preservation, but rather for presentation of self. Instead of

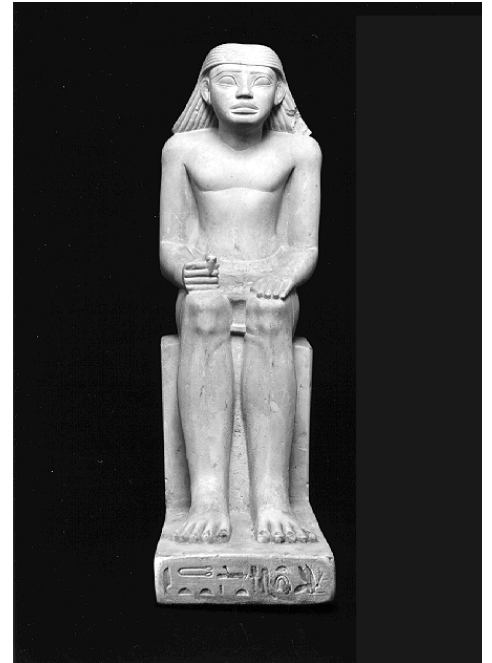


Fig. 19. Statue of Tjeteti, MFA 24.605; courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 20. Detail of statue of Sesostrisankh, MMA 33.1.2; courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art.

³⁷ W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I* (New York, 1953), p. 207, fig. 124.

³⁸ F. Junge, "Die Provinzialkunst des Mittleren Reiches in Elephantine," in L. Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, Elephantine IV, AV 33 (Mainz, 1985), pp. 117–39.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ In my article "Die Gestalt der Zeit in der ägyptischen Kunst," in J. Assmann, and G. Burkard, eds., *5000 Jahre Ägypten. Genese und Permanenz pharaonischer Kunst* (Nussloch bei Heidelberg, 1983), pp. 3–32, I dealt with the distinction between the iconic and the aniconic components of Egyptian images.

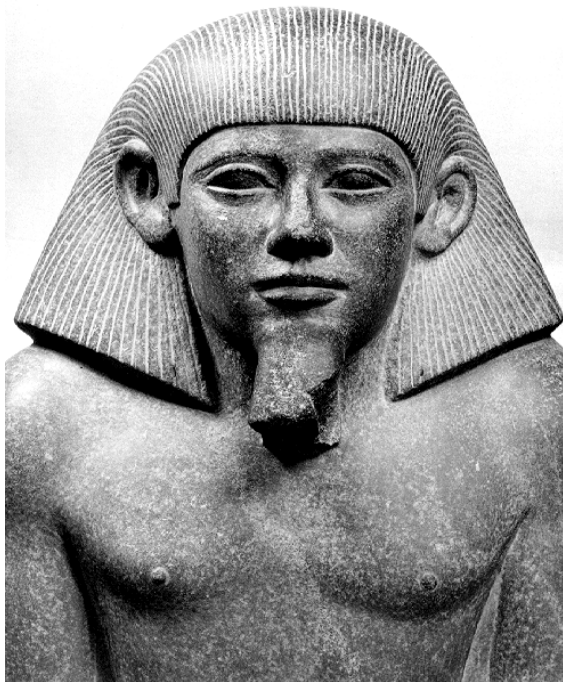


Fig. 21. Detail of statue of Khema from Aswan, no. 15; from L. Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (Mainz, 1985), pl. 42.

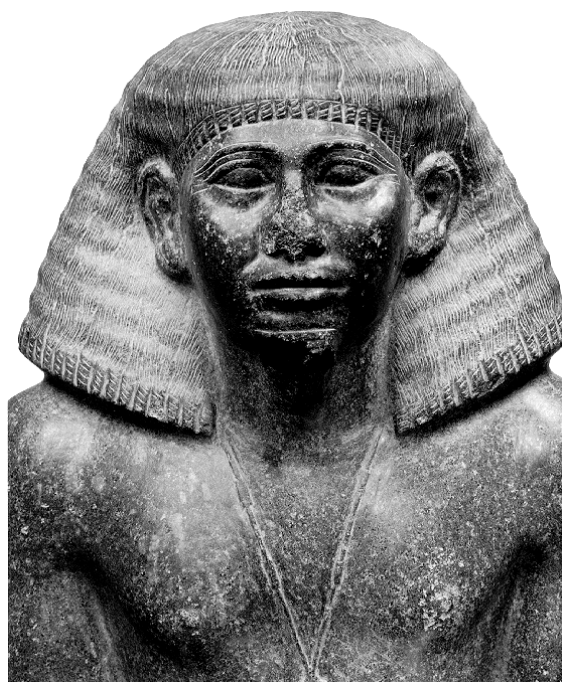


Fig. 22. Detail of statue of Sarenput II from Aswan, no. 13; from L. Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (Mainz, 1985), pl. 33.

providing a hidden serdab for the statue, the tomb now leads through a sequence of axially arranged rooms to a chapel where the statue occupies a place and fulfills a function comparable to cult images in temples. From the Middle Kingdom onwards, the temple also becomes a setting for private statuary.⁴¹ The invention of the cube statue seems closely to correspond to this new function. These are new contents of self-thematization which are reflected in stylistic developments.

Yet the most decisive factor accounting for these changes in the forms and contexts of sculptural self-thematization is, in my opinion, that during this period the very concept of “self” underwent its most fundamental transformation in the creation—or the discovery—of “inner man,” of the interior sphere of personality. This makes its appearance in the texts of the period in quite a new vocabulary with concepts like “character,” “virtue,” “nature,” “knowledge,” “insight,” “silence,” “self-control,” etc., and above all, the “heart” as the seat of virtue and character.⁴² Since the inscriptional genre of self-thematization, the

⁴¹ H. Kayser, *Die Tempelstatuen ägyptischer Privatleute im Mittleren und Neuen Reich* (Heidelberg, 1936); cf. W.K. Simpson, *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 266–271, esp. p. 267 for further references.

biography, changes in the Middle Kingdom almost beyond recognition, it would have been most paradoxical if the sculptural genre of self-thematization, the portraiture, had remained the same. Obviously, it did not. On the contrary, it is precisely this new notion of an "inner personality" which in my opinion best explains the evolution to be observed in Middle Kingdom portraiture. This may best be illustrated by some royal portraits of the period.

The statue in Cairo of Sesostris II is contemporary with the statue of Sarenput II (fig. 22), nomarch of Elephantine, and shows precisely the same serene energy and richness of detailed and "realistic" characterization. But this characterization does not necessarily point in the direction of what we have called "inner personality." There is nothing peculiarly psychological in this kind of realism. One generation later, however, with his son Sesostris III, an evolution begins towards psychological expressiveness, one which has always and rightly been regarded as the absolute apex of Egyptian portraiture.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the portraits of Sesostris III (and about one hundred of them are attested) is the rendering of the eyes, which appear to be actually looking (figs. 23–24). In Egyptian sculpture generally, the eyes almost never show a specific expression. It would be quite inadequate to read into them something like an "empty gaze" or "stare towards eternity," for example. They are simply not looking or gazing or staring at all, but indeterminate. They are not indicative of any eye contact with an object or a person, let alone an implied spectator. An analogous and simpler case is provided by posture. As a general rule, Egyptian statuary never renders specific postures as they might be assumed in normal life. The way sculpted figures stand or sit or squat cannot be characterized as "relaxed" or "strained" or "erect," for example. This kind of specification is quite simply not intended in the framework of Egyptian art and must not be read into it. Instead of concrete specification, we get abstraction. Postures abstract from specific attitudes, eyes abstract from specific looks (e.g., glance, gaze).⁴³ Precisely this rule was broken in the portraiture of Sesostris III. Here, a specific look was quite unmistakably intended, a look as it normally occurs in life when there is eye contact. These eyes do establish contact. "Jamais," writes J. Vandier, "semble-t-il, un sculpteur égyptien n'a rendu les yeux et le regard d'un homme avec autant de vérité et de naturel."⁴⁴ The

⁴² Cf. Assmann, "Individuum und Person. Zur Geschichte des Herzens im Alten Ägypten," in G. Boehm and E. Rudolph, eds., *Individuum: Probleme der Individualität in Kunst, Philosophie und Wissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1994), pp. 185–220.

⁴³ Cf. Assmann, *Hierotaxis*.

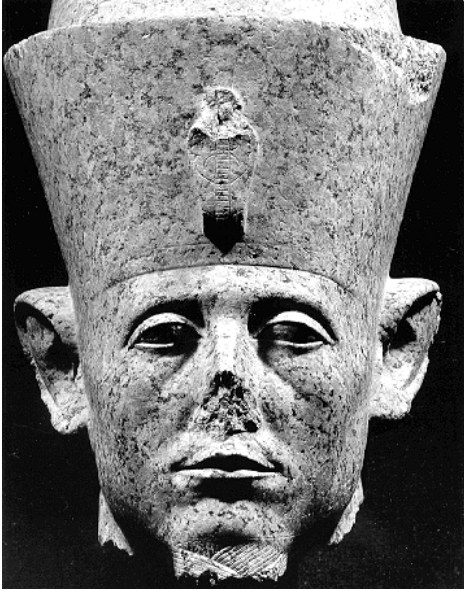


Fig. 23. Head of Sesostri III; Luxor J 34.



Fig. 24. Face of Sesostri III, MMA 26.7.1394; courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art.

decisive features to achieve this fidelity to nature are the rendering of the eyelids, the modelling of the cheekbones and, perhaps most of all, the absence of any of the cosmetic treatment that was usually administered to the eyes and eyebrows. Again we are reminded of the fact that the suppression of individuality applies to life itself and not only to art. Similar remarks could be made concerning the mouth. Here, too, hieroglyphic abstraction of any specific expression is abandoned in favour of a very naturalistic rendering of that play of muscles which gives a mouth expression and attitude.

Expression changes with genre. The head shown in fig. 23, found in Karnak and on exhibit in the Luxor Museum, belongs to a colossal statue. In keeping with these far larger-than-life dimensions, the face expresses strength, power, energy, resolve, and enterprise. Even more than with genre and dimension, expression changes and intensifies with time. Not only eyes and mouth, but in fact the whole physiognomy grows more and more expressive. These faces obviously carry a certain message, although one has to be very careful in deciphering it in order not to read too much into it. There are certain notions, though, that reappear in almost every description. This is how Janine Bourriau, in her catalogue of the Cambridge exhibition on the Middle Kingdom, describes and “reads” the facial form: “These faces show a deepening expression of sorrow and disdain. We can study the physiognomy of these kings, assured that we are looking at individual men, not an idealized image of kingship. We can see the family resemblance and observe the burden of being pharaoh etching its way into their faces.”⁴⁵ This almost unanimous response⁴⁶ to the portraiture of Sesostri III must be interpreted as a part of its *Wirkungsgeschichte* in the sense of H.G. Gadamer:⁴⁷ it tells us something about the semantic potentialities of a

⁴⁴ J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III (Paris, 1958), p. 184.

⁴⁵ J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 37.

⁴⁶ The only exception seems to be D. Wildung, *Sesostri und Amenemhet. Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (Munich, 1984), p. 203, who prefers to relate the portraits of Sesostri III not to wisdom literature, but to the cycle of hymns redacted in the name of that king and preserved on a papyrus from Kahun. He rejects accordingly all associations of “alleged tragedy and melancholy” and reads in these faces only “power politics, resoluteness and untroubled self-assurance.” But this polarity is artificial. No one sees Hamlet in Sesostri III. The expression of sorrow and care is not meant as a symptom of melancholy, but as a sign of political responsibility, cf. i.a., Simpson, *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 270, who links the “aging, concerned and caring features” of the portraits with the literary image of the “Good Shepherd.”

⁴⁷ H.G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*; the term appears in the English translation (*Truth and Method*) as “effective history,” which seems somewhat awkward in comparison to the perfectly lucid German term.

text (here an iconic text) which discloses its meaning only in the historical process of reading.

This evolution reaches its apex with the Metropolitan Museum fragment (fig. 24). Here, the power and strength, resolve and energy characteristic of the earlier portraits has turned into bitterness, disillusionment, sorrow and solitude. Again, we seem to be looking at the face of timeless man and experience the same feeling of affinity as we did with the face of prince Ankh-haf at the outset of this investigation. The difference, however, is crucial. It is the specific expressiveness of the one, and the unexpressive "neutrality," the zero expression of the other, that makes all the difference. Both display realism. The early realism we had called a "magic realism," born from concern for the preservation of the bodily surface-structure. The later realism might be termed "expressive realism" born from concern for the visualization of inward personality or depth structure. Expressiveness, with regard to the facial features of Sesostri III as they are displayed in the Louvre fragment, can only refer to inward qualities and attitudes, to an inner personality.

It is customary to compare these heads to a well-known piece of literature, in fact one of the great classics in ancient Egypt. the "Instructions of King Amenemhet I," where bitterness, disillusionment and solitude are communicated verbally:

Trust not a brother, know not a friend,
make no intimates, it is worthless.
When you lie down, guard your heart yourself,
for no man has adherents on the day of woe.
I gave to the beggar, I raised the orphan,
I gave success to the poor as to the wealthy;
but he who ate my food raised opposition;
he to whom I gave my trust used it to plot.⁴⁸

As is generally assumed, King Amenemhet I fell victim to a harem conspiracy, but the extreme case of a murdered king cannot account for a general attitude which finds its expression not only on hundreds of royal portraits, but also, as will be shown below, on the faces of their contemporaries as well. The specific wisdom of Amenemhet, stressing distrust, is just one element in a general wave of pessimism and skepticism characteristic of the literature of this age.

At the bottom of this pessimism, which appears to be the very hallmark of the Middle Kingdom, is the conviction that man is innately unreliable. This unreliability consists in what the Vedic tradition calls

⁴⁸ Translation: M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 136; cf. E. Blumenthal, "Die Lehre des Königs Amenemhet" (first part), *ZÄS* 111 (1984), pp. 85–107; (second part), *ZÄS* 112 (1985), pp. 104–15. This passage: *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 94.

“the law of the fishes,” under which the smaller ones are invariably eaten by the bigger ones. “When three men travel on the road,” we read in an Egyptian text, “only two are found. For the greater number kills the lesser.”⁴⁹ Thomas Hobbes took this to be the natural state (*status naturalis*) of man: man as man’s wolf (*homo homini lupus*) living in an incessant and indiscriminate war (*bellum omnia contra omnes*). As is well known, Hobbes exposes his pessimistic anthropology as a plea for strong and authoritarian government, laying the theoretical foundations for absolutism.⁵⁰ There might be a general correlation of absolutism and pessimistic anthropology which also applies to the Middle Kingdom. The concept of kingship at this time, the image of the Good Shepherd, is based on the conviction that the wolfish nature of man requires a strong and resolute government in order to protect the weak and to establish and maintain justice.

Expressive realism subsides into the reign of Amenemhet III, in whose portraits the rendering of the mouth is especially remarkable. Even more importantly, it extends to private sculpture, too. The statue shown in fig. 26 is from the sanctuary of Heqaib in Elephantine and was made in the reign of Sesostri III. The resemblance to the royal portrait (fig. 25) is so striking that Friedrich Junge went as far as to speak of a “borrowed personality.”⁵¹ This, however, seems rather paradoxical. We have become acquainted with the Egyptian ways of suppressing individuality, both in life and in art, applied to outward appearance. It is inner personality, however, that is usually identified with “individuality.” Yet this is somewhat hasty; there are no compelling reasons why inner personality should not be as socially shaped and determined as outward appearance. On the contrary: virtues, values and axioms which shape an inner personality are usually group-specific; they are shared by all members of a class or community. An expressive realism, which strives at visually revealing and communicating inward personality, tends to uniformity in the same measure as this inner personality is socially shaped. Features expressive of inner qualities or attitudes like frowning, half-closed eyelids, sunken eyes, lowered lips, etc., soon become fixed formulas or clichés—“pathos formulas” in the sense of Aby Warburg⁵²—in the language of sculptural self-thematization which remained in use into

⁴⁹ *Admonitions*. I cannot quite understand how Miriam Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, OBO 120 (Fribourg, 1992), p. 46f., can be certain that “the thoroughly negative view that “die Großen fressen die Kleinen” did not exist in ancient Egypt.”

⁵⁰ Cf. e.g., L. Strauss, *The Political Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes: Its Basis and its Genesis* (Chicago, 1952).

⁵¹ Junge, “Die Provinzialkunst des Mittleren Reiches,” p. 122.



Fig. 25. Head of Sesostri III, Berlin; after K. Lange, *Sesostri* (Munich, 1954), fig. 23.



Fig. 26. Detail of statue of Heqaib from Aswan, no. 17; from L. Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (Mainz, 1985), pl. 53.

the following Dynasty. We are dealing here with the first phase of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of royal portraiture.

What is perhaps more astonishing is that this sculptural language fell into complete disuse with the emergence of the New Kingdom. Given the notorious traditionalism of the Egyptian civilization, it is quite incredible that this tradition of artistic self-thematization should have been so completely lost and forgotten as it indeed must have been. For in the Eighteenth Dynasty, even the scribe statues of wise men look young and beautiful, just as in the late Middle Kingdom every one looked wise and sorrowful. In one of his well known Cairo statues, Amenophis, son of Hapu, wanted himself to be represented as a "sage;" he, therefore, had to have recourse to a model of the late Twelfth Dynasty, feeling more ready to identify himself with this quotation from another epoch than with the language of contemporary art.⁵³ The reuse

⁵² Cf. L. Giuliani, *Bildnis und Botschaft: Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Bildnis-kunst der römischen Republik*, who uses this term in his "hermeneutic reading" of Roman portraiture, which comes very close to what is here understood by "expressive realism."

of Middle Kingdom sculpture soon became the great fashion of the Ramesside kings. Nevertheless, its style could not be imitated,⁵⁴ any more than in literature, where the Middle Kingdom classics were copied but not imitated. Both the verbal language and the language of art of the Middle Kingdom became dead languages.

There was, however, a revival. In the Late Period, one thousand years after the end of the Middle Kingdom, its artistic language became revitalized. The formulas expressive of inner life, the modelling of eyes and mouth in particular, again became a living language, coinciding with a flourishing of biographical literature.⁵⁵ The Late Period may therefore be regarded as the heyday of Egyptian verbal and sculptural self-thematization.

8. INDIVIDUATION AND IMMORTALITY

We started with the observation that Egyptian art is in the highest degree "self thematizing." This concern that the "self" be preserved and/or presented in inscriptional and sculptural forms determines not

⁵³ Sylvia Schoske "Historisches Bewußtsein in der ägyptischen Kunst," *MJbK* 38 (1987), pp. 7–26, goes so far as to assume that Amenophis in fact usurped a statue of the late Middle Kingdom. This observation does not meet with universal approval, though, and the possibility that the statue is in fact a work of the Eighteenth Dynasty has to be seriously considered, cf. Edna R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture. Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, 1989), pp. 106–107 (cat. 51). In any event, whether by usurpation or by imitation, the statue testifies recourse to the late Middle Kingdom. Decisive is the fact that it is always this period that reappears in later art and literature when the ideal to be expressed is "wisdom."

⁵⁴ Cf. Assmann, "Die Entdeckung der Vergangenheit. Innovation und Restauration in der ägyptischen Literaturgeschichte," in H.U. Gumbrecht, and U. Link-Heer, eds., *Epochen-schwellen und Epochenbewußtsein im Diskurs der Literatur- und Sprachhistorie* (Frankfurt, 1985), pp. 484–99.

⁵⁵ Cf. E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1954). Most remarkably, the image of the Good Shepherd, in connection with elements of "negative anthropology," returns in the Late Period, too. In an unpublished wisdom text in the Brooklyn Museum, the political philosophy of the Middle Kingdom reappears in the same way, as its style revives the plastic arts. This is what G. Posener and J. Sainte Fare Garnot meant in "Sur une sagesse égyptienne de basse époque (Papyrus Brooklyn No. 47.218.135)," in *Les sagesse du Proche Orient ancien*, Bibl. des centres d'études supérieures spécialisées, colloque de Strasbourg 1962 (Paris, 1963), pp. 153–57, esp. p. 154, concerning the relevant passages on 'page C:': "Toutefois le thème favori de l'auteur est l'apologie du chef. Celui-ci est nécessaire; il faut vivre dans son entourage, afin de n'être pas 'un chien qui n'a pas de maître' (page A). Au reste 'des millions de soldats sont battus, qui n'ont pas un vaillant capitaine(?);' 'une armée est médiocre qui n'a pas avec elle son maître' (page C). Le rôle du chef est de conduire et de dominer; il lui arrive de punir, mais c'est chose naturelle: 'est-ce que les taureaux ruent, qui ont un berger qui les mate?' (page C). Mais il doit exercer aussi sa fonction avec douceur et sollicitude et l'on retrouve, dans la même page C, le thème classique du 'bon berger.' Le chef est le 'pasteur' de 'ceux que Rê a créés.' Il retribue chacun selon ses mérites et, par voie de réciprocité, le supérieur 'donne en retour de ce qu'on a fait pour lui.' C'est pourquoi la sagesse est d'adorer le maître, de lui être fidèle et même de 'donner chaque jour en plus' de ce qu'on lui doit, en sorte qu'il étende vers le donateur bienveillant 'sa main qui porte la vie.'"

only the functional contexts of Egyptian art, but also its artistic languages and values. The concepts of "realism" and "individualism" are not anachronistic with regard to ancient Egypt, but are rather at the very center of artistic function and intention. Underlying these tendencies is the firm belief in a post-mortem existence, not as an anonymous shadow, but in complete preservation of personal identity as it has developed during the lifetime of an individual. This belief, which so strikingly contradicts the views held by neighboring civilizations (Mesopotamia, Israel, Greece) about such matters,⁵⁶ makes all the difference and may be regarded as the basic Egyptian conviction. Yet this conviction is based upon two different ideas of equal longevity and binding force, which to our understanding seem rather contradictory. One envisions endurance upon earth in social memory, and the other an eternal life in another world after having passed the examination of posthumous judgment and the transfiguration into a "luminous spirit" (*akh*).⁵⁷ Both ideas stress the individual. It is because of his individual achievement that a person may aspire to an enduring place in social memory, and it is his individual life for which he is held accountable in the examination of the "Psychostasia." Neither before the one nor the other instance can he rely on collectivistic distinctions like noble descent, group membership, etc. Only personal achievements count.

Consequently, Egyptian anthropology is determined by a variety of concepts and ideas that belong to its views concerning death and an afterlife, such as *ka*, *ba*, *akh*, etc. We cannot go into these details here, but in conclusion and by way of illustrating the enormous importance of individuating principles in thought about man, his nature and his destiny, I shall briefly enumerate some concepts which are related to birth and death:

1) To shape the individual form and character on a potter's wheel is the function of the god Khnumu. According to Egyptian belief, every man has his own Khnumu as a symbol of his genetic individuality.⁵⁸

2) The aspect of an individual's fate, the sum of favorable and calamitous events which determine his personal career, is represented by the goddess Meskhenet, the personification of the birth stool or brick, who appears as "his (individual) Meskhenet" at the birth of a person and prophecies his career.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ S.G.F. Brandon, *The Judgment of the Dead: An Historical and Comparative Study of the Idea of a Post-Mortem Judgment in the Major Religions* (London, 1967), and J.Gw. Griffiths, *The Divine Verdict* (Leiden, 1991), offer a useful survey of these different beliefs concerning death and afterlife.

⁵⁷ See the studies by Brandon and Griffiths cited in the note above.

⁵⁸ Cf. J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 2 (Leuven, 1975), p. 88ff.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92ff.

3) To foster individual development in its physical, material and spiritual aspects is the function of the goddess Renenet ("breeding" and "harvest").⁶⁰

4) The individually apportioned life span and form of death are personified by the god Shai (destiny).⁶¹

The deities Khnumu and Meskhenet appear on the stage before and during the birth of an individual; the deities Meskhenet (again), Renenet and Shai appear on the occasion of the posthumous judgment. Their charge in this context is to represent the individual factors of life—its particular chances and handicaps—vis à vis the super-individual norm of the goddess Maat (truth-justice-order). The central role in the judicial examination is played by the heart, which is weighed on the balance against an image of Maat. The heart mediates the spheres of individuation and socialization.

Especially important in the context of portraiture is the role of the "face" (Egyptian *hr*) in Egyptian anthropology. The *ba*, the form in which the transfigured dead survives outside the body in another world, is represented as a bird with a human head. The body represents the celestial nature of this being, the head its personal identity as a human being with names and titles and, above all, with a past on earth during which its specific personality evolved. In a hymn to the creator god we even read:

thou hast built all that exists with the labor of thy hands,
it is thou who createst their shapes,
every singular face of them being distinguished from its fellow.⁶²

Of the two focal points which determine and organize Egyptian mortuary beliefs, endurance in social memory and posthumous judgment, it is the concept of social memory to which portraiture is more closely related. Portraiture is visualized memory. Portraiture, as well as its inscriptional counterpart, biography, is meant to keep alive the remembrance of the individual appearance, achievement and character of the deceased and to bestow permanence to the singular and unmistakably individual final shape that s/he has developed during her/his time upon earth.



⁶⁰ J. Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (Leiden, 1971).

⁶¹ Cf. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai*.

⁶² J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, THEBEN I (Mainz, 1983), pp. 203–209, especially p. 206 (p); cf. also H. Brunner, "Textliches zur Frage des Porträts in Ägypten," *SAK* 11 (1984), pp. 277–79.

On the Composition and Inscriptions of the Vatican Statue of Udjahorresne



JOHN BAINES

THE NAOPHOUS STATUE OF UDJAHORRESNE IN THE VATICAN HAS been studied repeatedly for its important inscriptions, which form the only preserved native Egyptian account relating to the Persian conquest in 525 BCE and its aftermath.¹ Both internally and in historical terms, the texts pose problems of order of reading that have been analyzed in particular by Ursula Rößler-Köhler.² In this brief study I return to similar questions in honor of William Kelly Simpson, who has contributed so much to the study of Egyptian literature and history, and of the monuments whose owners integrated those two categories to proclaim their role in events.

The inscriptions are divided quite rigidly down the vertical axis of the statue, except for the back pillar, which has a single text in three

¹ Vatican collections, 196; perhaps from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. *PM VII*, 416 (giving no. as 158). See Ursula Rößler-Köhler, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum der Spätzeit*, GOF IV:21 (Wiesbaden, 1991), pp. 270–72, no. 78a, with references; good general photographs, with the eighteenth century head: Orazio Marucchi, *Il Museo Egizio Vaticano descritto ed illustrato/Catalogo del Museo Egizio Vaticano con la traduzione dei principali testi geroglifici* (Rome, 1899/1902), pp. 79–102 with pls. I–II, no. 113; see also Giuseppe Botti and Pietro Romanelli, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, Monumenti Vaticani d'Archeologia e d'Arte 9 (Vatican City, 1952), pp. 32–40, pls. 27–32, no. 40, with bibliography and photographs of the original and of casts; treatment of the 1930s restoration of the head, as against the “rococo” head it previously had, and of the texts, with many photographs and bibliography: Alberto Tulli, “Il Naoforo vaticano,” in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, Monumenti Vaticani ... 6 (Vatican City, 1941), pp. 211–80; valuable translation, indicating the distribution of the texts: Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings III: The Late Period* (Berkeley, 1980), pp. 36–41. A second statue of Udjahorresne, apparently made in the fourth century, was found at Mit Rahina: Rudolf Anthes *et al.*, *Mit Rahineh 1956* (Philadelphia, 1965), pp. 98–100, pl. 35f–g; Edda Bresciani, “Ugiahorresnet a Menfi,” *EVO* 8 (1985), pp. 1–6. His pit tomb was discovered at Abusir in 1988–89: Miroslav Verner, “La tombe d'Oudjahorresnet et le cimetière Saïto-Perse d'Abusir,” *BIFAO* 89 (1989), pp. 283–90. See also Vilmos Wessetzky, “Fragen zum Verhalten der mit den Persern zusammenarbeitenden Ägyptern,” *GM* 124 (1991), pp. 83–89. Section letters and column numbers of inscriptions used here are those of Georges Posener, *La première domination perse: recueil d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, BE 11 (Cairo, 1936), pp. 3–26. I owe a great debt to Anthony Leahy for advice over this article and to Richard Parkinson for reading and commenting on a draft.

² “Zur Textkomposition der naophoren Statue des Udjahorresnet/Vatikan Inv.-Nr. 196,” *GM* 85 (1985), pp. 43–54. Rößler-Köhler's lettered subdivisions are not those of Farina and Posener, also used here.



Fig. 1. Front and left side of the naophorous statue of Udjahorresne, taken in the late nineteenth century with the older restored head. The lettering (added after Farina, *Bilychnis* 18:1 [1929], pp. 449–57, and Posener, *La première domination perse* [Cairo, 1936], pp. 3–26) indicates the distribution of the inscriptions. Rephotographed from Marucchi, *Il Museo Egizio Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* (Rome, 1899/1902), pp. 79–102.

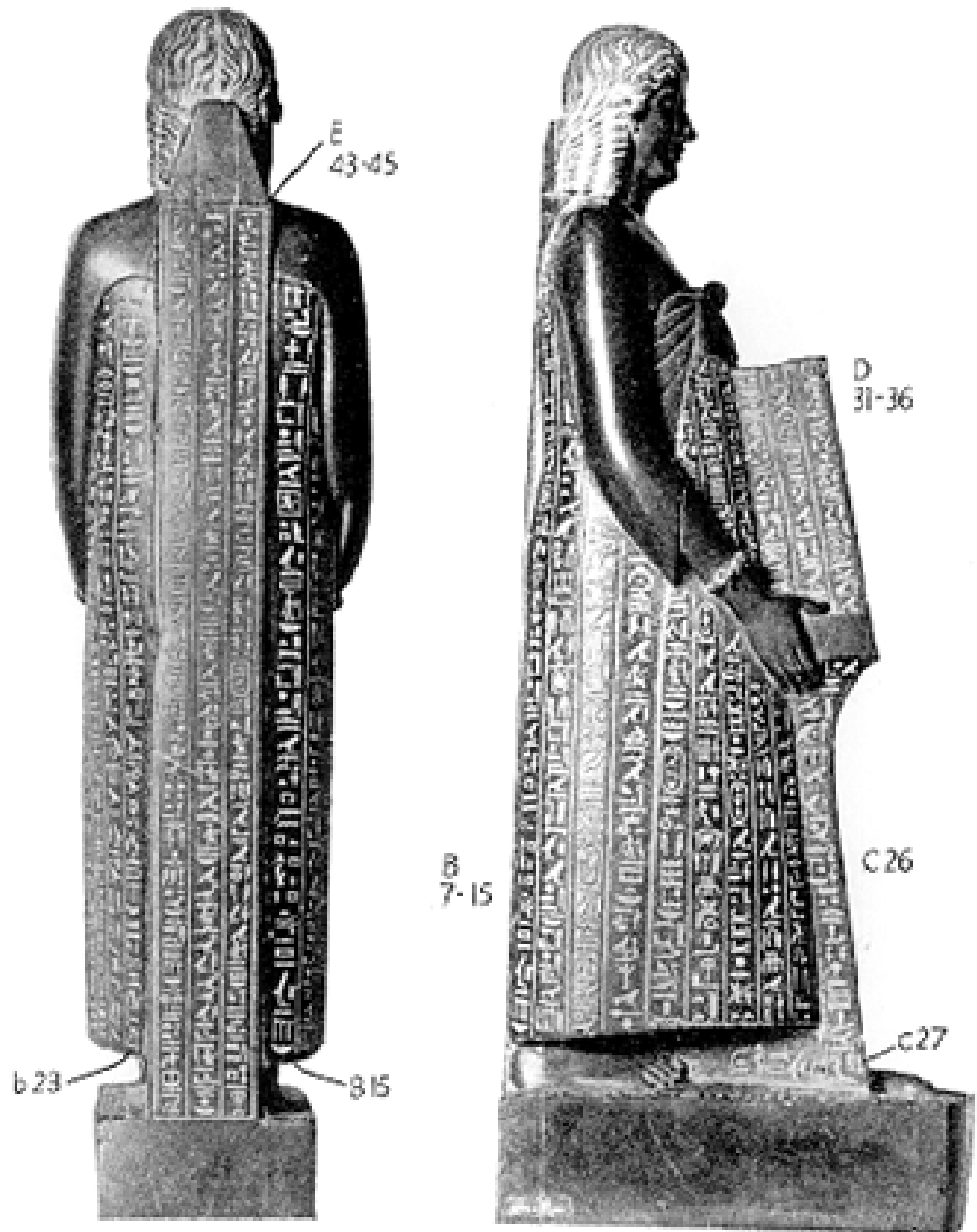


Fig. 2. Back and right side of the naophorous statue of Udjahorresne. Rephotographed from Marucchi, *Il Museo Egizio Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* [Rome, 1899/1902], pp. 79–102.

vertical columns. Georges Posener (see n. 1) followed Giulio Farina³ in his presentation, lettering the sections on the statue's right in upper case and on its left in lower case (see figs. 1–2).⁴ They began with the material framing the naos (A, 1–2) and on top of it (A, 3–6), continuing with the major panels beneath the arms (B, 7–15; b, 16–23). They then treated the columns on the naos support at the front (C, 24–27; c, 28–30) and the panels on its sides and on the body above the arms (D, 31–36; d, 37–42), concluding with the back pillar (E, 43–45) and the plinth (F, f, 46–48). It may not be possible to devise any single ordering and this could be inappropriate, since a work of art such as the statue may not impose any one sequence of viewing and reading, even if texts are necessarily more sequential than pictorial materials. It is, however, worth investigating whether the distribution of the texts has a thematic or iconographic significance, in addition to the sequence in which the inscriptions may best be read. While the distribution of the inscriptions on the statue will hardly have been deliberately ambiguous, its prime purpose was probably not to create a single consistent narrative.

The longest narratives of Udjahorresne are contained in the two visually balancing inscriptions under the arms of the statue (B, 7–15; b, 16–23). These are of uneven textual size (38 and 26 metrical verses respectively), together giving a seemingly consecutive treatment of the protagonist's relations with Cambyses, as well as looking back to Amasis and Psammetichus III. The back pillar (E, 43–45), which has a narrative of the reign of Darius I, may perhaps be read continuous with these. Nineteenth century scholars⁵ presented the side panels first, whereas Farina, Posener, and later writers⁶ have started with the upper part of the naos surround. While this latter ordering is better in terms of

³ "La politica religiosa di Cambise in Egitto," *Bilychnis* 33¹, year 18, fasc. 1 (1929), pp. 449–57.

⁴ This lettering also covers the naos, which is best described from the statue's point of view (contrary to the practice of Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, pp. 36–41). Rößler-Köhler, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum der Spätzeit*, p. 50 n. 11, states incorrectly that Posener reversed the main inscription panels (compare published photographs). This impression was probably given by the changes in orientation in descriptions of the naos and the statue: her usage of "right" and "left" in her figs. 1–2 is the opposite of conventional statue description.

⁵ E.g., Heinrich Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* IV (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 636–42, 691–97; Karl Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 1st series (Stockholm and Leipzig, 1886), pls. 32–35, pp. 39–42; Marucchi (see note 3 above), pp. 81–100.

⁶ E.g., Alan B. Lloyd, "The Inscription of Udjahorresnet, a Collaborator's Testament," *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 166–80; Torben Holm-Rasmussen, "Collaboration in Early Achaemenid Egypt. A New Approach," in *Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics Presented to Rudi Thomsen* (Aarhus, 1988), pp. 29–38; both use Posener's order without comment. See further Günter Burkard, "Literarische Tradition und historische Realität: Die persische Eroberung Ägyptens am Beispiel Elephantine," *ZÄS* 121 (1994), pp. 93–106.

the statue's composition, it is a little illogical because it presents the remaining areas around the naos toward the end and treats the narrative sections written on the naos sides, which are above the arms, after the parts written beneath the arms. Apart from the awkwardness of this selective movement around the statue, the resulting overall shape of the composition may not be satisfactory, because the formulaic phrases and general religious actions which are the presupposition of the whole are placed near the end. In comparison, unitary royal inscriptions and non-royal biographies tend to begin with extensive formulaic materials and only then move to the narrative. It is therefore worth testing a placing of the formal material, which is at the front of the statue and closest to the naos and its statuette of Osiris, near the beginning.

Rößler-Köhler orders the material according to two principal criteria. She distinguishes between Cambyses's orders, which are said to be executed by others after advice by Udjahorresne, and those of Darius, which are executed by Udjahorresne himself without such advice. On this basis she assigns the episodes of § D, d to the reign of Darius I. Rößler-Köhler then groups the texts thematically according to the deities mentioned, demonstrating that Neith is principally named on the right (her "left," see n. 4) and Osiris on the left. Her assignment of D to Darius I additionally produces a visual distribution of the material, illustrated in her fig. 3, in which the parts set highest on the statue are related to his reign.

I should like to propose another approach to the ordering. The passages covering the walls of the naos and continuing on the figure's torso above the arms (D, 31–36; d, 37–42) remain the center of discussion. Temporally they cannot be assigned with certainty, because they refer to the king as "His Person" and not by name. Rößler-Köhler's assignment criterion of the way actions are described is fragile, because the Darius I sections are much shorter than those relating to Cambyses and the distinction could be based simply in the part Udjahorresne played in the two reigns and in a desire to give him a visible role.

A parallel translation of the two crucial passages follows:

RIGHT (D, 31–36)

The revered one before the gods of the Saite Nome,
Chief Physician, Udjahorresne

says: I established divine offerings for Neith the great, the
mother of the god,
on the order of His Person for the extent of time (*m swt dt*).

I made monuments for Neith mistress of Sais
consisting of every good thing, as an efficacious servant
does for his lord.

I am a man who is good in his city.
I saved its people in the great turmoil

when it happened in the entire land
—the like had never happened in this land.

I protected the wretched from the mighty;
I saved the fearful when his time (of fear) had come.

I did everything beneficial for them
at that time of acting for them.

LEFT (d, 37–42)

The one revered before his city god,
the Chief Physician, Udjahorresne

says: I was one revered of his father,
favored of his mother,
who was in the hearts of his siblings.

I established them <in?> the office of priest.
I gave them good fields
on the command of His Person, for the extent of time.

I made a good burial for the one who had no burial;
I supported all their children and reestablished their houses.

I did everything beneficial for them,
as a father does for his son,

when^a the turmoil occurred in this district,
among the very great turmoil
which happened in the entire land.

a. This *s(t)* could be read as beginning a new sentence, but that would leave the last three verses of the section without any clear relation with what comes before.

The most striking feature of these passages is their mixing of traditional elements of ideal biography with references to what seems to be a specific “turmoil (*nšni*⁷)” through which the land had passed. The mixing of ideal biography and other elements has much older literary parallels, for example in the Story of Sinuhe,⁸ but is unusual in biographies, which tend to separate formulaic sections from ones with individual content and to start with the formulaic. Since the texts must in any case have been carefully composed for their place of inscription on the statue, this mixing of genres could be related in part to the passages’ placing in the highest, and in some respects most prominent, position on the statue. Udjahorresne would then cite his general concern with the state of people in his district as well as referring discreetly to the more embracing catastrophe which had happened in Egypt. From around two centuries later, the long biographical inscription of Petosiris in his tomb at Tuna al-Gabal has a similar formulation, referring to events during the time when the “ruler of foreign lands” was the “protector (*ndti*)” in

⁷ On the interpretation of this word, see Lloyd (n. 5), pp. 176–77.

⁸ Here, the presentation of Udjahorresne’s journey back from Elam on the back pillar (E, 44) offers another striking parallel: “The foreigners carried me / from foreign land to foreign land,” recalling Sinuhe’s “foreign land gave me to foreign land” (B 28–29, 182—the king’s letter to Sinuhe). This coincidence need not mean that the author of Udjahorresne’s inscriptions was familiar with Sinuhe, although that is conceivable. It is more likely that he drew upon established classical usage.

Egypt, and “the south was in turmoil (*nšni*) / and the north in uproar (? —*swḥi*).”⁹

Udjahorresne’s references to the episode of turmoil have been variously interpreted, but mostly identified with a rebellion or rebellions early in the reign of Darius I.¹⁰ On such a reading, and if the text is taken to report events relatively soberly, such a rebellion would have had a severe effect throughout Egypt, something for which there does not seem to be strong evidence.¹¹ It would also follow that Udjahorresne made no extended or explicit reference to the Persian conquest itself, only to its aftermath.

I suggest placing these passages near the beginning of the statue’s sequence of texts. In comparison with Farina and Posener, this position gives an order A D C B E (F lies outside such a schema), but does not require that the whole be read in a consecutive sequence. The essential difficulty, already referred to, that the king of D is not mentioned by name, is presumably why scholars have placed this section near the end. But unless local knowledge bridged the gap, the ambiguity of reference of “His Person” would have been just as great in antiquity as it is now; it might refer to any of three kings named elsewhere—Psammetichus III, Cambyses, and Darius I (Amasis can be excluded because he died before the Persian conquest) and so cannot be used to decide the position of the situations described there. One reason for not naming the king might possibly be the small amount of space for writing available above the statue’s arms, but since the whole composition could no doubt have been rearranged, such an approach is unsatisfactory. It is more cogent to see the reference as being unspecific because the matters referred to were delicate.¹² If the king referred to was Psammetichus III, to recall him here was inappropriate under Darius I, when the inscription was presumably composed.¹³ In the analogous case of Petosiris, the

⁹ Also cited by Lloyd (see note 6 above): Gustave Lefèbvre, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris II Les textes* (Cairo, 1923), no. 81, ll. 28–30, p. 54; see, e.g., Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, p. 46.

¹⁰ So Rößler-Köhler, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum der Spätzeit*. See Anthony Spalinger, “Udjahorresne,” *LÄ* VI (1986), cols. 821–23, with references. Dependent on how it is interpreted, this inscription appears to be the only definite evidence from Egypt for the revolt.

¹¹ See the comments of Jean Yoyotte, “Pétoubastis III,” *RdE* 24 (1972), pp. 222–23.

¹² Compare Anthony Leahy, “The Date of Louvre A.93,” *GM* 70 (1984), pp. 50–51 (disputed by Rößler-Köhler, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum der Spätzeit*, pp. 244–45).

¹³ Darius I is said to have looked back to Amasis for a precedent, at least in his recording of the laws of Egypt; see e.g. Edda Bresciani, “The Persian Occupation of Egypt,” in Ilya Gershevitch, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran II The Median and Achaemenid Periods* (Cambridge etc., 1985), pp. 505–508.

vagueness of the reference to a foreign ruler has meant that it has remained uncertain how his tomb should be dated. It is economical to heed this parallel and to interpret the passage as a description of the Persian invasion, deliberately kept vague in part because that was the period during which Udjahorresne switched his allegiance.¹⁴ Nonetheless, it cannot be finally established in historical terms, or in terms of the statue's texts, whether the episode referred to here was the Persian conquest or a revolt early in the reign of Darius; the reference could also be generic rather than specific.

In thematic terms, an early placing of these passages sites the evocation of the most fundamental theme of disorder and the response to it in the most prominent position while tying it to the core statements of a traditional biography. The inscriptions above and below the naos tend to confirm the significance of this central area. The naos front (A, a) has offering formulas, while its vertical support (C, c) has a record of Cambyses's visit to the temple of Neith in Sais and the consequent ritual actions and endowments. The naos roof (A, 3–6¹⁵) has a short prayer to Osiris. Finally, the plinth texts (F, f, 46–48), which presuppose the rest of the composition, summarize Udjahorresne's achievements under "every lord of his"¹⁶ and appeal to the living, asking that they should preserve his reputation both with the gods and on earth, on account of all the good he did.

This reading implies a double composition. The "core" consists of the material at the front and near the naos, including both the statuette of the god and the identification of Udjahorresne and the main statue itself. Both treatment and subject matter are more schematic in the core than in the other sections, which may then be seen as extended and relatively "secular" elaborations of the given themes. Apart from the parallels such a distinction offers with the organization of long biographies, it is also comparable to the distinction between the decoration in stela lunettes, which include pictorial material, and extended texts beneath. A lunette is brief, tightly constructed, and visually ordered, while a running text is discursive and of variable length. Like modern scholars, such Egyptians as had access to the stature might have been drawn most to the longer narratives.

¹⁴ This is also the interpretation of Lloyd (see note 6 above), pp. 176–78, who follows Posener's ordering but does not comment on the resultant oddity of the reference to the conquest near the end of the inscriptions.

¹⁵ Excellent photograph: Tulli (see note 1 above), p. 236 fig. 19.

¹⁶ *nb=f nb*, a rare phrase, but compare *nswt nb* in cols. 29 and 30.

The distribution of the core texts is also analogous with the cosmological implications of temple and stela decoration. The artfully worded prayer on the naos top (A, 3–6) is the most intimate and sacred material on the statue, drawing Udjahorresne visually and thematically close to his god. The wording makes this clear:

O Osiris, lord of everlasting, / the Chief Physician Udjahorresne has placed / his hands around you in protection. // May your *ka* command that everything good be done for him, / inasmuch as he has made protection around you for ever.

As in temple reliefs, a direct address is placed in the most remote location.¹⁷ This treatment contrasts with the thematically similar plinth inscriptions, which are addressed to visitors and not to the god. The rather conventional offering formula around the naos front is complemented on the sides by the description of turmoil, which occupies the same conceptual space as royal “historical” action in this world, establishing the “order” which is incorporated in the dedication of the statuette of Osiris. In comparison, the inscriptions on the naos support (C, 24–27; c, 28–30), which describe the visit of Cambyses to Sais and his dedication and endowment of offerings there, give a material and ritual basis for the continued interaction between humanity and the gods embodied in the texts above. This low placing of dedication texts has general parallels in the organization of stelae and a specific temple analogy in the great dedication text at Edfu.¹⁸ The texts on the naos support end with praise of Neith and a strong statement of Udjahorresne’s role, couched in very classical language, which would be visually prominent for a viewer first looking at the statue. This material duplicates to some extent what is said in the first main biographical section (B, 12–15). Such repetition may be best understood not as the narration of different episodes in similar language but as summarizing and fuller accounts of essentially similar material.

The inscriptions and composition of Udjahorresne’s statue show a coherence and artistic balance that can be pursued both in literary terms¹⁹ and through the distribution of the material on the object itself. Just as the texts at the front of the statue carry the greatest symbolic weight even though they have relatively little precise “historical” content, their verbal parallels with literary texts are most striking—

¹⁷ Compare Erich Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (DÖAW 98, 1968), pp. 53–55.

¹⁸ Dimitri Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d’Edfou*, BE 59 (Cairo, 1972).

¹⁹ Thus, Rößler-Köhler (*GM* 85, p. 48) shows that all the main sections of the text end with *dt* “for ever.” This feature is compositionally significant, but it does not help to choose between orderings because it is compatible with several of them.

although all the texts have strong literary qualities. These artistic characteristics, which underpin the religious and biographical significance of the object, should be given due weight in a reading. On this basis, the composition can be interpreted as referring to the Persian conquest in a way that has not hitherto been proposed, while a revolt under Darius may not be mentioned. For the actors, however, the chief interest of the front of the statue is likely to have been its presentation of general and cosmological concerns rather than particular historical events. Despite the large amount of historical information in the texts, the statue should be read first as a dedicatory piece in the temple of Neith in Sais, which is the major single subject of the narratives, and only thereafter in more general historical terms. As in other biographical sources, the statue's focus is on the individual, and it is organized for biographical information much less than such texts as the comparably significant inscription of Ahmose son of Ebana.²⁰ A very rare quality of the composition as a nonroyal monument is its semi-iconographic organization to imply that its owner embodied the essentially royal role of setting order in place of disorder.



²⁰ E.g., Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 12–15. On personalities of the Persian period, their biographies, and their historical role, see now Didier Devauchelle, “Le sentiment anti-Perse chez les anciens Egyptiens,” *Trans-euphratène* 9 (1995), pp. 67–80, esp. pp. 78–79.

The Stele of Shemai, Chief of Police, of the Early Twelfth Dynasty, in The Cleveland Museum of Art



LAWRENCE M. BERMAN

IN CHOOSING A SUBJECT WHEREWITH TO HONOR MY FORMER TEACHER, Kelly Simpson, I have been guided by his interest in all things Middle Kingdom and also his devotion to publishing little-known monuments in American collections.

In 1901–02 and 1904, Lady William Cecil, eldest daughter of William Amhurst Tyssen-Amherst, 1st Baron Amherst of Hackney, excavated thirty-two rock-cut tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa, opposite Aswan. Family friend Howard Carter, then Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, was periodically on hand to supervise the excavations. Lady Cecil's share of the finds entered the Amherst collection at Didlington Hall, Norfolk. When the major part of this important collection was auctioned at Sotheby's, London, in 1921, Carter acted as agent for the Cleveland Museum of Art. Among the dozen objects he acquired for the Museum was the upper part of a stele inscribed for a chief of police named Shemai, from Lady Cecil's second season at Qubbet el-Hawa (figs. 1–2).

The stele is in the form of a false door framed on three sides by a torus molding with transverse and diagonal lashings in raised relief and crowned by a curved cavetto cornice with parallel palm fronds. The panel is sunk within a door frame. Below was probably a lintel and one or more pairs of jambs enclosing a central niche.

The main scene, carved in raised relief, shows Shemai on the right, seated on a low-backed chair, facing left toward a pile of offerings. He

¹ Lady William Cecil, "Report on the Work Done at Aswan," *ASAE* 4 (1903), pp. 51–73, with pl. IV; idem, "Report of Work Done at Aswan during the First Months of 1904," *ASAE* 6 (1905), pp. 273–83; PM 5, pp. 240–42.

² See T.G.H. James, *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamen* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 81–82.

³ For Carter's association with the Cleveland Museum of Art, see idem, "Howard Carter and The Cleveland Museum of Art," in Evan H. Turner, ed., *Object Lessons: Cleveland Creates an Art Museum* (Cleveland, 1991), pp. 66–77.



Fig. 1. Stele of Shemai. Painted limestone, 83.4 x 87.4 cm. Aswan, Qubbet el-Hawa, northeast slope of hill, excavations of Lady William Cecil, 1904, tomb no. 28, early Dynasty 12, probably reign of Sesostri I. Gift of Edward S. Harkness. CMA 21.1017.

wears a short, curled wig that covers the ears, a pleated kilt, and a sash across his chest. His broad (*wesekh*) collar is composed of three rows of tubular beads and an outer row of drop-shaped beads. He wears bead bracelets on both wrists, and a bead belt. His left hand rests on his thigh, holding a folded bolt of cloth or handkerchief, while his right reaches out toward the pile of offerings: joints of meat, loaves of various shape, a duck or goose, a basket of figs on a tray, onions or leeks, and other vegetables. In the center is a raised relief inscription arranged in three columns: "The one honored before Osiris, lord of Busiris, (2) the great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give invocation-offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, (3) linen and travertine (vessels) to the *ka* of the overseer of police, Shemai, vindicated." Some of the much faded color remains.

The door frame is inscribed in sunk relief with two offering formulae beginning in the center of the lintel and continuing down the jambs on either side. On the right is "An offering which the king gives to Anubis, who is on his mountain, who is in the place of embalming, lord of the cemetery, that he may give a thousand of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, linen and travertine, [offerings and provisions(?)]..." On the left is "An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos [that he may give...]" Some of the hieroglyphs have raised

⁴ CMA 21.1017 *Stele of Shemai*, painted limestone, H. 79 cm, W. 87.4 cm, D. at cornice 24 cm, D. below cornice 13 cm. Aswan, Qubbet el-Hawa, northeast slope of hill, excavations of Lady William Cecil, 1904, tomb no. 28, early Dynasty 12, probably reign of Sesostri I. Gift of Edward S. Harkness.

Ex collection: William Amhurst Tyssen-Amherst, 1st Baron Amherst of Hackney, Didlington Hall, Norfolk; sale: London, June 13–17, 1921, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, The Amherst Collection of Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities, lot 191, cat. p. 19 and pl. IV (as mid-Dynasty 18).

Publications: Cecil, *ASAE* 6, pp. 276–77; *Handbook of The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, 1925), p. 55, repro. (as Dynasty 18), 2nd ed. (1928), p. 70, repro. (as Dynasty 18); *PM* 5, p. 241.

⁵ E.g., J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, vol. II: *Les grandes époques. L'architecture funéraire* (Paris, 1954), p. 407, fig. 278, 1, 3.

⁶ The name is incorrectly spelled in Cecil, *ASAE* 6, p. 277, with the feather (H 2) as the final sign; it is the reed leaf. For the title, *imy-r šnt* (or *šnt*), William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Religious and Administrative Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), no. 390; add Labib Habachi, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, AV 33 (Mainz, 1985), no. 85, line 17, a stele from the Heqaib sanctuary; Guillemette Andreu, "Deux stèles de commissaires de police (*imy-r šnt*) de la Première Période Intermédiaire," *Mélanges Jacques Jean Clère* (= *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 13) (1991), pp. 11–23; Ronald J. Leprohon, "Administrative Titles in Nubia in the Middle Kingdom," *JAOS* 113 (1993), p. 432, no. [143], with references. I thank Professor Leprohon for an offprint of his very useful article.

⁷ *Htpw*, probably followed by *dfw* "provisions."

⁸ The top part of *dī* is just visible.



Fig. 2. Head and shoulders. Detail of stele of Shemai, CMA 21.1017.

interior modeling with incised detail—note particularly the quail chick and owl (figs. 3–4).

Traces of red, black, blue, and green pigment on the surface are discernable to the naked eye. Shemai's skin is painted red, as is every third square of his belt; his wig is black. The offerings of meat, bill and feet of the goose, and basket of figs are red. The hieroglyphs are blue for the *swt*-plant, the bread (*t*), the mountain (*d̄w*), the reed leaf, the *t*-sign, the throne in *Wsr* "Osiris," and the city-sign; red for the conical loaf (*d̄i*), *imy*, the hand (*d*), the vertical stroke in *D̄dw* "Busiris," and the foot (*b*) in *ꜣb̄d̄w* "Abydos;" black and blue for Anubis on his shrine; red and black for the profile head (*tpy*), red and blue for *d̄sr*, *ꜣb* in *ꜣb̄d̄w*, and *D̄d* in *D̄dw*; green for the basket (*nb*).

It is curious that the deceased faces left. The main figure in two- and three-dimensional representations nearly always faces right except when architectural or other considerations dictate the reverse—for example, on tomb walls, where the overriding consideration is for the deceased to face the entrance. The leftward orientation of this figure might have been occasioned by its placement in relation to the burial or even by external factors, such as the proximity of a shrine. Unfortunately, the circumstances of the find do not enable us to say what that was. Most of the Cecil Tombs, including no. 28, are now inaccessible, and we must rely on Lady Cecil's description of it in the excavation report (fortunately accompanied by a plan, which does not, however, show the position of the objects as found):

It is simply a passage measuring about fifty feet long and four feet wide, and from four to six feet high. At the end of the passage are two very small tomb chambers. About thirty-six feet from the entrance and occupying nearly the whole width of the passage is a shaft about twenty feet deep, at the bottom of which is a third small tomb-chamber. In the passage were found pottery of various qualities and shapes, and the remains of arrows with many beads nearly all in blue glaze.

The stele of Shemai was discovered at the bottom of the shaft. Also found there were portions of another stele (present location not known)—also of limestone, but inscribed in paint only, with remains of

⁹ I thank Patricia S. Griffin, Mellon Fellow in Objects Conservation, for her assistance in locating and identifying the pigments.

¹⁰ See Henry George Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II: The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part 1: Reversals* (New York, 1977), pp. 3–46, esp. pp. 21–26, and fig. 42 on p. 40.

¹¹ Fischer (*ibid.*, p. 25, n. 64), cites as an example tomb 34 at Aswan, in which the New Kingdom offering scene at the back faces left, "perhaps because the cult chamber which leads to the burial is at the right."

¹² Cecil, *ASAE* 6, p. 276.

the artist's guide lines in red—inscribed with a *hotep-di-nesu* formula for a woman named Muthetpet and also mentioning “[the overseer of] po[lice], Shemai.” Although the excavators claim to have “most carefully sifted the sand of every fragment,” they never found the missing portions of either stele.

The tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa date mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.¹³ The objects that entered the Amherst collection, however, mostly come from intrusive burials of the late New Kingdom to Roman periods. In the Amherst sale catalogue the stele of Shemai is dated to mid-Dynasty 18. The offering formula alone would suggest a date in the first half of Dynasty 12, according to the criteria established by Bennet. Cooney dated the stele to Dynasty 12, “probably, in view of its obvious dependance on Old Kingdom work, to very early Dynasty 12.” Freed is more precise and assigns it, to my mind correctly, to the reign of Sesostris I. The limestone pillar of Sesostris I from Karnak and recently discovered reliefs at Elephantine Island afford the closest parallels. Features in common, as pointed out by Freed, include the



Fig. 3. Quail chick. Detail of stele of Shemai, CMA 21.1017.

¹³ Ibid., p. 277; PM 5, p. 241.

¹⁴ Cecil, *ASAE* 6, p. 276.

¹⁵ Elmar Edel, “Qubbet el Hawa,” *LÄ* 5, col. 54 with bibliography.

¹⁶ Amherst sale, lots 1–2 (Third Intermediate period shawabtis), 14 (Third Intermediate period shawabtis), 29 (shawabtis), 40 (shawabtis), 59 (shawabtis), 65 (Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure), 340 (coffin panels), 341 (coffin), 342 (coffin), 465 (beadwork shroud and amulets), 576 (amulets), 590 (amulets), 718 (scarab of Ramesses II). Tomb 15 contained an original burial of the Old Kingdom (ravaged by termites); more Old Kingdom pottery was found in tombs 19 and 24, along with a cylinder inscribed with the prenomem of Amenemhat III (Cecil, *ASAE* 4, pp. 60–61, 66, 73). Two tombs contained oyster shells inscribed with the prenomem of Sesostris I (Cecil, *ASAE* 4, pp. 68, 72; the first is Cairo JE 36398, H. E. Winlock, “Pearl Shells of Seʿn-Wosret I,” *Studies Presented to F.L. Griffith* [London, 1932], pl. 62, no. 1; cf. p. 391). Tomb 20 contained the intact burial of Mesenu’s son Heqaib, whose painted limestone stele has been dated on stylistic grounds to the reign of Amenemhat I (Cairo JE 36420; *ibid.*, pl. V; Rita E. Freed, “A Private Stela from Naga ed-Der and Relief Style of the Reign of Amenemhat I,” in *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*, edited by William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis [Boston, 1981], p. 76 and fig. 7 on p. 71).

¹⁷ J.C. Bennett, “Growth of the *ḥtp-di-nsu* Formula in the Middle Kingdom,” *JEA* 27 (1941), pp. 77–82.

¹⁸ CMA curatorial files. The Dynasty 18 date, though clearly mistaken, is interesting nonetheless in view of the early Eighteenth Dynasty’s deliberate (and frequently even now deceptive) archaism back to Dynasty 12, discussed by James F. Romano, “A Relief of King Ahmose and Early Eighteenth Dynasty Archaism,” *BES* 5 (1983), pp. 103–15.

¹⁹ Rita E. Freed, “The Development of Middle Kingdom Relief: Sculptural Schools of Late Dynasty XI, with an Appendix on the Trends of Early Dynasty XII (2040–1878 B.C.),” Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1984, pp. 212–13.

²⁰ Jean-Pierre Corteggiani, *The Egypt of the Pharaohs at the Cairo Museum* (London, 1987), no. 33; Werner Kaiser et al., “Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: 15./16. Grabungsbericht,” *MDAIK* 44 (1988), pl. 52.



Fig. 4. Owl. Detail of stele of Shemai, CMA 21.1017.

perfectly almond-shaped eye with short diagonal line at the inner canthus, thus, the modeling of the jawbone in relief, and incipient double chin.²¹ Aswan was the scene of great activity under Sesostris I: the king rebuilt the main temple of Satis, lady of Elephantine,²² and his nomarch Sarenput I the shrine of the deified Heqaib.



²¹ Sesostris I's double chin is commented on by C. Vandersleyen, "Objectivité des portraits égyptiens," *BSFE* 73 (1975), p. 9.

²² See Labib Habachi, "Building Activities of Sesostris I in the Area to the South of Thebes," *MDAIK* 31 (1975), pp. 27–31; Wolfgang Schenkel, "Die Bauinschrift Sesostris' I. im Satet-Tempel von Elephantine," *MDAIK* 31 (1975), pp. 109–25, pls. 33–39; Wolfgang Helck, "Die Weihinschrift Sesostris' I. am Satet-Tempel von Elephantine," *MDAIK* 34 (1978), pp. 69–78; Habachi, *Heqaib*, nos. 9–10, pp. 36–39; Kaiser et al., *MDAIK* 44, pp. 152–57.

The Dolphin Vase from Lisht



JANINE BOURRIAU

THE MONUMENTS OF EL-LISHT, ABOVE ALL THE PYRAMID COMPLEX of Amenemhet I, have long been of particular interest to Professor Kelly Simpson, stemming from the period when he worked in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Department of Egyptian Art. I should like to offer him, with the collaboration of many past and present members of the Department, a study of the Dolphin Vase, one of the most beautiful and most well known objects from the cemetery around Amenemhet I's pyramid (fig. 1).¹

Since the vase was discovered in 1921 it has been much discussed in the literature,² because it brings together dolphins, which are common in Minoan art, and a vessel of Syro-Palestinian type found in a private tomb in Egypt. The vase was dated by Kantor to the Thirteenth Dynasty and used to correlate the ceramics-based chronologies of the Middle Minoan III period in Crete and the Middle Bronze IIA–B of the Levant with the Thirteenth Dynasty of Egypt.

The absolute date of the Twelfth Dynasty, upon which the date of the Thirteenth Dynasty depends, was once thought to be one of the most secure in Egyptian history. The recent debate,³ to a great extent initiated by Professor Simpson's entries in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* on Sesostris II and Sesostris III,⁴ has changed this certainty irrevocably.

¹ All of the following have contributed to the documentation and discussion which follows, although any errors remain my own: Susan Allen, James P. Allen, Dorothea Arnold, Felix Arnold, Peter Dorman, Barry Girsh, Anne Heywood, Christine Liliquist, William Schenck, Ray Slater, M.T. Wypyski. Inevitably and necessarily, the current project to publish the Lisht excavations is a team enterprise and I have benefited greatly from the range and depth of specialized knowledge now available in the Department.

² H.J. Kantor, in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 23–24, fig. 6; W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II* (Cambridge, MA, 1959), pp. 12–13; B.J. Kemp and R.S. Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz, 1980), pp. 220–25; R.S. Merrillees, "El-Lisht and Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware in the Archaeological Museum of the American University of Beirut," *Levant* 10 (1978), p. 83; P. Warren and V. Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology* (Bristol, 1989), pp. 135–37; Do. Arnold in Nancy Thomas, ed., *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt. Essays* (Los Angeles, 1996), p. 73, fig. 50.

³ R. Krauss, *Sothis-und Mond-daten* (Hildesheim, 1985); D. Franke, "Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches (12.–18. Dynastie)," *Orientalia* 57 (1988), pp. 113–38, 245–74 and bibliography there cited.

⁴ *LÄ* 5, cols. 899–906.

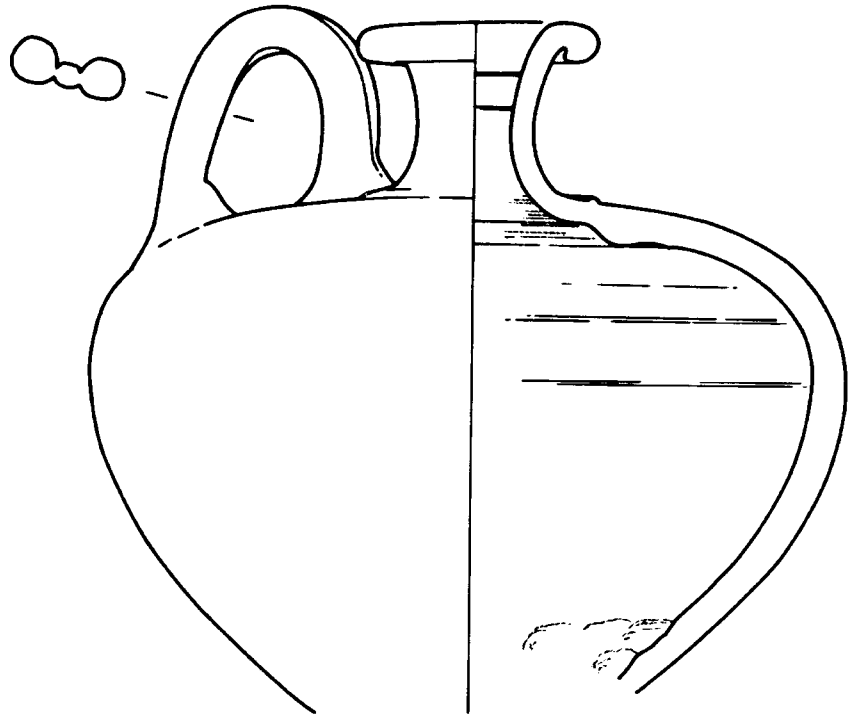
Fig. 1. The Dolphin vase; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 22.1.95. Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922.



Secondly, the shaft tomb, 879, in which the vase was found is not a closed context; it contained at least three burials and the records of its excavation do not tell us the precise location of the objects found or their relationship to one another. For these reasons the Dolphin Vase cannot be used to support uncritically synchronisms between Egypt, Palestine and Crete, as in the past. A full discussion of its nature and its context is long overdue, and only when these are available can the vase's relevance to a chronological debate be established. Merrillees⁵ was not able to provide this only because he did not have full access to the Museum's archive and because considerable research on the vase has taken place since he studied it.

⁵ In Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt*, pp. 220–25.

Fig. 2. Drawing of the Dolphin vase by Barry Girsh. Courtesy of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



DESCRIPTION OF THE DOLPHIN VASE⁶

At first glance (figs. 1, 8), the Dolphin Vase stands apart from the classes of Egyptian pottery found during the Middle Kingdom, which are now well known.⁷ The vase⁸ measures 14.0 cm (preserved) height and 15.1 cm at maximum diameter on the shoulder. The vase originally had a flat ring-foot, suggested by jugs of otherwise similar shape from Syria/Palestine⁹ and this is confirmed by the burnishing marks, which change from regular horizontal strokes to uneven oblique ones close to the base, (fig. 2).

The Dolphin Vase was made in three stages on a wheel. It was subjected to X-ray examination but visual inspection was more successful in reconstructing the stages of manufacture. First the clay was pinched

⁶ See also Patrick E. McGovern, Janine Bourriau, Garman Harbottle, and Susan Allen, "The Archaeological Origin and Significance of the Dolphin Vase determined by Neutron Activation Analysis," *BASOR* 296 (1994), pp. 31–41.

⁷ Do. Arnold, "Keramikbearbeitung in Dahschur 1976–1981," *MDAIK* 38 (1982), pp. 25–65; Do. Arnold, "The Pottery," in D. Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York, 1988), pp. 106–146.

⁸ The rounded base added in plaster and shown by Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, fig. 4, is incorrect and has now been removed.

⁹ R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1969), pl. 34, 7–8.



Fig. 3. The dolphins as arranged around the body of the vase; drawing by Barry Girsh. Courtesy of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

outwards, to form what would become the base; then the wheel was set spinning and the walls of the juglet pulled upward and thinned. After the juglet was allowed to dry somewhat, more clay was perhaps added and the shoulder and neck formed on the wheel. The vessel was then allowed to dry to the leather-hard stage, the excess clay was shaved down and a ring base was modelled. Finally the folded-under rim and fillet at the base of the neck were finished using a tool, and a three-coil loop handle was added.

A multiplicity of techniques were used in decorating the vessel: painting, burnishing, incising and filling. First the birds and then the dolphins were painted on with a mixture of finely levigated clay colored purplish-black (Munsell 2.5YR 2.5/2) using a manganese-iron pigment.¹⁰ It is likely that the surface of the vessel was burnished before

¹⁰ Analyzed by M.T. Wypyski of the Metropolitan Museum of Art using EDS Elemental Analysis.

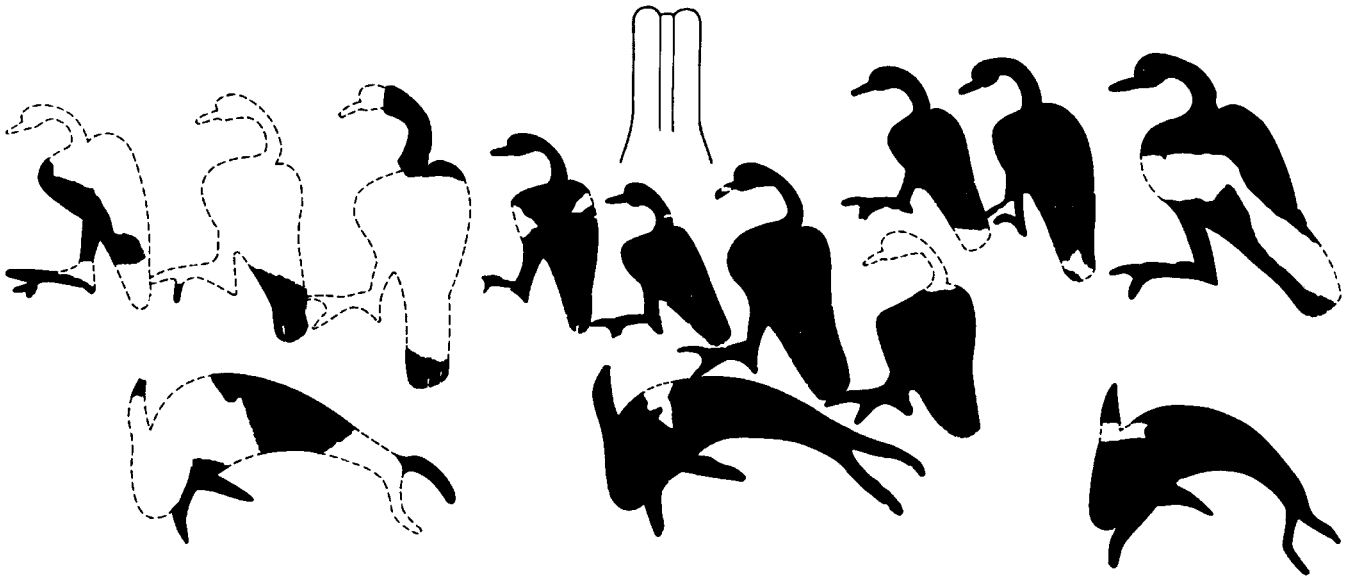


Fig. 4. The design of birds and dolphins, flattened out; drawing by Barry Girsh. Courtesy of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

painting and again afterwards. The outlines and essential details of the dolphins and birds were then incised into the painted shapes. Large areas of the animals' bodies were filled with punctate patterns made with both a comb and a single point. After firing the incised and punctate lines were filled in with a paste of white calcium carbonate.

There appears at first (figs. 3–4) to be no spatial relationship between the dolphins and the birds, but when the design is flattened out, it becomes clear that each dolphin is associated with three birds (male and female with young?), while the tenth bird, which is much smaller, fills the area below the handle. The birds have long necks and tails, erect plump bodies and well defined toes, one apparently projecting backwards: these features suggest a wading bird of the stork, crane or heron families, although a duck or goose remains most probable.

The fabric, as examined at 10x magnification, is a hard, dense, extremely fine material with many fine mineral inclusions, sand and a little fine straw. It was fired in an oxidizing atmosphere to a reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 6/6–8). There are no examples of a similar fabric in Egyptian pottery of the Middle Kingdom. Fabric, shape, technology and decoration all place the vase unequivocally within the ceramic traditions of Syria/Palestine rather than Egypt.¹¹

¹¹ This is confirmed by the NAA results reported in the *BASOR* article, see note 6.

COMPARANDA

There are three vessels, two found in Egypt and one in Palestine, which can be compared with the Dolphin Vase. The vase also needs to be considered in relationship to Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, which shares some, but not all of its techniques and motifs of decoration, and has a distribution which includes Syria/Palestine, Cyprus, Egypt, and Nubia in the MBII–III periods.¹²

The first vessel is an undecorated juglet of comparable shape to the Dolphin vase but less than half its size (fig. 5, top right). It comes from a shaft tomb at Lisht, 907, close to 879.¹³ Inspection of the surface suggests strongly that the fabric is not Egyptian, but without examination of a fresh break, petrographic or elemental analysis, a closer identification than to Syria/Palestine is not possible. Tomb 907 contained at least five burials, to judge by the number of chambers, and the surviving objects and pottery suggest a late Thirteenth Dynasty date. But there is no chance of reconstructing, however incompletely, original burial groups since the physical relationship of objects with each other, as found, is not recorded. Among the finds was a scarab of Mernefer-Re, twenty-seventh king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, following von Beckerath,¹⁴ and the last of that dynasty with monuments in both Upper and Lower Egypt.

The second vessel, also found in Egypt, is from Abydos, E5¹⁵ and is now in the Ashmolean Museum, E. 2502¹⁶ (fig. 6). It is not a precise parallel for the Dolphin vase, but it clearly belongs to the same ceramic tradition. It is a jug, 17.0 cm (preserved) height and 13.0 cm at maximum diameter, with a long neck, an “inner gutter lip,”¹⁷ a double handle and a broad carinated body. The base is not preserved. It is carefully wheel thrown (3.0 mm width of vessel wall) in two parts, a join at the base of the neck is visible, and the surface has been equally skillfully burnished. There are traces of red (Munsell 2.5 YR 4/6) pigment perhaps suggestive of the motifs illustrated by Amiran.¹⁸ The fabric is very fine, hard and

¹² M.F. Kaplan, *The Origin and Distribution of Tell el Yahudiyeh Ware* (Goteborg, 1980); M. Bietak, “Archäologischer Befund und Historische Interpretation am Beispiel der Tell el-Yahudiya-ware,” *BSAK* Band 2 (Hamburg, 1989), pp. 7–34.

¹³ The juglet, originally MMA 22.1.209, is now in the Museum of the Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago.

¹⁴ J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, *Ägyptologische Forschungen* (Glückstadt/New York, 1965), pp. 251–52.

¹⁵ J. Garstang, *El Arabah* (London, 1901), pl. 29.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Helen Whitehouse for giving me permission to study this vessel and publish it here. The drawing I owe to William Schenck.

¹⁷ Cf. MBIIA jugs in Amiran, *op. cit.*, p. 106, photo 106, pl. 33, 6–7.

Fig. 5. Excavation photograph of juglets and duck vase from shaft tomb 907. Scale approximately 1:3. Photography by the Egyptian Expeditions, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



dense with inclusions of fine sand, mica, red-brown and black rock particles. The section is a uniform reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 5/3) indicating steady, well-controlled firing, and the surface, light reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 6/3). Abydos E5 is not a closed context and the cemetery map¹⁹ seems to show it as two adjoining shafts. The surviving objects, pottery (Garstang, *El Arabah*, pl. XXIX); fertility figure (pl. XVII); wand (pl. XIV) and unpublished ivory hairpins and stone fragments,²⁰ all support a Thirteenth Dynasty date.

The third vessel is from Tell Beit Mirsim and is unpublished.²¹ What remains is the complete shoulder of a juglet, broken at the base of the neck and with the scar left by a single handle. It is wheel thrown, the surface self-slipped and burnished. On the shoulder is a band showing the heads and upper bodies (only one preserved) of birds(? ducks), the foremost of which is pecking at a lotus flower. The motif has been clumsily incised over burnished, purplish-black pigment. It seems likely that the technique is that of the Dolphin Vase in that the shapes were first

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, photograph 106.

¹⁹ Garstang, *op. cit.*, pl. II.

²⁰ Philadelphia University Museum, E. 6711–14, E. 9341–2.

²¹ The publication of this juglet and the Middle Bronze Age tomb, containing many burials, in which it was found, is in the course of preparation by Dr. Sarah Ben Arieh. I am extremely grateful to her for having the opportunity of examining the juglet during a visit to Jerusalem in May, 1994.

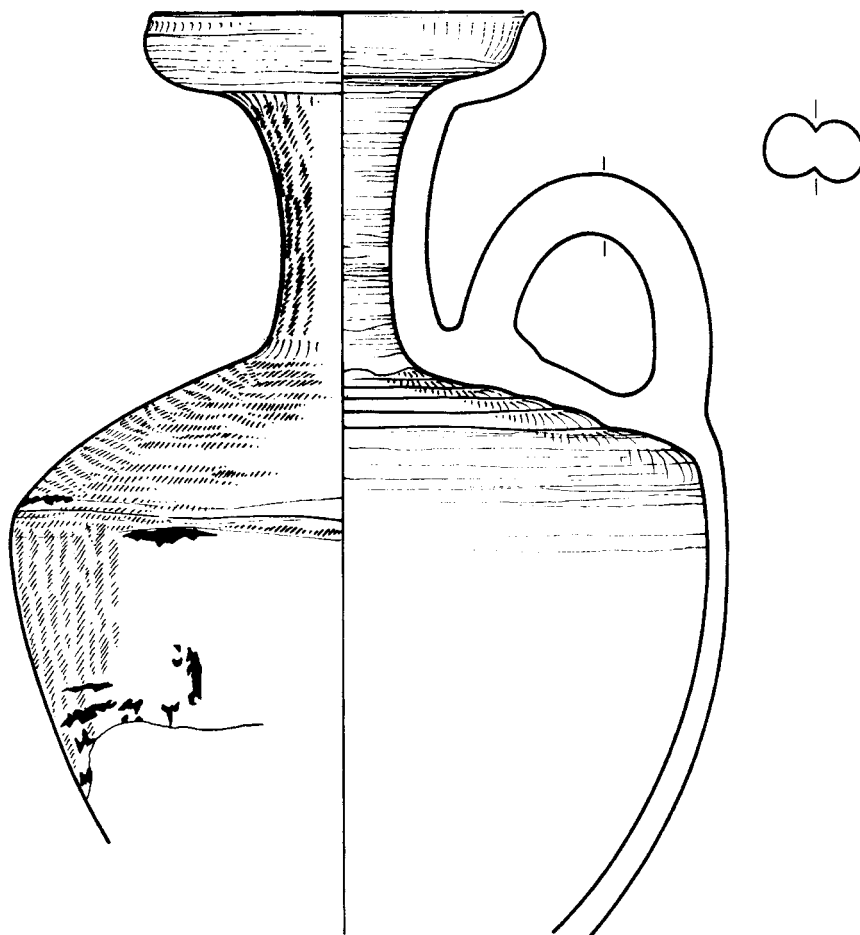


Fig. 6. The jug from Abydos, Ashmolean Museum E.2502; courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (drawing by William Schenck).

painted and then outlined and details incised but there is no trace of filling in the lines with white paste. The style of incision is crude but the shapes of the birds' heads and necks closely resemble those on the Dolphin vase. The fabric of the juglet is fine and hard, with plentiful medium (0.25–0.50 mm) sand particles. The surface is pitted where fine mineral inclusions have burnt away. A scatter of fine red-brown and white (limestone?) particles is visible. The fabric is coarser and more sandy but otherwise appears similar to that of the Dolphin Vase.

These comparisons, while not detracting from the unique character of the vase, serve to confirm, firstly, that it belongs to the ceramic traditions of Syria/Palestine rather than Egypt and secondly that comparable vessels, albeit small in number, were finding their way into Egyptian burials in Upper Egypt as well as into cemeteries close to the Residence. A striking increase in imported pottery from the Syria/Palestine area has been observed at Lisht itself during the Thirteenth Dynasty.²²

Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, which is very plentiful in the North Pyramid cemetery,²³ is characterized by jugs and juglets decorated in incised and white filled designs on a black burnished surface. The black colour is produced by firing in a reducing atmosphere, not by the application of pigment as in the Dolphin Vase and this is an important difference. Another is the fact that the fabric of most of the Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware at Lisht is made from a fine Nile alluvial clay, and it is, in my own view, likely that, like most of the examples circulating in Egypt, it was made there,²⁴ probably at Tell el-Dabʿa.²⁵ At Kom Rabiʿa, Memphis, for example, in levels of comparable date, only one out of forty sherds was non-Egyptian.

The structure of the design, which uses horizontal registers, and the motifs, geometric patterns rather than figures, also differentiate most Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware from the Dolphin Vase. However, two vessels from Egypt, from Tell el-Dabʿa²⁶ and Dahshur,²⁷ carry representations of dolphins, albeit much more crudely incised. It has been argued that the dolphins as depicted on the Lisht jug share mannerisms belonging to Minoan fresco depictions.²⁸ Minoan frescoes have now been found at Tell el-Dabʿa (without dolphins) but in contexts considerably later than that of the Dolphin Vase.

THE CONTEXT OF THE DOLPHIN VASE

The dating of the shaft tomb 879 and its contents poses several problems. The nature of the evidence available from cemeteries like that around the North Pyramid has been well described²⁹ and to this have to be added uncertainties arising from the interpretation of the excavator's records. We can rely on the fact that Mace, who recorded 879, omitted nothing from his list of objects from the tomb, but he provides no information on their deposition within chambers and shaft, so all we can do

²² D. Arnold, F. Arnold and S. Allen, "Canaanite imports at Lisht, the Middle Kingdom Capital of Egypt," *Ägypten und Levante* 5 (1995). I am grateful to the authors for showing me the article in manuscript.

²³ So much so that Merrillees has created a special stylistic sub-class which he calls "el-Lisht" ware, R.S. Merrillees, "A Middle Cypriote III Tomb Group from Arpera Mosphilos," in *Trade and Transcendence in the Bronze Age Levant* (Goteborg, 1974), pp. 59–75.

²⁴ This is also suggested by Kaplan's analytical results. Most samples fell into the Nile alluvium or Nile Mixture fabric class, see Kaplan, *Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware*, passim.

²⁵ Bietak, op. cit., n. 12.

²⁶ M. Bietak, *Tell el-Dabʿa V* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 28–29, fig. 4.

²⁷ Do. Arnold, "Zur Keramik aus dem Taltempelbereich der Pyramide Amenemhets III. in Dahschur," *MDAIK* 33 (1977), p. 21, pl. 4b.

²⁸ McGovern et al., above n. 6, p. 32.

²⁹ See n. 22, above.

is to look at each class of object in turn and assess its date range from comparable material.

The shaft tomb 879 lay on the south side of the Pyramid underneath the houses of the earliest settlement on the site, which respected the enclosure wall. The location of 879 was rediscovered by Felix Arnold in 1991³⁰ but the interpretation of the relationships between houses and shafts in this part of the site is not straightforward. The most significant finding for our purposes is the possibility that the original burials could have been contaminated by material, little later in date, from the houses.

OBJECTS FROM SHAFT TOMB 879

Shaft tomb 879 contained at least one extremely rich burial, of the *imy-r ḥntyw Dbḥ.n=i*, the overseer of faience workers, Debeheni (fig. 7).³¹ The evidence for this lies in fragments of two coffins, one rectangular and one anthropoid. None of the wood survives but remains of the eye panel of a rectangular coffin (inlaid eyes and Egyptian blue inlays of brows and markings) exist, together with scraps of gold foil from inscriptions (in a script using mutilated hieroglyphs) and decoration from a rectangular and an anthropoid coffin of Debeheni. The inscriptions will be published in full in James P. Allen's forthcoming volume on the funerary texts from Lisht.³² Allen (personal communication) dates the coffins on the basis of texts and orthography³³ to the reign of King Awibre Hor, whose burial, with coffins, was found by de Morgan at Dahshur.³⁴ King Hor is fourteenth king of Dynasty 13.³⁵ Sufficient decorated fragments of foil remain to suggest that a third anthropoid coffin or mask, without a name, may have existed.

There is no reason to associate the Dolphin Vase with Debeheni's burial other than its unique character and quality but perhaps this is enough given the wealth of that burial.

³⁰ Felix Arnold, personal communication.

³¹ Name: Ranke, *Personennamen*, p. 399,14. He is not attested in the Topographical Bibliography files in Oxford; in G.T. Martin's personal index of Middle Kingdom officials; nor in Detlef Franke's *Personendaten (Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich* [Wiesbaden, 1984]). At least one other example of the title is known in the Middle Kingdom, (Stephen Quirke, personal communication).

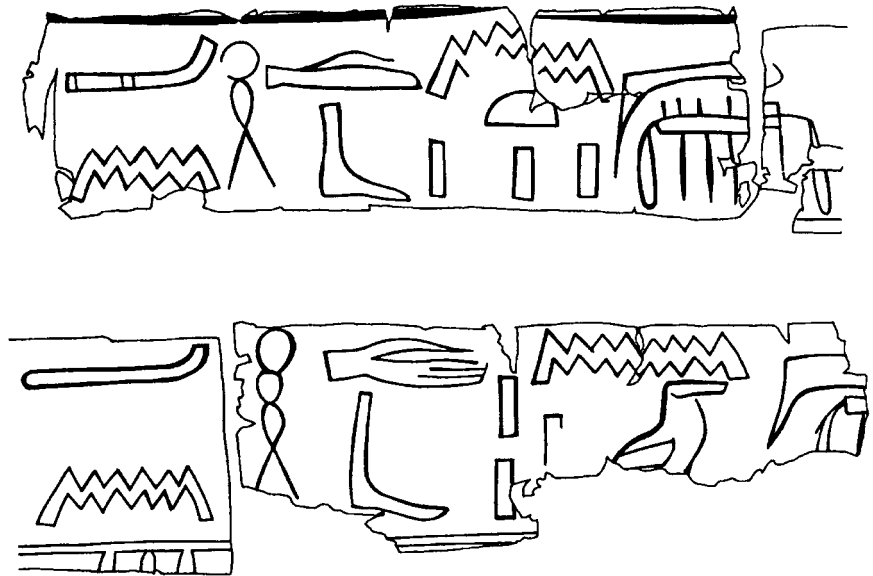
³² They are referred to by Peter Dorman in D. Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York, 1988), p. 147; see James P. Allen, *The Funerary Texts from Lisht* (New York, forthcoming).

³³ J. Bourriau, "Patterns of change in burial customs during the Middle Kingdom," in S. Quirke, ed., *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), p. 13.

³⁴ J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour I*, pp. 88–106.

³⁵ J. von Beckerath, op. cit., (n. 14), pp. 234–35.

Fig. 7. Facsimile of the name and title on the coffins in Lisht 879; courtesy James P. Allen.



The coffin provides us with a date around the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty (following the position of King Hor suggested by von Beckerath);³⁶ can any of the other objects in the shaft tomb be given a later date? Since we also have to consider whether there is evidence of any use of the tomb prior to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, are there any objects which must be dated earlier than that?

POTTERY

The complete pottery group is shown in the excavation photographs in figs. 8–9. The group may be subdivided into the following functional groups: miniature pottery; tableware; and storage vessels. Among the tableware, the group of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware juglets, the Dolphin Vase and the mysterious juglet (fig. 8), top, second from right, form a special class.

Miniature pottery: fig. 9, top row, sixth and seventh

The vessels are carelessly made of Nile B2 fabric.³⁷ They are typical of funerary assemblages at Lisht. Senebtisi's burial, which was found intact,³⁸ illustrates the complete set from a rich burial. Miniatures,

³⁶ In ceramic terms this is ceramic complex 6 rather than 7 at Dahshur.

³⁷ The Vienna System is used in all descriptions of Egyptian pottery fabrics, see H.-Å. Nordström and J. Bourriau, "Ceramic Technology: Clays and Fabrics" in D. Arnold and J. Bourriau, eds., *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* (Mainz, 1993).

³⁸ A.C. Mace and H.E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York, 1916), fig. 82, 2–14, 17–21.



Fig. 8. Excavation photograph of juglets and jug from shaft tomb 879. Photography by the Egyptian Expeditions, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 9. Excavation photograph of Egyptian pottery from shaft tomb 879. Scale approximately 1:6. Photography by the Egyptian Expeditions, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

perhaps because they were for ritual rather than practical use, do not evolve as rapidly as tableware, but as a class they are more common in the Twelfth than the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Tableware: fig. 9, top row, first to third and last; middle row; bottom row, second and third vessels

The cups, hemispherical and carinated, are probably of Nile B1;³⁹ the globular “yellow white” (excavator’s words) vessel, top row, third, is a small jar, broken at the neck, of Marl A3 and is probably therefore an import from Upper Egypt; the dishes, potstands and drop pots are Nile B2;⁴⁰ and the jug fragment in the middle row, is Marl C.⁴¹ There are no exclusively Twelfth Dynasty types in this group. A mid-Thirteenth Dynasty date would suit all except the cups and the jug. The vessel index⁴² of the hemispherical cup, second in top row, is very difficult to calculate since, as the photograph clearly shows, the cup is strongly asymmetrical. Using the 1:10 drawing on the tomb card, an index of 140/142 can be calculated but this is too insecure a figure, and too close to 145, the boundary between early and advanced Dynasty 13 cups, to justify extending the group’s date on this basis alone. The flat-bottomed cup appears to have the profile of a hemispherical cup with a base cut flat almost accidentally in trimming off the excess clay.⁴³ A very close match for it in profile curve and proportion of diameter to height among the hemispherical cups, is MMA 22.1.1591⁴⁴ which has a vessel index of 123, well into the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty. The jug fragment is likely to be intrusive from the house since the type occurs in settlements⁴⁵ rather than in burials. Shaft tomb 896, where a complete jug was found, contained domestic pottery from the houses.⁴⁶

³⁹ The fabric attributions are based on the excavator’s descriptions and photographs interpreted by the writer who has studied comparable pottery from Lisht, Dahshur and Memphis, Riqqeh and Harageh.

⁴⁰ The potstand, middle row, second, is described as “polished black.” Another example from Lisht confirms that the potstand has been self-slipped and burnished before being fired in a reducing atmosphere. A similar technique was used for the Egyptian made Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware.

⁴¹ A complete vessel of this rare shape, also Marl C, was found in shaft tomb 896 and is now in Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum (MMA 22.1.1525).

⁴² Arnold, “The Pottery” (see n. 7), pp. 135, 140.

⁴³ The cup does not belong to the large class of flat-bottomed cups familiar from Tell el-Dab’a. The base is not set off from the body and significantly, the cup is open with a slightly flaring rim, not restricted.

⁴⁴ Now in Chicago.

⁴⁵ Kahun (W.M.F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* [London, 1890], pl. XII, 18) and Memphis, *Kom Rabi’a* (unpublished).

Storage Vessels: fig. 9, bottom row, first and last

Only the base of the large jar remains so further dating is impossible. The bulbous jar in Marl C has more to offer. A parallel for the rim but not the body shape is provided by a jar from Dahshur, ceramic complex 6,⁴⁷ and an even closer match from the burial of Senebtisi (Chicago Oriental Museum, MMA 09.180.849). Senebtisi should now be placed early in the Thirteenth Dynasty following the most recent review of the evidence by the Arnolds,⁴⁸ where it is stated that her shaft postdates a house “probably dating to the Thirteenth Dynasty.”

Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware: fig. 8

The tomb card describes, without illustrating, “remains of 4 incised Kahun⁴⁹ pots. Upper part of a handled vase in polished red ware.” None of these vessels can now be identified with confidence among the pottery in the MMA or Chicago, so the photograph remains the only record of them. The most complete example, to which the other three may, despite their poor preservation, be related, can be assigned to Bietak’s Piriform 1c type⁵⁰ which occurs at Tell el-Dab’a from strata F to E/2 and which, following Bietak, corresponds to the MBIIA/B transition and early MBIIB.⁵¹

The small vessel broken off below the rim in the top row, is certainly non-Egyptian. If the photograph is examined with a hand lens, the surface appears to be burnished and pock-marked with large irregular mineral inclusions.⁵² The shape recalls juglets from Palestine of MBIIA date⁵³ of which one example is published from Dahshur.⁵⁴

To sum up the pottery evidence: in my view, the pottery does not extend the date range in either direction beyond the dating provided by the coffin, i.e., the Thirteenth Dynasty up to the reign of Awibre Hor. We should allow a generation for the filling of the three chambers of the tomb shaft. This dating depends upon accepting that later pottery types,

⁴⁶ Including a large thick-walled trough in Nile C and part of an incised bread tray in Marl C.

⁴⁷ D. Arnold, “Keramikbearbeitung in Dahschur 1976–1981,” *MDAIK* 38 (1982), Abb. 19,1.

⁴⁸ See n. 22, above.

⁴⁹ Mace’s term for Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware following Petrie’s discovery of juglets at Kahun.

⁵⁰ See Bietak, *op. cit.*, (n. 12).

⁵¹ M. Bietak, “Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age,” *BASOR* 281 (1991), fig.3.

⁵² It is a tribute to the quality of the original excavation photograph that such observations can be made. Arthur Mace was responsible for the photography at Lisht in the 1920s.

⁵³ Amiran, *op. cit.*, pl. 34, no. 17.

⁵⁴ Arnold, *op. cit.*, (n. 47), Abb. 13, 5.

such as the jug and possibly the flat based cup, are contamination from the houses.

STONE VESSELS

There were fragments of at least eight stone vessels in the tomb, only three of which were drawn on the tomb card. None was photographed. Of the drawn vases, two were of alabaster and one of "white limestone" and they can be typed to Aston 135; Aston 157; and Aston 161.⁵⁵ The date range of all these is given by Aston as Dynasty 12–13 and in the case of 135 and 161, also Second Intermediate Period. The rest of the stone vessels are described as "pieces of two large globular vases in alabaster, pieces of two large kohl pots in alabaster, piece of a rim of a blue-marble [blue anhydrite] vase."

OBJECTS OF FAIENCE AND EGYPTIAN BLUE

None of these is illustrated or photographed. From the tomb cards: "fragments of one or more glaze tiles; pieces of small dishes from a tile; pieces of two or three glaze vases; lid of glaze vase 3.7cm in diameter; piece of a lion(?) in blue paste [Egyptian blue]; pieces of glaze inlay." Faience models of food and offerings were common at Lisht⁵⁶ as were small apotropaic figures of lions. I have argued elsewhere that such grave goods begin to appear in burials there from the late Twelfth Dynasty onwards.⁵⁷

BEADS

These are now located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. They can be typed to the corpus of beads made up by Brunton for the late Middle Kingdom cemetery at Harageh,⁵⁸ but it is noteworthy that among them were beads from a flail such as that reconstructed from the tomb of Senebtisi.⁵⁹ This is yet another indication of the status of the burials in shaft tomb 879.

It is necessary to sum up the evidence which a study of the context of the Dolphin Vase provides, and to begin with dating. The jug does not come from a closed group and we cannot, regrettably, say that it was part of the burial equipment of Debeheni, but we can say that all the objects (with the exception of the pottery discussed above) in the shaft tomb are

⁵⁵ B.G. Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, SAGA 5 (Heidelberg, 1994), pp. 138–39, 144, 147.

⁵⁶ Hayes, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), Part I, fig. 225.

⁵⁷ Bourriau, *op. cit.*, (n. 33), pp. 11–20.

⁵⁸ R. Engelbach, *Harageh* (London, 1923), pls. 50–53.

⁵⁹ Mace and Winlock, *op. cit.*, (n. 38), p. 16, fig. 7.

consistent with burials of the early Thirteenth Dynasty up to the reign of King Awibre Hor. Given the current chronological debates, I am reluctant to suggest absolute dates for Hor but von Beckerath places him around 1760 B.C.

The context provides much more than a date, +/- 20 years. It provides a setting for the vase which includes a rich, high status burial and a group of pottery which contains one other actual import and 4 vessels of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware. The Dolphin Vase remains unique but it must be seen as contributing to the sudden increase in Canaanite pottery which is visible in the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty⁶⁰ at Lisht. The contemporary expansion of Tell el-Dab'a as an entry point for Canaanite goods and people offers a ready explanation.

One final point concerns the burial of Debeheni. It may seem surprising that such a rich burial should be provided for an "overseer of faience-workers." His own and many other late Middle Kingdom burials at Lisht attest to the number and importance, in ritual terms, of faience objects. There are apotropaic figures of dwarves, lions, and hippos, fertility figurines, miniature vessels, model food offerings, cosmetic jars, inlays for coffins and a whole corpus of beads. Preparing such funerary assemblages must have been a major activity⁶¹ and provided for the official in charge of the workshops an opportunity to ensure, like the workmen at Deir el-Medineh, that his own burial was as well equipped as any.



⁶⁰ See n. 22.

⁶¹ There is evidence of faience working close to shaft 879, but its date is not certain.

An Inventory List from “Covington’s Tomb” and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom



EDWARD BROVARSKI

SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO BATTISCOMBE GUNN COMMENTED ON THE inadequacy of our lexical knowledge of ancient Egyptian.¹ More recently Janssen, in his masterly study of the economy at the Ramesside village of Deir el-Medineh, remarks that “lexicographical studies and special vocabularies are among the most urgent needs for the progress of egyptology.”² Although the last few decades have witnessed the appearance of a number of monographs and works of broader scope that have extended considerably our lexical knowledge,³ a great deal remains to be done.⁴

¹ Battiscombe Gunn, “The Egyptian Word for ‘short’,” *RecTrav* 39 (1920), p. 101.

² Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), p. 3.

³ A few such publications which come readily to mind are Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954); Hildegard von Deines and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen* (Berlin, 1959); Elmar Edel, “Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der “Weltkammer” aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre,” *NAWG* 8 (1961); 4–5 (1964); J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961); Wolfgang Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, pts. 1–6 (Wiesbaden, 1961–69), with Inge Hoffman, *Indices zu W. Helck, Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Mainz, 1970); Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1970); Hildegard von Deines and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1961–62); Janssen, *Commodity Prices*; Hartwig Altenmüller, “Das Ölmagazin im Grab des Hesire in Saqqara (QS 2405),” *SAK* 4 (1976), pp. 1–29; Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1976); Dimitri Meeke, *Année Lexicographique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1977–1982) (hereafter *AL*); Gérard Charpentier, *Recueil de materiaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l’Égypte Antique* (Paris, 1981); Nathalie Baum, *Arbres et arbustes de l’Égypte ancienne* (Leuven, 1988).

⁴ In addition to the specific acknowledgments in footnotes of the present article, I would like to thank Dr. James P. Allen and Prof. Janet H. Johnson for sharing their expertise with me in a number of particulars. The latter, moreover, very agreeably looked up a number of words on my behalf in the files of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project (hereafter *CDD*). I am also indebted to my wife, Del Nord, and an old friend and colleague, Elizabeth Sherman, for editing and considerably improving the manuscript. Finally, Dr. Peter Der Manuelian spent long hours, above and beyond the call of duty as editor of the present volume, scanning and formatting the numerous figures that accompany this article and compiling Table 1.

In the course of an illustrious career in which he has made significant contributions to practically every branch of Egyptology—archaeology, art, history, philology, and so on—Kelly Simpson has shown a lively interest in lexicography,⁵ as demonstrated especially in the four volumes of *Papyrus Reisner*. Inasmuch as he has also published one of the offering lists that form the focus of the current article in a volume of the Giza Mastaba series initiated by him,⁶ I hope he will find the present study of interest. It is dedicated to him with heartfelt appreciation for more than twenty years of friendship, inspiration, and encouragement.⁷

In the files of the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art in Boston is a drawing in pencil on aging brown paper of an inventory list of offerings (fig. 1).⁸ Someone has written in pencil on the lower corner of the sheet “Covington’s Tomb.” William Stevenson Smith refers to the penciled note and discusses⁹ the offering list in his study of Old Kingdom sculpture and painting. We quote him at length:

This [the note] would seem to refer to the large panelled brick mastaba excavated by Dow Covington and Mr. Quibell on a high point in the ridge southeast of the Third Pyramid. This tomb was probably of the reign of Khasekhemuwy, but Covington also uncovered a few other pits and even a stone mastaba which is certainly as late as Dyn. IV, if not later. No one has any recollection, apparently, of the finding of a painted wall in any of these tombs, and it is uncertain whether it came from a chapel or a burial-chamber. Nevertheless the possibility that it may have come from the great panelled mastaba is further strengthened by inner evidence in the list itself. It is in the form of an early compartment list containing garments (including an unusual one called *wnš* determined by a wolf and apparently implying that the garment was made of wolf skin), furniture, granaries, food, and drink. This type of compartment list is very rare after the reign of Cheops, and is characteristic of the transition period Dyn. III–IV. Its most elaborate form is exemplified by the whole east wall of the corridor of Hesi-ra. Therefore it would form a suitable part of the decoration of a mastaba of the end of Dyn. II. Another early detail is that the thousand sign is painted yellow instead of the green which became more common later for all plant forms, basket work, &c., which were often yellow in early paintings.

⁵ William Kelly Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I–IV*, 4 vols. (Boston, 1963–1986).

⁶ Idem, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part 1* (Boston, 1980), p. 35, pl. 61a, fig. 47; see number (17) in the list of monuments on pp. 127ff. below.

⁷ The second part of this article, on the nomenclature of boxes and chests, is scheduled to appear in the *Festschrift* for another distinguished scholar, Prof. Edward F. Wente.

⁸ I should like to thank to Dr. Rita E. Freed, Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for permission to publish the list from “Covington’s Tomb.” Mr. Nicholas Thayer redrew the pencil sketch in ink for publication.

⁹ *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2nd ed. (London, 1949), p. 141 (hereafter *HESP*).

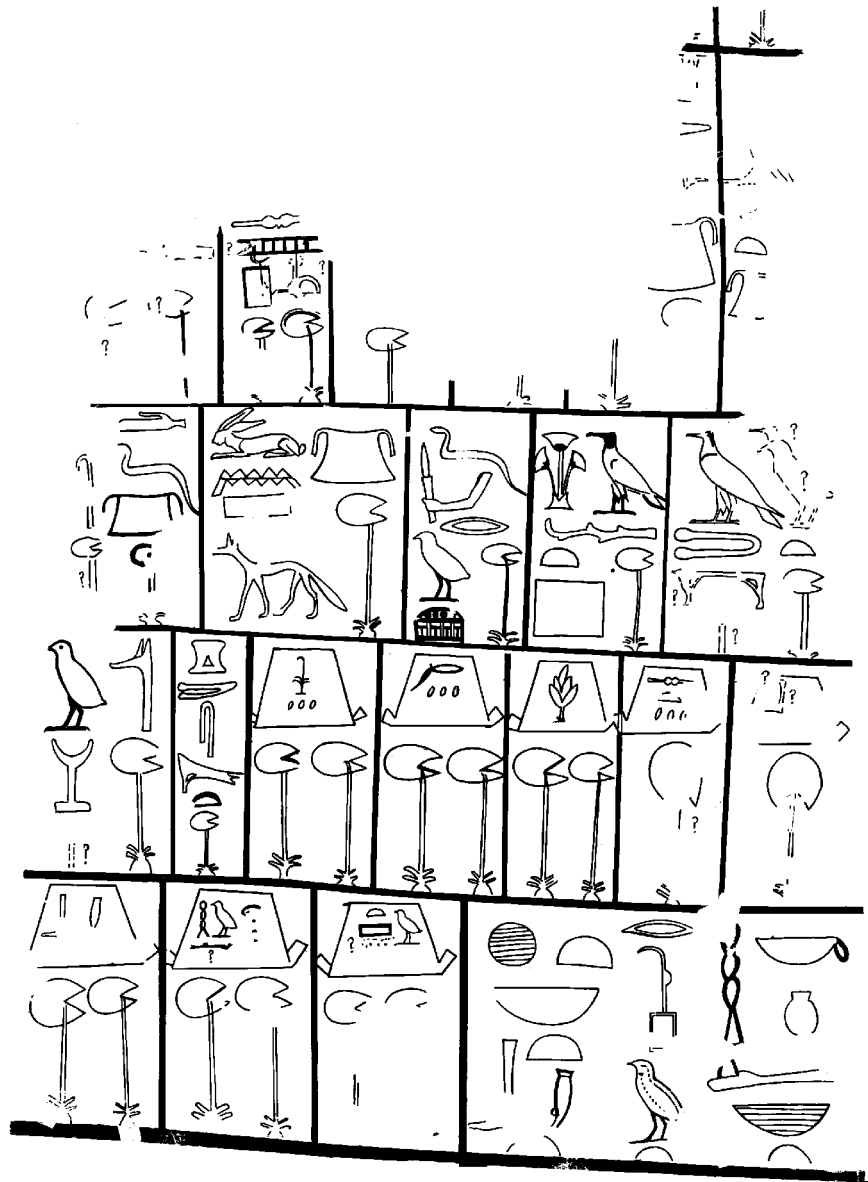


Fig. 1. Inventory offering list from "Covington's Tomb."

The ridge referred to by Smith rises from the plain about half a mile south of the Great Pyramid, above the Muslim cemetery and a group of trees which, according to Petrie, was a well-known landmark in many pictures taken at the turn of the century.¹⁰ The rock ridge runs south for half a mile and, again as noted by Petrie, is riddled with tombs, especially at its southern end. Covington and Quibell excavated the great brick-built mastaba on the top of the ridge in 1902-3, but the mastaba known

¹⁰ W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907), p. 1.

today as “Covington’s Tomb” was already marked on the plan of Lepsius.¹¹ Covington and Quibell opened and traced round the mastaba, and the former’s 1905 report is illustrated with plans and a section.¹²

Petrie investigated the great mastaba, which was designated “Mastaba T” by him, in 1906–7, discovering hundreds of fragments of stone vessels in its subterranean chambers, stone balls (or marbles) for a game, a beautifully polished chert object, and model tools of copper.¹³ Although no royal name was recovered, Petrie thought that the general arrangement and position of the chambers beneath the mastaba were of the same basic type as the Third Dynasty mastabas uncovered by Garstang at Beit Khallaf.¹⁴ He also noted that the mastaba had the same type of all-round panelling as did the mastabas of early Dyn. 1, there being fourteen bays and fifteen projections in the length and seven bays and eight projections in the width.¹⁵

On the east side of Mastaba T, Petrie also cleared around a “large stone platform,” of which the basement of the walls of the superstructure remained. A pit in the middle was cleared but led to nothing.¹⁶

Seeing Covington’s Tomb/Giza Mastaba T as the last example of a palace-facade mastaba with elaborate panelling on all four sides, Reisner dated it to the reign of Khasekhemui—that is, to the beginning of the archaeological group characteristic of Dyn. 3.¹⁷

Henri Frankfort noted the unsuitability of all-round niching in the palace-facade mastabas of Dyns. 1–2 to the requirements of the offering cults, in that the arrangement afforded no real focus for the funerary ceremonies.¹⁸ The offerings were presumably deposited at one of the great doors of the panelling immediately opposite the body.¹⁹ Succeeding generations of Egyptians sporadically distinguished the second niche from

¹¹ Carl Richard Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, 12 vols. (Berlin, 1849–56), 1, pl. 14 (hereafter LD I/II); see Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, p. 7. See also the plan of the pyramids of Giza in Karl Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sûdân*, 8th rev. ed. (Leipzig, 1929), between pp. 122–23. The mastaba appears as well on the isometric drawing of the Giza plateau in Mark Lehner, “Excavations at Giza 1988–1991,” *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 135 (Fall, 1992), fig. 1.

¹² Dow Covington, “Mastaba Mount Excavations,” *ASAE* 6 (1905), pp. 193–218.

¹³ *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pp. 7–8, pls. 3 A, 4, 6 D, E.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7. For the Beit Khallaf mastabas, see John Garstang, *Mahasna and Bêt Khallâf* (London, 1901), pls. 7 and 18.

¹⁵ Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pp. 7–8, pl. 7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7, pl. 3 A. From its location in front of Covington’s Tomb/Mastaba T, Petrie (*ibid.*, p. 8) concluded that the stone platform might have been the base of a stone temple for the “king” buried in the mastaba.

¹⁷ George Andrew Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge, MA, 1936), p. 248.

¹⁸ Henri Frankfort, “The Origin of Monumental Architecture in Egypt,” *AJSL* 58 (1941), pp. 349–50.

the south in some way—by adding a wooden flooring or a projecting entrance—and ultimately by the withdrawal of the niche into the body of the mastaba and its expansion into an internal chapel.²⁰ Such a chapel would indeed be the logical place for a painted offering list, protected from the weather as it would be, but "Covington's Tomb" lacks any such arrangement.

Cognizant of this difficulty, Smith says: "it is uncertain whether it came from a chapel or a burial-chamber." Since the earliest examples of the practice of decorating the walls of the burial chamber date to a much later period, namely to the end of the Fifth Dynasty,²¹ such a location can probably be safely excluded from consideration.

Smith observed that the type of inventory list represented in the Boston drawing is characteristic of the transition period of Dyn. 3–4, but is very rare after the reign of Cheops.²² He therefore felt that the list would form a suitable part of the decoration of a mastaba of the end of Dyn. 2. In support of this early date, he further observed that the thousand sign is painted yellow instead of the green which became more common later for all plant forms, basketwork, etc., which were often yellow in early paintings.

Unfortunately, Smith provided no documentation for the last assertion, nor am I able to substantiate it with reference to his appendix on the coloring of Old Kingdom hieroglyphs, which incorporates evidence from the tombs of Khabausokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Nefermaat, Atet, and Rahotep.²³ According to Murray, the thousand sign in the niche of Hathor-nefer-hetep is green,²⁴ as are those in Rahotep and Wepemnofret, although the sign in the slab-stele of Nefert-iabet has a yellow leaf and a red base and stem.²⁵ In the only archaic niche-stone with well-preserved paint to which I have access, that of Imet from Saqqara,²⁶ the leaf is yellow, the stem red, and the rhizome black with green roots.

¹⁹ George A. Reisner, "The History of the Egyptian Mastaba," in *Mélanges Maspero* 1 (Cairo, 1934), p. 580.

²⁰ See W.M. Flinders Petrie, G.A. Wainwright, and A.H. Gardiner, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (London, 1913), p. 13, pls. 15 [2], 18; W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Tarkhan II* (London, 1914), p. 4, pl. 18; cf. Frankfort, "Monumental Architecture," pp. 351–52.

²¹ George Andrew Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, completed and revised by William Stevenson Smith (Cambridge, MA, 1955), p. 57 (hereafter Reisner-Smith, *GN* 2); Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), pp. 126, 293 [455]; 133, 293 [479].



²² *HESP*, p. 141.

²³ *HESP*, pp. 366–82.

²⁴ Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1 (London, 1904), pl. 42.

²⁵ *HESP*, pp. 374, 378 [M 12].

Moreover, later examples of the inventory offering list do exist, for instance, numbers (11)–(23) in the following list of monuments, and there is other evidence to suggest that the list from “Covington’s Tomb” is not so early in date as Smith thought.

First, the list uses a later form of the determinative for mantles or mantle-like garments. In the early lists—Kha-bau-sokar (3), Hathor-nefer-hetep (4), Irensen (7), Metjen (8), and Rahotep (9)—and in the picture list on the eastern wall of the painted corridor of Hesyre, the determinative is , or the like. In the later lists from G 4260 (12) and anon. (13), those of Izi (14) and Setju (17),²⁷ and the list preserved in Boston, the mantles are determined by .

Second, the term *stt* “bed” (a) in the list from “Covington’s Tomb” otherwise first appears in the furniture list from anon. (13) from the reign of Shepseskaf. Earlier the word for bed was *st(-n)-ḥt* (g).²⁸

Moreover, as a rule in the Fourth Dynasty, the grain lists consist of *šmꜣw*, *mḥw*, *bdꜥ*, *zwt*, and *bšꜣ*.²⁹ Dates (*bnr*) and the so-called “earth almonds” (*wꜣḥ*)³⁰ are also common, and likewise appear in the list from “Covington’s Tomb” along with an unknown grain or fruit, *tšw(?)*.³¹

In addition, in the list from “Covington’s Tomb,” the thousand-sign has two distinct forms. While the leaf is usually turned forward, in two instances it turns upward. In our corpus, the earliest instance of the sign with leaf turned forward occurs in the slab-stele of Seshat-sekhentiu (11) from the reign of Khufu. Both versions of the sign appear in the other slab-steles.³² The upright leaf reappeared sporadically in the course of the Old Kingdom, but from then on the forward facing leaf was usual.³³

Finally, the last entry in the Covington Tomb list is *iḥt nb(t) bnrt rn-pwt ḥnkw(t) nbt*, “everything sweet, vegetables, and all donations.” While this entry occurs in none of the early inventory lists, *iḥt nbt bnrt* is a commonplace in the great ritual offering list of the Old Kingdom

²⁶ W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1958), pl. 13. There exists in Boston an aquarelle made by Joseph Lindon Smith in 1938–39, when the stela was on deposit in “Emery’s magazine” at Saqqara.

²⁷ In the panel of Nedji (6), *mꜣst* is determined by an earlier form of the determinative and *bꜣ šmꜣw* with the later.

²⁸ The letters in parentheses refer to the lettering of the items of furniture in the discussion below, pp. 130ff.

²⁹ Winfried Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste* (Berlin, 1963), p. 45.

³⁰ The tubers of *Cyperus esculentus* L.; see Elmar Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Aswan II/1/2* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 22 [7].

³¹ Cf. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* 5 vols. (Berlin, 1926–31), 5, p. 329, 17 (hereafter *Wb.* 1–5).

³² George Andrew Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* 1 (Cambridge, MA, 1942), pls. 17–20 and 57 (hereafter Reisner, *GN* 1).

³³ Henry George Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy* (New York, 1988), p. 33 [M 12].

from the end of the Fourth Dynasty.³⁴ Slightly earlier *ih̄t nbt bnrt rnpwt nbt h̄nkwt* appears on the south wall of the chapel of Khufukhaf I and on the sarcophagus of Minkhaf, both sons of Khufu.³⁵

If, as internal evidence seems to indicate, the copy of the list in Boston is at least as late as the Fourth Dynasty, it obviously could not have come from the structure known as "Covington's Tomb." What then are we to make of the label on the drawing? Smith notes that Dow Covington also uncovered a few other pits and a stone mastaba which certainly dates to Dyn. 4 or later. "No one had any recollection of the finding of a painted wall in any of these tombs," wrote Smith, yet it is not impossible that the original offering list whose copy is now preserved in Boston came from the stone mastaba. Covington places this nearly denuded structure just 11 meters to the east of the great mastaba that bears his name, describing it as a "large bluish-grey stone mastaba (about 28 x 12 metres) excavated by Mariette,"³⁶ and again as "a large mastaba built of immense blocks of oyster-filled limestone."³⁷ This mastaba is presumably identical with the "large stone platform" on the east side of "Covington's Tomb/Mastaba T" excavated by Petrie.

If the fragmentary compartment list does not derive from the stone mastaba, it may have been found in or near one of the other four mastabas referred to by Covington, about which he unfortunately provides no details.³⁸

In his exhaustive study of offering lists, Prof. Barta distinguished two types, the ritual offering list ("Ritualopferliste") and the inventory offering list ("Inventaropferliste").³⁹ Whereas the former preserves the ritual of the funerary offering cult, the latter enumerates the household effects and other equipment which might be of utility in the next world. Barta's inventory offering list corresponds to Reisner's "old compartment list."⁴⁰ As Smith notes, the so-called "cupboard list" covering the whole east wall of the corridor in the tomb of Hesyre represents the most extensive exemplar of the inventory offering lists but, as fate would have it, the captions inscribed at the top of the wall have largely

³⁴ Hermann Junker, *Giza*, 12 vols. (Vienna, 1929–1955), 1, p. 258; Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 43; Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 10 vols. (Oxford, 1932; Cairo, 1936–60), 6, pt. 2, pls. 7–12, 16, 32, 40.

³⁵ William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* (Boston, 1978), fig. 31; W. Stevenson Smith, "The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf," *JEA* 19 (1933), pl. 22.

³⁶ Covington, "Mastaba Mount," p. 193; cf. p. 194.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193. He does refer to objects and fragments of 4th, 5th, and 6th Dynasty, as well as 1st, 3rd, and 26th Dynasty, date (*ibid.*, p. 194).

³⁹ Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁰ *GN* 1, pp. 332–34.

been lost.⁴¹ More complete offering lists include food and drink, linen, unguents and perfumes, mantles, metal utensils, stone vessels, household furnishings, and on occasion, woodworking tools (14, 23).⁴² Ra-hotep (9) adds to these board games, a ewer and basin for hand-washing, a beaded collar, a staff and scepter, and another item of uncertain identity.⁴³ Kayemankh (23) also has a new class of objects that did not appear in the older lists—a whole dockyard of ships and boating equipment.

In general, the elaborate system of compartition used by Khabausokar (3) and Hathor-nefer-hetep (4) was not followed, and an entry normally consisted of only two compartments with the name of the object above and the thousand-sign below. Far rarer is the wide compartment with a heading that specifies the nature of the several objects below, provides an indication of the material from which they were made or, in the case of pottery or metal vessels, identifies their contents (21). Equally uncommon is a separate compartment for the determinative (12). The Boston list is unique in the present corpus in placing the thousand sign within the same compartment as the named item, while the lists of Senenu (19, 20) set determinative and thousand-sign side by side in a smaller compartment below the compartment with the name of the item. Grain ricks labeled with their contents and offerings of oxen and fowl are frequently shown in a register beneath the compartment list, although on occasion, both ricks and offerings have compartments of their own (9, 12, 17, 18).

Reisner, writing in 1942 when the evidence for the inventory offering list at Giza was rather more limited than at present, assumed that Seshemnofer I (21) had copied the list on the east wall of his chapel from older slab-steles, some of which were then still visible in the necropolis.⁴⁴ The material available today (15–21) suggests rather an unbroken (if not always uniform) development until about the middle of the Fifth Dynasty (21, 22). Thereafter the inventory offering list does

⁴¹ J.E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy* (Cairo, 1913), pls. 6, 7 [1], 10–22.

⁴² Cf. Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 8–9.

⁴³ Cf. Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 37. The board games (*mn*, *mhn*, *znt*) are not considered in the present article, as they have been the subject of much discussion in recent years; see, e.g., Timothy Kendall, *Passing through the Netherworld: The Meaning and play of senet, an ancient Egyptian funerary game* (Belmont, MA, 1978), p. 3, n. 1; idem, "Schlangenspiel," *LÄ* 5 (1985), cols. 653–55; idem, "Mehen: The Ancient Egyptian Game of the Serpent," (forthcoming British Museum publication); Edgar B. Pusch, *Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten* 1 (Munich, 1979); idem, "Senet," *LÄ* 5 (1985), cols. 851–55; Peter A. Piccione, "Mehen, Mysteries, and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent," *JARCE* 27 (1990), pp. 43–52; idem, "The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1990).

⁴⁴ *GN* 1, pp. 332–33.

seem to fall out of favor, except for a brief revival in the so-called "Gerätekammer" of Kayemankh (23).

The beginning of the compartment list in Boston is lost. Traces indicate five or more original registers, of which four remain. The first surviving register is damaged, but clearly contains part of a linen list, followed by a list of mantles, a furniture list, and eight grain ricks. It is the last compartment that contains the phrase *ih̄t nb(t) bnrt rnpwt h̄nkw(t) nbt*. The individual entries are as follows.

x + 1	[. . .]
x + 2	<i>šzpt</i> "šzpt-linen." ⁴⁵ This type of cloth does not otherwise appear in the linen-lists.
x + 3	[. . .]
x + 4	[. . .]
x + 5	[. . .] "[. . .]-mantle"
x + 6	[. . .] "[. . .]-mantle"
x + 7	<i>[h]sd̄</i> "canine-skin mantle" ⁴⁷
x + 8	<i>wnš</i> "wolf- ⁴⁸ or jackal ⁴⁹ -skin (mantle)" ⁵⁰
x + 9	<i>ḏsrw</i> "ornamental casket" ⁵¹
x + 10	<i>h̄s-h̄t</i> "plain box"
x + 11	<i>št(w?)t</i> "bed"(a)

⁴⁵ Henry G. Fischer, "Varia Aegyptiaca," *JARCE* 2 (1963), p. 25; idem, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," *JARCE* 3 (1964), p. 26 and n. 15; idem, "Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies' Deir el Gebrāwi," *JARCE* 13 (1976), p. 11. The word is in palimpsest, traces of a previous text remaining visible.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., William Stevenson Smith, "The Old Kingdom Linen List," *ZÄS* 71 (1935), pp. 139–49; Elmar Edel, "Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon VI: Die Stoffbezeichnungen in den Kleiderlisten des Alten Reiches," *ZÄS* 102 (1975), pp. 13–30.






⁴⁷ *Hsd̄* is to be found in the compartment lists of Kha-bau-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, and Izi, in the Covington Tomb list, on the coffin of Minkhaf (Smith, "Min-khaf," p. 154, pl. 24), and in the false door panel of Sneferu-seneb (Reisner, *GN* 1, pl. 57b). The latest of these monuments, and also the last cited, belongs to the mid-Fourth Dynasty or the early Fifth (Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 125, 293 [451]; Yvonne Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* [London and New York, 1987], p. 269). *Hsd̄* (the younger form of *h̄sd̄*) serves to designate a member of the zoological genus *Canis* in Pap. Jumilhac XII 16 and XV 9 (W. Westendorf, in Edel, "Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon VI," p. 30, 2. Nachtrag).

⁴⁸ *Wb.* 1, 324, 16; Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1921), p. 274 (hereafter *KoptHWb*); David Paton, *Animals of Ancient Egypt* (Princeton and London, 1925), p. 21; *AL* 1 (1977), p. 91; 2 (1978), p. 98; 3 (1979), p. 70.

⁴⁹ Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 63 (hereafter *FCD*); Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 538; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 178–79; Lothar Störk, "Wolf," *LÄ* 6 (1986), col. 1285.

⁵⁰ *Wnš* occurs in the tomb of Hesyre (*Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 19). Subsequently the term is found in the mantle-list of Izi and in that on the panel of Sneferu-seneb (n. 47). In the Boston list, the word is determined by a standing canine. At Beni Hasan two *wnš* and two *zḥb* are shown in a hunt scene (Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2 [London, 1894], pl. 4). The former pair of animals is larger than the latter. If *zḥb* is "jackal" (*Wb.* 3, 420, 5–13), then *wnš* is probably "wolf," since wolves are the largest members of the genus *Canis* with the exception of some varieties of domestic dogs (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1956 ed., s.v. "Wolf.").

⁵¹ For the *ḏsrw* chest and *h̄s-h̄t* box, see the publication cited in n. 7 above.

- x + 12 *wsr* (sic) "headrest" (b). The exceptional orthography of *wrs* as  , with the head and neck of a canine, is paralleled by the spelling of *dsr* as *drs* in the two lists of Senenu (19–20), with the bundle of flax stems as , , 
- x + 13 *gst* "two-legged backrest" (j)
- x + 14 *it-šmꜣw* "Upper Egyptian barley"⁵²
- x + 15 *it-mḥw* "Lower Egyptian barley"⁵³
- x + 16 *bdt* "emmer"⁵⁴
- x + 17 *zwt* "wheat"⁵⁵
- x + 18 *b[šꜣ]* "b[šꜣ]-grain"⁵⁶
- x + 19 *bnr* "dates"⁵⁷
- x + 20 *wꜣḥ* "earth almond(s)"
- x + 21 *ḥt nbt bnrt* "everything sweet"
- x + 22 *rnꜣpwt* "vegetables"
- x + 23 *ḥnkt nbt* "and all donations"

Several other categories of objects contained in the inventory offering lists are to be found already in earlier steles, but the furniture list only appears at the very end of the Second Dynasty in the stele of Satba from Helwan (1).⁵⁸

In the two early furniture lists of Satba and Ni-djefa-nesut (2), items of furniture are represented by ideograms unaccompanied by the phonograms which would indicate the precise word intended. Satba shows a small box with a round handle at the top and a stool(?), while Ni-djefa-nesut has a double column headrest (c), a small rectangular box, and a vaulted box. In addition, in the list of Merib from the end of Dyn. 4 or early Dyn. 5 (16), ideograms of a stem-type headrest (c) and a bed (a or g) signify the objects depicted, but the other furniture lists spell out the names of the individual items.

⁵² *Wb.* 1, 142, 14; A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1947), 2, p. 221* (hereafter *AEO*); cf. Renate Müller-Wollermann, "Die sogenannte Ober- und Unterägyptische Gerste," *VA* 3 (1987), pp. 39–41.

⁵³ *Wb.* 1, 142, 13; Henri Wild, "Gerste," *LÄ* 2 (1976), col. 554.

⁵⁴ *AEO* 2, pp. 221*–23*, 279*; Edel, "Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs," *NAWG* 5 (1963), pp. 201–202.

⁵⁵ *Wb.* 3, 426, 12–17; *AEO* 2, pp. 222*–23*; William J. Darby, Paul Ghalioungui, and Louis Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), 2, pp. 490–91; Helck, *Materialien*, pp. 400, 632, 693.

⁵⁶ See W.W. Struve, *Mathematischer Papyrus des Staatlichen Museums der schönen Künste in Moskau* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 60ff.; *AEO* 2, pp. 223*–25*; Charles F. Nims, "The Bread and Beer Problems of the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus," *JEA* 44 (1958), pp. 60–64; Henri Wild, "Brasserie et panification au tombeau de Ti," *BIFAO* 64 (1966), p. 98 with n. 2; *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, p. 22 [9].

⁵⁷ See Ingrid Wallert, *Die Palmen im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 33ff.; Renate Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp. 232–34.

⁵⁸ Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 24.

The following is a chronological ordering of all the furniture lists of which I am aware.⁵⁹ Since the captions over the objects are destroyed, the "cupboard list" of Hesyre is excluded.

(1) Satba, niche stone, Helwan tomb no. 1241 H 9; Zaky Y. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan* (Cairo, 1947), p. 41, no. 20, pl. 24; end of Dyn. 2, Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 24.

(2) Ni-djefa-nesut, niche stone, in Hannover, No. 1935, 200, 46; Kestner Museum, Hannover, *Ausgewählte Werke der Aegyptischen Sammlung* (Hannover, 1958), cat. no. 12; first half of Dyn. 3, Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 30–31.

(3) Kha-bau-sokar, stone-lined niche from Saqqara, in Cairo, CG 1385; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 1; temp. Djoser, see Nadine Cherpion, "Le Mastaba de Khabausokar (MM A 2): problèmes de chronologie," *OLP* 11 (1980), pp. 79–90.

(4) Hathor-nefer-hetep, wife of (3), stone-lined niche from Saqqara, in Cairo, CG 1386–1388; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 2.

(5) Sisi, niche stone, Helwan tomb no. D. H 6; Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 46–48, no. 23, pl. 27; late Dyn. 3, Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 35, 156.

(6) Nedji, wooden panel from offering niche; Ahmad Moh. Badawi, "Denkmäler aus Saqqarah, 1," *ASAE* 40 (1940), pp. 495–501, pl. 46; early Dyn. 4.

(7) Irensen, panel of offering niche or of false door from Saqqara, in Cairo, CG 1393; Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo* 1 (Berlin, 1937), p. 52, pl. 13; early Dyn. 4, Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 40, 156.

(8) Metjen, panel of false door of stone-lined cruciform chapel from Saqqara, Berlin 1105 G; LD 2, pl. 3; *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 1,⁶⁰ (Leipzig, 1913), p. 81 (hereafter *ÄIB* 1); temp. Khufu, Smith, *HESP*, p. 149.

(9) Rahotep, false door panel from Medum, in London, BM 1242; W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892), pl. 13; T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts on*

⁵⁹ I believe I can make out the word *hn* on the edge of the inscribed right-hand aperture of the false door of the "Washerman of the God," Senenu in Jean Leclant, "Fouilles et travaux en Egypte, 1951–1952" *Orientalia* n.s. 22 (1953), pl. 17 [31]. Above and on the left aperture, what look to be portions of two separate linen-lists are visible. Since the tomb is unpublished and the character of the rest of the list unknown, I have not included it here. For the tomb, see Bertha Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, assisted by Ethel W. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 3, 2d ed., rev. and augmented by Jaromir Málek (Oxford, 1974–1981), p. 48 (hereafter *PM* 3²). This Senenu is a different individual from the Senenu of our list (19)–(20).

⁶⁰ Dr. Dietrich Wildung, Director of the Egyptian Museum, Berlin, went to considerable trouble to provide me with photographs of the panels of Metjen and Merib (16), and I would like to express my appreciation to him. The furniture determinatives in both have undergone considerable deterioration since the panels were copied by Lepsius.

Egyptian Steles, etc. 1, 2d ed. (London, 1961), pl. 1 (2) (hereafter *HTES* 1²); temp. Khufu, Smith, *HESP*, p. 149.

(10) Rahotep, left side of false door recess, in London, BM 1277; Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13; *HTES* 1², pl. 3 (3); as last.

(11) Seshat-sekhenti, slab-stele, Giza tomb G 2120, in Boston, MFA 06.1894; Ronald J. Leprohon, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum; Boston 2* (Mainz, 1985), pp. 59–62 (hereafter *CAA*); temp. Khufu, Reisner, *GN* 1, pp. 66–67, 417, 427, and passim.

(12) Anonymous, slab-stele, Giza, Junker Mastaba II n = G 4260; Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 181–91, fig. 36, pl. 29a; temp. Khufu, *ibid.*, p. 14.

(13) Anonymous, slab-stele, Giza, *ibid.*, pp. 229–31, fig. 53, pl. 37b; temp. Shepseskaf, *ibid.*, p. 14.

(14) Izi, fragment of wall relief from Saqqara, in Copenhagen, *ÆIN* 672; Maria Mogensen, *Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg. La collection égyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930), pl. 93, p. 90; end Dyn. 4; Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 44–45.

(15) Ni-hetep-Khnum, right aperture of false door, Giza, Western Field; Abdel-Moneim Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949–1950* (Cairo, 1953), fig. 10; end Dyn. 4, Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 44.

(16) Merib, false door panel, Giza tomb G 2100–I–annexe (LG 24), Berlin 1107 G; LD 2, pl. 19 = *ÄIB* 1, p. 99; temp. Shepseskaf–Userkaf, Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 267.

(17) Setju, slab stela, intrusive in Giza tomb G 2353 B, in Boston, MFA 13.4341; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, p. 35, pl. 61a, fig. 47; Leprohon, *CAA Boston 2*, pp. 93–96; end Dyn. 4 or early Dyn. 5, Reisner, *GN* 1, p. 333 (7).

(18) Painted inventory list from “Covington’s Tomb,” Giza, South Field(?) (fig. 1); end Dyn. 4 or early Dyn. 5.

(19) Senenu, left aperture of false door, Giza, West Field, Abu Bakr excavation for University of Alexandria (1953); unpublished, see PM 3², p. 48; end Dyn. 4 or early Dyn. 5.

(20) Senenu, right aperture of false door, as last.

⁶¹ This tomb has been assigned to widely divergent periods within the Old Kingdom; see, e.g., Hermann Kees, “Ausgrabungen in Giza,” *OLZ* 50 (1955), col. 437–41; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 267; Nadine Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d’Ancien Empire* (Brussels, 1989), pp. 98–99. The date involves the vexed question of late Old Kingdom archaism at Giza, on which see recently Nadine Cherpion, “De quand date la tombe du nain Seneb?,” *BIFAO* 84 (1984), pp. 35–54, and Henry G. Fischer, review of Harpur, *Decoration*, in *BiOr* 47, nos. 1/2 (January–March, 1990), p. 90, n. 1. Until this problem is resolved, we follow Barta’s date for the tomb arrived at by an analysis of offering lists.

⁶² I owe my knowledge of the existence of the two lists of Senenu (19–20) to Henry Fischer, who very kindly placed his hand copies, made in 1959, at my disposal.

(21) Seshemnofer I, inventory list on east wall of chapel, Giza tomb G 4940 (= LG 45); LD 2, pl. 28; Userkaf-Neferirkare, Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 270.

(22) Kapunesut Kai, inventory list on south wall of chapel, Giza, West Field,⁶³ unpublished, discovered by Dr. Zahi Hawass in 1992, early to middle Dyn. 5.

(23) Kayemankh, Giza, West Field, G 4561; painted "Gerätekammer" on walls of burial chamber; Junker, *Giza* 4, pp. 70–71, pl. 9; Dyn. 6, Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 270.

The chronological order of numbers (6) to (10) differs from that of Barta, who placed Nedji before Rahotep, but Metjen and Irensen after Rahotep, Nofret, and Nefermaat.⁶⁴ According to Smith, from the type of mastaba and burial, Reisner dated the tomb of Nefermaat to late Sneferu or early Khufu, and that of Rahotep definitely to the reign of Khufu.⁶⁵ Smith himself placed Metjen with Rahotep as the latest of the cruciform chapels. To my mind, the three panels of Nedji, Irensen, and Metjen are closely related in composition, iconography, and palaeography. Although the panel of Rahotep is also related, there are several indications that it is slightly later in date. In all four panels, the thousand-sign appears under each entry in the linen list, but is absent in the inventory list that follows. Beneath the linen list, at the right of each of the first three panels, is an inventory list comprising oils, mantles, and furniture, in that order, but in Rahotep's case the oils are omitted. Heads of animals and birds appear in a register beneath the inventory list in all four panels. But in Rahotep's panel the names of the sacrificial animals are spelled out, as in the slab-steles of Seshat-sekhentiu and Princess Meretites from the reign of Khufu.⁶⁶ In Metjen's panel, only the ideogram of the ox-head has a precomplement, *n* (presumably for *ngs*). In Rahotep's panel, in addition, two of the animal heads appear in the ideographic list beneath the table, which in the other three panels and the niches of Kha-bau-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep, is restricted to bread, beer, alabaster vessels, and linen. Animals also appear beneath the table in several slab-steles.⁶⁷ The small figure of a panther that serves as a determinative of *b*: *šmꜣw* along with the mantle-sign is a specific palaeographic feature linking the panels of Nedji and Irensen.⁶⁸

⁶³ For the date, cf. Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 123–45. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Hawass, General Director of Antiquities of the Giza Pyramids and Saqqara, for allowing me to include the information from the tomb of Kapunesut Kai in advance of his publication. I would also like to thank Ms. Amani Abdel-Hameid for facsimile drawings of the furniture utilized in the present article (with revisions by the author).

⁶⁴ Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 156.

⁶⁵ *HESP*, p. 149.

⁶⁶ Reisner, *GN* 1, pl. 39.

⁶⁷ Reisner, *GN* 1, pls. 17, 18 a, 19, 20.

In the following discussion, the investigation of the terms for furniture and their applications in periods later than the Old Kingdom is limited in scope and mainly included for purposes of comparison.

a) *ꜣtt* “type de lit le plus simple:” *Frises d’objets*, p. 243; “das Bett:” *Wb.* 1, 23, 12; “das Bett mit vier Füßen:” Junker, *Gîza* 4, p. 71; “niedriger Sessel (Bett?) mit Rinderfüßen:” Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* 1 (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 4 [17].

ꜣtt first occurs, under the simple form *tt*, in the tomb of Metjen in early Dyn. 4, where an attendant carries a bed so labeled on his back (fig. 2a).⁶⁹ The bed has bent wood legs and appears to slope slightly towards the foot. The determinative of *ꜣtt* in the slab-stele of the reign of Shepseskaf from a Giza anonymous mastaba is definitely that of a slightly sloping bed with bent wood legs.⁷⁰ An identical sign determines *st-(n)-ḥt* (g) in the early lists.

The slightly sloping bedframe with bent wood legs (fig. 2b) is only one of three bed types depicted in Old Kingdom scenes of daily life.⁷¹ The second type also has a sloping bedframe but is supported by bull’s (fig. 8)⁷² or lion’s⁷³ legs. The third type is a horizontal bedframe supported on bull’s (fig. 2c)⁷⁴ or lion’s⁷⁵ legs. While actual examples of Early Dynastic theriomorphic beds are fitted with bull’s legs,⁷⁶ Queen

⁶⁸ Cf. *HTES* 1², pl. 18 [2].

⁶⁹ *LD* 2, pl. 6; *ÄIB* 1, p. 84.

⁷⁰ Table 1 at the end of this article should be consulted for the signs determining the words for furniture occurring in our corpus in the ensuing discussion.

⁷¹ E.g., *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 20 [49, 50]; Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1937–1938*, 3 vols., ed. by Dr. Zaki Iskander (Cairo, 1975), 2, fig. 39; Eugen Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1992), fig. 159 (= fig. 2b = Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* [Mainz am Rhein, 1977], pl. 63 [left leg lost in shadow] [*ꜣtt*]); Naguib Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish*, 9 vols. (Sydney, 1980–89), 1, fig. 9.

⁷² E.g., *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 20 [51, 52]; Junker, *Gîza* 4, fig. 10 (= fig. 22) [*ꜣtt*]; Hassan, *Gîza* 4, fig. 81; *HTES* 1², pl. 29 [2]; Ahmed M. Moussa and Friedrich Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1975), pl. 2.

⁷³ E.g., Dows Dunham and William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), fig. 8, pl. 9 d; Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, pl. 28 B.

⁷⁴ L. Epron, F. Daumas, and H. Wild, *Le tombeau de Ti*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1939–1966), 3, pl. 174 (= fig. 3c) [*ꜣtt nt ḥbn*]; Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo* 2 (Cairo, 1964), p. 199, pl. 106 (CG 1777); Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay* (Mainz am Rhein, 1971), pl. 20.

⁷⁵ The Sakkarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1938), 1, pls. 94–95; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, 2 vols. (London, 1902) 1, pl. 14 [*ꜣtt*]; 2, pls. 10 [*ꜣtt*], 23 (hereafter *Gebr.*); Mohamed Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes* (Cairo, 1977), pls. 4, 13.

⁷⁶ Hollis S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World*, (New York, 1966), pp. 21–23. For the different types of construction in early dynastic beds, see *ibid.*, pp. 22–23, and G. Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture* 1 (Warminster, 1980), pp. 24–26.

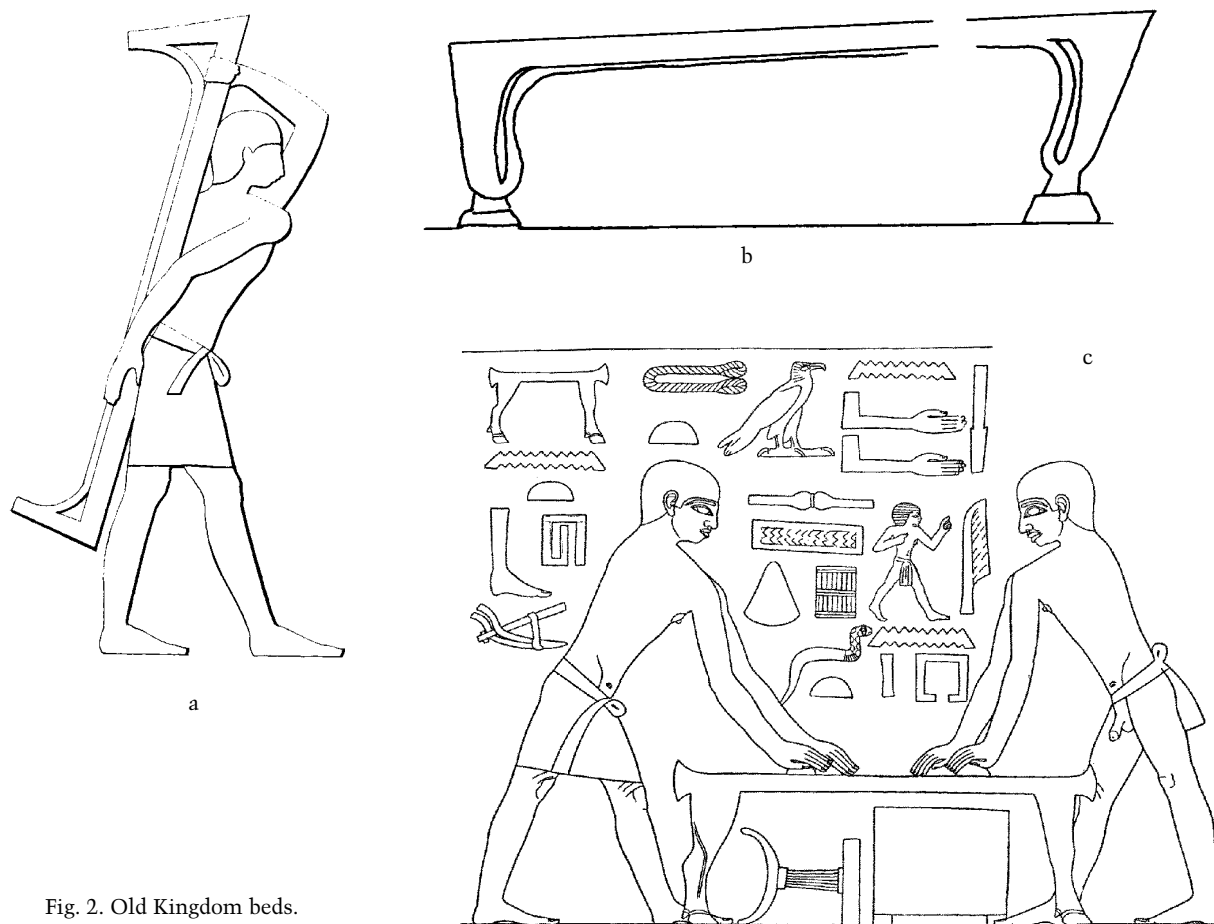


Fig. 2. Old Kingdom beds.


Hetepheres I's gold sheathed wooden bed has lion's legs supporting a slightly sloping bedframe.⁷⁷ With one exception, all these types and subtypes are identified by the term *ꜣtt*.⁷⁸ The exception is the sloping bedframe with leonine legs, and this is probably simply the result of insufficient documentation.


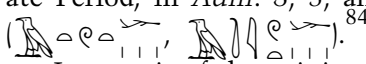
While animal legs were common on Old Kingdom beds, chairs, and stools, the determinative of *ꜣtt* in the furniture list of Izi seemingly goes one step further by providing the bedframe with a lion's head. The actual bed probably bore a lion's head at the head end of each of the side poles. Two beds (*ꜣtt*) depicted in Sixth Dynasty burial chambers at Heliopolis also have lion heads and legs.⁷⁹



⁷⁷ Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis 2*, pp. 32–33, fig. 33, pls. 25–26.

⁷⁸ See nn. 70–74.

⁷⁹ Georges Daressy, "La nécropole des grands prêtres d'Héliopolis sous l'Ancien Empire I: Inscriptions," *ASAE* 16 (1916), pp. 196 [7]; 202 [11].

Beds mentioned in Old Kingdom private documents were valuable objects. The well-known “Hausurkunde” states that a bed (*stt*) and two different kinds of cloth made up the price paid for a house or tomb.⁸⁰ The following death-bed injunction contained in the Letter to the Dead on Cairo Linen CG 25975,⁸¹ from the end of the Dyn. 6 or the decades immediately following, further underscores a bed’s value: “May the wood of this my bed () which bears me rot(?), should the son of a man be debarred from his household furniture.”⁸²

In the object friezes on Middle Kingdom coffins the term for bed is sometimes spelled *styt* ()⁸³ In the ensuing Second Intermediate Period, in *Adm.* 3, 5, and 14, 1, the word appears as *stwt*, *stwt* ()⁸⁴

Janssen is of the opinion that the term *ytiti* (, etc.), which appears in several Deir el-Medineh texts mentioning the cost of coffin decoration, is a variant of Old Kingdom *stt*.⁸⁵ He further identifies *ytit* as a “funeral couch” in contrast to *hnkyt*, the usual New Kingdom term for bed,⁸⁶ and *hrti*,⁸⁷ the ordinary type of Deir el-Medineh bed which had a straight wooden frame, four straight legs and matting for “springs.”⁸⁸ Since funerary couches often had lion’s heads and legs, like the bed of Izi and the two beds from decorated burial chambers at Heliopolis, and sometimes tails as well, he may be right.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, lion-headed beds () referred to in the stela of Pi(ankh)y were probably in-

⁸⁰ On this document, consult most recently Bernadette Menu, “Ventes de maisons sous l’Ancien Empire égyptien,” in Francis Geus and Florence Thill ed., *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), pp. 251–55 and passim.

⁸¹ Alan H. Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928), pp. 1–3, pls. I and I A, line 4 (hereafter *L. to D.*). On *ibid.*, p. 15, the written *w* in *stt* is explained as the result of the addition of the suffix to a feminine noun in the *status pronominalis*. It seems that *stwt* was originally written in the Boston list, but it is not clear from the drawing in fig. 1 whether the quail chick has simply flaked away or was purposely painted out.

⁸² The translation is that of Edward F. Wente, in *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990), p. 211. For a different treatment of the same passage, see Harco Willems, “The End of Seankhenptah’s Household (Letter to the Dead Cairo JDE 25975),” *JNES* 50 (1991), p. 184.

⁸³ Gustave Jéquier, *Les Frises d’objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1921), p. 243.

⁸⁴ Alan H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 recto)* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 32, 89. For the date, see John van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation* (New Haven and London, 1966), pp. 103–20.

⁸⁵ *Commodity Prices*, pp. 239–40.

⁸⁶ *Wb.* 3, 119, 14–15; *Frises d’objets*, p. 243.

⁸⁷ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 180–84.

⁸⁸ *Wb.* 3, 119–20. *hrti*-beds could also be quite sumptuous; see Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 667, 2–5 (hereafter *Urk.* 4).

⁸⁹ For Egyptian funerary lion-beds, see Winifred Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1963), esp. pp. 4–7.

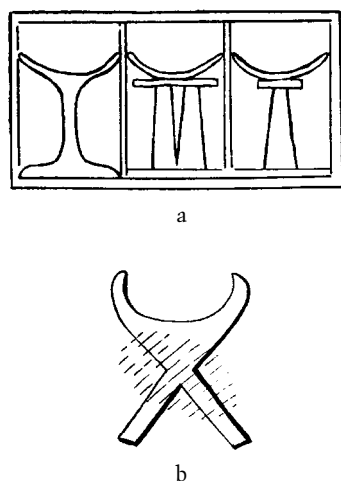


Fig. 3. Headrests of Hesyre (a) and Kagemni (b).

tended for sleeping, since they were provided with sheets of fine linen.⁹⁰ In Late Period and Graeco-Roman times, *ṣṭi*, *ṣṭ*,⁹¹ and even *ṭṭiw* designate lion-headed beds, including the bier of Osiris.

While Ranke wondered whether *ṣṭt* might not be the term for a low seat or chair, he was probably misled by the form of the determinative in the name *ṣṭt-k*, which could easily be mistaken for a seat with animal-legs (*ṣṭ*).⁹² However, the determinative of *ṣṭt* is sometimes contracted for reasons of space and symmetry. The caption in the tomb of Ti reproduced in fig. 2c, with the width of the determinative half that of the bed depicted below, provides an especially clear instance.

b) *wrs* "head-rest:" Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* 1, p. 34; "chevet:" *Frisés d'objets*, p. 237; "die Kopfstütze (aus Holz oder Alabaster) zum Schlafen:" *Wb.* 1, 335, 9.

Contained within a box in the object frieze in the tomb of the Third Dynasty official Hesyre are the three most popular types of Old Kingdom headrests (fig. 3a).⁹³ On the left is a stem type headrest, in the middle a double column type with abacus, and on the right a single column headrest with plain stem and abacus.⁹⁴ The different colors and patterns indicate that the first two were made of ebony and the third perhaps of alabaster.⁹⁵ All three types of headrests are well represented in the furniture lists.

A drawing in the tomb of Kagemni (fig. 3b) may provide evidence for a type of folding headrest, actual examples of which are not known before the New Kingdom.⁹⁶

The *Wb.* provides no references to *wrs* later in date than the New Kingdom. Although headrests possibly remained in use into the Roman Period, examples from well-dated archaeological contexts are rare.⁹⁷ In

⁹⁰ N.-C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(rankh)y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086-47089* (Cairo, 1981), ll. 110, 118; n. 441 on p. 147.

⁹¹ *Wb.* 1, 23, 11-12. The stone Osiris "bed" of Second Intermediate Period date found in the tomb of Djer at Abydos is "formed by the bodies of two lions, the heads, tails, legs and both front paws of which are carefully delineated;" see Anthony Leahy, "The Osiris 'Bed' Reconsidered," *Orientalia* 46 (1977), p. 424.

⁹² Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 4, 20; see now *El-Hawawish* 6, pl. 13 b, fig. 29b.

⁹³ *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 21; cf. the colored rendering on *ibid.*, pl. 14.

⁹⁴ George A. Reisner, *Kerma 1-3* (Cambridge, MA, 1923), pp. 229-32, types I-1, I-2, II-1.

⁹⁵ Pace Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, p. 17, who thinks the pale yellow color of the last represents a white wood.

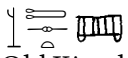

⁹⁶ Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1905), 1, pl. 27 [107]; Fischer, "Kopfstütze," *LÄ* 3 (1979), col. 689 and n. 60.

⁹⁷ E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Mummy* (London and New York, 1987), pp. 248-49; *idem*, *A Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms* (London, 1904), pp. 69-73; Reisner, *Kerma 1-3*, pp. 234 [d], 236; Fischer, "Kopfstütze," col. 690 with n. 62. Amulets in the form of headrests are popular in the Saite Period, see *ibid.*, n. 63.

Demotic *wrs* refers to both the supports of a board on which the body of the Apis bull rests during the embalming process and a support beneath human mummies.⁹⁸ In the latter context it is quite natural to assume that a headrest is intended.⁹⁹

c) *wtz(t)* "grand fauteuil:" Raymond Weill, *La II^e et la III^e Dynastie* (Paris, 1908), p. 254; "sedan-chair:" Griffith, in: *Medum*, p. 38; "sedan-chair:" Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* 1, p. 35; "Tragsessel:" *Wb.* 1, 384, 5; "litière:" *Frisés d'objets*, p. 238.

Wtz appears in the furniture lists of Hathor-nefer-hetep, Rahotep (10), and Seshemnefer I. Hathor-nefer-hetep's carrying chair was fashioned from ebony. The determinatives approximate in form the carrying chair of Queen Hetepheres I, mother of Khufu, when viewed in profile.¹⁰⁰ The body of the chair with its high back, the curved frame of the armrest on one side, and one of the side boards of the foot rest are all carefully delineated. Due to space limitations, the carrying poles of the chairs are shortened, however.

In one of Senenu's lists  appears (20). According to Gardiner, the balance post sign, Old Kingdom , originally had the value *wtz* and only secondarily acquired the value *tz*.¹⁰¹ For that reason, the reading *wtz* is probably to be preferred in the present case. Moreover, the New Kingdom word for "carrying chair" was *wz*.¹⁰²

Prof. Goedicke has observed that the carrying chair or litter was a sign of high social rank and importance.¹⁰³ The motif of the tomb owner borne in a carrying chair or palanquin recurs in the tombs of a number of high officials of the Old Kingdom¹⁰⁴ beginning with a portrayal in the tomb of Rahotep.¹⁰⁵ There is some evidence to suggest that the use of a carrying chair was a prerogative granted by the king, who also assigned noble youths of the Residence to carry the chair.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, the official Hetep-her-en-ptah received his carrying chair as a boon-which-the-king-

⁹⁸ R.L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual* (Louvain, 1993), p. 341 (187), where the word also occurs in hieratic; Mustafa el Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes* (Cairo, 1959), p. 27, n. 6. Both references from the files of the CDD.

⁹⁹ *Wb.* connects *wrs* with babyl. *urušša*, but Werner Vycichl (*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte* [Louvain, 1983], p. 232 [hereafter DELC]) questions the equation on grammatical grounds.

¹⁰⁰ Reisner-Smith, *GN 2*, pp. 33–34, fig. 34, pls. 27–29.

¹⁰¹ Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. rev. (London, 1969), p. 521 (U 39) [hereafter Gardiner, *EG*]. Gardiner notes that the sign appears in *tz* already in PT 960. The present example is after N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqarah 1* (London, 1900), pl. 13 (272). For the archaic form of the carrying chair, see, e.g., Walter B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Baltimore, 1961), fig. 3; PT 811a.

¹⁰² *Wb.* 1, 384, 7–8.

¹⁰³ Hans Goedicke, "A Fragment of a Biographical Inscription of the Old Kingdom," *JEA* 45 (1959), p. 9.



Fig. 4. Early Dynastic footlaver from Abu Sir.

gives.¹⁰⁷ Reisner pointed out that carrying chairs were used for visits of inspection of all sorts.¹⁰⁸ In the Old Kingdom carrying-chairs also appear from time to time in workshop¹⁰⁹ and bedroom¹¹⁰ scenes.

d) *m* "footstool with sandals? upon it:" Griffith, in Petrie, *Medum*, p. 38; "sandal tray:" *Tarkhan* 1, p. 25; "Badewanne für die Füße," *Bildung von i* "waschen:" *Wb.* 2, 46, 5; "footbath, laver:" Henry G. Fischer, "Some Emblematic Uses of Hieroglyphs with Particular Reference to an Archaic Ritual Vessel," *MMJ* 5 (1972), p. 8; "wooden basin with emplacements for washing the feet:" idem, "Möbel," *LÄ* 4 (1980), col. 185.

The determinative in Rahotep's list shows a rectangular receptacle with a projecting element at the top.¹¹¹ In the center the outline of two feet presumably indicate where in the original the user would have stood, while his feet were being washed. Curiously, an actual example of a footbath, from an archaic grave at Abu Sir, has only a single (right) foot occupying its middle (fig. 4).¹¹² The rectangular basin, which is made of red clay, has inward slanting sides. At the top of the footbath is a broken appendage that corresponds to the projecting element of the

¹⁰⁴ References are to be found in Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1952–78), 4, p. 329, n. 2, and PM 3², pp. 354 (2), 903 (2), to which should be added W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Deshasheh* (London, 1898), pl. 24; Miroslav Verner, *Abusir-I: The Mastaba of Ptahshepses I* (Prague, 1977), pls. 53–55; William Kelly Simpson, "Topographical Notes on Giza Mastabas," in *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (Bamberg, 1979), fig. 3; idem, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 27, pl. 11b; fig. 38, pl. 25a (= Vandier no. xxviii); *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 13; 2, fig. 21; William Kelly Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1992), pl. E; Ann Macy Roth, "The Practical Economics of Tomb-building in the Old Kingdom: A Visit to the Necropolis in a Carrying Chair," in David P. Silverman, ed., *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (Chicago, 1994), fig. 16.1; G 2374, Khnumenti, east wall of Room I, unpublished. For discussions, see Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches* 1 (reprint, Hildesheim, 1982), p. 28; Junker, *Giza*, 11, pp. 251–54; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 328–63.

¹⁰⁵ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 21.

¹⁰⁶ Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*, 2 ed. (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 43, ll. 16–18; 231, l. 14 (hereafter *Urk.* 1); Goedicke, "Biographical Inscription," pp. 8–11, pl. 2.

¹⁰⁷ *Urk.* 1, 231, 14. The word for carrying-chair in this passage evidently represents an instance of periphrasis. Sethe (*Urk.* 1, 231, n. f–f) translates: "einer, dem der König eine Sänfte (*sbnr* "Angenehmmacher") machen ließ. Junge leute trugen ihn darin hinter dem König."

¹⁰⁸ Reisner, *GN* 1, p. 368; see more recently Roth, "Visit to the Necropolis," pp. 227–40.

¹⁰⁹ E.g., Maria Mogensen, *Le mastaba égyptien de la glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Copenhagen, 1921), fig. 38; *Mersyankh III*, fig. 5, pl. 5[b]; *Nianchchnum*, pl. 62. See further, pp. 152–54 below.

¹¹⁰ *HTES I*², pl. 29.

¹¹¹ Fischer, "Emblematic Hieroglyphs," p. 8.

¹¹² H. Bonnet, *Ein Frühgeschichtliches Gräberfeld bei Abusir* (Leipzig, 1928), pl. 35, 3 (10C-3) = Renate Krauspe, *Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1976), 16, no. 9/7, pl. 4 (Inv. Nr. 2339). I would like to thank Prof. Elke Blumenthal and Dr. Renate Krauspe for the photograph of the footlaver reproduced as fig. 4 of the present article.

determinative in Rahotep's list. What evidently represent the straps of a sandal are incised on the outline of the foot. On the rim of the basin, and also evidently on the broken appendage, are herringbone designs. Two other wooden footbaths with sloping sides and the outline of a single foot on a crossbar were found by Petrie in Dyn. 1 graves at Tarkhan.¹¹³ One of these shows clearly that the projecting appendage at the top, evident in Rahotep's list and in the Abu Sir footbath, was, at least in origin, a projecting U-shaped handle.¹¹⁴

Baker illustrates a stool of "Late Period" date with footstands attached to the top that he believed was possibly used in a bath,¹¹⁵ but Fischer doubts the identification.¹¹⁶

e) *h3wt* "table." *Frises d'objets*, p. 246; "Platte mit Untersatz (einbeiniger Tisch):" *Wb.* 3, 226, 11–13.

H3wt and *hn* appear together in the abbreviated furniture list in the anonymous slab-stela from G 4260. From its determinative on the left side of the false door recess of Rahotep, where it is depicted among the stone vessels, not with the furniture, it is clear that *h3wt* represents the ubiquitous type of low, flat-topped circular table with a tubular support (see fig. 5a).¹¹⁷ Rahotep's *h3wt* is said to be of alabaster.

Reisner was of the opinion that the flat-topped circular table was introduced by Khasekhemui at the end of Dyn. 2.¹¹⁸ Subsequently, examples have been found in tombs of Dyn. 1 and earlier Dyn. 2.¹¹⁹ Numerous practical examples of stone offering tables of this type, as well as models, have been found all through the Old Kingdom, and to a lesser extent in tombs as late as Dyn. 12.¹²⁰

H3wt is a regular item in the great ritual offering list of the Fifth Dynasty and later.¹²¹ On the walls of Old Kingdom tombs a *h3wt* is sometimes washed as a preliminary to the funerary rites depicted¹²² or

¹¹³ *Tarkhan* 1, pp. 11, 25, pls. 11 [24, 25], 12 [10, 11]; see Fischer, "Möbel," col. 185 and n. 80.

¹¹⁴ *Tarkhan* 1, pl. 11 [25]; cf. *ibid.*, pls. 11 [26], 12 [9].

¹¹⁵ *Furniture*, fig. 213, p. 139.

¹¹⁶ "Möbel," n. 81.

¹¹⁷ Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, fig. 142. See also *ibid.*, pp. 55, 56 (types 40, 41 and 42), pl. 36; Vandier, *Manuel* 1, pt. 2, pp. 772–74; Reisner–Smith, *GN* 2, p. 101; Fischer, "Möbel," col. 184 with nn. 64–65.

¹¹⁸ Reisner–Smith, *GN* 2, p. 101.

¹¹⁹ Walter B. Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 55, 56 (types 40, 41 and 42), pl. 36; Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pl. 29 A.

¹²⁰ Reisner–Smith, *GN* 2, p. 101; Fischer, "Möbel," col. 184 with nn. 64–65; see also Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 242.

¹²¹ Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 173.

¹²² See Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 108, 109, no. 7, fig. 10; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 107, no. 7, fig. 30.

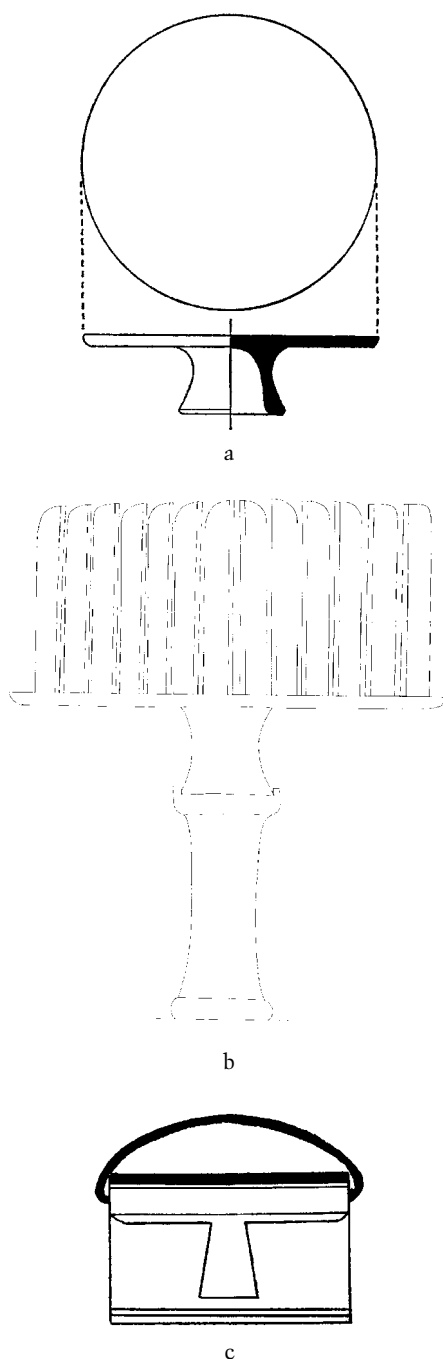


Fig. 5. Flat-topped circular tables with tubular supports.

serves to convey food to the tomb owner.¹²³ At funerary banquets, the deceased regularly sits on a chair or stool before a table of bread offerings consisting of a high stone or pottery stand on which a *ḥꜣwt*-table is placed (fig. 5b),¹²⁴ while family members and guests sit on the ground and eat from low *ḥꜣwt*-tables.¹²⁵ That *ḥꜣwt*-tables were also used in the course of earthly meals seems indicated by the marsh scenes in two Old Kingdom tombs in which an official sits on the ground and is served a meal from just such a table.¹²⁶

In Hesyre's tomb, two round-top tables, painted yellow to represent alabaster, are shown alongside a series of barrels that seem to represent corn measures.¹²⁷ Hesyre's household furniture comes next, however, just after a divider at the right, and it is possible that the tables are actually to be counted amongst the latter. Further along on the same wall, two other *ḥꜣwt*-tables are contained in covered boxes provided with handles for ease in carrying (fig. 5c). In identical containers nearby are stone bowls and a ewer and basin, all presumably part of Hesyre's table service.¹²⁸

Wb. 3, 226, 12 notes that *ḥꜣwt*-tables may also be made from metal, but the citations all belong to the New Kingdom. In fact, seven metal *ḥꜣwt*-tables are listed in a dedication inscription of Neuserre.¹²⁹

In the Middle Kingdom, *ḥꜣwt* continues to be used for flat-topped circular tables, although in one Dyn. 12 decorated coffin the term, rightly or wrongly, is ascribed to a small rectangular table.¹³⁰ In the Second Intermediate Period and later, the term also denotes altars of other sorts,¹³¹ encompassing both hand-held offering stands,¹³² flat offering

¹²³ See LD 2, pl. 23; Junker, *Giza 2*, fig. 29; 3, figs. 27, 28; *Kawab and Khafkhufu*, fig. 32.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 31 (= fig. 5a); Paule Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir)*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1976), 1, pp. 84 (d), 178 (B 13); Edward Brovarski, "A Stele of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr," *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 18 (1983), p. 5 and n. 21. The example in fig. 5b clearly shows that the tubular support of the table was introduced as a tenon into the cavity at the top of the stand. The ensemble can also evidently be referred to as *ḥꜣwt*; see *S'ahure* 2, pl. 63; Smith, "Minkhaf," pl. 22. The word for the pedestal is *gn*; see, e.g., *Wb.* 5, 174, 5–6; *Frises d'objets*, p. 246; *ArchAbousir* 1, p. 178 [B 13].

¹²⁵ E.g., *Ti* 1, pls. 56–57; *Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 29, 33–34, 36, 38; Jaromír Málek, "New Reliefs and Inscriptions from Five Old Tombs at Giza and Saqqara," *BSEG* 6 (1982), fig. 63, fig. 5.2

¹²⁶ J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–1908)* (Cairo, 1909), p. 3, pl. 61 (pedestal omitted in drawing?); Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 5 (London, 1953), pl. 30.

¹²⁷ *Tomb of Hesyr*, pp. 25–26, pl. 17.


¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37, pl. 22.


¹²⁹ Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re* (Leipzig, 1907), 3, pl. 28.

¹³⁰ *Frises d'objets*, p. 246, fig. 646.

¹³¹ *Wb.* 3, 226, 14–16.

stones,¹³³ square, crennelated altars,¹³⁴ and great built altars, like the sun altar in the Re-Harakhte chapel on the upper terrace at Deir el-Bahri, which is topped by a cavetto cornice and torus moulding and approached by a flight of steps.¹³⁵ *H3wt* is Demotic *hwy* (fem.) and Coptic $\omega\eta\eta\epsilon^s$, $\omega\eta\omega\gamma^b$, $\zeta\eta\eta\epsilon^a$.¹³⁶

f) *hnd(w)* "chair or stool:" Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* 1, p. 35; "tabouret sans dossier:" Weill, *La II^e et la III^e Dynastie*, p. 253; "Sitz, Thron (des Königs oder eines Gottes); auch einfächer Sessel der Form :" *Wb.* 3, 314, 4–6; "seat or carrying chair:" Hassan, *Giza* 5, p. 122; 6³, p. 56; "chair:" Gardiner, "A Unique Funerary Liturgy," *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 14; "stool with bent wood reinforcement:" Henry G. Fischer, "Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt," *MMJ* 13 (1978), p. 16 and n. 66.

The verb *hnd* is applied to the action of "bending" wood, the "plaining" of baskets,¹³⁷ and the "twisting" together of the stems of flowers to make wreaths. In the furniture lists of Hathor-nefer-hetep and Rahotep (10), the determinative of *hnd(w)* is a simple archaic stool with a bent wood stretcher beneath supporting both legs and seat: .¹³⁸ The determinative is, in fact, very like the bent wood seat of the Third Dynasty statue of the princess Redji, although the addition of a low back transforms the latter into a chair (fig. 6).¹³⁹ Hathor-nefer-hetep's stool was fashioned from imported ebony. In Rahotep's case the stool is colored yellow, perhaps indicating that it was made from a native wood.¹⁴⁰

In the Pyramid Texts this term seems to have a wider application. In PT 606c, 736a, 1165c, *hnd* is determined by a drawing of the other common type of archaic stool with bull's legs and papyrus terminals on the

¹³² E.g., CG 36338: Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* 1 (Leipzig, 1923), pl. 7 (b); Howard Carter, "Report on the Tomb of Sen-nefer found at Biban el-Molouk near that of Thotmes III no 34," *ASAE* 2 (1901), p. 200 (3).

¹³³ Wolfgang Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 4, no. 7.

¹³⁴ *Urk.* 4, pp. 629, 639.

¹³⁵ Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahri* 1 (London, 1894), p. 8, pl. 8. For earlier altars of this kind, see Rainer Stadelmann, "Altar," *LÄ* 1 (1972), cols. 146–47.

¹³⁶ W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 353; W. Vycichl, *DELC*, p. 274.

¹³⁷ *Wb.* 3, 312, 15; Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (London, 1901), pl. 4; Pierre Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire* (Strasbourg, 1925), p. 314; *AEO* 1, p. 66; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 138–39; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 42.


¹³⁸ Killen, *Furniture*, p. 38.



¹³⁹ Turin 3065. Dr. Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri, Soprintendente delle Antichità Egizie at the Museo Egizio, most kindly provided the photograph reproduced here as fig. 6. For a view of the statue showing the back, see Donadoni Roveri, *Daily Life*, pl. 169. A very similar chair appears in the painted corridor of Hesyre (*Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 18 [36]).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 27, 30, and *passim*.



Fig. 6. Statue of Princess Redji, Turin 3065.

side-rails (). As in the archaic steles from Helwan and Saqqara, the seat of the stool is viewed from above.¹⁴¹ *Hnd* with the same type of stool as determinative figures in two archaic priestly titles *hm-ntr B3stt hryt hnd* and *hm-ntr Hnm hnty pr hnd*.¹⁴²

Again in the Pyramid Texts, *hnd(w)* is applied to a throne-like seat with back and arms.¹⁴³ The most specific determinative likewise possesses bull's legs and papyrus terminals ().¹⁴⁴ In three instances, the throne is said to be made from "(meteoric) iron" (*b3*).¹⁴⁵ In PT 1906 c, on the other hand, the throne is fashioned of ebony (*hbn*). An even more elaborate theriomorphic throne is described in PT 1124: "He (viz. the king) sits on this iron throne of his, the faces of which are those of lions, and its feet are the hooves of the Great Wild Bull."¹⁴⁶ Just such a sign determines *hndw* in PT 1293 a (). A curious feature of these thrones is the curved frame of the armrest which otherwise appears on the carrying chairs (c) and on the portable chair illustrated in fig. 9b.



In a Dyn. 12 coffin *hnd* is written over four isolated furniture supports in the form of bull's legs, the object or objects represented being otherwise destroyed.¹⁴⁷ Since the word is otherwise applied to seats of various sorts, the legs may well have belonged to two chairs or stools.

The determinative of *hnd* in a papyrus from a tomb of the Thirteenth Dynasty discovered beneath the Ramesseum¹⁴⁸ is that of a chair

¹⁴¹ Heinrich Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, ed. by Emma Brunner-Traut; translated and ed. by John Baines, with a foreword by E.H. Gombrich (Oxford, 1974), p. 140, fig. 122; *HESP*, pp. 122–23. In private tombs this feature is attested as late as Dyn. 4; see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p.32 (Criterion 8), fig. 10, pl. 9, table on p. 155.

¹⁴² G. Maspero, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire; fragment de dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette publié d'après le manuscrit du l'auteur* (Paris, 1889), p. 70. In the epithet of Khnum, Mariette copied *hnt*. Barbara Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1981), p. 48, emends to *hndt*, seeing this as an otherwise unattested feminine form of *hnd(w)*. Since emendation does appear necessary, I prefer to emend the *t* to *d*.

¹⁴³ Kurt Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1908–22), 1, spells 770 c, 805 b; 2, spells 1124 a, 1165 c, 1293 a, 1298 a, 1301 b (hereafter PT and spell number).


¹⁴⁴ PT 770 c, 805 b, 1124 a. In the pyramids of Merenre and Pepy II, more conventionalized signs ,  that resemble the portable seat used to write the name of Osiris in the Middle Kingdom and later (Gardiner, *EG*, p. 500 [Q 3]), determine the word *hnd(w)*; see PT 770 c, 805 b and 1165 c, and also in PT 865 a, 873, a, 1016 a, 1165 c. I would like to express my appreciation to Prof. Jean Leclant and Mme. I. Pierre, who have been most generous in sharing with me their beautiful facsimile copies of hieroglyphic texts inscribed on the walls of the pyramids of Pepy I and Merenre utilized in the text. Their facsimiles generally confirm the accuracy of Sethe's hand copies of the same signs.

¹⁴⁵ See John R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 166–68.

¹⁴⁶ R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969), 1, p. 184. (hereafter *FPT*).

¹⁴⁷ *Frises d'objets*, p. 243 and n. 1.

¹⁴⁸ Gardiner, "Unique Funerary Liturgy," pl. V, l. 81, p. 14.

with carved animal-legs and tall straight back (the slanting back rest characteristic of New Kingdom chairs is lacking): ¹⁴⁹.

ḥnd appears to represent an instance of a word with a very specific meaning originally ("stool with bent wood reinforcement"), which over time came to have a wider application, often seemingly without any apparent connection to the root meaning of the word: "bull-legged stool," "lion-headed throne," "straight-backed chair," and so forth. On the other hand, many of these types of seats probably incorporated minor bent wood elements, such as small angular braces, and these may have constituted the tie that binds.

In the New Kingdom and later, the term acquires a new, if related, meaning: "stairway, (flight of) steps," especially of a throne or chapel.¹⁵⁰

g) *st-(n)-ḥt* "seat of wood:" Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* 1, pp. 34–35; "type de lit le plus simple:" *Frisés d'objets*, p. 243; "Name des Ruhebetten:" *Wb.* 5, 6, 21; "Liegestuhl:" Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 71.

This is the earlier of the two Old Kingdom words for bed. Only in Kha-bau-sokar's furniture list, where *st-n-ḥt* "bed of wood" appears, does the indirect genitive occur. Otherwise, except for Hathor-nefer-hetep's list, where *ḥt* follows *st* directly, *st-ḥt* is usually written with *ḥt* in apposition, to indicate the material of which the bed is made (9–10, 14, 23).¹⁵¹ In the lists of Khabausokar and his wife Hathor-nefer-hetep, where the term is subsumed under the heading "*sꜥd*-wood," the element *ḥt* "wood" seems redundant. In place of *ḥt*, Senenu (19) has *mnq*-wood.¹⁵²

The determinative in the early furniture-lists of Khabausokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep, as well as in both of Rahotep's lists, is a gently sloping bedframe with bent wood legs. In the published photographs and drawings of the first two lists, the determinatives are on too small a scale to be certain, but in both of Rahotep's lists the lower bend of the

¹⁴⁹ For this innovation, see Baker, *Furniture*, pp. 63, 128–29; Killen, *Furniture*, pp. 51–52, and the chairs numbered 4 and 5. The earliest depiction of such a chair known to me is in a stele of the reign of Senusert I; see William Kelly Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* (New Haven, 1974), pl. 51 (ANOC 33.1). They appear sporadically in steles of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period; see e.g., *ibid.*, pls. 32 (ANOC 22.2) and 76 (ANOC 54.1); H.O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo* 4 (Berlin, 1902), pls. 21 (CG 20434), 39 (CG 20537), 49 (CG 20614), 55 (CG 20732), 95 [613–615], 96 [616–625]; cf. pl. 93 [575]. For the antecedents of these chairs, see n. 167 below.

¹⁵⁰ *Wb.* 3, 314, 11–14.

¹⁵¹ For this function of badal apposition, see Gardiner, *EG*, § 90, 1; Elmar Edel, *Alt-ägyptische Grammatik*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1955, 1964), I, § 312. Possibly *ḥt* distinguishes beds made of wood from those in other materials like palm-stalks or wicker; see e.g., Denise Ammoun, *Crafts of Egypt* (Cairo, 1991), p. 69.

¹⁵² On *mnq*-wood, see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 208.

bed legs definitely rest on drums. The same sort of bed (on wide drums) appears in a craft scene in the "Tomb of the Two Brothers" (fig. 2b), but here the bed is designated by the later term, *ꜥtt* (a).¹⁵³

In the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir, four, probably originally five, male figures transport articles of furniture (fig. 7).¹⁵⁴ The wall is damaged and only the upper part of the body of the first man remains, while the second figure is completely destroyed. Verner remarks that the arms of the first man are turned backwards, which implies that he must have been carrying a sizeable object together with the second man behind him.¹⁵⁵ The piece of furniture carried by the two figures is likewise destroyed, but an upright element in the space between the rear arm and body of the first figure, which may represent a footboard, suggests that the object was probably a bed.¹⁵⁶ The third man evidently held an angled backrest (j) over one shoulder. The pair of figures bringing up the rear of the procession carry between them an arm chair with high back and lion's paw legs. The horizontal line of inscription above the row of five male figures reads as follows: *shꜥpt swt r dw m st.sn i(n) shꜥd(w) sdꜥwt(yw) n pr-dt*, "Bringing the *swt* to be put in their places by the inspector(s) of treasurers of the estate."¹⁵⁷

A fairly common scene in Old Kingdom mastabas shows attendants readying their master's bedchamber.¹⁵⁸ In the tomb of Kayemankh at Giza, for example, a number of attendants prepare an armchair and bed, the former set within a canopy, for their master's use (fig. 8).¹⁵⁹ The legend to the former vignette reads *whꜥ st* "dusting the armchair,"¹⁶⁰ while over the latter is written *wdt ꜥtt*, "making the bed." The armchair has a high back, square supports on the sides for elbows and arms, and side rails terminating in papyrus flower ornaments, while its bull's legs rest on fulcrum-shaped supports. In a second bed-making scene from the Saqqara mastaba of Werirenptah, two men remove sheets from a chest and bring them to the attendants making up the owner's bed; the legend here reads: *dw st in sdꜥwt(yw)*, "making the bed by the treasurers."¹⁶¹

¹⁵³ *Nianchchnum*, pl. 63.

¹⁵⁴ Verner, *Ptahshepses*, photo 19, pl. 9.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁵⁶ This detail is omitted in the drawing in *ibid.*, pl. 9, but is clear in photo 19.

¹⁵⁷ Verner, *ibid.*, p. 23, treats the sentence differently. I take *dw* to be the masculine infinitive of *wdi*; see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, Table 3 on p. 12*.

¹⁵⁸ See PM 3², pp. 357 [15], 907 [15].

¹⁵⁹ Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 10 A.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁶¹ *HTES I*², pl. 29 (2).



Fig. 7. Bearers of furniture in the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abu Sir.

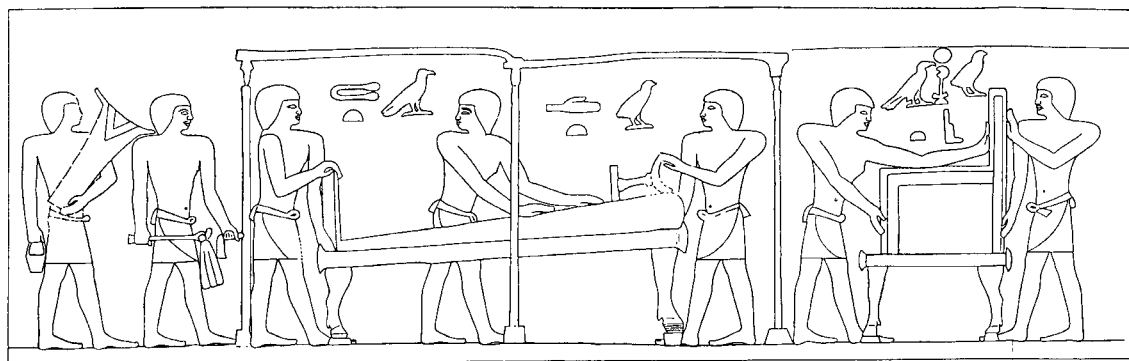



Fig. 8. Bedchamber scene from the chapel of Ka-em-ankh.

From the evidence of the furniture lists, as well as the wall scenes in the tombs of Ptahshepses and Werirenptah, it is clear that *st* in the Old Kingdom was a term that encompassed beds as well as seats. Going one step further, Henry Fischer has suggested that *st* in origin perhaps designated any “piece of furniture on which one rested, whether seated or reclining.”¹⁶²

Erman in fact was of the opinion that the Egyptian bed was really only a broader seat.¹⁶³ Beds from the early dynastic tombs of Tarkhan are so short that a sleeper would have to curl up tightly when taking advantage of one.¹⁶⁴ Actual early dynastic beds are usually low, rarely exceeding 30.8 cm, and chairs are often no higher.¹⁶⁵ When depicted together in Old Kingdom daily life scenes, beds and chairs usually appear to be of similar height.¹⁶⁶ Externally then, there is little to distinguish theriomorphic beds and chairs except breadth and the presence of a foot-board in lieu of a low backrest. Perhaps for these reasons, the Egyptians did not draw a sharp distinction between beds and chairs.

To return to *st-(n)-ḥt*. Although beds with bent wood supports are sometimes labeled *st* (a), as far as can be judged from the surviving evidence, *st-(n)-ḥt* is only applied to the type of sloping bed with bent wood supports, never to the other two types of Old Kingdom beds (above, p. 130). This may reflect the nature of the evidence, however, since *st* alone does refer to theriomorphic beds in the tombs of Kayemankh and Werirenptah.

h) *st ḥms* “Stuhl zum Sitzen:” Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 71.

We have just seen that the term *st*, generally translated “seat, throne,” also possessed the meaning “bed” in the Old Kingdom. This dual usage perhaps explains the existence of the term *st-ḥms* “a seat for sitting” in the furniture list of Kayemankh. The sign , which functions as a determinative of *st-ḥms* in the list of Kayemankh (and as a logogram in *st-[n]-ḥt* elsewhere), seemingly reflects the form of the simple high-backed chair with straight legs which is attested in relief as early as the Second Dynasty.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Henry George Fischer, “Stuhl,” *LÄ* 6 (1985), col. 92.

¹⁶³ Adolf Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (Tübingen, 1885), p. 261.

¹⁶⁴ Tarkhan I, pp. 23–24; Henry George Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1986), p. 188.

¹⁶⁵ Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 242. For actual beds or chairs, see idem, *Ḥor-aha* (Cairo, 1939), p. 63, cat. no. 348; idem, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1949; Oxford, 1954–58), 1, p. 57, cat. nos. 538, 539; 2, p. 53, cat. no. 300; Killen, *Furniture*, pp. 24–26, nos. 1–4; 37, no. 2; see also *Tomb of Hesy*, pls. 18–20. Higher chairs, which allowed a proper seated posture, are illustrated in niche-stones from the Second Dynasty cemetery at Helwan; see Baker, *Furniture*, p. 37, figs. 24, 25, and below, n. 167.

¹⁶⁶ See as well, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 8, pl. 9 a; *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 9.

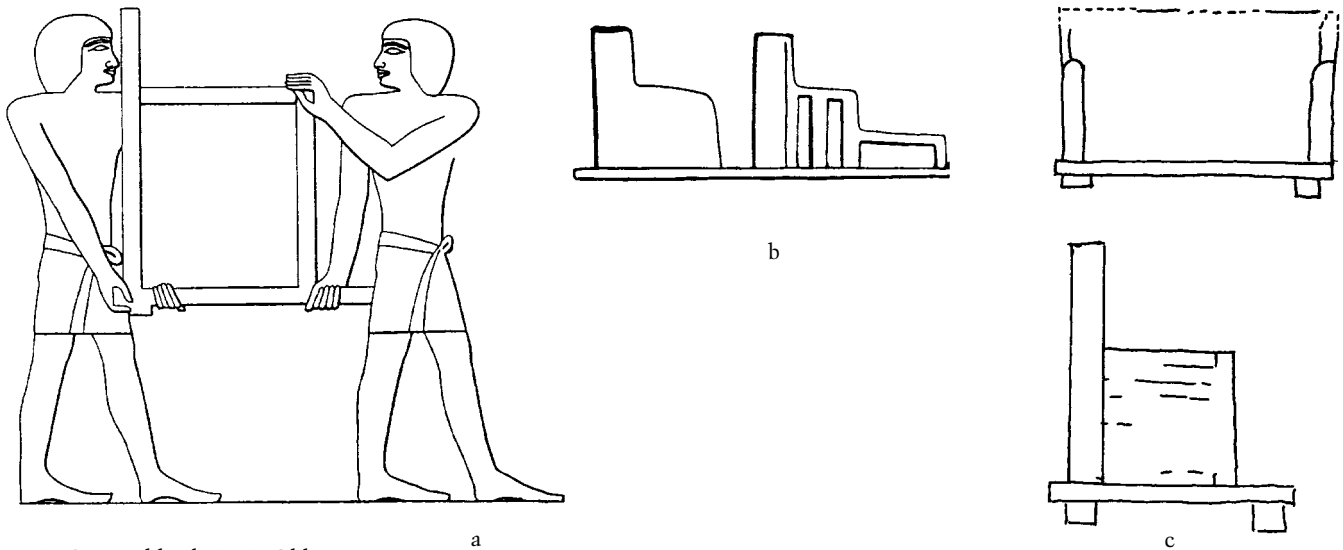


Fig. 9. Portable chairs in Old Kingdom tombs.

There is no question that *st* by itself could refer to seats during the Old Kingdom. Above, we have seen that Kayemankh's bull-legged armchair is designated a *st*. An arm chair with lion's legs in the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses is likewise denominated.¹⁶⁸ In the Pyramid Texts *st* is applied to a "throne" with bull's legs and papyrus terminals on the side-rails (𓆎).¹⁶⁹ In two other spells, the determinative of *st* is a lion-headed, bull-legged throne, the same sign that elsewhere in this corpus of religious literature serves as the determinative of *ḥndw* (f).¹⁷⁰


It is possible that 𓆎 (a) appeared at a time when the word *st* came increasingly to be applied to proper seats of various forms. Evidence for this conjecture may be provided by the furniture list of Izi. In that list 𓆎

¹⁶⁷ Baker, *Furniture*, pp. 32–33, 51; figs. 24–25. Straight-back chairs are sometimes represented in Old Kingdom statuary; see Institut français d'archéologie orientale, *Un siècle de fouilles françaises en Egypte 1880–1980* (Cairo, 1981), cat. no. 59; Henry G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, NY, 1968), pp. 102–3 and pl. 7. Fischer, *ibid.*, p. 103, doubts that these chairs were patterned on a piece of furniture in daily use, but the examples in Second Dynasty stele, though admittedly few in number, suggest otherwise. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art*, p. 190, pls. 84 and 85, calls attention to a rigidly straight-backed chair with low scroll legs in a boat model of the vizier Meketre and to an actual fragment of such a chair in Cairo. A chair in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, published by him as Middle Kingdom, *ibid.*, pp. 189–90, pl. 85, and said to be from Naga-ed-Dêr tomb N 3765, is actually from N 3746, a tomb that yielded up a stele that forms part of the Polychrome Group of Dynasty 9 (Dows Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* [Boston, 1937], p. 43, pl. 13 [2]; Edward Brovarski, "Naga (Nag)-ed-Dêr," *LÄ* 4 (1980), cols. 308–9). According to Naga-ed-Dêr Notebook 2, p. 4, however, the tomb was almost certainly reused in Dynasty 18, and the chair may conceivably belong to the later period.

¹⁶⁸ Verner, *Abusir* 1, pl. 10.

¹⁶⁹ PT 267 c.

¹⁷⁰ PT 306 e, 509 c.

is the term applied to a lion-headed bed, while *st-ḥt* is determined by what appears to be a chair without legs . Presumably a kind of portable chair that appears from time to time in Old Kingdom reliefs and paintings was intended (fig. 9a–c).¹⁷¹

i) *sḥ* “table:” Griffith, in Petrie, *Medum*, p. 38; “ein Gerät (Gestell o.a.):” *Wb.* 4, 22, 4.

The term *sḥ* is known only from Rahotep’s furniture list. The determinative looks like a high, straight-legged table. It is colored white, which may suggest it was made from an inferior wood and gessoed to improve its appearance.¹⁷² A table of similar proportions in the tomb of the vizier Mereruka functions as a gaming board (fig. 10a).¹⁷³

Tables are ubiquitous in Old Kingdom representations. They can be high, like Rahotep’s and Mereruka’s tables, medium (fig. 10b)¹⁷⁴ or low (fig. 10c).¹⁷⁵ They may be reinforced with bent wood braces (figs. 10a–b, e–f) or stretchers (fig. 10d)¹⁷⁶ or be provided with both (fig. 10e–f).¹⁷⁷ One table has a cavetto cornice and torus molding at the upper edge (fig. 10f).¹⁷⁸ Another, used for gaming purposes, may be fitted with a drawer (fig. 10b). Although they often served as sideboards,¹⁷⁹ rectangular tables do not appear to have been used for dining, a function which was evidently reserved for *ḥwt*-tables (e).

As Fischer notes, tables in general do not seem to have acquired splayed legs much before Dyn. 11.¹⁸⁰ One exception (fig. 10g), which serves as a sideboard,¹⁸¹ probably falls into the category of cult tables (*wḏḥw*).¹⁸²

¹⁷¹ E.g., *Ti* 1, pl. 16 (= fig. 9a); Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, fig. 38 (= fig. 19b); Junker, *Giza* 4, pl. 14; *Two Craftsmen*, pl. 1; *Nianchchnum*, pl. 63 (= fig. 9c); Richard A. Fazzini, “Some Egyptian Reliefs in Brooklyn,” in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (Brooklyn, 1972), p. 41, fig. 7; *El Hawawish* 1, fig. 9, pl. 6. In the mastabas of Kayemrehu (fig. 9b) and of Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep, a carrying chair is depicted nearby.

¹⁷² See Baker, *Furniture*, p. 118.

¹⁷³ E.g., *Mereruka* 2, pl. 172.

¹⁷⁴ E.g., Baker, *Furniture*, fig. 61 (= J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1907–1908* [Cairo, 1909], pl. 64).

¹⁷⁵ E.g., *Mereruka* 1, pl. 30.

¹⁷⁶ E.g., *ibid.*, pl. 90.

¹⁷⁷ E.g., *ibid.*, pl. 30.

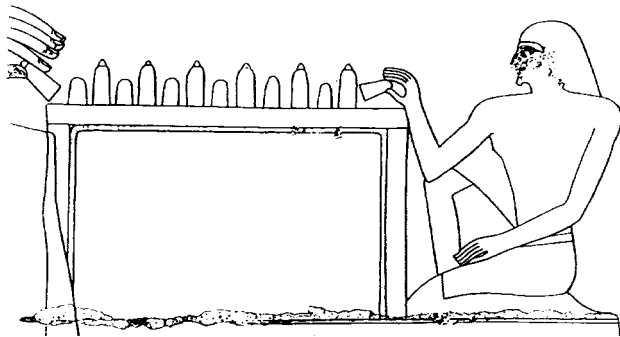
¹⁷⁸ LD 2, 61a. Cavetto-corniced, splayed leg tables are more common in the Middle and New Kingdoms, and actual examples exist; see Fischer, “Möbel,” col. 183 and n. 72; Peter Der Manuelian, in Edward Brovarski, Susan K. Doll, and Rita E. Freed eds., *Egypt’s Golden Age* (Boston, 1982), cat. no. 45; Fischer, *L’écriture et l’art*, p. 182, pl. 66.

¹⁷⁹ E.g., *Mereruka* 1, pls. 57, 58, 63–64; 2, pls. 121, 122.

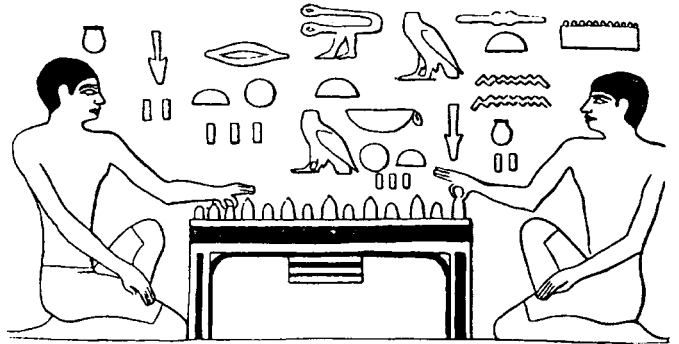
¹⁸⁰ Fischer, “Möbel,” col. 184.

¹⁸¹ Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 92.

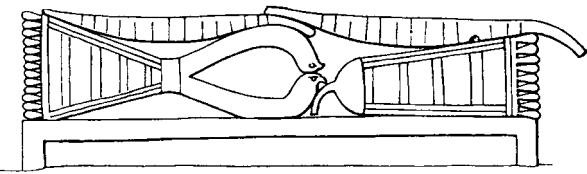
¹⁸² *Wb.* 1, 393, 15.



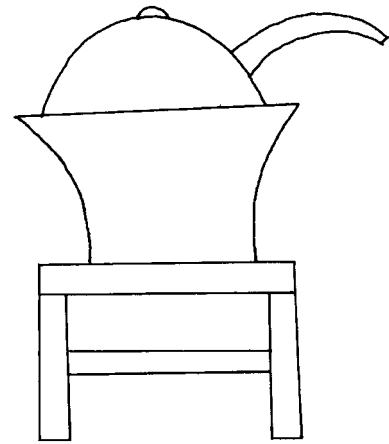
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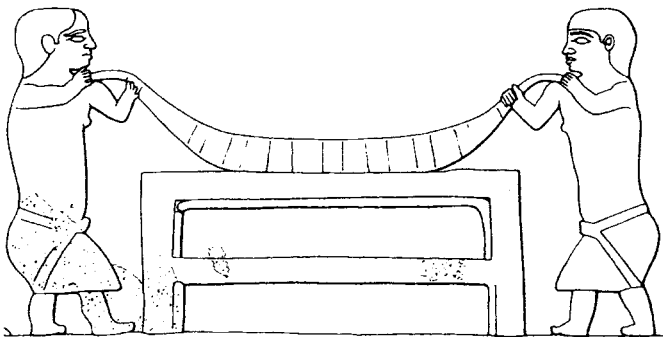
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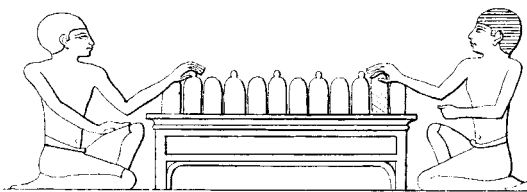
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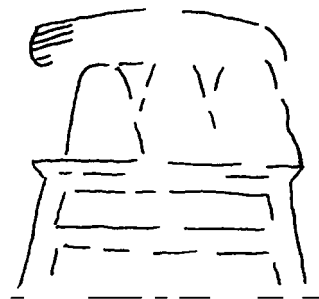
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e



f



g

Fig. 10. Old Kingdom tables.

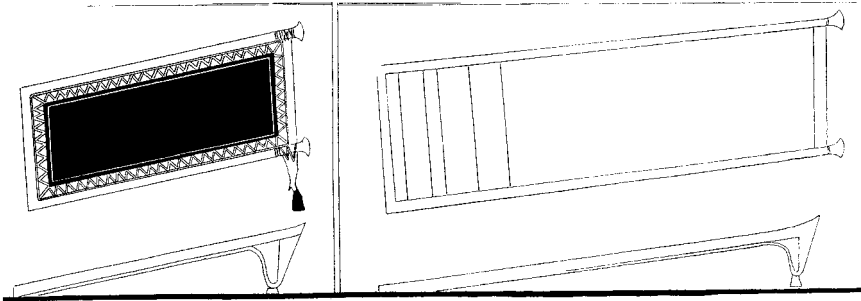




Fig. 11. Angled backrests and two-legged beds from the mastaba of Hesyre.

j) *gs(ꜣw)t* "sloped footboard:" Griffith, in: *Saqq. Mast. 1*, p. 35; "two-legged inclined rest:" *Tomb of Hesy*, p. 29; "two-legged bed, in fact only an angled backrest rather like a wedge-shaped cushion:" Schäfer, *Principles*, p. 140; "lit:" *Frises d'objets*, p. 243, n. 5; "Art Ruhebett (in geneigter form):" *Wb. V* 206, 1; "Liegestuhl:" Junker, *Giza 4*, p. 83; "Schemel oder Rückenstütze:" Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 101.

This article of furniture appears as *gsꜣ* in the list of Hathor-neferhetep. Later writings consistently include a terminal *-t*. *Gst* (18, 22) and *gsꜣt* (20, 23) each appear twice, while a full writing, *gsꜣwt*, is known from (19) as well as from a carpentry scene in the Tomb of the Two Brothers at Saqqara.¹⁸³ The group  in the tomb of Kapunesut presumably reads *gst*. A problematical spelling is *qnst* () in the tomb of Metjen.¹⁸⁴

Outside of the furniture lists, *gs(ꜣ)wt* appear in a variety of pictorial contexts, the earliest being the eastern wall of the painted corridor of Hesyre. Beside two pairs of four-legged beds appear four *gs(ꜣ)wt* (fig. 11),¹⁸⁵ separated into pairs by the mast of a tent.¹⁸⁶ The two-legged beds on the right of the mast are about the same size as the four-legged beds. The *gs(ꜣ)wt* to the left of the mast, which are two-thirds the size of those at the right, might better be described as two-legged, angled backrests.

The angled backrest on the upper left was drawn in plan and side elevation to show both the frame and one of the two bull's legs at the head end. Killen observes that it was drawn sloping from head to foot to

¹⁸³ *Nianchchnum*, pl. 62.

¹⁸⁴ LD 2, pl. 4; *ÄIB* 1, p. 87. Is it possible that *kn* actually refers to the doubled-over cloth that the second bearer from the left holds in his hand, while *st* (g, h) is applied to the angled backrest borne by the third man? For *kni* as an ornament worn by *sem*-priests and kings, see *Wb.* 5, 51, 9.

¹⁸⁵ *Tomb of Hesy*, pls. 19–20.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

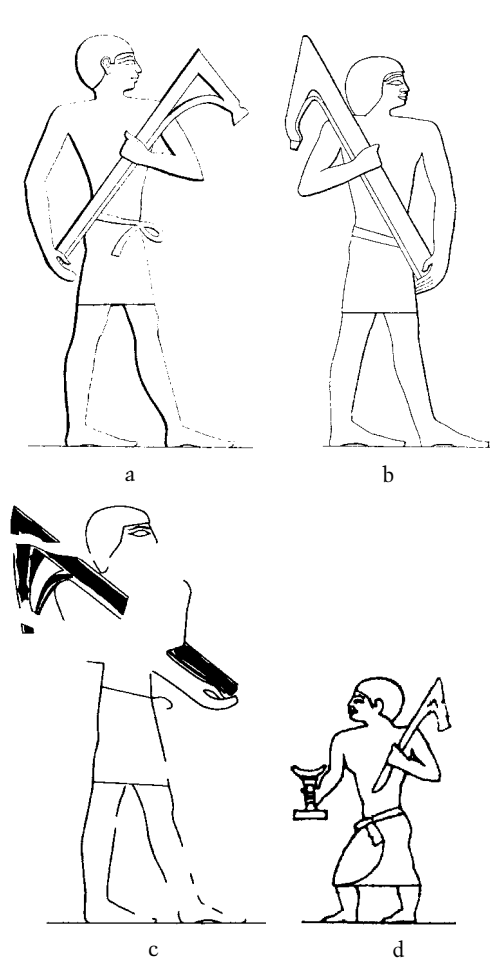


Fig. 12. Method of carrying angled backrests in Old Kingdom scenes of daily life.

conform to the other *gs(3)wt.*¹⁸⁷ Bull's leg were used as furniture supports from the earliest period,¹⁸⁸ but not ordinarily for angled backrests. The only other instance known to me comes from the tomb of Kayem-rehu (fig. 13a). The form of the mattress also seems to have attracted the interest of the artist, who shows in considerable detail how it was attached to the frame by a webbing (presumably made of leather straps) woven through slots in the side and bottoms of the rails.¹⁸⁹ The leather thongs that fastened the top of the leg to the frame are indicated as well. Like those of the longer, two-legged bed shown in plan at the right, the projecting side-rails of this backrest end in papyrus flower terminals.¹⁹⁰

The two-legged bed on the upper right seems to have consisted of thirteen cross planks originally, but only five were still visible when Quibell recorded Hesyre's paintings.¹⁹¹ The artist here omits the legs which presumably supported the head end. The two-legged bed below and corresponding backrest on the other side of the mast are drawn in elevation. Both have bent wood supports and drums.

Two-legged beds appear to have passed out of fashion after Dyn. 3, but two-legged, angled backrests continue to be found in scenes which show the tomb owner on outings—generally tours of inspection—where they are carried by an attendant along with other personal equipment (fig. 12b–d).¹⁹²

In the tomb of Metjen the context is not so clear. To either side of the entrance on the east wall of the chapel, short processions of offering bearers appear above a large figure of the tomb owner.¹⁹³ Whereas Metjen faces the doorway, the bearers have their backs to the entrance, as if walking into the tomb. One of the bearers to the north of the entrance carries an angled backrest (fig. 12a), while the man immediately behind him holds a headrest. On the west wall of the chapel (to the south of the false door) a large figure of Metjen views a very abbreviated hunting scene, which is continued on the south wall.¹⁹⁴ Over the

¹⁸⁷ Killen, *Furniture*, p. 27.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁹⁰ *Tomb of Hesy*, p. 29 [43, 44].

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30 [47].

¹⁹² E.g., LD 2, pl. 107; *Ti 1*, pl. 17 (= fig. 12b); *Two Craftsmen*, pl. 3 (= fig. 12c). In the tomb of Iymery at Giza, the tomb owner's father, Shepseskaf-ankh, sallies forth in his carrying-chair. In the register below, the personal effects which are to accompany him are laid out on tables; included is an angled backrest with a headrest on it; see Kent R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000* (Boston, 1994), fig. 32, pl. 16 (= LD 2, pl. 50). Cf. *Frises d'objets*, p. 241.

¹⁹³ LD 2, pl. 4 (reversed here).

¹⁹⁴ *HESP*, p. 152.

animals on the south wall are three more attendants marching into the chapel, one of whom carries the bed reproduced in our fig. 2a.¹⁹⁵ If the relative scale can be trusted, the angled backrest is a little more than half the length of the bed.

It is possible that the three groups of attendants on the walls of Metjen's chapel are associated thematically with the only scene from life in the chapel, the hunting scene on the west and south walls, that is, as transporting equipment needed for his outing on the *gebel*.

In Room 3 of the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir, processions of attendants march with furniture, boxes, and cases toward the entrance, as if preceding out of the tomb.¹⁹⁶ The large figure of the vizier on the southern part of the east wall is similarly oriented, and this might well be another example of a tomb owner's outing.¹⁹⁷ What appears to be an angled backrest occurs in the damaged scene on the rear wall of Room 3 to the south of a doorway (fig. 7).¹⁹⁸ Although Verner¹⁹⁹ identifies this object as a bed, the manner in which the badly damaged figure holds it indicates that the article of furniture was in fact a two-legged angled backrest; compare fig. 12a–c.

Finally, in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Nesutnofer at Giza, a dwarf carries the owner's headrest in his right hand and a two-legged angled backrest over his shoulder in his other hand (fig. 12c).²⁰⁰ In the register below, a second dwarf holds the owner's staff and sandals, while above, two Nubians carry other personal items. Between the two doors in the west wall, the owner and his wife stand viewing the presentation of animals and goods from his estates in Upper Egypt. The presence of the animals shows that this event takes place in the open air, and it is likely that the four attendants were understood to be in attendance on the owner on this outing, even though separated from him by the intervening false door.

Two-legged angled backrests also appear in scenes showing the preparation of funerary equipment. One, in the tomb of Kayemrehu, is about half the size of the bed being polished by two squatting carpenters in the

¹⁹⁵ LD 2, pl. 6.

¹⁹⁶ Verner, *Ptahshepses*, p. 11, pls. 1–3, 9–10.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 1.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 9.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁰⁰ Junker, *Giza 3*, fig. 27; cf. pl. 5. Sensitive to scale, the draftsman has evidently reduced the size of the backrest to correspond to the height of the dwarf. Otherwise this would be a very small backrest indeed.

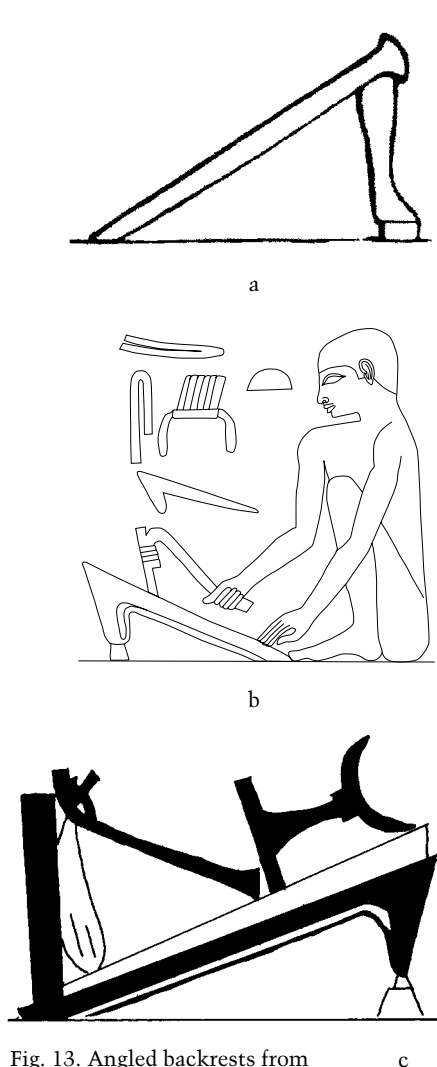


Fig. 13. Angled backrests from Saqqara (a–b) and Giza (c).

register below.²⁰¹ As in Hesyre's paintings, Kayemrehu's angled backrest has a bull's leg support (fig. 13a).

In the tomb of the Two Brothers, a carpenter planes a *gsꜣwt* with an adze (fig. 13b).²⁰² This backrest, like most of those depicted elsewhere and the bed being worked on nearby, has a bent wood support and drums, the whole resting on low, fulcrum-shaped supports. It is about a third the length of the bed.

In the burial chamber of Kayemankh, an angled headrest is depicted along with other household furniture.²⁰³ This backrest has bent wood supports ending in drums on fulcrum-shaped supports and, most unexpectedly, is equipped with a high footboard (fig. 13c). Resting on it are a cushion, headrest, and fly whisk. It is portrayed as about the same size as the bed, which is being made up by a servant, but both bed and servant are much smaller than they should be relative to the portable armchair and leather bag in the same register. The relative proportions of the backrest, headrest, and flywhisk to one another, on the other hand, seem about right.

A number of conclusions emerge from this review of the occurrences of *gsꜣwt* in the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom. First, the early *gsꜣwt* depicted in the painted corridor of Hesyre—both the two-legged beds and the angled backrests—appear to be considerably longer than the later Old Kingdom examples. Second, by the early Fourth Dynasty at the latest, smaller *gsꜣwt* existed which, from their size, can only have functioned as backrests.

The latter appear to have been only a half to a third as long as ordinary beds, and unlike them could be easily transported. Only in the tomb of Metjen does a single bearer carry with difficulty this larger piece of furniture (fig. 2a).

With a two-legged backrest of the later type, the user presumably sat on a mat and reclined against the backrest. It is unlikely that he would have rested his upper body on the mat with his legs and feet resting on the backrest. The curious backrest provided with a footboard in the tomb of Kaemankh (fig. 13c) would leave the user's upper torso projecting at an acute angle above the ground. It is probably a mistake, falsely echoing the high board at the foot of the bed in the same register.²⁰⁴

James Allen suggests plausibly that *gsꜣwt* derives from *gsꜣ* "to lean, incline."²⁰⁵ But the later *gsꜣwt* at least were essentially half-beds. The

²⁰¹ Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, fig. 38.

²⁰² *Nianchchnum*, pl. 62.

²⁰³ Junker, *Giza 4*, pl. 14.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Vandier, *Manuel 4*, p. 188.

scribe of the inventory list preserved in Boston, perhaps playing on the words *gs(ꜣ)t* and *gs* “half,”²⁰⁶ showed the determinative for *gst* with a splintered end, as if a four-legged bed had been broken in two.

Both two-legged beds and angled backrests appear to have gone out of fashion at the end of the Old Kingdom.

In addition to the furniture lists, a certain number of other terms for furniture occur sporadically in Old Kingdom sources.

k) *nḏrwt* “Teile des Bettes:” *Wb.* 2, 382, 17; “bedstead:” *L. to D.*, pp. 2, 15; “household property:” Battiscombe Gunn, review of *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, by Alan H. Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, in *JEA* 16 (1930), pp. 149, 150; “household furniture:” Wentz, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, p. 211.

To quote Gardiner and Sethe in their commentary on the Letter to the Dead on the Cairo linen: “*Nḏrwt* perhaps from the stem *nḏr* “to carpenter,” hence possibly “bedstead,” “frame of bed.” So restrictive a translation does not necessarily follow from the meaning of the verb *nḏr*, and this may have prompted Gunn to translate *nḏrwt* with the more general sense of “household property,” and Wentz to translate it as “household furniture.” However, if the *Wb.* is correct in identifying *nḏrwt* as a component of beds, by a process of exclusion *nḏrwt* might well be “bedframe,” since the word for the feet of a bed or other piece of furniture appears to be *rdw*,²⁰⁷ and the word for footboard, at least in the New Kingdom, *mrt*.²⁰⁸

l) *ḥwdt* “Art Tragsessel:” *Wb.* 3, 250, 3.

In the tombs of both Ibi and Djau Shemai at Deir el-Gebrawi carpenters are shown planing carrying chairs with adzes (fig. 14a–b). Over the head of the workman in the earlier scene is written: *nḏr ḥwdd* (sic) *in fnḥ* “fashioning a carrying chair by a carpenter.”²⁰⁹ The label over the later scene is damaged (as is the chair itself) and all that remains is . . . *ḥmḥ ḥwdt ḥbn* “ . . . a carrying chair of ebony.”²¹⁰ The term *ḥwdt* is known from a number of other contexts, including its appearance in the fragmentary biographical inscription of the Old Kingdom published by Goedicke.²¹¹ This fragmentary inscription tells how the king provided a carrying chair from the Residence for an esteemed official who was tak-

²⁰⁵ According to *Wb.* 5, 205, 7–8, the verb is only attested from the Middle Kingdom.

²⁰⁶ *Wb.* 5, 196, 1–19.

²⁰⁷ *Wb.* 2, 426, 14–15, and above, p. 140 (PT 1124).

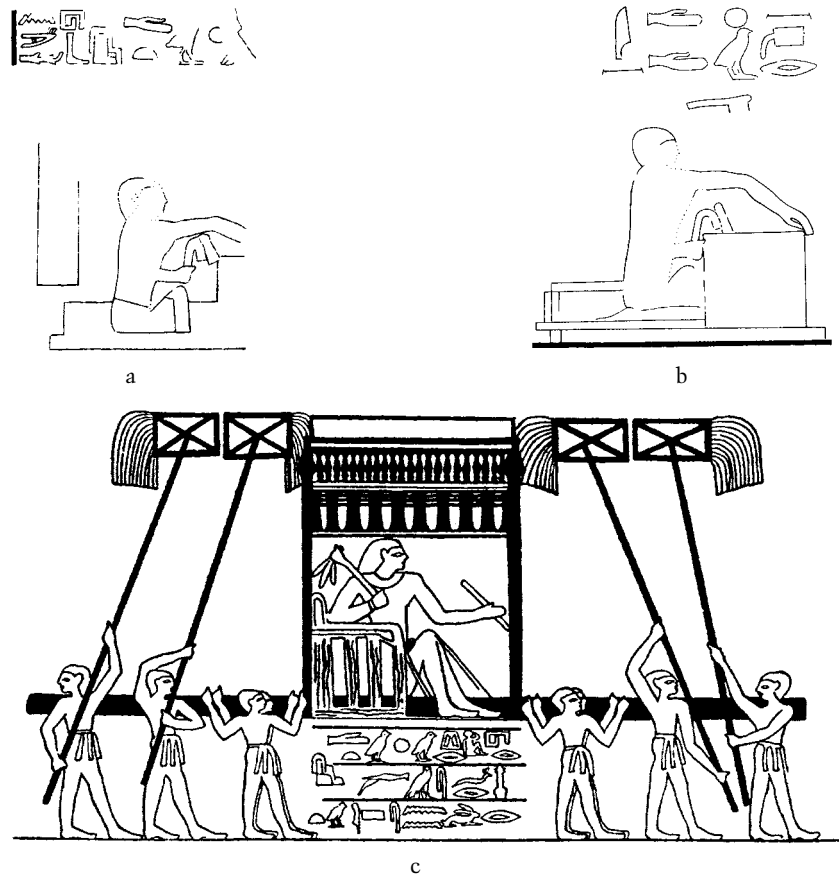
²⁰⁸ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 184.

²⁰⁹ *Gebr.* 1, pl. 14.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, pl. 10

²¹¹ Goedicke, “Biographical Inscription,” pp. 8ff., fig. 1, pl. 2.

Fig. 14. Old Kingdom carrying chairs.



en ill in the course of duty, at the same time assigning youths to carry him in it so that he might continue to supervise the work in his charge. Goedicke has noted that the fragmentary inscription is in part probably a literal parallel to *Urk.* 1, 43, 16, which should be restored accordingly.²¹² The latter passage belongs to the biography of the vizier Washptah who, like the Goedicke's anonymous official, was taken ill in the presence of the king, and who was similarly provided with a carrying chair (*ḥwdt*) by his sovereign, who also assigned ten men "to carry him in it in perpetuity." Ten would be an overly large number of men to transport an ordinary carrying chair like Queen Hetepheres I's, which can not have accommodated more than four men at a time.²¹³ This raises the possibility that *ḥwdt* actually refers to the later sort of Old Kingdom carrying chair which was surmounted by a baldachin comprising an elaborate vaulted or rectangular superstructure of wood supported on light columns, and which might require as many as twenty-eight porters to bear

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²¹³ See above, p. 134.

it aloft.²¹⁴ The possibility appears to be borne out by the song of the porters who bear Djau Shemai in state in just such a palanquin (fig. 14c): *hr hr(y)w hwdt nfr.s mh r wnn.s šwt* “Happy are they who bear the palanquin. Better is it when full than when it is empty.”²¹⁵

The appearance of *hwdt/hwdd* as a label above the carrying-chairs without baldachin in the two workshop scenes at Deir el-Gebrawi might be seen as constituting an obstacle to this identification. So too might the fact that the determinative of *hwdt* in the fragmentary inscription published by Goedicke and the biography of Washptah is an ordinary carrying chair. Nevertheless, the sign that determines *hwdt* in the porters’ song just quoted is essentially the same sign that determines *hwdt* in the carpentry scene from the tomb of Djau Shemai referred to at the head of this entry. Possibly the ancient painter or scribe hesitated at drawing so large and elaborate an object as a carrying chair with baldachin for a determinative, and settled for the simpler sign which defined the meaning of the word in a more general way. A similar consideration perhaps prevented the draughtsman from inserting so large an object into a workshop scene.

An additional point in favor of the identification of *hwdt* as a “carrying-chair with baldachin” may be the survival of the older term for “carrying-chair (without baldachin),” *wtz(t)*, into the New Kingdom and later as *wtzt* (d), since both Middle²¹⁶ and New Kingdom²¹⁷ carrying-chairs generally lack a baldachin.²¹⁸

The superstructure of the baldachin in the Old Kingdom is frequently decorated with an elaborate openwork(?) or inlay design of symbolic, floral or geometric motifs.²¹⁹ For that reason, a derivation of *hwdt* from *hwd* “rich, be rich” ought to be considered.^{220*}



²¹⁴ LD 2, pl. 78 b; Simpson, “Topographical Notes,” fig. 3.

²¹⁵ *Gebr.* 2, p. 11, pl. 8; for the translation, see also, Adolf Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches* (Berlin, 1919), p. 52; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 944.

²¹⁶ See, e.g., *Frises d’objets*, pp. 252–53, figs. 664–66; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 351–54, figs. 174–75.

²¹⁷ See, e.g., *ibid.*, figs. 179–82.

²¹⁸ The carrying chair of Ramses III from Medinet Habu illustrated in *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu* 4 (Chicago, 1940), pls. 196 A, B, 197–208 has a very elaborate baldachin, but is also termed a *wtzt*.

²¹⁹ See Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 340.

²²⁰ *Wb.* 3, 249, 9–15.

* Studies in Egyptian Lexicography I

	ꜣꜥ	wꜣs	wꜥz(t)	mꜣ	ḥꜣwt	ḥnd(w)	st-(n)-ḥt	st ḥms	sꜣḥ	gs(ꜣw)t	nꜥrwt	ḥwdt
1) Satba												
2) Ni-djefanesut												
3) Khabausokar												
4) Hathor-nefer-hetep												
5) Sisi												
6) Nedji												
7) Irensen												
8) Metjen												
9) Rahotep												
10) Rahotep												
11) Seshat-sekhentiu												
12) G 4260												
13) Anon. (Giza)												
14) Izi												
15) Ni-hetep-Khnum												
16) Merib												
17) Setju												
18) "Covington's Tomb"												
19) Senenu												
20) Senenu												
21) Seshem - nofer I												
22) Kapunesut Kai												
23) Kayemankh												

Table 1. Signs determining the words for furniture discussed in the corpus above.

Zur wunderbaren Zeugung des Horus nach Plutarch, De Iside Kap. 9



EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT

KAUM EIN TEXT AUS DEM ALTEN ÄGYPTEN HAT EIN SOLCHES ECHO gefunden wie die durch Plutarch bekannte Inschrift auf einer Statue in Sais.¹ Bekanntlich fand sich zu dem Plutarch-Zitat eine zweite, etwa 350 Jahre jüngere Überlieferung bei dem Philosophen Proklos.² Die beiden Zitate lauten in Übersetzung:

Ich bin alles, was gewesen ist, was ist und was sein wird. Mein Gewand (*peplos*) hat kein Sterblicher je aufgehoben (Plutarch).
Das, was ist, das, was sein wird, und das, was war, bin ich. Mein Gewand (*chiton*) hat niemand aufgehoben. Die Frucht, die ich gebar, wurde die Sonne (Proklos).

Die Philologen haben zu recht festgestellt, daß die ältere Fassung die Prädikationsformel "ich bin" richtig voranstellt, doch bei Proklos ist die Version in zwei Punkten überlegen: Erstens bringt sie einen dritten Satz, der allein die Bedeutung des zweiten erhellt, und zweitens steht dort "niemand" (*oudeis*) statt "kein Sterblicher" (Plutarch). Diese beiden Abweichungen des Proklos von Plutarch lassen erst den Hintersinn des Textes erkennen.

Griffiths hat mit vollem Recht darauf hingewiesen, daß das "Aufheben" des Gewandes "clearly sexual" ist. Seinen genauen Sinn aber erschließt erst Proklos, indem er auf die "Frucht" Horus hinweist. Die

¹ Plutarch, *De Iside*, Kap. 9 (354C). Dazu den vorzüglichen Kommentar von John Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (1970), S. 283 f.; dort weitere Literatur. Die Plutarch-Stelle hat Friedrich Schiller zu seinem berühmten Gedicht "Das verschleierte Bild zu Sais" inspiriert. Der Übersetzungsfehler "Schleier" für "Gewand" (*peplos* bzw. *chiton*) ist älter, s. Georg Steindorff, "Schillers Quelle für "Das verschleierte Bild zu Sais," *ZÄS* 69 (1933), S. 71, und Hans Lietzmann, "Die Quellen von Schillers und Goethes Balladen," *Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Übungen*, Band 73, und Siegfried Morenz, *Die Zauberflöte* (Münster und Köln, 1952), S. 15 und 23. Zum Einfluß der Freimaurerei: Norbert Klatt, "... Des Wissens heißer Durst," *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 29 (1985), S. 98–112.

² In seinem Kommentar zu Platons Dialog *Timaios* 21 E (ed. Diehl I, S. 98); dazu und zum Vergleich der beiden Versionen s. Otto Weinreich, in: *ARW* 19 (1918), S. 129; Eduard Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Stuttgart 1924), S. 30 mit Anm. 3.

Zeugung des Horus ist ja, wie Plutarch in Übereinstimmung mit früheren ägyptischen Vorstellungen berichtet, postum erfolgt. Isis hat den Leichnam ihres Gatten Osiris soweit wiederbelebt, daß sie ihren Sohn empfangen konnte, indem sie "die Rolle des Mannes gespielt hat, obwohl sie doch eine Frau" war.³ Auf diesen Akt spielt der zweite Satz der Inschrift an und besagt, daß ihr bei der Zeugung des Horus kein Mann (aktiv) beigewohnt, keiner "ihr Gewand gehoben" habe,⁴ eben auch nicht Osiris. Somit trifft "niemand" richtiger als "kein Sterblicher."

Der Sinn der Inschrift wird erst durch den dritten Satz deutlich, indem als "Frucht"⁵ Horus, Horus als Sonnengott, genannt ist. Die beiden letzten Sätze des Proklos enthüllen damit den Sinn des Textes als eine Umschreibung der übernatürlichen Zeugung des Heilbringers.

Durch die Proklos-Version bzw. -Erweiterung wird zugleich die Legitimität des Sohnes betont. Kein anderer Mann außer der tote Osiris—der aber auch in sexueller Hinsicht kein voller Mann mehr ist—kommt als Vater ihres Sohnes in Frage. Die Betonung der Übernatürlichkeit der Empfängnis war für Horus besonders wichtig, da Rationalisten, die es in hellenistischer Zeit gewiß auch in Ägypten gab, leicht nachrechnen konnten, daß Osiris nicht der Vater sein könne, weil er doch vor mehr als 9 Monaten gestorben war, die Byblos-Episode eingerechnet, weit mehr als der Schwangerschaftsperiode. Durch den Hinweis auf die supranaturale Empfängnis wird von vornherein jeder Verdacht auf eine illegitime Vaterschaft abgewiesen. Das vorliegende Mythologumenon gliedert sich in die Reihe der extraordinären Zeugungen des Heilbringers als eine neue Variante ein.

Im Geburtsmythos der Pharaonen ist bekanntlich der Vater ein Gott. Um den Gemahl der Königin als Erzeuger auszuschließen, wird von ihm behauptet, er sei noch ein *inpw*, ein Kind,⁶ nach Plutarch/

³ Wilhelm Spiegelberg "Eine neue Legende über die Geburt des Horus," *ZÄS* 53 (1917), S. 94 ff. Auf diese Stelle weist auch Griffiths, a.a.O. (Anm. 1), S. 284, Anm. 6, hin.

⁴ Die sonderbare Erzählung bei Plutarch, Kap. 17 (357 D/E), Isis habe "in der Einsamkeit" den Sarg geöffnet, ihr Gesicht an das des Osiris gepreßt, ihn umarmt und beweint; der mitgenommene Prinz aus Byblos habe die Szene zufällig gesehen und sei durch den wütenden Blick der Isis getötet worden—diese Erzählung ist wohl ebenfalls als eine dezente Beschreibung der Zeugungsszene zu verstehen. Der tödliche Zorn der Isis bleibt sonst unverständlich.

Im pharaonischen Ägypten läßt sich diese mythische Szene bis ins MR zurückverfolgen. Zwar ist sie nicht häufig, aber eindeutig dargestellt, wobei ebenfalls Dezenz gewahrt blieb: Isis erscheint als Vogel. Die bekannte Osiris-Bahre aus Abydos/Umm al-Qa'ab, jetzt im Lichthof des Museums in Kairo, ist das älteste Beispiel. Das Stück stammt aus der 13. Dynastie, Chen-Djer, s. Anthony Leahy, "Osiris Bed," *Orientalia* 46 (1977), S. 424–34. Ein Relief aus dem Abydos-Tempel Sethos' I. zeigt dieselbe Szene: Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago 1948), Abb. 18.

⁵ Zu dieser Bezeichnung des Horus-Kindes s. Norden, a.a.O. (Anm. 2), S. 30, Anm. 3.

Proklos hat “niemand das Gewand der Isis gehoben;” in beiden mythischen Aussagen ist von einer “Jungfräulichkeit” der Mutter nicht ausdrücklich die Rede. Immerhin weist Griffiths eine Stelle aus der Zeit Hadrians nach, in der Isis als “reine Jungfrau” bezeichnet wird.⁷ Demnach war auch diese Variante der hellenistischen Glaubenssprache noch nicht überlebt, und sie lenke nun noch kurz auf die neutestamentlichen Aussagen über die Geburt des Heilbringers Jesus.

Bei Matthäus (1,18) und Lukas (1,28–35) wird berichtet, daß der Heiland vom Heiligen Geist gezeugt sei, der die Frau “überschatten” werde.⁸ Dem naheliegenden Verdacht einer Vaterschaft des Joseph wird gewehrt durch den Bericht, Maria sei diesem Manne “verlobt” gewesen—ein jüdisches Rechtsinstitut jener Zeit, daß eine Verpflichtung zur Heirat ein-, aber eine Beiwohnung nach strenger Sitte ausschloß. Die frühe Christenheit fand, als dies Institut nicht mehr bekannt war, die Erklärung, daß Joseph ein alter Mann gewesen sei, dem “die Manneskraft geschwunden” war, wie es Ptah-hotep ausdrückt. Außerdem bietet Matthäus den Traum Josephs, in dem ihm ein Engel das Wunder der Zeugung durch den Heiligen Geist mitteilt.

Nirgends ist die Jungfräulichkeit selbst das Wunder, das Wunder ist vielmehr das Erscheinen des Heilbringers, dessen Zeugung oder Geburt miraculös umschrieben wird. Erst eine sexualfeindliche Zeit hat den Akzent dieser mythischen Aussagen in die Richtung der Jungfräulichkeit verschoben. Aber die vielen Varianten des Mythologumenons vom pharaonischen Ägypten bis in späthellenistisch-frührömische Zeiten sagen alle das gleiche Theologumenon aus: Die wunderbare übernatürliche Zeugung (oder Geburt) des Bringers eines neuen Aion (wie Norden sagt) oder einfach des Trägers einer neuen Heilszeit. In dieser Kette ist das Zeugnis der Inschrift der Isis/Neith-Statue in Sais—sei sie nun griechisch oder ägyptisch konzipiert oder gar fiktiv—ein weiterer Beleg.⁹



⁶ Zu dieser Bezeichnung und ihrer Bedeutung in unserem Zusammenhang, s. in dem grundlegenden Werk Brunner, *Geburt des Gottkönigs*, S. 27 ff.

⁷ K. Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae* (Leipzig 1928–1932) 57, 16 f.

⁸ Die “jungfräuliche” Geburt eines Gottes haben die Ägypter außer vom König auch von Apis ausgesagt: Herodot III 28; andere Stellen bei Th. Hopfner, *Fontes*, S. 814 s.v. Apis. In dieser Vorstellung wurde die Mutter des Apis, “die gar keine andere Frucht tragen kann,” schwanger durch “einen Strahl vom Himmel,” der auch als Strahl des Mondes bestimmt wird: Plutarch, *Quaestiones* III I., S. 18 b. Auch für die Jungfrau Maria ist ikonographisch die Berührung durch einen Strahl überliefert.

⁹ Zur Geburtsgeschichte vgl. von E. Brunner-Traut auch: “Pharao und Jesus als Söhne Gottes” in: *Gelebte Mythen*, 3. Aufl. (Darmstadt, 1988), S. 31–59.

The Disjunction of Text and Image in Egyptian Art



BETSY M. BRYAN

ALTHOUGH IN MOST CASES INSCRIPTIONS ARE READ IN CONCERT with the objects on which they are placed, if they are considered separately it may be possible to identify two distinct messages comprehended by different audiences. A stela¹ from Abydos, (fig. 1) recently republished by Anthony Leahy, illustrates well the disjunction of text and image possible in monumental settings. Due to the hieroglyphic readability of both writing and art, some elements of both were often mixed in monumental settings: for example, as early as the Third Dynasty, *hkr* and *dd* signs were used as decorative elements on architectural friezes at the Step Pyramid and were no doubt intended to be read as well as viewed. Even the illiterate, then, if they resided near cult centers, must have known some royal and divine iconography, and must also have been familiar with a number of hieroglyphic signifiers, such as cartouches and *serekhs* with falcons atop as identifications of rulers; or lapwings as writings of *rhyt*, particularly combined with the *dwꜣ* sign to designate stations for people within temples.² The mixture of hieroglyphic forms with artistic compositional principles on this Abydos stela's lunette scene would therefore have been readable: not as to the specific royal names, but rather as to the iconographies of king and divinity as well as the meaning of their placements and gestures.

Leahy's discussion was largely centered on the stela inscription, but he nonetheless carefully illustrated the entire stela and discussed its lunette scene briefly. The text, a decree of the Thirteenth Dynasty, (which Leahy showed to have been reused in the same dynasty) forbade the building of tombs in the Wepwawet area of Abydos as marked by the stela. It also granted tomb construction outside the area designated by

¹ Cairo JE 35256. Anthony Leahy, "A Protective Measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty," *JEA* 75 (1989), pp. 41–61.

² Lanny Bell, "Les parcours processionnels," *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 101 (January 1986), pp. 29–30. See also mention of this topic, Betsy Bryan, "Royal and Divine Statuary," in A. Kozloff and B. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun. Amenhotep III and his World*, (Cleveland, 1992), pp. 125–36.

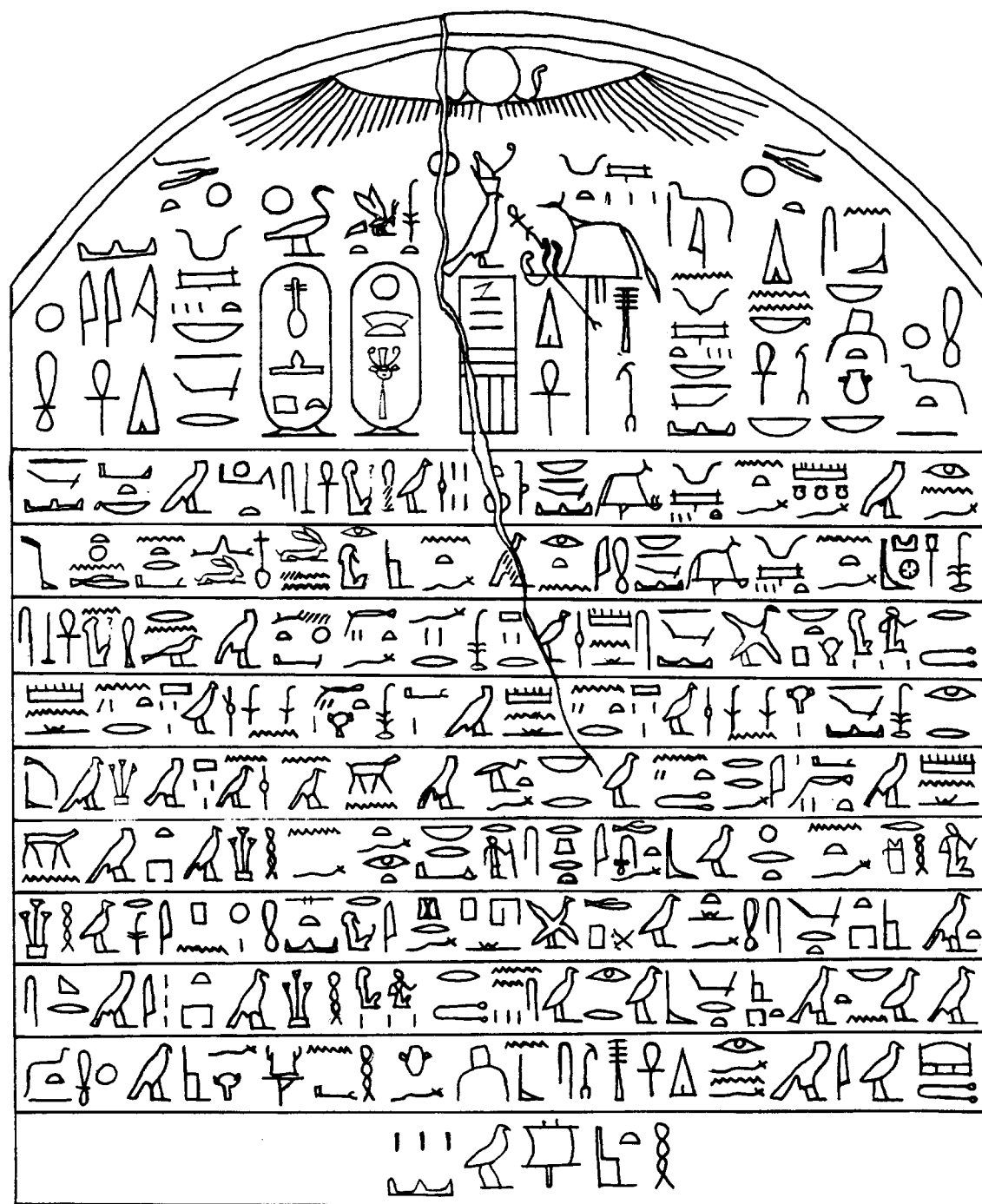


Fig. 1. Abydos Stela, Cairo Museum JE 35256, after drawing in A. Leahy, *JEA* 75 (1989), pp. 41–61.

the stela. The inscription was thus directed at the literate wealthy who might attempt to place constructions in the area.

The lunette scene, on the other hand, would have been viewed and understood by literate elites and nonliterate alike. In that scene the king's Horus and cartouche names appear facing the name of the god Wepwawet, the writing of which was determined by a striding jackal on a standard. Possibly this determinative, a common writing for Wepwawet,³ represented a processional cult emblem of that god. The *ꜥnh* and *wꜣs* signs are projecting out to the falcon atop the Horus name from the standard, enduing the king (through his name) with those two properties. The winged sun disk identified stretches across the top, with the limits of Egypt identified as the northern and southern cult centers of Horus of Behdet.

It is useful to consider what the lunette scene and the form of a stela generally would communicate were the text lacking. Indeed, set in its original location the stela, absent its main inscription, would alert any viewer that it is a royal decree and therefore important to heed. In addition the lunette establishes Wepwawet, a god from a neighboring cult center, at Abydos,⁴ and it demonstrates that the king is favored by that god in particular.⁴ The form of the stela, therefore, alerted the nonliterate to the king's relationship with Wepwawet, perhaps in a processional emblematic form, thereby increasing the ruler's association with that god in whatever role he played at Abydos. The stela's siting may have further suggested a specific association within Abydos generally. This message for the illiterate was an entirely positive one with regard to the ruler and his cult involvement. Whether the particular ruler would have been known to the viewer is, of course, not possible to say. We should acknowledge, however, that nonliteracy, like literacy, has degrees, and some may have known more signs than others. Some may also have been aware of the reason for the stela's erection.

As Leahy's discussion of the stela inscription reveals, the Thirteenth Dynasty rulers were unusual in their personal participation in the Osirian festivals held at Abydos.⁵ Thus the inscription, for Leahy, was composed and recarved on occasions of two Thirteenth Dynasty rulers attending such festivities. In addition, Leahy, following Kemp, argued persuasively that the protected region referred to in the inscription was

³ *Wb.* 1, p. 202, 16.

⁴ See F. Gomaa, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches*, TAVO Beihefte (Wiesbaden, 1986), p. 202, with n. 16, for Wepwawet as resident in Abydos.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60. Leahy notes the distinction between Thirteenth Dynasty rulers who attended the festivals in person and Twelfth Dynasty kings who sent emissaries.

the wadi leading from the Osiris temple toward the archaic tombs of the First Dynasty at Umm el Qa'ab.⁶ He states that "the reason for the dedication of the area to Wepwawet also becomes clear; it was he who as 'Opener of the Ways,' led the sequence of processions in the Osiris mysteries."⁷ Thus the lunette's message of royal association with Wepwawet in a processional form was background for the inscription itself.

For those who could read, however, the message was quite different from that of royal association with Wepwawet and involvement with the Abydene mysteries. The literate were informed of the prohibition from building tombs in the area, a point that was no doubt intended to enforce the ruler's own wishes with regard to the processional and cemetery space. This was a message of power asserted over the affluent whose actions were potentially a threat to the crown. At the same time, the king's granting of construction outside his protected area, further insisted on his overall ability to dispense privileges. As Leahy states, "the fact that no burials were made in the wadi before Roman times, whereas the areas on either side of it were used and reused, confirms both the identification and the success of the decree."⁸ Ultimately text and image speak to two distinct audiences with the appropriate message of royal display and power.

Egyptian art communicates without text and with it. Although it often does, art does not necessarily coincide with text in the meaning it conveys.⁹ Nor, then, does text in monumental uses, necessarily purely caption the art, as most writers have argued it does.¹⁰ Rather, art may provide a different version of the same subject expressed in accompanying text. For example, although the visual cues provided by the scenes from Ramesses II's Kadesh Battle reliefs at the Ramesseum, Karnak, Luxor Temple, Abydos, and Abu Simbel (fig. 2) are not identical,¹¹ the

⁶ Ibid., p. 54, after Barry Kemp, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 1, col. 37.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Thomas von der Way, in his excellent study, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II. zur Qades-Schlacht: Analyse und Struktur*, (Hildesheim, 1984), Introduction, notes that the texts and reliefs do not often coincide, but concludes that the text can stand alone, while the reliefs cannot. This I would argue is not the case.

¹⁰ While Roland Tefnin, "Image, écriture, récit. A propos des représentations de la bataille de Qadesh," *GM* 47 (1981), pp. 55–78, was certainly mindful of the interconnections of text and image, he was not sensitive to the dissonance conveyed by the Kadesh reliefs placed next to the accompanying legends and War Bulletin. The most difficult view to accept is that of Alan H. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960), who attempted a chart to place text and image opposite one another to demonstrate their coincidence. It was a failure.

¹¹ Charles Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadech*, MIFAO 55 (Cairo, 1928–1934).

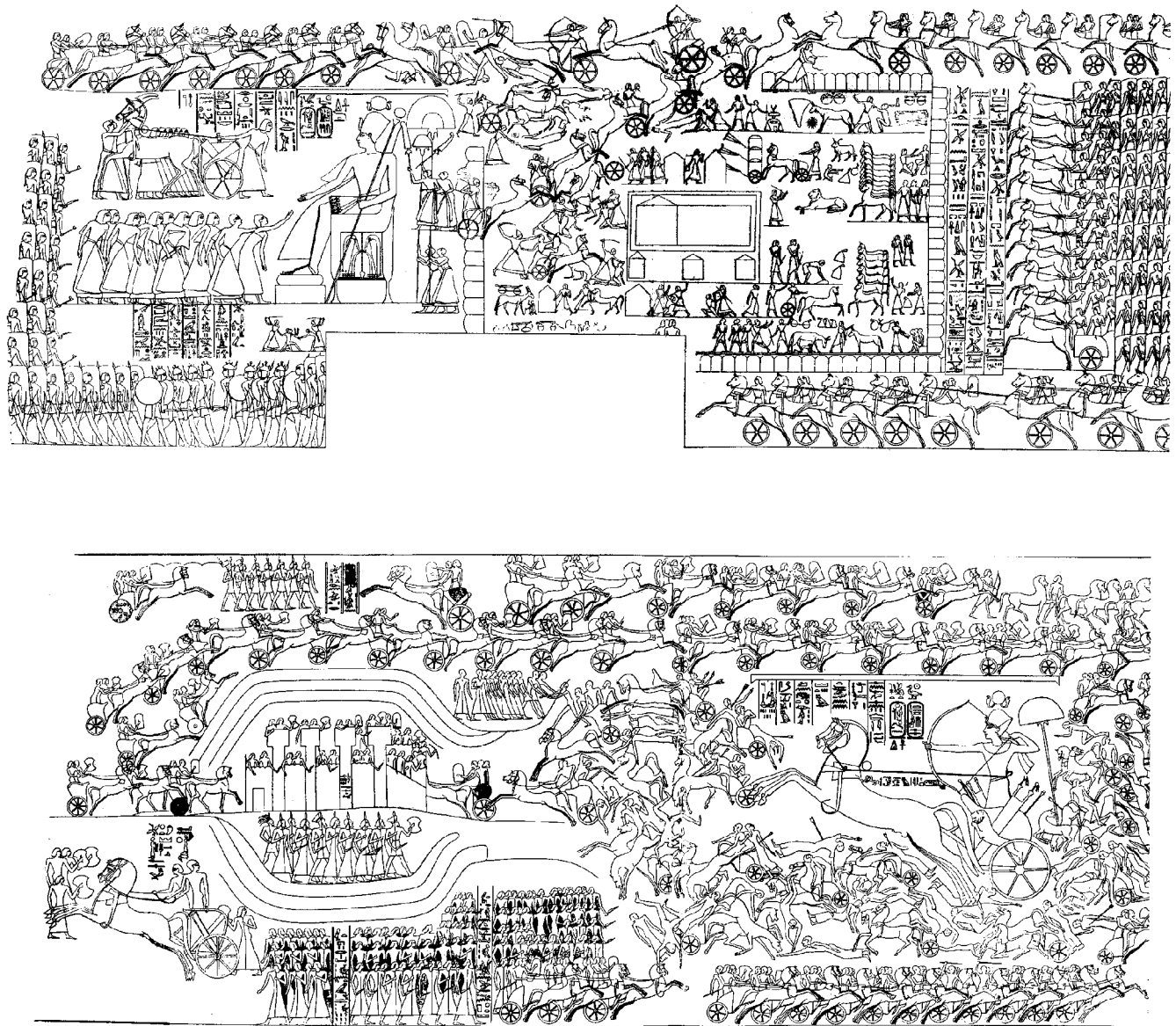


Fig. 2. Kadesh Battle Relief from Luxor Temple, after drawing in K. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant* (Warminster, 1988), figs. 18–19.

essential elements of the camp, the fort of Kadesh, the Orontes river around it, and the meeting of chariot warriors exist in all versions. However, the serious predicament in which Ramesses II found himself during the battle, as described in the Poem and/or the Bulletin or relief inscriptional legends are largely not evident in the reliefs themselves.

Lacking the texts, the viewer would conclude that Ramesses II was victorious against the vile Hittite foe, apparently nearly all alone.¹² It is interesting to point out that one consistent addition was the mission of the Egyptian vizier to hurry the army for the ruler.

Although many Egyptologists might conclude that the uncomplicated nature of the relief story underscores the dependence of art on text,¹³ it is more likely an illustration that Egyptian art was directed at more than one constituency, depending on whether the text was to be read or not. The nature of audience for monumental reliefs and inscriptions is problematic, but it would certainly be wise to consider first the low literacy levels in the New Kingdom.¹⁴ Even those who read hieratic reasonably well might have had difficulty seeing and reading monumental hieroglyphic texts on temple pylons. In addition, in my opinion, monumental Egyptian art was not intended as argument, but rather as statement.¹⁵ The work of persuasion must have taken place before the monumentalizing, i.e., before the statement was, quite literally, "set in stone." Those who could read the text most probably knew of it as the story it tells was being composed.

The statement of the monument in the reign of Ramesses II, and later as well, to the vast non-literate majority of the population was a reminder of pharaoh's victories, specific and continuous, on behalf of Egypt and its gods. The statement to the literate government elites provided an explanation of Egypt's poor performance at Kadesh. To conclude from the Kadesh texts, the army, largely an illiterate group led by officers answerable to the crown, was the scapegoat offered to the government bureaucrats. It is noteworthy that the mission of the vizier to hasten the army of Ptah's assistance to Ramesses II was prominently labeled in the reliefs. The court official did his duty, while, as could be read in full in the "Poem," the army disgraced itself by its cowardly performance in battle.¹⁶

¹² The conclusions reached also by von der Way and Tefnin, *op.cit.*, but without further analysis of the meaning of this disjunction.

¹³ See above, concerning von der Way. In addition to Gardiner, Lichtheim too appears not to have noticed the discrepancy of reliefs and texts, seeming to think them inevitably read together; Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, p. 26; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature 2* (Berkeley, 1976), p. 58.

¹⁴ Even if one considers the Baines and Eyre estimate to be low, one would hardly push literacy above the level of 5% of the population; J. Baines and C. Eyre, "Four notes on literacy," *GM* 61 (1983), pp. 65–96.

¹⁵ Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, 1972), provides a similar view.

It is a significant point in this example that the small number of elites who could read would not have interpreted the monuments of Ramesses II in the same way as the vast public. For this last group the temples were in any case distant and restricted centers of authority, royal and religious. Nonetheless a complete message was communicated to both audiences. We cannot estimate with any certainty the degree to which the owner of a monument depended on the separate and combined messages of art and inscription. We are safe, however, in assuming that all those who viewed a monument did not take away the same message.

For example, a statue of a man and woman in a private decorated tomb chapel of the New Kingdom might depict the couple arm in arm, at the same scale. Stylistically, they would both have the features of the reigning king and iconographical details that identified them with a particular generation. A female family member visiting the chapel would most likely have been illiterate, but would have recognized both a man and woman as primary recipients of the statue's benefits. A male visitor, at the elite tomb-owning level of society, on the other hand, would possibly have been literate and therefore able to learn that the statue might have had an overwhelming preponderance of inscriptions relating to the man, or conversely might mention the woman prominently.¹⁷ The impressions of the two visitors about the statue owners would not have been identical and yet both received the communication of the monument.

Indeed, this dissonance in text and image can be found on nearly every inscribed object and must assert that the function of text with image was other than caption or explication. Rather, in the monumental setting the text preserved a statement that few could comprehend and appreciate. Although that statement was not intended as argument to the viewer, its very monumentalization and its limited accessibility made it likely to have been prestigious. This prestige might have invoked a "dialogue" between viewer and monument. And if discussion

¹⁶ This is an alternative view to that offered by von der Way, who considered the army itself needed to be propagandized. It is difficult for me to accept a level of literacy among the army at large that would have enabled their true knowledge of the inscription contents.

¹⁷ For example, compare the statue of Djehutyemheb and Iay, YAG 1947.81, Gerry Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, Yale University Art Gallery (New Haven, 1986), pp. 128–31 with Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum 9212, Betsy M. Bryan, "An Early Eighteenth Dynasty Group Statue from the Asasif in the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Collection," *BES* 10 (1989/90), pp. 25–38. Here the woman is more prominent than the man by both inscriptions and by her artistic placement on the proper right side.

resumes with the viewer, it does so as part of further interpretation of the monument, and that interpretation is culturally sensitive—changing not only from person to person, but from era to era.¹⁸



¹⁸ See, for example, the discussion of the communicative role of art, as discussed by Keith Moxey, in "Semiotics and the Social History of Art," *New Literary History* 22 (1991), pp. 985–99.

Three Painted Textiles in the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum



SUE D'AURIA

THIS ARTICLE IS DEDICATED TO WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON, WITH appreciation. In 1916, the Boston Athenaeum acquired three New Kingdom painted linen panels dedicated to Hathor, along with a collection of 124 inscribed mummy bandages.¹ The painted textiles had formed part of the collection of Robert de Rustafjaell,² and their provenance was said to be “a mound of debris on the site of the Temple of Hathor at Thebes.”³ Several other similar cloths from this collection are now scattered in museums throughout the world, and have been determined to derive from Deir el-Bahri, where additional examples were excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society in the Eleventh Dynasty temple.⁴ Eleven are featured in Geraldine Pinch’s work on votive offerings.⁵ The three textiles discussed here are an addition to Pinch’s corpus.

All three examples are votive textiles, and two were dedicated by members of the same family. Both of these consist of rectangular pieces of rather coarse linen. The larger scene (fig. 2) measures 27.5 cm tall and 24.5 cm wide, excluding fringe. The piece is fringed on top and sides (see appendix for further details of construction). The painted scene, in two

¹ “Three Egyptian Decorative Shrine Hangings Painted Upon Canvas and a Collection of Inscribed Mummy Bandages,” *Boston Athenaeum Report for the Year 1916*, p. 3. A photographic reproduction is in the Brooklyn Museum, see *The Brooklyn Museum, Wilbour Library Acquisitions List no. 9* (April 1 to Dec. 31, 1967). I wish to thank Michael Wentworth, Curator, Library of the Boston Athenaeum, for permission to publish these textiles. I am also grateful to Joyce Haynes for her suggestions.

² Robert de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt* (London, 1910); *Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Valuable Collection of Egyptian Antiquities Formed by R. de Rustafjaell* (London, 1913); *Catalogue of the Interesting and Valuable Egyptian Collection formed by Mr. Robert de Rustafjaell* (New York, 1915). See also Robert de Rustafjaell, “The Earliest known Paintings on Cloth,” *The Connoisseur* 14 (1906), pp. 239–42.

³ *Boston Athenaeum Report for the Year 1916*, p. 3.

⁴ Edouard Naville and H.R. Hall, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahri III* (London, 1913), p. 15 and pls. 30–31. See also the discussion and additional examples cited in Klaus Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 153–54, pls. 54–55.

⁵ Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 103–105, 107–12.



Fig. 1. Votive textile of $\text{H}\eta\rho$ and $\text{H}\rho$. The Boston Athenaeum, Fine Arts Fund, 1916.

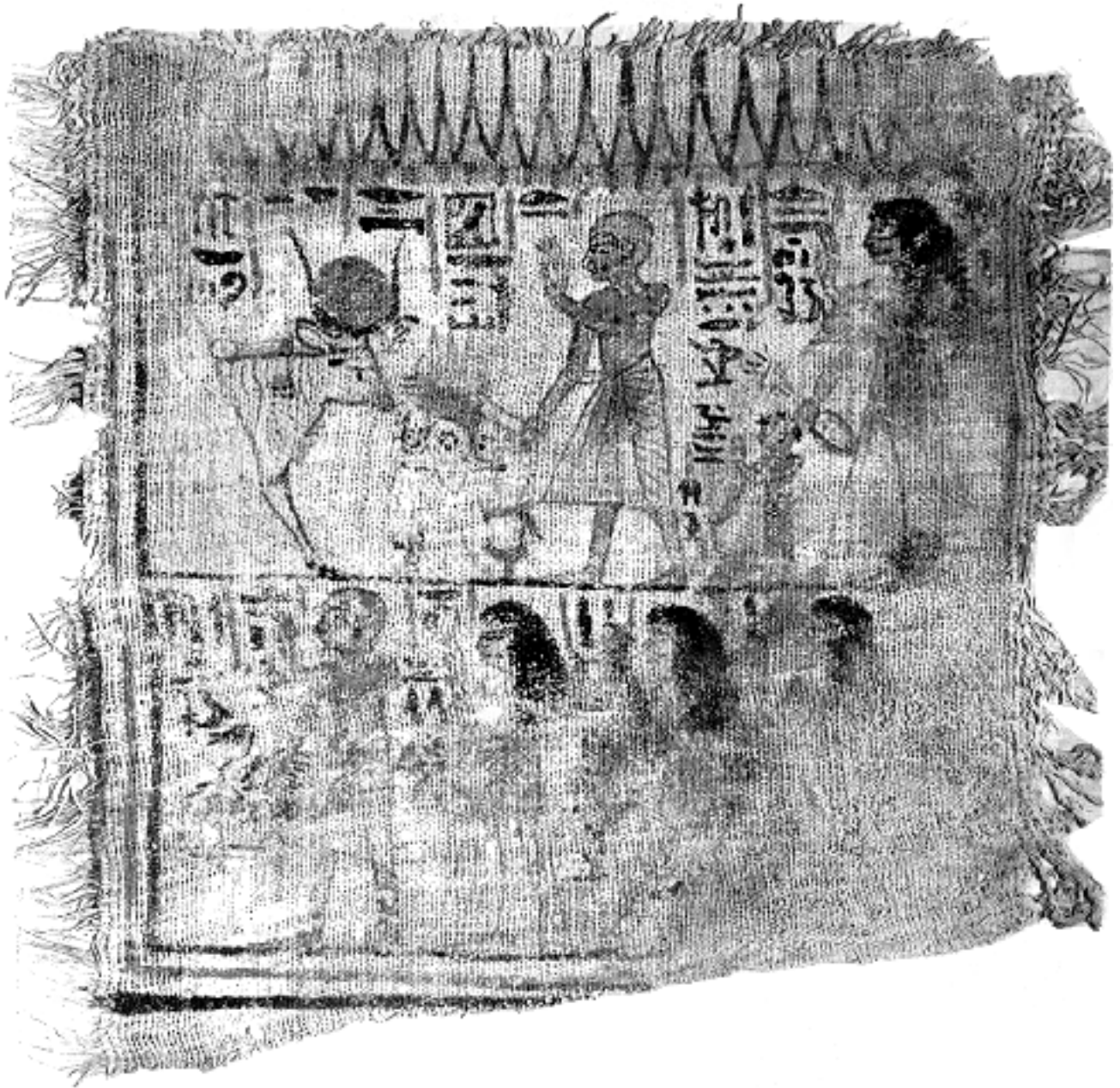


Fig. 2. Second votive textile of *Hnr* and *Hr*. The Boston Athenaeum, Fine Arts Fund, 1916.

registers, is framed by a frieze of white lotus petals on a blue background at the top, and a red and black linear border at sides and bottom. Seven figures are depicted worshipping Hathor, who appears as a cow.

At the top of the upper register appears a horizontal red line, with a series of small vertical strokes under it. On the left, the forepart of the Hathor cow, painted yellow, emerges from the Western Mountain. The cow is adorned with a black broad collar with an indistinct black and red terminal. A red *menat* is placed at the back of the cow's neck. Facing her are three figures. A bare-headed man wearing a diaphanous pleated kilt and blue broad collar raises his left hand in adoration, as do all of the other figures pictured. His right hand holds a censer above a table flanked by floral offerings. Behind him is the figure of a nude child, with right arm extended down. Behind the child stands a woman wearing a long, full black wig, blue broad collar, and long, diaphanous garment with sleeves. Her right hand grasps a long-necked jar, from which a libation is poured.

The bottom register is very worn, but depicts a procession of three women led by a man. The man, who is dressed in a fashion similar to the man in the upper register, holds a duck by its wings in his right hand. The details of dress of the three women are not well preserved, but the first wears a long, diaphanous dress with blue broad collar and full black wig, and holds the same type of vessel as the woman in the upper register.

The accompanying text is brief and gives only names and titles. The goddess is identified as "Mistress of the West, Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods" (*nbt Imnt, nbt pt, ḥnwt ntrw nbw*). Each of the donors is identified in a short vertical text. The figures in the upper register may be considered the principal donors, and their names are consequently preceded by *ir n*. The man is the "draughtsman, Hunure" (*sš ḳdwt Ḥnr*),⁶ and the woman is the "mistress of the house, Kharu" (*nbt-*

⁶ For the spelling of the name, see Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* 1 (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 245, no. 7. The name occurs more commonly in its feminine form; see, for example, Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* I, part 1, (Oxford, 1960), p. 482. For *sš ḳdwt*, see Percy Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, CCG (Cairo, 1957), nos. 476171, 47733; Georges Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes de Rois et de particuliers*, CCG, (Cairo, 1925), no. 42122; Mario Tosi and Alessandro Roccati, *Stele e Altre Epigrafi di Deir el Medina* (Turin, 1972), no. 50009; and Labib Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta are e Bicili da Libagione* (Turin, 1977), nos. 22025, 22028. See also T. Handoussa, "A Funerary Statuette from a Private Collection," *MDAIK* 37 (1981), p. 204.

pr Hr).⁷ The child between them is identified as “her son, Huy” (*s3s Hii*).⁸

Of the four people in the bottom register, only two can be named with certainty. The man at the head of the procession is identified as “the scribe, Khonsu-hotep,” (*sš Hnsw-ḥtp*),⁹ and the woman following him is the mistress of the house, Huy (*nbt-pr Hii*). The second woman incorporates the name of Isis into her name, but the other signs are almost completely obliterated, save for a seated woman determinative.

Hunure, Kharu, and her son Huy appear again on the second textile, (fig. 1) which measures 27 cm high by 22.5 cm wide. It is manufactured of a rather coarse linen similar to that of the first example, and is fringed on the top and right side. Unfortunately, the piece as a whole is not as well preserved as the first example. Much of the decoration of the left side is gone, and there is a triangular loss from the lower left.

This textile contains a single scene, framed once again at the top with a frieze of white lotus petals on a blue ground, and at sides and bottom with a linear border in black and red. The figures of the three worshippers are rendered in a fashion similar to the first textile. Hunure is bare-headed and wears a blue broad collar, but the lower part of his kilt is worn away, as are any objects that he holds. The lady Kharu again wears a long garment with sleeves, blue broad collar, and long, full, curly wig, ornamented by a tall perfumed cone decorated with a lotus flower at the front. She holds a tall-necked jar, under which the tiny figure of her son appears. The depiction of the goddess Hathor has been entirely obliterated, as has most of the inscription above her missing image. Only her name and two *nb*-signs at the top of the columns can be identified with certainty. The remainder of the text once again identifies Hunure with the title *sš ḳdwt*, and introduces his name with *ir n*. Kharu is named as *nbt pr*, and Huy is labelled as her son.

Two textiles matching the description of those dedicated by Hunure are listed in a 1913 auction catalogue of the Rustafjaell collection, but are described there as “attached in the centre by the horizontal threads of canvas.”¹⁰ Close examination reveals that the fringe originally joining the two scenes was cut between 1913 and their acquisition in 1916 by the Athenaeum, in order to bind the textiles into the volume in

⁷ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, cf. p. 273, no. 20. The final signs of the name appear behind the figure of its owner, and are badly worn, but they are confirmed on the second textile; see below.

⁸ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, p. 233, no. 18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 271, no. 12.

¹⁰ *Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Valuable Collection*, p. 51, no. 577. See also Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, p. 107, no. 6.

which they are now found. The double scene is unusual, but accounts for the fact that each individual panel is taller than it is wide; when joined they produce the wider-proportioned scene that is characteristic of these textiles. Hunure's panels are also unusual in that he is given a title that is rarely found in this class of objects, and the title is a scribal one, while the others are exclusively those of priests.¹¹

The lotus petal frieze, cow and mountain motif, and the style of the figures, including dress and hairstyle, indicate that these textiles date to the end of Dynasty 18.¹²

The third Athenaeum textile (fig. 4)¹³ is very different in both design and execution. It is 29.5 cm tall and 15 cm wide, excluding fringe, and the linen is of a much finer quality than those discussed above. It has a looped fringe at the top, and a plain fringe at the right side. The looped fringe presumably held a cord for suspension, and is found on several other votive textiles from Deir el-Bahri.¹⁴

The dedicatory scene is placed on the upper half of the textile, and there is no border. This arrangement is unparalleled in the other painted textiles devoted to Hathor, and is closer in its design to a cloth in the Royal Ontario Museum with a similar scene drawn in black ink.¹⁵ On the Athenaeum piece, Hathor appears in the context of a papyrus thicket. The goddess, in cow form, stands on the left upon a green-painted papyrus barque, whose curving stern ends in a papyrus umbel. The bow of the barque has unfortunately been obliterated, but in most comparable scenes, it is the bow, and not the stern, that ends in a papyrus-shaped element. The thicket is rendered as seven stems of green papyrus. The cow itself is long and lean, painted yellow with black markings. It has a sundisk between its horns, and its neck is adorned with two lotus flowers. In front of the goddess, a red stand has been placed, whose green-painted contents are heavily damaged. A woman stands at the right, with right arm extended down, and left hand holding a censer. She is yellow-skinned, and wears a long black wig and a sheath dress. Behind her, additional offerings appear;¹⁶ they are very damaged, but are large, black objects, perhaps jars, placed on a small red base.

¹¹ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, p. 123.

¹² See Pinch's discussion of date range, *ibid.*, pp. 127–28.

¹³ *Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Valuable Collection*, p. 52, no. 579; Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, p. 111, no. 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105 and pl. 26a.

¹⁶ For two other examples with offerings placed behind the donor, see *ibid.*, p. 124.

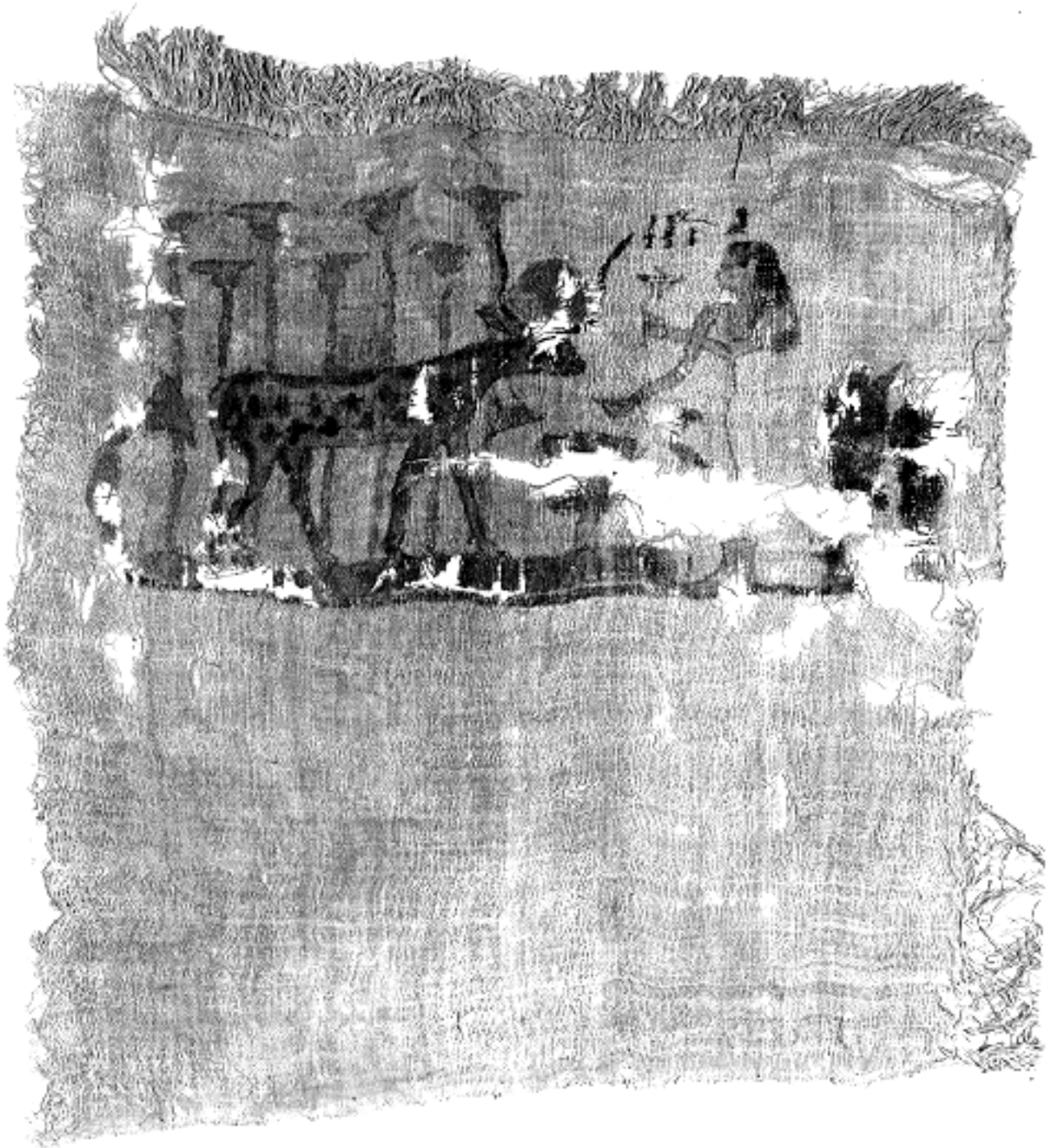


Fig. 3. Votive textile of *I-it*. The Boston Athenaeum, Fine Arts Fund, 1916.

The inscription is limited to the name of the donor, which appears above her figure; it can be read as *I-it*.¹⁷ The simple wig and sheath dress suggest a date in the Eighteenth Dynasty, no later than Amenhotep II.¹⁸



¹⁷ The name as spelled here does not appear in Ranke's *Personennamen*, but there are close parallels; see, for example, *itf=i*, p. 51, no. 8; and *itf=i*, p. 51, no. 18; also *ify*, p. 24, no. 3.

¹⁸ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, p. 128.

Technical Analysis of Three Painted Textiles in the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum



MARGARET A. LEVEQUE

THE CLOTHS DESCRIBED IN THE PRECEDING ARTICLE WERE MADE from medium-coarse undyed linen,¹ woven in an open plain weave, although one (see preceding article, fig. 3) was more finely prepared and woven.² Unusually, the threads were two S-plyed, the reverse of traditional Egyptian techniques.³ The panels are roughly rectangular, generally wider than they are tall, but they were irregularly woven with varying widths.

The three votive cloths were made in an identical manner, presumably expressly for the purpose, by a technique of construction unreported by Pinch: the cloths were woven, then turned 90° and painted, making the warp horizontal and the weft vertical. Thus, the top of each panel represents the left side selvage of the original weaving.

Technique

A series of small rectangular panels were woven consecutively, each separated by a length of unwoven warps.⁴ The loom was either an upright frame loom, used in Egypt from the beginning of the New Kingdom,⁵ or the traditional ground loom, with such narrow bands, a more uncomfortable and ungainly solution for the weaver. Each panel begins and ends with 4–6 rows of multiple wefts (from 3 to 5 threads combined), probably to reinforce the edges.

The fringe along the top edge of each panel was inlaid into the sheds of the left selvage as groups of four or five threads, which were pulled out

¹ The panels had been adhered to paper backings that were then glued into the book at the Boston Athenaeum. Consequently, the reverse sides of the panels were not available for study.

² The average thread count for figs. 1 and 2 is 13 warps/8 wefts; fig. 3 is 16 warps/ 18–22 wefts.

³ Rosalind Hall, *Egyptian Textiles* (Aylesbury, 1986), p. 12.

⁴ A group of two joined panels was illustrated in Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, pl. 26B.

⁵ Hall, *Egyptian Textiles*, p. 15, E.J.W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles* (Princeton, 1991), p. 113.

into loops.⁶ The traces of cord found by Pinch in the fringe of some of the cloths she examined, may have initially been a template on the loom, strung to assure the evenness of the fringe.⁷ They might subsequently have been used for hanging the cloths, as Pinch suggested.⁸ Although this helped to properly tension the left side, the right selvage of the cloths had more uneven tensioning, as seen most clearly in the preceding article, fig. 2. In Egypt, the inlaid fringe was always exclusively on the left side;⁹ as expected, there was no evidence of fringe along the bottom edge of any of the Athenaeum panels.

The other fringes were merely cut warps; however, this is complicated by the fact that two of the votive cloths (above, figs. 1 and 2) were originally joined by their fringe and only cut for insertion into the bound volume at the Boston Athenaeum. This can be clearly seen by the continuation of warp threads and painted lines from one section of fringe to the next. It is apparent by the amount of paint crossing the fringes from one panel to the other that these two panels were painted while joined. The left side of one panel (above, fig. 2) had no fringe; rather, the warps were worked back into the weaving, suggesting that it may have been the first panel on the loom. The right edges of two of the panels (above, figs. 1 and 3) were bound at the fringe after weaving with a series of looping stitches.

Two of the panels (above, figs. 1–2) were initially covered with a white ground layer, then the figures were outlined with red followed by the remainder of the colors. The third panel (above, fig. 3) does not appear to have had an overall ground layer, although some white is present below some of the colors (e.g., the black of the wig).

Conclusion

It is clear from the analysis that such votive cloths were woven as a series of panels that could be cut apart into one or more sections to be painted on commission or for stock supply. This technique was an efficient method of weaving a number of separate panels without having to continually rewrap a loom. It is as yet unknown how many panels were typically woven together, since two is the largest grouping yet found, but further examination of the cut warp ends of the remainder of the existing textiles should prove fruitful.



⁶ Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, pp. 151–52.

⁷ Suggested by E. Barber, personal communication, 1996.

⁸ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, p. 117.

⁹ Barber, personal communication, 1996.

Egyptian Regnal Dating under Cambyses and the Date of the Persian Conquest



LEO DEPUYDT

AS A LONG LINE OF CONGRATULANTS BEGAN FORMING AROUND THE block, it became clear that space limitations would not permit publication here of the full study on regnal dating in Achaemenid Egypt which I had intended to contribute to this festal volume. Only an extract of suitable length on the first reign of the period in question therefore appears below. The bulk is found under the title “Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Achaemenid Egypt” in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81 (1995), as a supplement to Gardiner’s treatise on “Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt,” published half a century ago in *JEA* 31 (1945). But this entire investigation of Achaemenid Egyptian regnal dating is written in recognition of a man who manifests, in the way Gardiner did, a range of activity and a breadth of learning that are the envy of Egyptology’s younger generation.

I. PREDATING OF POSTDATING IN ACHAEMENID EGYPT

At the eve of the Persian conquest and the end of the Saite period (664–526/25 B.C.E.), regnal years were counted from one New Year’s Day to the next in Egypt. Year 1 began on the day of accession and lasted until the first new year. This regnal dating system is called *predating* because the beginnings of the regnal years *precede* the beginnings of years actually reigned of the same number; years actually reigned are those counted from one anniversary of the accession to the next, beginning with the day of accession itself. The wandering year’s New Year’s Day roughly coincided with the beginning of the retrocalculated julian year in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.

In the Babylonian system, adopted by the Persians, regnal years were counted from one Babylonian New Year’s Day to the next, but Year 1 began on the first Babylonian new year after the accession. The period from the day of accession to the first new year was an accession year. This regnal dating system is called *postdating* because the beginnings of

the regnal years *follow* the beginnings of years actually reigned of the same number. The Babylonian new year always begins around the spring equinox.

If Saite regnal dating is predating and Babylonian regnal dating is postdating, then Egyptian regnal dating under the Achaemenids can be appropriately called *predating of postdating*.¹ Year 1 had begun by the first Babylonian new year of the reign in the spring; this is the postdating element. Year 2 begins on the first Egyptian new year after that; this is the predating element. In predating of postdating, the beginnings of Egyptian regnal years either *precede* or *follow* the beginnings of real regnal years of the same number. If the king comes to the throne between the Egyptian new year and the Babylonian new year, less time is postdated forward to the Babylonian new year than predated backward from the Babylonian new year to the Egyptian new year, and the Egyptian Year 1 ends before the first anniversary of accession, and so on for the subsequent regnal years. An example is the reign of Darius II. But if the king comes to the throne between the Babylonian new year and the Egyptian new year, more time is postdated forward than predated backward, and the Egyptian Year 1 ends after the first anniversary of accession. An example is the reign of Xerxes I.

Cambyses came to the throne in August 530,² after the Babylonian new year in the spring and before the Egyptian new year, which fell in the beginning of January at the time. Since Cambyses (530–522) did not begin his reign as ruler of Egypt, the question arises whether the same system applies in his reign as under the other Persian rulers of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty (526/5–405/4). In what follows, it will be claimed that all the dates known from his reign can be reconciled with predating of postdating. There is no absolute proof, but all the relevant items will be passed in review so that the reader might be able to make an independent assessment of the plausibility of the thesis. It will also be necessary to examine the dates of the conquest and the end of Amasis' reign as well as the reigning view that two dating systems were used under Cambyses.

¹ For a more detailed description of predating of postdating, see *JEA* 81 (1995). On Achaemenid Egyptian chronology, see also Winfried Barta, "Zur Datierungspraxis in Ägypten unter Kambyses und Dareios I," *ZÄS* 119 (1992), pp. 82–90; Barta does not mention Pestman's article of 1984 (see n. 17), which has shed new light on the problem; on Barta's contribution, see n. 24 below and *JEA* 81. On the Persian conquest of Egypt, see now also Günter Burkard, "Literarische Tradition und historische Realität: Die persische Eroberung Ägyptens am Beispiel Elephantine," *ZÄS* 121 (1994), pp. 93–106 (first part), with bibliography.

² Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 75* (Providence, 1956), p. 14.

2. REGNAL DATING UNDER CAMBYSES

Cambyses became king of Persia in August 530 and was still recognized in April 522, in his Babylonian Year 8, but it is not known when in 522 he died. Because his Year 7 is astronomically fixed by a lunar eclipse recorded in Ptolemy's *Almagest* and in a Babylonian tablet,³ it is certain that his Babylonian Years 1 to 8 began in the evening of the following days, at first crescent visibility after a conjunction or astronomical new moon: (Year 1) 12 April 529, (2) 1 April 528, (3) 21 March 527, (4) 9 April 526, (5) 29 March 525, (6) 17 April 524, (7) 7 April 523, and (8) 27 March 522.⁴ It follows that his Egyptian Years 1 to 8, according to predating of postdating, would begin on the following days: (Year 1) 3 January 529, (2) 2 January 528, (3) 2 January 527, (4) 2 January 526, (5) 2 January 525, (6) 1 January 524, (7) 1 January 523, and (8) 1 January 522.

References to Egyptian regnal years of Cambyses are found in Demotic and hieroglyphic Egyptian.⁵ In Demotic, the Years 2,⁶ 3,⁷ 4,⁸ 5,⁹ 6,¹⁰ and 7¹¹ are attested once and Year 8 twice.¹² In hieroglyphic Egyptian, the Year 5 is attested once¹³ and Year 6 twice, once in a Serapeum stela¹⁴ and once in an inscription from the Wadi Hammamat.¹⁵ In these 11 attestations of regnal years, an important distinction should be

³ Richard A. Parker, "Persian and Egyptian Chronology," *AJSL* 58 (1941), pp. 285–301, at p. 294 n. 26.

⁴ Some dates might be off by one day. For the degree of accuracy, see Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*, p. 25.

⁵ For the evidence, see Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, vol. 4, MIFAO 25 (Cairo, 1916), pp. 136–38; Heinz-Josef Thissen, "Chronologie der frühdemotischen Papyri," *Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie* 10 (1980), pp. 105–25, at p. 113 (Demotic papyri written in the reign of Cambyses).

⁶ P. Cairo 50059,8. For transcription and translation of P. Cairo 50059, dated to Year 8 of Cambyses, see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler. III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (Fortsetzung)*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, vol. 92 (Berlin, 1932), pp. 42–46; for this same papyrus, see also E. Jelínková-Reymond, "Gestions des Rentes d'Office," *CdE* 28/56 (1953), pp. 228–37. Year 2 probably also needs to be restored in P. BM 10792,6; for this document, see n. 12 below.

⁷ P. Rylands IX 21,7; for transcription and translation of this line, see Francis Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester and London, 1909), vol. 3, pp. 105, 247. The latest date in P. Rylands IX is Year 9 of Darius I (30 December 514 – 28 December 513). Since a few later events are mentioned, the text was probably written down a couple of years after Year 9, in about 510.

⁸ P. Rylands IX 21,9. For transcription and translation of this line, see *ibid.*

⁹ P. Cairo 50060, column 2,1. For transcription and translation, see Spiegelberg, *Denkmäler*, pp. 46–48; the text was reedited by E. Jelínková-Reymond, "«Paiement» du Président de la Nécropole (P. Caire 50060)," *BIFAO* 55 (1955), pp. 33–55. Only traces of the king's name remain; for the paleographical justification for restoring Cambyses' name, see Jelínková-Reymond, "«Paiement»," pp. 40–41.

¹⁰ P. Cairo 50062a. For transcription and translation, see Spiegelberg, *Denkmäler*, p. 52.

¹¹ P. Cairo 50062c. The name of Cambyses is lost; Spiegelberg restores it. For transcription and translation, see Spiegelberg, *Denkmäler*, p. 53.

made between year dates contemporary with the writing of the document and year dates referred to in papyri of later date. Half of the dates, the Demotic year dates 2, 3, and 4, and two of the three hieroglyphic year dates, the Year 5 and the Year 6 in the Hammamat inscription, are mentioned in texts of later date.

It is especially surprising to find a Year 2 attested in the same texts, in P. Cairo 50059 and in all probability *in lacuna* also in P. BM 10792, in which Year 8 is also mentioned. Whatever the date of Cambyses' conquest (see below), it did not occur as early as his Year 2, counting by any imaginable calendar. But since not Year 2 but rather Year 8 is the date of the document, what must have happened is that Year 2 is dated retroactively and the last years of Amasis are annulled.¹⁶ It is unlikely that two different dating methods were used in the same manuscript. Year 2 and Year 8 are mentioned just two lines apart. There can therefore be little doubt that it was possible to date Cambyses' regnal years retroactively to before the conquest.¹⁷

Also the Years 3 and 4 in the well-known P. Rylands IX are puzzling, for the Greek tradition (see below) claims that Cambyses became king of Egypt in his fifth year according to an unspecified calendar. For this reason, it has been suggested that the Years 3 and 4 were counted either from Amasis' death, disregarding Psammetichus III's short reign, or from Cambyses' conquest of Egypt.¹⁸ Accordingly, the regnal dates higher than 4 could be interpreted as dating from the day of accession and there

¹² This date is found in two complimentary documents pertaining to the same subject matter from the same archive, P. Cairo 50059,10 and P. BM 10792,8; Year 8 probably also needs to be restored in line 1 of each document. For transcription and translation of P. Cairo 50059, see n. 6; for transcription and translation of P. BM 10792, see A.F. Shore, "Swapping Property at Asyut in the Persian Period," *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (London, 1988), pp. 200–206. On the contents of these documents, see now also Janet H. Johnson, "Annuity Contracts' and Marriage," *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 55 (Chicago, 1994), pp. 113–32.

¹³ Louvre IM.4187, dated to Year 4 of Darius I. For text and translation, see Georges Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte: Recueil d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 11 (Cairo, 1936), pp. 36–41.

¹⁴ Louvre IM.4133, edited by Posener, *La première domination*, pp. 30–35.

¹⁵ The inscription is dated to Year 12 of Xerxes I. For text and translation, see Posener, *La première domination*, pp. 28–29.

¹⁶ Cf. also Parker, "Persian and Egyptian Chronology," p. 301 with n. 42; id., "The Length of Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty," *MDAIK* 15 (1957), pp. 208–12, at pp. 209–10 n. 3.

¹⁷ For a different interpretation of Year 2, see P.W. Pestman, "The Diospolis Parva Documents: Chronological Problems concerning Psammetichus III and IV," *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüdtdeckens zum 15. Juni 1983* (Würzburg, 1984), pp. 145–55, at p. 154 n. 24; but it is not mentioned in this note that the same document also contains Year 8.

would have been two regnal dating systems in use under Cambyses.¹⁹ But is it possible to interpret Years 3 and 4 simply according to predating of postdating, thus assuming a single regnal dating system for Cambyses' reign, the same as in the rest of the Persian period? To answer this question, it may be useful to look at the text.²⁰

(6) Psammet-kmenempe son of Hor did not come to Teujoi until now, but what he did was to send men to fetch his property, (7) until Year 44 of Amasis. In Year 3 of Cambyses, Hor son of Psammet-kmenempe, the prophet of Amun, came to (8) Teujoi, and stood with the priests... They went to (9) Psenah... and wrote him the title... in Year 4 of Cambyses.

It is stated how a routine followed up to Year 44 of Amasis is interrupted in Year 3 of Cambyses. The most straightforward interpretation of the text is that, first, Year 44 is Amasis' last,²¹ and second, Year 3 came immediately after Amasis' Year 44. Can this be?

Year 44 of Amasis has been astronomically fixed to the wandering year 2 January 527 – 1 January 526 on the basis of a double date in the abnormal hieratic papyrus Louvre 7848.²² Not only the scenario in the passage from P. Rylands IX above, but also two passages in one of the texts on the verso of BN 215, whose recto contains the so-called Demotic Chronicle, lead one to believe that Year 44 was Amasis' last. The text on the verso of BN 215, which deals with the compiling of laws in the reign of Darius I, speaks of the matters "which were written in the *wt*-book starting with Year 44 of Pharaoh Amasis up to the day on which Cambyses became lord of Egypt," and a few lines later in the text, Darius is said to order the priests to "write the earlier law of Egypt up to Year 44 of Amasis."²³

If Year 44 is Amasis' last, the rest of the wandering year 2 January 527 – 1 January 526 would be a regnal year of another king. In fact, according to the predating of postdating system, Year 3 of Cambyses coincides with the same wandering year, so that the portion of the wandering year after Amasis' death could be called Cambyses' Year 3.²⁴ In this sense, Year 44 of Amasis and Year 3 of Cambyses follow one another immediately within the same wandering year. Any other interpretations

¹⁸ For the first alternative, see Griffith, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 106, and Parker, "Persian and Egyptian Chronology," p. 301 with n. 41. Parker later noted that counting from the conquest, instead of from Amasis' death, cannot be excluded as a possibility ("The Length of Reign of Amasis," pp. 209–10 n. 3 end).

¹⁹ See Parker, "Persian and Egyptian Chronology," p. 301; "The Length of Reign of Amasis," pp. 209–10 n. 3; Pestman, "The Diospolis Parva Documents," p. 154.

²⁰ P. Rylands IX 21,6–9 (after Griffith, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, 105).

²¹ Cf. Griffith, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 63; Friedrich Karl Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953), p. 156.

²² Parker, "The Length of Reign of Amasis," pp. 210–12.

of this sequence admit a gap of one or more years between Year 44 of Amasis and Year 3 of Cambyses.²⁵

If Cambyses was not in Egypt as early as 527, which seems likely,²⁶ Year 3 must have been dated retroactively; a certain instance of such dating is, as was seen above, Cambyses' Year 2 in P. Cairo 50059. It must also mean that Psammetichus III's reign was disregarded. Here, a parallel can be adduced: Psammetichus' reign is ignored in the expression from BN 215 quoted above, "starting with Year 44 of Pharaoh Amasis up to the day on which Cambyses became lord of Egypt." This formulation suggests that there was an interval of some length between the two dates. Since it appears Amasis died in his Year 44, Psammetichus III would have reigned in this interval.

The identification of the Demotic year dates 3 and 4 with Julian years proposed above seems rather effortless. It explains the sequence of events in P. Rylands IX, agrees with regnal dating throughout the Twenty-seventh Dynasty and also has the advantage of assuming only a single dating method in Cambyses' reign instead of the traditional two:

²³ Paris BN 215, verso, column C, lines 6–7 and 10–11. For transcription and translation, see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque nationale zu Paris nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 30–31.

Parker notes that, in BN 215, "there is twice mention of Year 44 of Amasis as some sort of terminal point" ("The Length of Reign of Amasis," p. 210 top), but he doubts the reading of the year dates. These doubts seem to have come about as follows. Before Parker's discovery of the lunar date in Louvre 7848, it had been common to think that Amasis died in his Year 44 and begun his reign in 569. But Parker's correct interpretation of the lunar date established that Amasis' reign began a year earlier in 570. Consequently, retaining Year 44 as Amasis' last would increase the distance between the end of his reign and the Persian conquest, generally thought to have happened in 525, by a whole year. To keep the end of Amasis' reign close to the conquest in 525, Parker proposed that Amasis died in his Year 45, though the evidence from the Chronicle, if the number is read "44," as well as that from P. Rylands IX, points to Year 44 as Amasis' last, as Parker acknowledges. In other words, the perception that "44," as number of the last regnal year, contradicts the astronomical evidence, always the best in chronological matters, may have motivated Parker's doubts on the reading of the number. But now that 525 has itself become uncertain as a date for the conquest (see below), an opportunity is created to reconcile the firm astronomical evidence with the obvious interpretation of Year 44 as Amasis' last.

Recently, Pestman has read "44" in BN 215, verso, column C, 6–7 ("The Diospolis Parva Documents," p. 149). It seems one can recognize the Demotic numbers 40 and 4 in both instances, and this reading is confirmed by Janet Johnson, who was able to manipulate a scanned photograph of the text with the help of computer graphics (personal communication).

²⁴ Barta's discussion of the date of the Persian conquest is based on the assumption that Year 44 of Amasis and Year of Darius 3 cannot be identical (*Datierungspraxis*, p. 88 bottom).

²⁵ Parker, "The Length of Reign of Amasis," p. 209.

²⁶ It was suggested as a possibility that he was, though, by Gauthier (*Livre des rois*, vol. 4, p. 137 n. 1), who realizes that it contradicts the Greek evidence (see below).

one might expect Demotic scribal tradition to have settled on a single dating method. If only one dating system was used, P. Rylands IX confirms predating of postdating. It is not clear how such a system came about in the middle of Cambyses' reign, when he conquered Egypt.

Chronological evidence often arises from being able to place events in some kind of numerical relation with one other. In this respect, one item still deserves mention. According to stela Louvre IM.4187,²⁷ Apis XLIV (Mariette's number) was born on Month 5 Day 29 of Year 5 of Cambyses, died on Month 9 Day 4 of Year 4 of Darius I,²⁸ and was buried on Month 11 Day 13 in the same year.²⁹ The traditional julian dates for these three events are 29 May 525, 31 August 518, and 8 November 518.³⁰ What is more, the time between birth and death of the bull is given as 7 or 8 years, 3 months, and 5 days. Paleographically, the year date may be either 7 or 8; there are eight strokes, but one is not as evenly spaced as the others.³¹ If both Year 5 of Cambyses and Year 4 of Darius are interpreted as predating of postdating, then 7 should be the correct reading. Since Year 4 of Darius I can hardly be later than 518 by any regnal dating system, the only way to justify 8 would be if Year 5 of Cambyses was obtained by predating and not by predating of postdating. At all events, the problem with the reading of the year date makes the stela inconclusive as evidence.³²

3. THE DATE OF THE PERSIAN CONQUEST

A Babylonian document dated to 22 Kislev of Year 6 of Cambyses, that is, 31 December 524, and dealing with the sale of an Egyptian slave woman said to be part of war booty, provides a reliable *terminus ante*

²⁷ Posener, *La première domination*, pp. 36–41.

²⁸ The day date is damaged, but the full date is also found in Louvre 355 and Louvre 366 (call numbers according to Posener, *La première domination*, p. 38).

²⁹ This date is also recorded in Louvre 319 and 320 (call numbers according to Posener 1936, *La première domination*, p. 39).

³⁰ The previous bull died on Month 11 Day [10?] of Year 6 of Cambyses according to Louvre IM.4133; the reading of the day date is uncertain; "10" has been suggested by Posener (*La première domination*, p. 32). This means that there is a most unusual gap of a year and a half between the birth of Apis XLIV and the burial of its predecessor. For different explanations of this much discussed gap, see my "Evidence for Accession Dating under the Achaemenids," *JAOS* (forthcoming). This gap might be connected with the incident of Cambyses' wounding the Apis, or perhaps even be relevant to the chronology of the period, but I cannot quite see how at this point; on the Apis murder case, see "Murder in Memphis: The Story of Cambyses' Mortal Wounding of the Apis (ca. 523 B.C.E.)," *JNES* 54 (1995), pp. 119–26.

³¹ For a discussion, see Parker, "Egyptian and Persian Chronology," pp. 286–87.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 287.

quem.³³ It seems the Egyptian campaign should have taken place several months before that date.³⁴

The *terminus ante quem* can be moved back to June 15 of 525 by means of P. Cairo 50060.³⁵ This papyrus contains a list of dates in Year 5 of Cambyses. As it is difficult to imagine a calendar system in which Year 5 would correspond to a wandering year later than that of 2 January – 31 December 525, the earliest date in the list of dates, II *prt* [1?]6 and 20 should be dated [1?]5 and 19 June 525 at the latest.³⁶

A *terminus post quem* for the conquest is obtained from the fact that Amasis died at the earliest in his Year 44, the wandering year 2 January 527 – 1 January 526. It has been suggested above that 527 was Amasis' last. But no month and day dates have surfaced for year 44 to determine the date of death of Amasis more precisely.³⁷ Meanwhile, it can be concluded that the conquest began at the earliest in the year 527. Any fine-tuning depends on a discussion of the Greek evidence, which follows below.

Independently from these considerations of the *terminus ante quem* and the *terminus post quem*, the traditional date of the conquest has now for quite some time been the spring of 525. This date was obtained by a clever combination of Greek and Demotic sources.³⁸ On the one hand, Greek sources report that:

(1) Cambyses undertook a campaign against Egypt in the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad (Diodorus³⁹)

(2) Cambyses became king of Egypt in the fifth year of his reign over the

³³ Bruno Meissner, "Das Datum der Einnahme Ägyptens durch Cambyses," *ZÄS* 29 (1891), pp. 123–24. On this text, see also M. Stol, "Un texte oublié," *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 71 (1977), p. 96.

³⁴ The slave woman had a three month old child. The soldier, if the child was his, would have been in Egypt a year before in December 525, as Meissner already implied.

³⁵ The date Month 5 Day 29 of Year 5 of Cambyses (29 May 525), found in stela Louvre IM.4187, is not contemporary with the text in which it is found, and could therefore have been dated retroactively.

³⁶ The complete list is as follows: II *prt* [1?]6, 20, 22 of Cambyses' Year 5; IV *prt* 24, 26, 27, 28, 29; I *šmw* 1, 2, 12, 13, 14, 16, [1]7. In 525, these dates would be as follows: [1?]5, 19, 21 June; 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30 August; 9, 10, 11, 13, 14 September.

³⁷ The Hammamat inscription of Year 44 does not have one (Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, vol. 4, p. 120 with n. 2).

³⁸ Cf. Posener, *La première domination*, p. 6 n. 1; Gardiner, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar," p. 20; Kienitz, *Politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, pp. 156–57.

³⁹ Pharaoh Amasis katevstreye to;n bivon kaq' o}n covnon Kambuvsh" ... ejstravteusen ejpi; th;n Aif[gupton, kata; to; trivton e[to" th" eJxhkosth" kai; trivth" ojlumpiavdo", h}n ejnivka stavdion Parmenivdh" Kamarinaio" "passed away around the time when Cambyses . . . undertook a military campaign against Egypt, in the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad, in which Parmenides Kamarinaios won the stadion course" (I 68,6).

Persians, that is, probably not before August 526 (Manetho, according to Africanus and Eusebius)⁴⁰

(3) Psammetichus III, whose reign Cambyses ended, ruled for six months (Herodotus, Manetho⁴¹)

On the other hand, Demotic sources seemed to show that Psammetichus III had a second year. Two papyri are dated to Year 2 of a king called Psammetichus, one in Month 5; in a third papyrus, dated to the same king, "2" for the year date is a plausible reading.⁴²

These Greek and Demotic sources were reconciled as follows. Psammetichus III can only reign six months and have a second year into its fifth month if he came to the throne at the end of one wandering year and ruled into the fifth month of the next and not much beyond that. The report that Cambyses became king in the fifth year of his reign (Manetho), which began at the earliest in August 526, allows one to identify the two wandering years in question with 2 Jan 526 – 1 Jan 525 and 2 Jan 525 – 1 Jan 524. In the second, Month 5 corresponds to 1 – 30 May. Around this time, then, traditional chronology dates Cambyses' conquest. It is not contradicted by the *terminus ante quem* of [1?]5 June 525 mentioned above.

But recently, the three Demotic documents dating to king Psammetichus have been discredited as evidence because they have been redated about thirty years later and a rebel Pharaoh Psammetichus IV has been postulated for the tumultuous period after the death of Darius I late in 486.⁴³

What is left, then, as evidence is the Greek tradition, already listed above. This evidence is not contemporary and great caution always needs to be exercised with dates provided by Greek historians for earlier antiquity, certainly when it comes to establishing the exact year in which an event occurred. Nevertheless, an attempt will be made to interpret the Greek evidence in light of the contemporary evidence.

⁴⁰ Kambuvsh" e[tei e' th" eJautou' basileiva" Persw'n ejbasivleusen Aijgyptou (version of Eusebius, through Syncellus) "Cambyses became king of Egypt in the fifth year of his reign over the Persians" (W.G. Waddell, *Manetho*, The Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., 1940], pp. 174, 176).

⁴¹ mh'na" e{x "six months" (Herodotus III 14; Manetho, as reported by Africanus, through Syncellus [Waddell, *Manetho*, p. 170]).

⁴² For the texts, see now Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, nos. 4 (Year 2 Month 5), 7 (Year 2, Month 3 or 4), and 8 (Year 1, 2, 3, or ?4, Month 3). The readings of the dates are Vleeming's.

⁴³ Pestman, "The Diospolis Parva Documents." Cf. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, pp. 3–4. Pharaoh Psammetichus IV was first postulated by Eugene Cruz-Urbe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," *Serapis* 5.2 (1980), pp. 35–39.

Interestingly, Diodorus notes that Cambyses began his Egyptian campaign at the death of Amasis and he dates this development to the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad, but he does not mention Psammetichus III. As mentioned earlier, the Demotic evidence suggests that Amasis died in 527. Can the information provided by Diodorus be reconciled with this date?

The Olympic Games referred to by Diodorus are the ones held in 528, and one may assume that they took place in late summer, in August or September.⁴⁴ If one counts the games themselves as the beginning of the Olympiad's first year, the third year would begin in August or September of 526, at least several months after the date of death of Amasis derived from the Demotic sources. But several calendars were used in the Greek world, and as a result of the synchronizing of different calendars, among one another and with the Olympiads, different ways of counting came into use.⁴⁵ One of them is from fall to fall, as in the Macedonian calendar. Accordingly, the first year of the sixty-third Olympiad would last from fall 529 to fall 528 and the third year from fall 527 to fall 526. Such a dating for Cambyses' campaign would agree better with the Demotic evidence, if it is assumed that Diodorus is correct in dating the beginning of the campaign soon after Amasis' death.

The Greek chronographic tradition is complex and the competence of the present writer in these matters is not such as to warrant a definitive statement.⁴⁶ But at least Diodorus' statement does not have to mean that Cambyses' campaign had to occur in 526/25, the common equivalent for Olympiad 63,3. Much depends on the chronographer or epitomator from whom Diodorus was excerpting for his account of the late sixth century. It may well never be possible to determine the circumstances under which the event came to be associated with the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad in Diodorus' much later account.

Manetho states that Cambyses became king in his fifth year. Since Cambyses came to the throne in August 530, this would be the year beginning in August 526. In comparing Diodorus and Manetho, it should be noted that the former states that Cambyses "undertook a military campaign" (ejstravteusen), the latter that Cambyses "became king" (ejbasivleusen).

⁴⁴ Friedrich Karl Ginzel, *Handbuch der technischen und mathematischen Chronologie*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 354–56.

⁴⁵ Ginzel, *Handbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 356–58. On Olympiads, see also E.J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London, 1968), pp. 75–76, 91.

⁴⁶ On the chronographic tradition, see, for example, Alden E. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, 1979).

One plausible scenario, not contradicted by any available evidence, is that Amasis died some time in 527, that Cambyses began his campaign soon after that, while Psammetichus began a short reign of about six months,⁴⁷ that final defeat came some time in 526, and that Cambyses was crowned in the summer of 526.

What is a reasonable dating range for Cambyses' conquest of Egypt? This depends in part on the definition of "conquest." But if taken as the whole development, from mounting the military campaign in Persia and Mesopotamia to the crowning of Cambyses, the period from 527–*beginning of June 525* seems certain—no later than 15 June 525, in accordance with the *terminus post quem* established above, and not earlier than early 527, the earliest date for Amasis' death; Diodorus states that Cambyses began his campaign around the time of Amasis' death. The campaign could have begun later than 527 or the conquest have been completed several months before June 525. As in the case of the Arab conquest of Egypt around 640 C.E., it could have taken many months.

It is not possible to determine exactly when Egyptian forces capitulated or when Cambyses was crowned. For the dating of these events, it is necessary to take into account Psammetichus III's short reign after Amasis' death. The earliest date for the end of Psammetichus' reign would be several months after Amasis' death in 527, that is *mid to late 527*. The Greek evidence suggests that Cambyses' crowning was later in 526/25. Later than 527 is also suggested by the consideration that the campaign must have had some extension in time.

It may be concluded that, if one wishes to use only year dates to refer to the date of the conquest, the years 527–25 seem safe limits for the time being.

REGNAL YEARS OF CAMBYSES ACCORDING TO THE EGYPTIAN CALENDAR

- Each regnal year is precisely 365 days long, except for (1) the "beginning (of the reign)," a period named so for lack of knowledge how the Egyptians called it, lasting from the day of accession to the first Babylonian new year; (2) the first regnal year, lasting from the first Babylonian new year to the first Egyptian new year after that—that is, the first or second Egyptian new year of the reign, depending on when the king came to the throne; (3) the last regnal year, lasting from the last Egyptian new year of the reign to the death of the king.

⁴⁷ Psammetichus (III) is mentioned as successor of Amasis in the well-known statue inscription of Udjahorresne (Posener, *La première domination*, pp. 1–26).

- Wandering years marked in italics, be they complete or incomplete, include a julian 29 February. Julian leap years B.C.E. are those divisible by four after subtracting one: 529, 525, 521, and so on.
- For details on predating of postdating as a regnal dating method, see “Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Achaemenid Egypt” (*JEA* 81, forthcoming).

JULIAN DATES	REGNAL YEAR
[<i>accession</i> ^a – 3 Apr 529 ^b	<i>beginning</i>] ^c
[4 Apr 529 ^d – 1 Jan 528	1] ^c
[2 Jan 528 – 1 Jan 527	2] ^c
[2 Jan 527 – 1 Jan 526	3] ^e
[2 Jan 526 – 1 Jan 525	4] ^e
<i>2 Jan 525 – 1 Jan 524</i>	5 ^f
1 Jan 524 – 31 Dec 524	6
1 Jan 523 – 31 Dec 523	7
1 Jan 522 – death ^g	8

^a For this date, see Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*, p. 14.

^b This is the day before the Babylonian new year (1 Nisan or 4 April in the year 529).

^c Dates containing this regnal year can only be retroactive, since Cambyses' conquest took place in the period from early 527 at the earliest to mid 525 at the latest. The “beginning (of the reign)”(?) and Year 1 are not attested as retroactive dates, Year 2 in all probability is found in P. Cairo 50059.

^d This is 1 Nisan or the Babylonian new year. For this date, see Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*, p. 30; for the degree of accuracy of this date, see *ibid.*, p. 25.

^e Dates containing this regnal year probably could only occur in documents by using retroactive dating. But since Cambyses' conquest began in early 527 at the earliest and ended in early June 525 at the latest, the probability of encountering real dates increases as this period progresses. Year 3 and Year 4 are attested in P.Ryl. IX and are probably retroactive dates. Month 5 Day 29 of Year 5 found in Louvre IM.4187 occurs in a stela from Year 4 of Darius and could therefore be a retroactive date; if it is not, the *terminus ante quem* for the conquest would be 29 May 525.

^f Dates in the earlier part of this year could be retroactive if mentioned in documents of later date, for the *terminus ante quem* for Cambyses' conquest is June 525.

^g Cambyses was still recognized according to the Babylonian records in April 522. The Behistun inscription indicates that he did not die till after 1 July 522. See Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*, p. 14.



Les Déeses et le Sema-Taouy



CH. DESROCHES NOBLECOURT

AU COURS D'UNE DE MES VISITES AU MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS DE Boston, j'entrai dans le bureau de Kelly lorsqu'il achevait la présentation, sur velours noir, d'un élément d'orfèvrerie dont il venait de faire l'acquisition. Il s'agissait de ce magnifique groupe de Nekhabit et de Ouadjet aux ailes éployées (fig. 1). C'est ce souvenir, choisi parmi d'autres instants amicaux vécus ensemble, qui m'incite à dédier à notre cher collègue cette petite étude.



Fig. 1. Dessin du bijou de Boston.

Ces deux déesses,—les Deux Dames,—les Nebty, sont si fréquemment utilisées dans le lot des symboles royaux qu'elles nous écartent par cela même d'en vouloir cerner la profonde et complète signification. Elles apparaissent, dans le protocole royal (fig. 2) dès les débuts de la première dynastie,¹ introduisant, comme on le sait, le second Grand Nom du roi; mais que signifient-elles exactement? Faut-il se borner à interpréter ce titre comme politique et considérer Pharaon comme intimement protégé par les deux déesses, la tutélaire du Sud d'abord, Nekhabit, et la Nordique conquise, Ouadjet?² Ou bien ne doit-on pas reconnaître le souverain comme issu de ces deux entités de géographie religieuse, ou encore les incarne-t-il l'une et l'autre, de même qu'il est déclaré "Horus

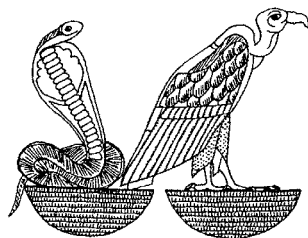


Fig. 2. Dessin des deux Déeses Tutélaires sur les meubles de Hétep-Héres. Musée du Caire.

¹ *Rec. de Trav.* 17, p. 113; Piehl, *PSBA* 20 (1898), pp. 200–201; Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, pl. VIII, 1; pl. VIII, 9, etc.

² Rappelant, comme l'écrivait encore A. Gardiner en 1927 (*Egyptian Grammar*, p. 73), que: "Probably Menes, the founder of Dyn. 1, was the first to assume the Nebty title, symbolizing thereby the fact that he united the two kingdoms (Unt. 3, 13)."

d'Or" ou "Celui du Jonc et de l'Abeille"? Il est un fait, ces deux animaux femelles, l'une du domaine de l'air, l'autre voisine du marécage, vautour et cobra, ne figurent pas seulement dans le protocole, mais, dissociées ou à nouveau réunies, on les trouve près de Pharaon vivant ou bien encore après son trépas.

Seule, on le sait, l'uræus figure au front du roi de son vivant, alors qu'au dessus de lui le vautour étend ses ailes protectrices.³ En revanche, sur les enveloppes de la momie royale, ainsi que les objets du trésor de Tout-ânkh-Amon nous ont permis de le constater, on retrouve sur les divers sarcophages, les chaouabtis (fig. 3), ou les bouchons de vases canopes (fig. 4) les deux animaux réunis, montrant en cela que, pour la reconstitution du mort, les deux Déesses Tutélaires étaient assurément nécessaires. Cette nécessité est si impérieuse que même les dais funéraires successifs (fig. 5), enfermant les divers sarcophages momiformes emboîtés, rappellent par leurs formes le profil des chapelles du Sud et du Nord, habitats respectifs, dès les Hautes Epoques, de nos deux déesses.

Sans doute faut-il poursuivre l'enquête en considérant de plus près les plantes "héraldiques" intimement attachées à ces deux emblèmes tirés de la si riche symbolique égyptienne, c'est à dire le pseudo-lis, vraisemblablement, à l'origine, fleur du bananier sauvage éthiopien,⁴ et le papyrus bien connu des rives du Nil et des marécages rencontrés depuis le Haut Nil.⁵ Lorsque vautour et cobra sont posés sur les deux bouquets formés de touffes de "lis" et de papyrus, il apparaît bien qu'il soit question du domaine d'un monde qui prépare à la résurrection, à la réapparition. Je n'en citerai que quatre exemples très typiques. Ainsi ce décor très orienté encadrant l'entrée de l'escalier menant à la salle du sarcophage (fig. 6) de la reine Nofrétari. C'est aussi une apparition, moins récente—début du Nouvel Empire—de ces deux groupes figurés sur la lame de la hache votive trouvée dans les vestiges du trésor de la reine Iahhotep (fig. 7). C'est encore les deux déesses sur les deux plantes que l'on retrouve dans le disque d'une *ménat*,⁶ lieu où réside le rejeton d'Hathor promis à la renaissance. Enfin, à la Basse Epoque, cette vignette du papyrus Jumilhac⁷ paraissant bien évoquer les divers avatars du mort



Fig. 3. Chaouabti de Tout-ânkh-Amon.



Fig. 4. Bouchon de vase canope de Tout-ânkh-Amon.

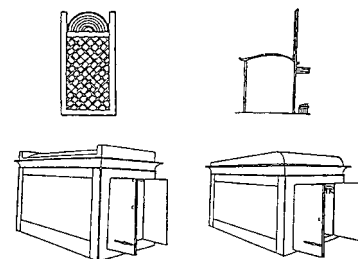


Fig. 5. Les chapelles archaïques du Nord et du Sud, les dais funéraires de Tout-ânkh-Amon leur correspondant.

³ A ce propos il faut souligner le vol du vautour de Nekhabit ornant le plafond central des hypostyles ou encore celui ornant le toit du petit naos doré de Tout-ânkh-Amon: le vautour suit le roi dans ses déplacements.

⁴ Musa ensete ou Ensete edule (V. Lorent-Tächolm en 1959), voir à ce propos W. Needler, *Pre-dynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1984), p. 204, pl. 5 no. 57.

⁵ Voir le Sudd (Soudd) ou lac No, près du Bahr el-Ghazal, du Haut Soudan.

⁶ S. Schoske-D. Wildung, *Entdeckungen (Ägyptische Kunst in Süddeutschland)* (Mainz, 1985), no. 70.

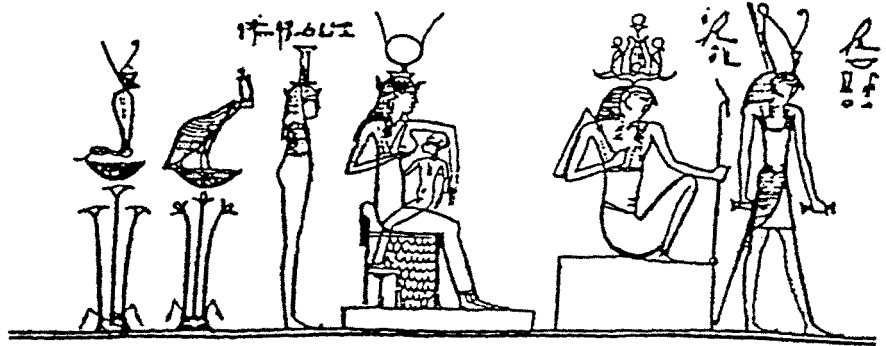


Fig. 8. Papyrus Jumilhac (Louvre), séquence aboutissant à l'apparition d'Horus.

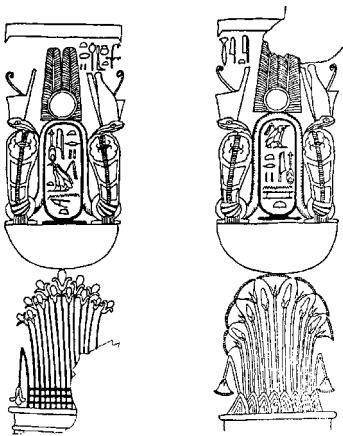


Fig. 6. "Lis" et papyrus confondus avec Nekhabit et Ouadjet, encadrant la descente vers le caveau de Nofrétari.

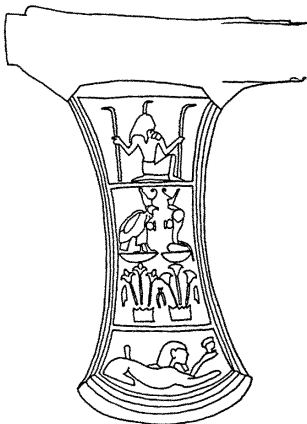


Fig. 7. Hache du trésor de Iahhotep.

osirien en un nouvel Horus, dont le point de départ (à gauche, fig. 8) est constitué par les deux plantes qui dominent les deux animaux sacrés.

Pour rencontrer, dès l'Ancien Empire, la réunion des deux plantes héraldiques associées aux génies Hâpi, il semble nécessaire de se reporter à la scène bien connue du Sema-Taouy, comportant la présence des deux déesses, des deux plantes allégoriques et, aussi, des deux génies Hâpi, remontant au règne de Mykérinus.⁸

Les scènes de Sema-Taouy ont généralement été comprises comme celles qui sanctionnaient le couronnement de Pharaon, prenant ainsi possession des deux régions, la méridionale et la septentrionale, du domaine de la Couronne (fig. 9).

Faut-il se limiter à cette seule interprétation qui ne cadre pas avec cette composition remarquablement décorative, rencontrée pendant toute la durée de la civilisation pharaonique (fig. 10, 11, 12), et si l'on tient compte de l'évolution et du simple élargissement des concepts à travers les siècles?⁹

En fait, le Sema-Taouy, depuis au moins l'Ancien Empire, figure d'abord, et avant tout, sous les trônes et sièges royaux, ce qui ne signifie nullement que ces représentations puissent évoquer ou rappeler automatiquement Pharaon à son couronnement, car les reines possèdent également des sièges ornés du Sema-Taouy.

En faisant appel aux monuments sur lesquels apparaissent ces scènes du Sema-Taouy, on constate que presque toutes sont d'utilisation jubilaire, statues ou décors muraux provenant de temples "de millions

⁷ J. Vandier, *Le papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris, 1961), pl. XVIII 1 à 15.

⁸ J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster, 1985), fig. 47 et 49.

⁹ J. Baines, op. cit., pp. 355-56: "It is as if the original purpose of fecundity figures, to bring offerings to the main figure in a temple, were the only one easily compatible with personification in its narrowest aspects. As a result, *Zm3-t3wy* groups remain ambiguous at all periods."

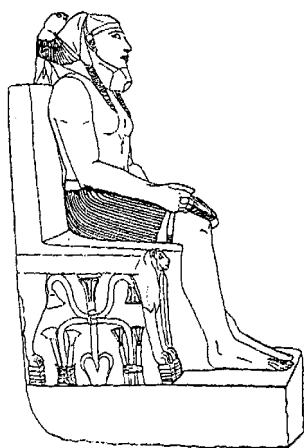


Fig. 9. Sema-Taouy de Khéphren.

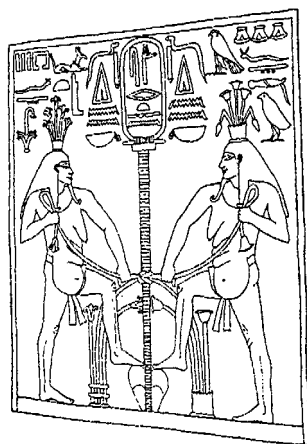


Fig. 10. Sema-Taouy de Sésostri Ier, les Hâpi.

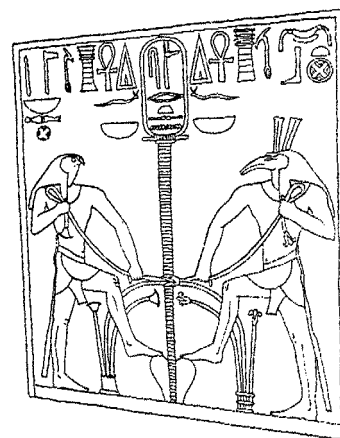


Fig. 11. Sema-Taouy de Sésostri Ier, Horus et Seth.

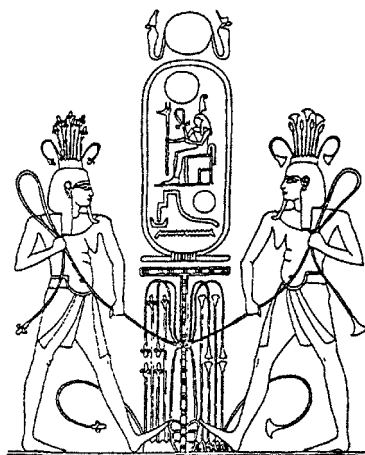


Fig. 12. Sema-Taouy de Ramsès II en Abou Simbel.

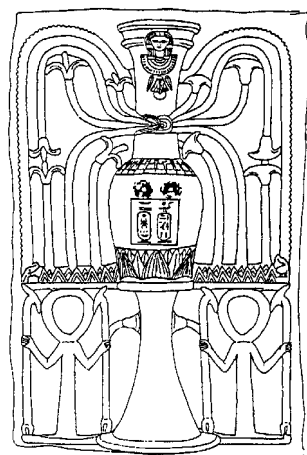


Fig. 13. Vase Sema-Taouy de Tout-ânk-Amon, en forme d'Hathor.

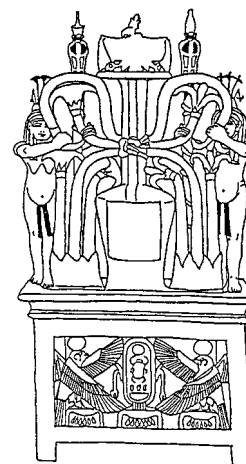


Fig. 14. Vase Sema-Taouy de Tout-ânk-Amon, avec les Hâpi.

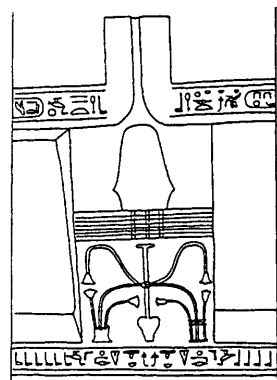


Fig. 15. Table d'offrandes du Moyen Empire (Musée du Caire).

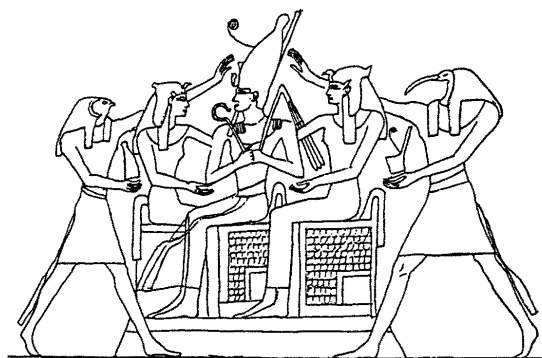


Fig. 16. Couronnement de Ramsès II (Abydos).

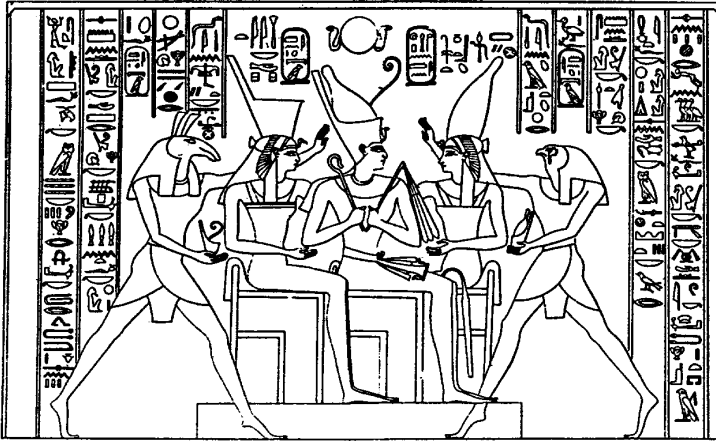


Fig. 17. Couronnement de Héry-Hor (Temple de Khonsou à Karnak, d'après Champollion).

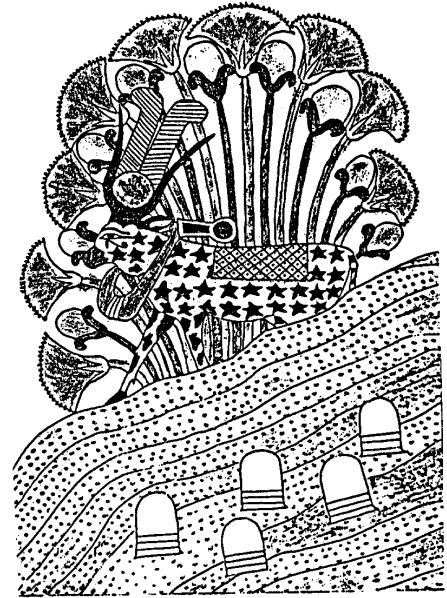


Fig. 18. Vache Hathor dominant la nécropole thébaine (papyrus d'Ouserhat-mès, musée du Caire).

d'années," depuis les puissantes effigies de Khéphren (fig. 9) jusqu'aux derniers témoins ramessides. De surcroît, les vases en albâtre de Toutânkh-Amon, taillés en forme de Sema-Taouy (fig. 13 et 14) sont bien de destination funéraire.

Enfin, si l'on se réfère à certaines tables d'offrandes décorées du Sema-Taouy (fig. 15), et remontant au Moyen Empire,¹⁰ on comprend qu'il s'agit là d'une libation d'eau fraîche, avant tout liée au renouvellement du mort. Un dernier exemple: le Sema-Taouy sculpté sur une des gargouilles du temple d'Edfou fait bien allusion à une "inondation" venue du ciel! On en arrive tout naturellement à élargir la portée de ce décor symbolique.

Les deux Hâpi ligaturant les deux plantes évoquent certainement la période où les eaux de la crue se répandent sur la terre d'Egypte: moment du Jour de l'An connu pour être celui du renouvellement annuel de Pharaon et parallèlement celui du retour d'Osiris. Pharaon confirmé au moment de ce retour cyclique est conforté en tant que réunissant en lui Horus et Seth.¹¹ Image qui le suivra tout le long de son règne, mais aussi qui l'accompagnera dans l'autre monde. On se rapproche donc beaucoup

¹⁰ L. Habachi, *ASAE* 55 (1958), p. 173, fig. 1 (la table d'offrandes citée est au Caire, JE 67858). Plusieurs autres, dont celle de la figure 10, sont conservées au même musée.

¹¹ H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion (a Study of his role in Egyptian mythology and religion)* (Leyde, 1967), p. 71: "The annual inundation of the Nile can be compared with the great mythical renovation, the integration of Horus and Seth: "I (Hꜣpy) am one born of the underworld who establishes the head of Horus on Seth, and vice versa."

plus de l'évocation de la nécessaire, primordiale inondation dont tout dépendait, que du souvenir évoquant le couronnement.¹²

Il faut, maintenant, se reporter à la présence non seulement du papyrus, mais aussi du pseudo-lis se profilant derrière l'image de la vache Hathor dominant la nécropole, dès la XXIe dynastie (papyrus d'Ouserhat-mès, Caire, fig. 18).¹³

Il faut encore considérer les images plus tardives des deux Ihy,¹⁴ fils d'Hathor de Dendara (fig. 19 a et b), juchés sur des Sema-Taouy. Enfin il est nécessaire de considérer avec attention le tableau, très longtemps resté inaccessible, dans le couloir menant au mammisi de Philae.¹⁵ Sur deux registres, la renaissance du dieu (et le renouveau de Pharaon) sont évoqués. Au registre inférieur le marécage composé de "lis" et de papyrus est habité par le dédoublement de la vache Hathor nourricière.¹⁶ Puis apparaissent, au dessus de deux bassins d'où surgissent deux lotus, les deux Ihy, joueurs de sistres.

Ainsi donc, les deux plantes résident dans le domaine chthonien où se reconstitue le dieu mort en tant que futur Horus. Gardons aussi présent à l'esprit que "lis" et papyrus sont les supports et les symboles des deux Mères Primordiales Nekhabit et Oudjet, règnant dans les eaux de la reconstitution.

Il ne suffit plus, alors, que de se reporter au vautour et au cobra figurant sur le front du roi mort promis à la résurrection, ou aux deux couronnes dominant (par l'intermédiaire de l'uræus) les plantes sacrées, offertes à Séthi Ier en Abydos pour sa renaissance (fig. 20): on saisit bien que Nekhabit et Oudjet, déesses tutélaires aux multiples symboles, étaient nécessaires, avant tout, à la reconstitution du trépassé.¹⁷

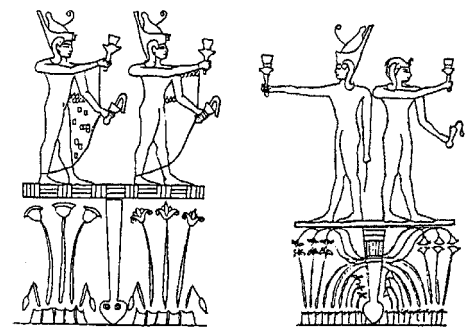


Fig. 19a. Dédoublément de Ihy, fils d'Hathor, à Dendara.

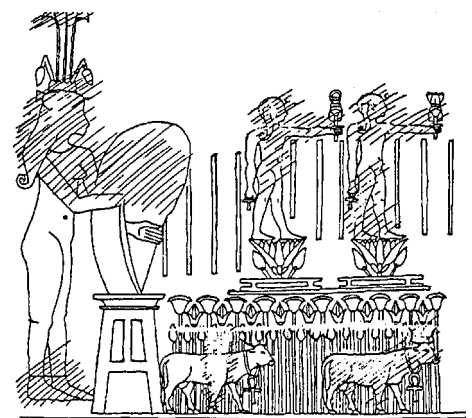


Fig. 19b. Dédoublément de Ihy à Philae.

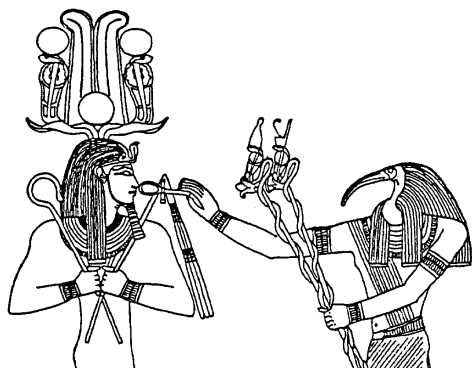


Fig. 20. Les deux Mères Primordiales présentées à Séthi Ier pour sa renaissance (Abydos).

¹² Ce qui n'exclut pas qu'il ait pu, parfois, coïncider avec l'arrivée du flot comme le préconisait Hatchepsout. On constatera, au reste, que sur les figurations du couronnement de Ramsès II et de Héry-Hor (fig. 16 et 17), le Sema-Taouy ne figure pas.

¹³ Cette vignette du papyrus funéraire du Caire (palier de l'escalier du musée), remontant à la XXIe dynastie, a souvent été reproduite comme étant ramesside et provenant d'une chapelle funéraire thébaine.

¹⁴ Ihy-Noun et Ihy-Our.

¹⁵ Les dessins des deux groupes où figurent les Ihy, à Dendara, et le panneau du couloir du mammisi de Philae, sont dus à Isabelle Sauvé, de même que tous les autres dessins sauf les fig., nos. 8 et 16.

¹⁶ De même, sous le lit d'accouchement de la reine Ahmès pour la naissance d'Hatchepsout à Deir el-Bahari. Cf; E. Brunner-Traut, *Geburtshaus...*, Taf. 12, Szene XII, L.

¹⁷ On remarquera ces deux déesses figurant au front de certains portraits de reines (depuis la Grande Epouse royale Tiyi, XVIIIe dynastie, jusqu'à la reine Isis à la XXe dynastie). Cette présence s'explique, naturellement, puisque la Grande Epouse royale portait, en son sein, les héritiers de Pharaon.

Lorsque Pharaon monte “sur le trône d’Horus des vivants,” seule, on le sait, l’uræus demeure à son front, la fraîche Ouadjet résultat du long cheminement du flot nourricier qui a reconstitué son essence même.

Le jour du couronnement Pharaon peut être coiffé des symboles essentiels rappelant ses origines: la couronne blanche (Nekhabit) et la couronne rouge (Ouadjet), formant le Pschent. Mais, par la suite, ce Pschent dominera les statues jubilaires osiriaques.

Par le jeu de équivalences, la *hedjet* et la *desheret*, évoquant Nekhabit du Sud et Ouadjet du Nord, font corps avec le “lis” et le papyrus retrouvés dans le Sema-Taouy. Ce symbole possède une connotation chthonienne et avant tout jubilaire, en rapport des plus étroits avec l’inondation et l’éternel cycle du renouvellement: notions évoquées d’une manière particulièrement harmonieuses par le groupement des deux animaux divins, aux ailes déployées, dont notre ami Kelly sut enrichir son beau Musée de Boston.



Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru



ELMAR EDEL

DER TALTEMPEL DES KÖNIGS SNOFRU WURDE AUSGEGRABEN UND veröffentlicht von Ahmed Fakhry unter dem Titel *The Monuments of Seneferu at Dahshur*, vol. II. *The Valley Temple* (Cairo, 1961). In diesem Tempel befanden sich 10 monolithische Pfeiler, deren Lage in dem Grundrißplan auf S. 2 bei Fakhry gut zu sehen ist. Den Ausgräbern bot sich wie sonst auch bei diesen Pfeilern ein chaotisches Bild. Alle 10 Pfeiler waren zur Steingewinnung schon in alter Zeit umgelegt und die größeren Steine abtransportiert worden. Zumindest ein Teil der Pfeiler trug Reliefs und Inschriften; die Rückseite der Pfeiler, also ihre Nordseite, trug keine Reliefs. Ansonsten konnten die Vorderseiten (also die Südseiten) sowie die Ost- und Westseiten reliefiert sein. Alle Reliefsplitter lagen so chaotisch im Schutt des Tempels umher, daß es für Fakhry unmöglich war, einzelne Reliefs einzelnen Pfeilern zuzuweisen.

Die 10 Pfeiler waren in Fünferreihen hintereinander angeordnet. Zu den Ausmessungen der Pfeiler teilt Fakhry Folgendes mit: "their breadth varied between 185 and 210 cms, but their depth was 120 cms in the five pillars of the front row and 140 cms in the pillars of the back row." Daraus ergibt sich doch wohl, daß die Pfeilerquerschnitte der Frontreihe, die dem von Süden Eintretenden am nächsten lag, etwas kleiner waren als die der rückwärtigen Pfeilerreihe. Wir müssen also die Pfeilerbreiten von 185 und 210 cm entsprechend auf die Pfeiler der rückwärtigen Reihe (210 cm) bzw. der Frontreihe (185 cm) verteilen, obwohl dies Fakhry nicht ausdrücklich angibt. Der Grundriß des Tempels auf S. 2 läßt auch nur erkennen, daß die Frontseiten breiter sind als die Ost- und Westseiten der Pfeiler. Infolge des kleinen Maßstabs lassen sich aber keine genauen Nachmessungen im mm-Bereich durchführen. Eine Übersicht über die Maße sähe so aus:

Hintere Pfeilerreihe im Norden:	Breite der Ost- bzw. Westseite 140 cm Frontseite 210 cm
Vordere Pfeilerreihe im Süden:	Ost- bzw. Westseite 120 cm Frontseite 185 cm

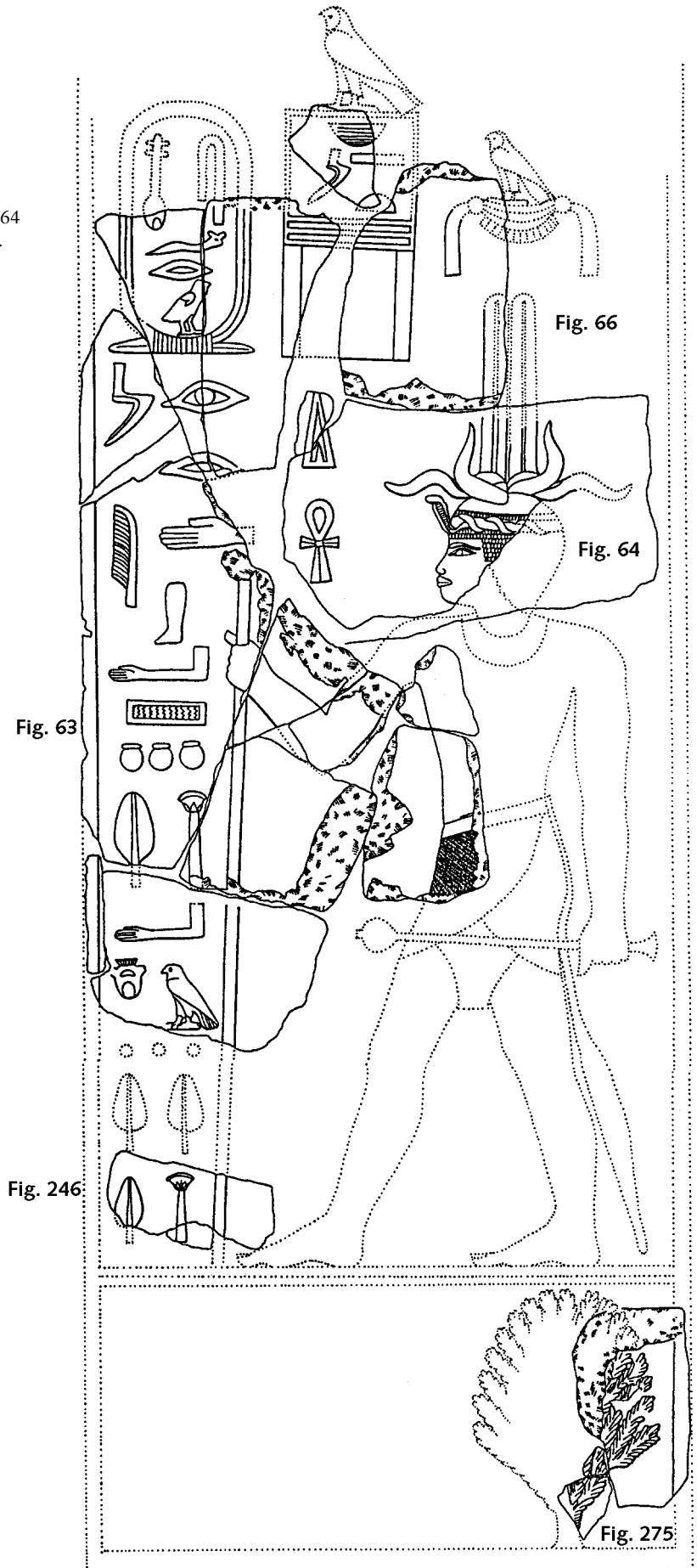
Wir kommen auf diese Maßangaben noch einmal zurück und erwähnen hier nur noch, daß die Einzelzeichnungen der Reliefs bei Fakhry im Maßstab 1:6 gegeben werden (vgl. S. 62), während für die aus diesen Einzelfragmenten gewonnenen Rekonstruktionszeichnungen bei Fakhry leider Maßangaben fehlen.

I. FAKHRYS PFEILERSEITE C 2 (UNSERE ABB. I)

Die beiden mehr oder weniger gut erhaltenen Pfeilerseiten, die Fakhry C 1 (seine Fig. 58 auf S. 77) bzw. C 2 (seine Fig. 63 auf S. 80, unsere Abb. 1) nennt, schließen über die Eckkante aneinander an. C 1 ist die Frontseite, C 2 die Ostseite nach Fakhry S. 77. Nur über C 2, das wir in Abb. 1 vervollständigt haben, ist hier zu sprechen. Zu Fig. 63 gibt es ein wichtiges großes Zusatzstück, Fig. 64 auf Fakhrys S. 81, dessen Zugehörigkeit zu Fig. 63 von Fakhry zu spät erkannt wurde, so daß es nicht in Fig. 63 zur Anschauung kommt. Ich habe Fig. 64–67 im gleichen Maßstab wie bei Fakhry (also 1:6) zeichnen lassen, um sie genauer zusammenfügen zu können, als dies in Fakhrys Rekonstruktionszeichnung Fig. 63 der Fall ist. Dazu konnte ich noch die von Fakhry völlig isoliert gebrachte Fig. 246 (Fakhry S. 161) in die vor dem Bild des Königs verlaufende senkrechte Zeile einzeichnen lassen. Man beachte dabei den etwas schräg zur Hieroglyphe *w3d* verlaufenden Teil des königlichen Stabes, der genau die leichte Schräge des von Snofru gehaltenen Stabes weiterführt und somit beweisend ist für die Zugehörigkeit von Fig. 246 zu Fig. 63 und 67. Fakhry hatte nur die Figur des Königs etwas ergänzen lassen.

Titel und Namen des Snofru auf diesem Relief hat bereits Fakhry besprochen. Nachzutragen wäre aber, daß über dem "Gold"titel noch wie in Fig. 48 (Fakhry S. 71) *ntr* 3 "der große Gott" gestanden haben könnte. Die senkrechte Inschriftzeile beginnt mit dem Infinitiv *m33* "sehen, betrachten, inspizieren," wobei Fakhrys Zeichner in Fig. 63 das Auge rechts von der *m33*-Sichel vergessen hat, das aber in der Einzelzeichnung 1:6 in Fig. 66 völlig deutlich dasteht. Von *m33* ist abhängig *jrd* 3 *w3d* (zusehen) "wie die frische Pinie wächst." Zu *jrd* mit *j*-Augment hat Fakhry auf S. 85, Anm. 1, meinen ihm damals in Kairo gegebenen Hinweis auf *Urk. I, 42,16* zitiert: *m3 sw hm=f jsn=f t3* "da sah ihn Seine

Abb. 1. Fakhrys Fig. 63 mit neuen Ergänzungen erweitert um seine Fig. 64 + Fig. 246 + Fig. 275. Pfeilerseite C 2.



Majestät, wie er die Erde küßte." Wegen des altertümlichen Wortzeichens bei *rd* "wachsen" vgl. Junker, *Giza* III, 181 und 209; es begegnet auch in den Jahreszeitenreliefs des Niuserre, vgl. meine Arbeit in den *NAWG* 1961,8 Abb. 13 mit S. 251.

Von den beiden als Subjekte zu *rd* "wachsen" hier genannten Bäumen scheint der *š*-Baum nur im Singular genannt zu werden, während die *ʿ(n)tjw*-Bäume im Plural stehen. Zur Schreibung von *š* mit drei *nw*-Krügen vgl. man den Erklärungsversuch von Sethe in *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 11. Noch älter ist die Schreibung von *š* mit drei *nw*-Krügen im Grab des Hesire aus dem Anfang der 3. Dynastie belegt, vgl. Altenmüller, *SAK* (1976), 16, Abb. 4.

Bemerkenswert ist die Schreibung von *ʿ(n)tjw* gleich aus mehreren Gründen. Das *n* ist in der Schreibung unterdrückt worden genau wie in der 6. Dynastie in der Inschrift des Sabni, *Urk.* I, 139,13. Das Determinativ sollte ein Krug mit Handgriffen sein wie Gardiner, *Signlist* W 23 ("jar with handles"); so deutlich sichtbar bei *ʿntjw* Junker, *Giza* III, 171, Abb. 30. Bei uns liegt dagegen ganz klar das Zeichen für *jb* "Herz" vor, das genau dem Zeichen für *jb* in dem Namen *Mrj-jb* gleicht: Junker, *Giza* III, S. 169, Abb. 30. Zu beachten ist auch, was Lacau dazu sagt in *Les Noms des Parties du Corps*, Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles Lettres (Paris 1970), S. 91 in dem Abschnitt über das Herz: "Il semble que la figure de l'organe ait abouti, et cela dès les Textes des Pyramides, à celle d'un vase. Y a-t-il jamais eu un vase de cette même forme et de ce même nom?" Die Erklärung dürfte aber viel einfacher sein: Da die Zeichen für "Herz" und für W 23 im Hieratischen so gut wie identisch waren, wurden sie auch im Hieroglyphischen wohl laufend verwechselt; vgl. dazu unsere Abb. 2, wo unter M zu verstehen ist Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*. Da der verfügbare Platz gut ausreicht, müssen unter *ʿ(n)tjw* noch drei Körner als Determinativ ergänzt werden wie in *Pyr.* 512b, wo außerdem noch das Gefäß W 23 als Determinativ erscheint, das bei uns durch das "Herz" ersetzt wird.



Abb. 2. Verwechslung von Hieroglyphen bedingt durch die hieratischen Zeichenformen.

Die drei Baumhieroglyphen—zwei davon ergänzt—die hinter *ʿ(n)tjw* "Myrrhen" stehen, sind nun nicht etwa als Determinativa zu *ʿ(n)tjw* aufzufassen. Sie sind vielmehr als ideographische Schreibung für den

Plural *nhwt* "Bäume" anzusehen. *Urk.* IV, 329,4 (Bericht der Hatschepsut über die bekannte Puntexpedition) zeigt, wie wir den Text bei Snofru zu verstehen haben, wobei wir die Baumhieroglyphe durch B und das "Korn" durch K symbolisieren: *nhwt*^{BBB} *nt* *ꜥ(n)tjw*^{KKK} *w3d̄* "Bäume mit frischen Myrrhen" (Hochstellung B und K weist auf den Gebrauch dieser Zeichen als Determinative hin). Bei Snofru ist bis auf *w3d̄* "frisch" nach Art des Kanzleistils alles umgestellt worden, wie ich das in *Altäg. Gramm.* §§ 310–314 beschrieben und durch Beispiele belegt habe. Zum Kanzleistil gehört auch, wie bei uns, die Weglassung des Genetivexponenten *nj/nt*. Wie unnatürlich durch den Kanzleistil die Wortstellung umgeordnet wurde, zeigt sich gut an der Stellung des *w3d̄*, das nicht zu *nhwt* gezogen werden darf, sondern wie sonst stets die *ꜥ(n)tjw* als "frisch" bezeichnet, vgl. *Urk.* IV, 346,14; 706,11.

Ob *ꜥntjw* wirklich "Myrrhen" bezeichnet, ist offen. Vgl. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz, 1985), S. 107 ("mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit... Myrrhe-harz"), während Loret, *Kemi* 12 (1952), 17/18, *ꜥntjw*—für mich wahrscheinlicher—für das wohlriechende Olibanum hält, das von *Boswellia* Arten gewonnen wird.

Was schließlich die botanische Bestimmung des *ꜥš*-Baums angeht, so hat Loret, *ASAE* 16 (1916), 33 ff., gezeigt, daß das Wort sowohl die Tanne (*Abies cilicica*) wie auch die Pinie (*Pinus pinea*) bezeichnen konnte. Im ersten Fall habe man gerne die Bezeichnung *ꜥš m3ꜥ* "echter *ꜥš*-Baum" gewählt, im anderen Fall habe man sich mit der Bezeichnung *ꜥš* allein begnügt. Nun ist erstmalig durch eine Inschrift des Snofru-Tempels (Fig. 110, siehe im Folgenden Abb. 3) belegt, daß der *ꜥš*-Baum eßbare Früchte (*pr-t ꜥš*) trug. Das ist bei den Koniferen nur bei der Pinie der Fall, womit die botanische Bestimmung des *ꜥš*-Baums eindeutig gesichert ist.

Die Übersetzung der Inschrift von C 2 lautet nun: "Schauen, wie die frische Pinie (und) die Bäume mit frischen Myrrhen(?) wachsen."

Es ist klar, daß der König, dem diese Beischrift gilt, die genannten Bäume auch optisch vor sich gehabt haben muß. Die schmale Pfeilerseite gestattet natürlich nicht, eine Baumlandschaft vor dem König bildlich auszubreiten. Dafür aber hat man die Möglichkeit benutzt, unter den hochgestellten rechteckigen Darstellungen jeweils ein flachliegendes Rechteck anzubringen, um den Bildinhalt der großen Darstellungen, wenn auch in sehr viel kleinerem Maßstab, zu ergänzen. In Fig. 43 und 110 (bei Fakhry S. 84 und 106, letzteres bei uns als Abb. 3) kann man zumindest die Reste solcher ergänzenden Darstellungen beobachten. Da ist nun Fig. 275 mit der Darstellung eines Baumes in der rechten Bildecke, dem nach links weitere Bäume gefolgt sein können, von größtem Interesse, zumal wenn man dazu die Beschreibung hält, die

Fakhry auf S. 165 von dem Baum gibt: "An unusual relief which shows the leaves of a large tree; no similar representation is known to have existed in any temple of the O.K." Wie aus unserer Zeichnung hervorgeht, paßt der Baum bequem in den durch Fig. 110 vorgegebenen rechteckigen Rahmen. Die ungewöhnliche Baumdarstellung, die Fakhry so auffiel, paßt nun aufs beste dazu, daß der König laut Beischrift auf exotische, in Ägypten sonst nicht vorkommende Myrrhenbäume blickt. Wir müssen gedanklich die Baum- bzw. Bäumedarstellung nach links und in Augenhöhe des Königs rücken, um den Bildinhalt des Ganzen voll ausschöpfen zu können.

Zu den Maßen der Darstellung ist noch Folgendes nachzutragen: Die Zeichnung wurde zunächst nach den Zeichnungen der einzelnen Bestandteile in dem von Fakhry vorgegebenen Maßstab 1:6 hergestellt und ergänzt. Die Größe des Königs betrug dann von den Füßen bis zur Schädeldecke 29,7 cm, so daß das Original die sechsfache Größe, also 1,78 m, aufgewiesen haben muß. Von den Füßen bis zum obersten Federnabschluß auf der Krone maßen wir 37,4 cm, was einer originalen Größe des ergänzten Reliefs von 2,24 m entspricht.

Für die ungefähre Lokalisation des Pfeilers ist nun aber entscheidend die Pfeilerbreite. Wenn wir hinter dem König nichts weiter ergänzen, kommt man schon auf eine Pfeilerbreite von $23,6 \times 6 \text{ cm} = 139,8 \text{ cm}$. Das entspricht genau den 140 cm, die Fakhry für die Ost- bzw. Westseiten der hinteren (südlichen) Pfeilerreihe angibt, wie wir bereits sahen.

2. FAKHRYS PFEILERSEITE C 1

Die Seite C 1 ist bei Fakhry als Fig. 58 auf S. 78 abgebildet. Wir können sie nicht weiter ergänzen und verzichten daher auf ihre Wiedergabe. Ihre Breite wäre 210 cm, da es sich um die Frontseite eines Pfeilers der hinteren Pfeilerreihe handelt, wie wir im Vorstehenden sahen. Das schlecht erhaltene Relief zeigt den König nach links laufend. Vgl. dazu den Kommentar bei Fakhry S. 77 und 80.

3. FAKHRYS FIG. 110 (UNSERE ABB. 3)

Man könnte dieses Relief, dessen Ergänzung wir als Abb. 3 wiedergeben, auch als *C 3 bezeichnen, da es sehr wahrscheinlich als Gegenstück zu C 2 angesehen werden darf, und dazu würde passen, daß der König genau wie auf der gegenüberliegenden Pfeilerseite C 2 nach rechts schreitet mit Blickrichtung auf die Kapellen im Nordteil des Taltempels. Während in dem hochgestellten Rechteck der König dargestellt ist, sind in dem unteren liegenden Rechteck fünf Genien dargestellt, die dem König ein "Gottesopfer darbringen," wenn man sich die Darstellung

Abb. 3. Fakhrys Fig. 110 mit neuen Ergänzungen. Pfeilerseite *C 3

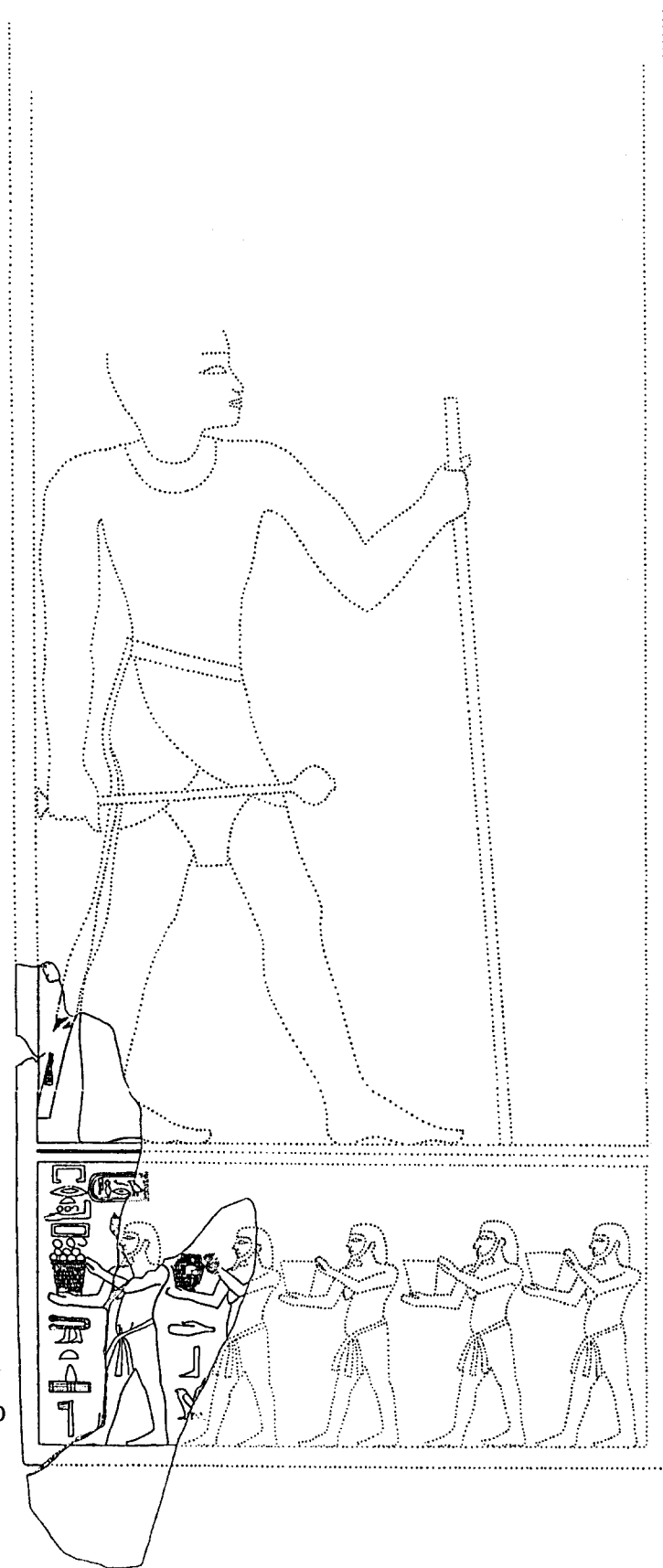


Fig. 110

nach rechts oben vor den König versetzt vorstellt. Zwei Genien sind praktisch erhalten, während sich die Ergänzung der übrigen drei Genien problemlos in die durch C 2 vorgegebene Breite des Rechtecks einfügt. So wie in C 2 die Pinie als erster Baum in der senkrechten Inschriftzeile vor dem König genannt wird, so werden auch die "Früchte der Pinie" von dem ersten in Abb. 3 dargestellten Genius dargebracht. Das dürfte wohl kaum ein Zufall sein. Der zweite Genius bringt "Feigen" (*d3b*)—wohl ein Hinweis darauf, daß in der Baumpflanzung, die der König in C 2 in dem unteren liegenden Rechteck vor sich hat, auch andere Bäume wie Feigenbäume usw. vertreten waren. So wie im unteren Rechteck steht "Herbeibringen des Gottesopfers," so wird in der anzunehmenden senkrechten Inschriftzeile vor dem König im oberen Rechteck gestanden haben "Empfangen des Gottesopfers bestehend aus Früchten der Pinie (und) Feigen."

Zum Schluß sollte man noch etwas festhalten, was Fakhry gar nicht erwähnt hat. Snofrus Relief bezeugt indirekt, daß unter ihm eine Expedition in das ferne Land Punt am Roten Meer etwa in die Gegend des heutigen Suakin gesandt worden sein muß, um *ꜥntjw*-Bäume zu holen. Die früheste ausdrückliche Erwähnung einer Expedition nach Punt zur Beschaffung von *ꜥntjw*-Bäumen findet sich dann erst wieder in den Puntreliefs und Inschriften der Königin Hatschepsut in der 18. Dynastie im Tempel von Deir el-Bahari. Unter Ramses II. wird ausdrücklich die Anlage von "vielen Gärten" (*bꜥḥw*) "mit jeder (Art von) Baum, wohlriechenden Kräutern, den Pflanzen (*ꜥnpwt*) Punts" bezeugt: Kitchen, *Ram. Inscr.* II, 514,16. Das dabei verwendete Wort *srd.n=f bꜥḥw ʕšw* "er ließ viele Gärten wachsen, bepflanzte viele Gärten" (mit... den Pflanzen Punts) ist das Kausativum von *rd* "wachsen" in der Snofru-Inschrift. Vgl. auch *srd n(j) ʕš n(j) Kbn* "Pflanzung von Pinien aus Byblos" CT I 268a, eine Stelle, die genau wie in dem Snofrutext den Abtransport von Pinien aus Byblos und ihre Anpflanzung in Ägypten beweist.

4. FAKHRYS FIG. 99 (UNSERE ABB. 4)

Fakhry beschreibt die von ihm rekonstruierte Pfeilerseite (Fig. 99) auf S. 101 so: "This side of the pillar which must have been on one of the east or west sides (1) is among the best preserved scenes found in this temple and preserves much of the ancient colours." In Anm. 1 begründet Fakhry seine Zuweisung des Reliefs zur Ost- oder Westseite so: "The neighbouring side was left uninscribed, it was only painted red." Fakhry übersetzt die senkrechte Zeile vor dem König so: "Inspecting the two cattle stalls (*mꜥdt*) of oryxes (*mꜥḥꜥ*)." Fakhry hat dabei das letzte Zeichen unergänzt gelassen, das als Anzeichen zu deuten ist, und hat verkannt, daß zwei

Abb. 4. Fakhrys Fig. 199 mit neuen Ergänzungen

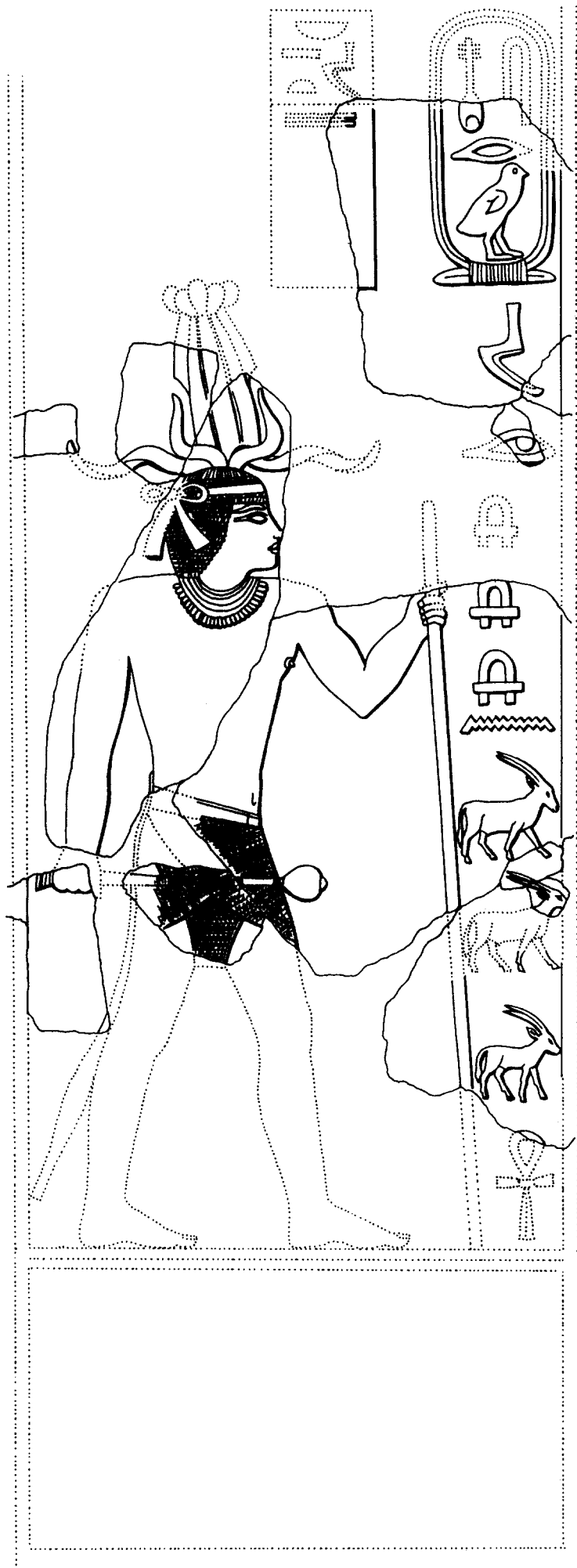


Fig. 99

Ställe für ganz Ägypten etwas wenig wären. Man muß das oberste Fragment mit dem Königsnamen nur etwas heben und gewinnt dadurch Platz für die Ergänzung einer dritten *mdt*-Hieroglyphe, wodurch man eine Pluralschreibung für *mdt*, also *mdwt* "Ställe" erhält. Durch die Hebung des obersten Fragments nach oben ergibt sich auch eine weniger gedrängte Bildkomposition. Die Übersetzung der Inschrift lautet jetzt: "Besichtigung der Ställe der lebhaften Säbelantilopen." Das Partizip "lebende, lebenskräftige, quicklebendige" findet sich nicht selten nach Tiernamen, z.B. in *Urk.* IV, 891,5 "70 lebende Esel" (als Beute weggeführt).

In dem schmalen liegenden Rechteck, das wir nach dem Muster von Abb. 1 und 3 eingezeichnet haben, werden sicherlich die Säbelantilopen dargestellt gewesen sein, deren Ställe der König besichtigt. Die originale Breite der Abb. 4 muß nach den 1:6 gezeichneten Einzelblöcken ca. 120 cm betragen haben. Damit gehört diese Pfeilerseite—sei es als Ost- oder Westseite—zu den Pfeilern der vorderen Pfeilerreihe.



A Statue of a High Priest Menkheperreseneb in The Brooklyn Museum



RICHARD A. FAZZINI

WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON HAS LONG DISPLAYED AN INTEREST IN the art of the New Kingdom. This was evidenced early in his Egyptological career by articles such as the one he wrote with John D. Cooney on a section of an Amarna parapet composed of fragments from the Metropolitan Museum's collection and a larger section belonging to The Brooklyn Museum.¹ Later, during his seventeen years as Curator of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, that interest was reflected in his department's numerous acquisitions of New Kingdom art of various types.² Indeed, in addition to significantly enlarging Boston's holdings of private statuary of Dynasty 18, William Kelly Simpson also wrote an important article that made many of the best of those sculptures better known and understood.³

Hence, although the New Kingdom and private statuary of Dynasty 18 are hardly the main fields of study of this book's honoree, it is not inappropriate, I hope, to discuss and illustrate here a private sculpture of Dynasty 18 that has never been published in detail or in photographs, presumably because it is lacking its head (not to mention parts of its lower legs, feet and base). What is preserved, however, is of fine quality and warrants more attention than the brief entry and drawing of its main

¹ John D. Cooney and William K. Simpson, "An Architectural Fragment from Amarna," *The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 12, 4 (Summer, 1951), pp. 1–12. William Kelly Simpson was the first to suggest that the Metropolitan and Brooklyn fragments belonged together. He also realized, much later, that an Amarna relief in his possession most probably joined a relief in Brooklyn (William K. Simpson, *The Face of Egypt: Permanence and Change in Egyptian Art*, exh. cat. [Katonah, 1977], pp. 46 and 69, nos. 42–43), first loaning and then kindly donating his relief to The Brooklyn Museum.

² E.g., *A Table of Offerings: 17 Years of Acquisitions of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art by William Kelly Simpson for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1987), pp. 24–51.

³ William K. Simpson, "Egyptian Statuary of Courtiers of Dynasty 18," *BMFA* 77 (1979), pp. 36–49.



Fig. 1. Statue of Menkheperreseneb, high priest of Amun. Red granite. The Brooklyn Museum 36.613, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund. 3/4 right view. (All Photographs by Dean Brown for The Brooklyn Museum.) Illustrated courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum.

Fig. 2. Statue of Menkheperreseneb, high priest of Amun. 3/4 left view. The Brooklyn Museum 36.613.



inscription that appeared in T.G.H. James' volume on pre-Ramesside hieroglyphic texts in The Brooklyn Museum.⁴ The sculpture, illustrated in Figs. 1–3,⁵ was acquired in the art market in 1936 with monies from The Brooklyn Museum's Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund and bears the accession number 36.613.

The figure wears a skirt similar to one J. Vandier described as "demi-longue, assez large et très apprêtée,"⁶ and the single column of text down the center of the skirt, visible in fig. 3, and T.G.H. James' previously published drawing (redrawn for fig. 4) reveals that the sculpture represented a high priest of Amun named Menkheperreseneb. Until recently, this sculpture has been identified as an image of the high priest by that name who served in office during the later reign of Tuthmosis III and into the early reign of Amunhotep II and owned two Theban tombs (TT 86 and 112).⁷ However, Peter Dorman has recently argued compellingly that there were two related high priests of Amun named Menkheperreseneb, both holding that office under Tuthmosis III, the later Menkheperreseneb, owner of TT 112, perhaps succeeding his like-named uncle and remaining in office until early in the reign of Amunhotep II.⁸ As already indicated in James' entry on the statue, a cartouche containing the prenomen of Tuthmosis III adorns the leopard skin on the figure's left shoulder,⁹ where it is carved in raised relief.¹⁰ There is nothing about the figure, however, that permits its specific attribution to either Menkheperreseneb the elder or younger. On the other hand, as Peter Dorman has also raised doubts about the long-standing attributions of two other statues (British Museum 708 and, especially, Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 42125) to a high priest of Amun

⁴ T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum 1, From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII*, Wilbour Monograph 6 (Brooklyn, 1974), p. 83, no. 192 and pl. L.

⁵ The writer wishes to thank Mr. Dean Brown, who photographed the statue for The Brooklyn Museum, for his efforts with this work in red granite, never an easy stone to photograph.

⁶ Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne 3, Les grandes époques: la statuaire* (Paris, 1958), p. 494.

⁷ E.g., Gustave Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXIe dynastie* (Paris, 1929), pp. 82–89; and Nina and Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperreseneb, Amenmose, and Another (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226)*, The Egypt Exploration Fund [Society], The Theban Tomb Series, 5th Memoir (London, 1933), pp. 1–34; Daniel Polz, "Jamunedjeh, Meri und Userhet," *MDAIK* 47 (1991), p. 285.

⁸ Peter Dorman, "Two Tombs and One Owner," in J. Assmann, E. Dziobek, H. Guksch and F. Kampp (Eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung; Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9.–13.6.1993*, SAGA 12 (1995), pp. 148–54. The writer is indebted to Peter Dorman for calling his attention to this article and for an offprint of it.

⁹ T.G.H. James, *Corpus ... 1*, p. 83, no. 192.

Fig. 3. Statue of Menkheperreseneb, high priest of Amun. Front view. The Brooklyn Museum 36.613.



Fig. 4. Inscription on the skirt of Menkheperreseneb's statue.

named Menkheperreseneb,¹¹ Brooklyn's Menkheperreseneb may be the only known statue of either of the Tuthmoside Theban pontiffs of that name.

Whichever of the two Menkheperresenebs is represented, Brooklyn 36.613 is 72 cm tall.¹² The width of the figure at the shoulders is 26.5 cm and the width of the back slab is 32.5 cm. The maximum total depth of the sculpture is 32.8 cm, the maximum depth of the figure (at the lowest preserved portion of the right leg) being 24.5 cm. The depth of the back slab varies from 7.8 cm near the top to 8.2 cm near the bottom.

Brooklyn's Menkheperreseneb was depicted with his left leg advanced, his arms pendant and his hands open against the outer sides of his thighs, the pose that Jacques Vandier labeled P(rivé). N(ouvel). E(mpire).I,D. It was extremely rare for male figures in the Old Kingdom, but as Vandier's P(rivé). M(oyen). E(mpire). II,a,¹³ became common in the later Middle Kingdom.¹⁴

An element of the statue with a longer history is the back panel, or slab, wider than the normal back pillar, which certainly dates back to the Old Kingdom,¹⁵ and is attested in private statuary of the later Middle Kingdom,¹⁶ Second Intermediate Period,¹⁷ and early Dynasty 18 prior to its appearance on Brooklyn 36.613.¹⁸ The rear of our statue's back slab appears never to have been decorated, and much of it is now taken

¹⁰ I.E.S. Edwards has noted that cartouches of a king on a high priest's leopard skin could reflect the priest's status as that king's deputy: *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, exh. cat. (New York, 1976), p. 105. However, such cartouches were not limited to high priests as indicated, for example, by a representation of two priests in a bark procession from Tuthmosis III's temple at Deir el Bahri (Jadwiga Lipinska, "List of the Objects Found at Deir el-Bahari Temple of Tuthmosis III Season 1960/1962," *ASAE* 59 [1966], p. 73, no. 18 and pl. VI). As Erich Winter has noted, cartouches on leopard skins of Dynasty 18 priests are the harbingers of more elaborate inscriptions on sashes worn by leopard skin-clad priests in later times: "Eine ägyptische Bronze aus Ephesos," *ZÄS* 97 (1971), pp. 152–53. Although different in concept, we might note that it is during the reign of Tuthmosis III that owners of private statues began to have the cartouche of their sovereign carved into the bare "flesh" on the statue's shoulders or upper arms: Henry G. Fischer, in Edward L.B. Terrace and Henry G. Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum. From Predynastic to Roman Times* (London, 1970), p. 113.

¹¹ Peter Dorman, "Two Tombs . . .," pp. 151–52. If related to either of the high priests named Menkheperreseneb, British Museum statue 708 would have represented him as "second priest" in an early stage of his career.

¹² The height of 59.5 cm given in James, *Corpus* . . . 1, is an erroneous figure taken from the then-existing records for the statue.

¹³ Jacques Vandier, *Manuel* . . . 3, pp. 61, 227, 434.

¹⁴ In discussing a statue group of the time of Sesostris III, Henry G. Fischer has observed (in *Treasures of the Cairo Museum* . . . , p. 81), "During the later half of the Twelfth Dynasty, statuary becomes increasingly monumental in the literal sense of the word. The attitude of men is frequently as passive as that of women—in the majority of cases they no longer have one or both hands fistled, but hold their hands flat upon their lap or at their sides."

up by two large depressions that may indicate it was ultimately used as a surface for crushing or grinding. Alas, we cannot determine how high the back slab extended nor whether the top was straight, with or without rounded corners, or round. What may appear in the illustration to be the rounded upper left-hand corner of the back slab is actually a break.

Although the head is missing, enough of the neck and the shoulders are preserved to make it certain that Menkheperreseneb was not wearing the broad wig reaching down to or even covering part of each shoulder¹⁹ that was his era's most common wig type. This means that Menkheperreseneb was depicted with either a short wig, such as those sometimes worn in Dynasty 17 and early Dynasty 18²⁰ or with a shaven head, which is rare for Dynasty 18, and especially rare for early Dynasty 18 statues of adult males.²¹ William Kelly Simpson once wrote, at the beginning of a catalogue entry on a headless Ramesside statuette whose owner was depicted with a leopard skin and elaborate, pleated skirt, that "frequently the accidental absence of a head is useful in drawing attention to the details of the body, in this case to an elaborate ceremonial costume."²² This holds true, as well, for Brooklyn's Menkheperreseneb. It is unfortunate, however, that we cannot determine whether the statue was shaven-headed, like many New Kingdom relief representations of

¹⁵ Baudouin van de Walle, "Rückenfeiler," *LÄ* 5 (1984), col. 316.

¹⁶ In their publication of a 105 cm tall statue group of late Dynasty 12, ("Ein Denkmal zum Kult des Königs Unas am Ende der 12. Dynastie," *MDAIK* 31 [1975], pp. 93–97), Ahmed Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller observe (p. 94) that back slabs reaching to head height are common for small figures of the Middle Kingdom, but are rare in large figures such as the one of their publication.

¹⁷ E.g., Elisabeth Delange, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060–1560 avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1987), p. 190 (Louvre E 22454) and possibly p. 217–18 (Louvre AF 285).

¹⁸ E.g., Jacques Vandier, *Manuel ... 3*, pl. CXXXVIII,2 (Turin, Museo Egizio 3061: statue of Hapu, father of the high priest of Amun, Hapuseneb), and pl. CXLII,4 (Cairo CG 42118: pair statue of the vizier User-Amun and his wife). The latter statue is also illustrated as pl. XIa of Eberhard Dziobek, "Theban Tombs as a Source for Historical and Biographical Evaluation: the Case of User-Amun," in *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, pp. 129–40, where he notes (p. 129) that User-Amun held office from Year 5 to circa Year 28 of Tuthmosis III.

¹⁹ Jacques Vandier, *Manuel ... 3*, pp. 482–84. See also William K. Simpson, "Egyptian Statuary of Courtiers ...," pp. 36–45, with figs. 1–5, 7–8, 10–15, 17–19.

²⁰ Jacques Vandier, *Manuel ... 3*, pp. 481–82. To the sculptures cited add, for example, Pascal Vernus, "Trois statues de particuliers attribuables à la fin de la domination Hyksôs," in J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Livre du Centenaire, 1880–1980*, IFAOM CIV (1980), pp. 184–86 and pl. XXVII: statue of *Tḥ-ḥtp(w)*; and Wilfried Seipel, *Ägypten: Götter, Gräber und die Kunst 4000 Jahre jenseitsglaube* 1 (Linz, 1989), p. 278, no. 455, Statue of Maa = Turin, Museo Egizio 3089.

²¹ Jacques Vandier, *Manuel ... 3*, p. 481.

²² William K. Simpson, *The Face of Egypt*, p. 36, no. 28.

priests, including some from Menkheperreseneb's general era who are shown wearing leopard skins.²³ If it were, it would be possibly one of the earliest known three-dimensional images of a shaven-headed priest wearing a leopard skin.

In fact, to this writer's knowledge, there are no real three-dimensional prototypes for The Brooklyn Museum's Menkheperreseneb depiction as a priest. The Musée du Louvre's late Dynasty 12 group of high priests of Ptah²⁴ is very different in appearance, lacking a leopard skin and wearing a very different type of calf-length skirt. Surely more relevant, although hardly a close parallel, is Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 395, a statue of King Amunemhat III as a leopard skin-cloaked priestly standard bearer.²⁵ Given our present knowledge, it would seem to be the first "priestly" statue with leopard skin and the last three-dimensional king's image wearing such a garment until much later in Dynasty 18 than the reign of Tuthmosis III.²⁶ This statue has been claimed as the possible source for the depiction of a leopard skin cloak on Musée du Louvre A 76, a block statue of a non-clerical official of late Dynasty 12 or Dynasty 13.²⁷

The reign of Tuthmosis III provides us with another block statue with leopard skin that represents a man who held a number of priestly titles.²⁸ Also of the reign and far closer in concept to Brooklyn's

²³ The painted relief from Tuthmosis III's Deir el Bahri temple (Jadwiga Lipinska, "List of the Objects ...") and reliefs of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III from Karnak: Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier et al., *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977), pls. 7 and 9. A large-scale photograph of block 303 from pl. 9 is illustrated as fig. 20 on pp. 48–49 of *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, exh. cat. (Hildesheim and Mainz, 1987).

²⁴ Musée du Louvre A 47: Elisabeth Delange, *Catalogue des statues ... Moyen Empire*, pp. 81–83.

²⁵ Henry G. Fischer, in *Treasures of the Cairo Museum*, pp. 85–88. On p. 85, Fischer notes that "by the reign of Amenemhet III the leopard cloak had become an archaism that was restricted to priestly use; specifically it is the *setem*-priest that wears such a cloak from the Old Kingdom onwards."

²⁶ Musée du Louvre E 11609: Georges Bénédite, "Amon et Toutânkhamon (au sujet d'un groupe acquis par le Musée égyptien du Louvre)," *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et Mémoires* 24 (Paris, 1920), pp. 47–68 with pl. I. For a better illustration of Tutankhamun's leopard skin on the statue, see *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. 1, Les antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1936), p. 79. Compare also Henry G. Fischer's comment (in *Treasures of the Cairo Museum*, p. 85), in connection with the statue of Amunemhat III, that "in a very few paintings and reliefs of much later date (four to five centuries later), it (i.e., leopard skin cloak) is again worn by kings in a context that clearly indicates its priestly function."

²⁷ Elisabeth Delange, *Catalogue des statues ... Moyen Empire*, pp. 86–88. On p. 88 she notes, "la peau de panthère semble être inspirée de celle qui enveloppe la statue du roi-prêtre provenant de Kiman Farès et identifiée à present comme étant Amenemhat III." The most recent publication of the statue is by Regine Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus: Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten "Würfelhocker"*, vol. 1 (HÄB 33 [1992]), pp. 475–76; and vol. 2 (HÄB 34 [1992]), pl. 125a–d.

Menkheperreseneb statue, is Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 70038 from Abydos,²⁹ a frontal figure of the high priest of Memphis, Ptahmose I, carved in bold relief. Although represented with a wig and sidelock, Ptahmose, like Brooklyn's Menkheperreseneb, also wears a leopard skin mantle and a calf-length skirt. Moreover, from his belt hangs a pendant element of attire that is one of Ludwig Borchardt's examples of what he interpreted as an instrument container carried by astronomers and surveyors,³⁰ about which more will be said below. Here suffice it to say that the pendant element on the right side of the skirt of Brooklyn's Menkheperreseneb is another example of Borchardt's "instrument case."

To be sure, there are significant differences between the statues of Menkheperreseneb and Ptahmose. Nevertheless, the sculpture from Abydos at least indicates that the statue of Menkheperreseneb as priest was not a wholly unique monument of its era.

If there are no truly good prototypes for Brooklyn's statue of Menkheperreseneb, it is itself a good harbinger of some later works. One such sculpture is part of a block statue in Copenhagen's Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inscribed for a man named Paser.³¹ Carved half in the round before the squatting Paser is a smaller, standing male figure who has at least one hand open at his side and wears a leopard skin mantle arranged in a manner similar to Menkheperreseneb's. He also wears a calf-length skirt and, like Menkheperreseneb, the "astronomer's/surveyor's instrument case" to the right of the leopard's head. To judge from published photographs, the figure's head may have been shaven. This statue has twice been dated to Ramesside times,³² but R. Schulz has recently argued that it should be ascribed to the Tuthmoside period in general and to the reign of Amunhotep II in particular.³³ If so, this figure, whose identity remains uncertain, would provide the closest near-contemporary parallel for significant aspects of the figure of Menkheperreseneb.³⁴

²⁸ London, The British Museum 888: Regine Schulz, *Die Entwicklung ... kuboiden Statuentypus*, vol. 1, pp. 377–78, and vol. 2, pl. 98a–b.

²⁹ Günther Roeder, *Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 70001–70050: Naos* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 126–29, and pl. 40.

³⁰ Ludwig Borchardt, "Die Instrumentasche der Astronomen und Feldmesser," in Ludwig Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten* (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 19–21. CG 70038 is no. 1 in his list of examples of the object in question.

³¹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 661: Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes* (Copenhagen, 1950), p. 69, no. 44 and pp. 83–84 (full front and rear views of the sculpture); and Regine Schulz, *Die Entwicklung ... kuboiden Statuentypus*, vol. 1, pp. 342–43, no. 195; and vol. 2, pl. 86c (3/4 front right view).

³² See Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues ...*, p. 69, and Jacques Vandier, *Manuel ...* 3, p. 459.

³³ Regine Schulz, *Die Entwicklung ... kuboiden Statuentypus*, p. 342.

At least two statues of the reign of Amunhotep III represent priests in priestly regalia. One is the statue of Taitai, high priest of Horus, lord of Hebenu, that is probably from Middle Egypt.³⁵ His leopard skin is arranged differently than Menkheperreseneb's, his hands are in a different pose, and his "astronomer's/surveyor's instrument case" descends directly from the head of his leopard skin. Nevertheless, it is a statue of a high priest who is clearly shaven-headed and wearing a skirt similar to Menkheperreseneb's, if somewhat shorter, and is basically a related type of priestly image. Far closer to Menkheperreseneb's statue in many details is Turin's well-known statue of Anen, from Thebes.³⁶ Although Anen wears a shoulder-length wig, the pose of his statue, the shape of his skirt, the basic arrangement of his leopard skin and its decoration with star-shapes and with a cartouche containing prenomen, the position and general shape of his "astronomer's/surveyor's case" and the adornment of its lower section with another cartouche with prenomen are all more or less closely prefigured in the statue of Menkheperreseneb.³⁷

Another statue with more than a passing resemblance to the Brooklyn Menkheperreseneb in terms of pose and attire is, unfortunately, an uninscribed and unprovenanced Late Period image of a shaven-headed priest now in Baltimore.³⁸ First appearing in Dynasty 19 and commonplace in priestly images of the Late Period are inscribed bands or sashes on leopard skins.³⁹ The absence of such a sash on the Baltimore statue

³⁴ It is difficult simply to accept Schulz's stylistic arguments for dating on the basis of the published photographs, but it certainly seems possible that she is correct. Most difficult to accept is her suggestion that the figure may be represent a statue of Paser, the subject of the block statue, rather than one of his relatives or a superior.

³⁵ Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, no. 17021: Betsy Bryan, in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, exh. cat. (Cleveland, 1992), pp. 248–49, illus.

³⁶ Turin, Museo Egizio 5484. Normally published in a three-quarter right frontal view, a good full frontal view of this statue was published in Claude Vandersleyen, et al., *Das Alte Ägypten*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15 (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin and Vienna, 1975), pl. 187b. For some of the many publications of this statue, see PM II², p. 214, where it is described as presumably from the area of Karnak's Amun-Re-Horakhty temple because of the appearance of a statue on a plate in Jean-Jacques Rifaud's *Voyage en Egypte, en Nubie, et lieux circonvoisins, depuis 1805 jusqu'en 1827* (Paris, 1830), pl. 42, that resembles it somewhat. The plate is captioned "statues en granit, découvertes par l'auteur dans les fouilles à Thebes, à la partie est du grand temple de Karnak." The statue in the plate, however, shows an un-Egyptian-looking back pillar rising high above the figure's head, lacks the inscription down the front of the skirt, reverses the writing of Amunhotep III's prenomen in the cartouche on the leopard skin on Anen's shoulder, ignores the writing of Amunhotep III's nomen on the upper part of Anen's "astronomer's/surveyor's instrument case," and includes a cartouche with Amunhotep III's nomen at the bottom of that element where Anen's statue has the king's prenomen. Betsy Bryan's recent publication of the Turin statue (*Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, pp. 249–50, illus.) argues that Anen's statue was made for Amunhotep III's mortuary temple.

has been seen as an archaizing element by the publisher of a Late Period statuette of a presumably shaven-headed overseer of priests of Horus of Hierakonpolis (possibly from that site) whose hands are open at his sides, and who wears a leopard skin and a calf-length skirt.⁴⁰ This suggestion could very well be true. However, it is difficult to accept the same author's claim that the statuette's plain skirt, which resembles that of the Walters Art Gallery's anonymous priest, is another archaizing element adopted from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.⁴¹ The suggested prototypes from those periods do not resemble the statuette's skirt as much as do the semi-long, broad and stiff skirts shown, for example, on the statues of Menkheperreseneb, Taitai (shorter) and Anen.

Because it is difficult to cite works of Dynasty 25 or 26 that definitely show a pendant element of attire like the one on the Walters Art Gallery statue or its forerunners already cited, it is also conceivable, although hardly certain, that the "astronomer's/surveyor's instrument case" on the Walters statue is another archaizing element. To be sure, Borhardt's article on this "instrument case" included relief representations of Montuemhat and his son Nesptah on the stela forming the rear of a pair statue, and on a statue of a priest of unknown provenance attributed to the "Spätzeit."⁴² However, Jean Leclant, no less reasonably, has interpreted the element in the first example as clerical bands.⁴³ Moreover, although it is sometimes accepted as Late Period,⁴⁴ even Borhardt was not always so sure of the date of his second example, which he first published as "Spätzeit?," which could be earlier, and

³⁷ The cartouche on Menkheperreseneb's "astronomer's/surveyor's instrument case" was not noted in T.G.H. James, *Corpus* ... 1. The writer would like to thank Donald Spanel and Paul O'Rourke for assistance in checking the statue's inscriptions and Mary McKercher for assistance in documenting other aspects of the statue's decoration. Menkheperreseneb's statue does not appear to parallel Anen's statue in having a small, horizontal cartouche with his sovereign's nomen further up on the "satchel."

³⁸ Walters Art Gallery 22.113; height complete: 61 cm. George Steindorff: *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), p. 50, no. 147, and pl. XXV; Claudio Barocas, "Les statues 'réalistes' et l'arrivée des Perses dans l'Égypte saïte," in *Gururājamañjarikā: Studi in Onore di Giuseppe Tucci* (Naples, 1974), pp. 140, 143.

³⁹ Erich Winter, "Eine ägyptische Bronze ...," pp. 153–54.

⁴⁰ London, the Sir John Soane's Museum CP 148535; preserved height 17 cm: Dagmar Förster, "A Late Period Statue of an Overseer of Priests of Horus of Hierakonpolis," *GM* 111 (1989), pp. 47–55, including pls. I–III. For the Baltimore figure, see p. 48 and p. 50, note 6.

⁴¹ Dagmar Förster, "A Late Period Statue ...," pp. 47 and 48 with notes 7 and 8 on p. 50.

⁴² Ludwig Borhardt, "Die Instrumentasche ...," p. 20, nos. 11 (Cairo CG 42241) and 12 (Cairo CG 904).

⁴³ Jean Leclant, *Montuemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, 'prince de la ville'*, *BdE* 35 (1961), p. 81.

⁴⁴ Jürgen von Beckerath, "Ein Torso des Mentemhêt in München," *ZÄS* 87 (1962), p. 6.

whose “instrument case,” judging from the sketch he published, seems less elaborate than many.⁴⁵ Borchardt also identified an example of his “astronomer’s/surveyor’s instrument case” on a Karnak stela of the Dynasty 21 high priest Menkheperre.⁴⁶ It seems difficult, however, to be sure of the equation of the element on this figure, or of the similar pendant element on a late Dynasty 20 image of Herihor as high priest,⁴⁷ with the element worn by Menkheperreseneb and Anen, which is rectangular and divided into several sections, and is suspended from cord-like elements. Except for the Walters Art Gallery statue, none of the Third Intermediate or Late Period images known to this writer show the “instrument case” suspended from a cord tied around the waist or, as in the statues of Anen and Menkheperreseneb, the division of the vertical suspension elements into two zones, the divider on Anen’s statue bearing a cartouche.

The lack of an inscription on the Walters Art Gallery statue means it cannot be used to link the pendant element of attire under question to more than priests in general. Borchardt identified it as an astronomer’s or surveyor’s instrument case essentially because individuals shown wearing it included people to whom those labels might possibly be attributed,⁴⁸ one of them being Anen, by virtue of his title *wr-mꜣw*. But there is nothing in the titles of a number of individuals shown with this element of attire, including Menkheperreseneb,⁴⁹ that links them to astronomy and surveying; and if Borchardt’s interpretation of the object has still been accepted in relatively recent years,⁵⁰ Borchardt himself called his interpretation only an “attempted explanation.”⁵¹ It is hence not surprising that Borchardt’s theory has sometimes been questioned.

⁴⁵ Ludwig Borchardt, *Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes, Nos. 1–1294. Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten 3* (Berlin, 1930), p. 146.

⁴⁶ Ludwig Borchardt, “Die Instrumenttasche ...,” p. 20, no. 10. For this stela, see Paul Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d’exégèse*, RAPH 21 (Cairo, 1962), pp. 36–38 and pl. XXXIIb; and Karel Mysliwicz, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz am Rhein, 1988), pl. IX,c.

⁴⁷ The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu 2, Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall*, OIP 103 (Chicago, 1981), pl. 185. Is the element of attire shown here the same as that worn by a later Third Intermediate Period image of the high priest Osorkon? See The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak 3, The Bubastite Portal*, OIP 74, (Chicago, 1954), pl. 28.

⁴⁸ Ludwig Borchardt, “Die Instrumenttasche ...,” p. 20.

⁴⁹ For Menkheperreseneb’s titles, see Peter Dorman, “Two Tombs ...,” p. 152.

⁵⁰ E.g., Matthias Seidel and Dietrich Wildung in Claude Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, pp. 248–49, entry 187 on Turin’s statue of Anen; and Regine Schulz, *Die Entwicklung ... kuboiden Statuentypus 1*, p. 345 on the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek’s ÄIN 661.

⁵¹ Ludwig Borchardt, “Die Instrumenttasche ...,” p. 21.

For example, in a discussion of what he termed “a peculiar satchel” or “priestly satchel generally divided into three or more pockets(?)” in paintings of priests in the Dynasty 19 Theban Tomb of Khonsu, called To (TT 31), Norman de Garis Davies noted Borchardt’s theory and suggested that it might have been meant for holding papyri for recitation and that its use in the tomb “only by priests of Montu or of a royal cult when engaged in rites ... does not point to astronomy.”⁵²

The priests in the images Davies was discussing were all *ḥm-nṯr tpy* of the cults of regular deities or deceased kings, and the “instrument case” or “satchel” has also sometimes been associated specifically with “first prophets.” For example, Georges Legrain described it as it appears on Cairo Egyptian Museum CG 42156, a statue of Paser, high priest of Amun, as “la trousse du grand prêtre d’Amon.”⁵³ And Etienne Drioton believed it was shown worn (on the right side of a kilt with triangular front panel) with a leopard skin mantle as the costume of the high priests of Amun on Musée du Louvre E 11609, a statue of Tutankhamun protected by Amun, even though it was not limited to the high priests of Amun or other gods.⁵⁴

Considering the “instrument case” some sort of container, Norman de Garis Davies noted a possible relationship between it and at least one image of what he identified as a sporran worn by a relief figure of King Amunhotep III when acting as priest.⁵⁵ However, unlike the pendant element of attire on the Louvre statue of Tutankhamun and Amun, the royal regalia cited by Davies does not look like one of Borchardt’s “instrument cases.” On the other hand, and as noted by Paul Barguet and Jean Leclant, a pendant element of attire that Borchardt would presumably have considered an “instrument case” is suspended from a leopard head on the front of the triangular panel of the kilt worn by one of the standard bearer statues of King Amunhotep III in the Karnak Precinct of Montu.⁵⁶ In recent days the similarity between this element,

⁵² Norman de Garis Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Ḳurnah*, Mond Excavations at Thebes 2 (London, 1948), p. 14, n. 3.

⁵³ Georges Legrain, *Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes, Nos. 42139–42191. Statues et statuettes de rois et particuliers 2* (Cairo, 1909), p. 23.

⁵⁴ Etienne Drioton, “Un second prophète d’Onouris: la statuette E. 11099 du Musée du Louvre,” *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et Mémoires* 25 (Paris, 1921–1922), p. 129. For the Louvre statue of Tutankhamun and Amun, see the first two references in n. 26. The best illustration of the “instrument case” on this sculpture is Georges Bénédite, “Amon et Toutânkhamon ...,” p. 50, fig. 3.

⁵⁵ Norman de Garis Davies, *Seven Private Tombs ...*, p. 14, n. 3.

⁵⁶ Paul Barguet and Jean Leclant, *Karnak-Nord 4 (1949–1951)*, FIFAO XXV (Cairo, 1954), p. 160 and pl. CXLIV.

viewed as “presumably jeweled” and the “priestly ornaments” worn by Amunhotep III on this statue has been reiterated.⁵⁷ And the “instrument cases” on statues such as those of Taitai and Anen have been redefined as a “jeweled apron” and “an apron, presumably of precious metal.”⁵⁸

While this may be the most recent and certainly reasonable interpretation of this element of attire, it is not certain that they should all be considered as similar as Borchardt considered them. For example, Luc Limme, who accepts Borchardt’s interpretation of some of the “astronomer’s and surveyor’s instrument cases,” has argued that this definition would not be appropriate to the functions of Memphite high priests of Ptah. He also notes that Borchardt mistakenly identified those priests’ “réseau de perles” as “instrument cases” in his two cited examples of Memphite priests of Ptah wearing this element.⁵⁹ One of Limme’s instances of such a mistaken identity is on the bold relief image of Ptahmose I (CG 70038) mentioned above and dated to the reign of Tuthmosis III. And following Limme, this would make Brooklyn’s statue of Menkheperreseneb the earliest known appearance of the “instrument case”/“apron” or, in the words of Elisabeth Staehelin, “Ein Abzeichen höherer Priester.”⁶⁰

The most prominent preserved feature of Menkheperreseneb’s statue is the leopard skin mantle draped over his left shoulder. The leopard’s head lies just below his waist level, its left foreleg dangling down past the head and the right pulled around towards the right rear of Menkheperreseneb’s upper torso, while the tail is visible hanging behind Menkheperreseneb’s left arm. This disposition of the garment is not universal. Among the sculptures already discussed, for instance, it resembles only that of the small figure on the front of the Copenhagen sculpture of Paser, the Turin statue of Anen and the uninscribed Baltimore statue of a priest. This general disposition of the leopard skin has sometimes been associated with upper levels of the clergy (i.e., the “first” or “second” prophets) from more than one site.⁶¹ However, it

⁵⁷ Arielle Kozloff, in *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun*, pp. 438–39.

⁵⁸ Betsy Bryan, in *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun*, pp. 248, 249. Cf., also, Kozloff’s description (pp. 438–39) of the “peculiar ornament” of Anen as being composed of plaques, chains and “apparently stiff compositions resembling sheaves of papyrus stalks.”

⁵⁹ Luc Limme, “Un nouveau document relatif à une famille memphite de basse époque,” in F. Geus and F. Thill (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), p. 211, n. 47. Cf. Betsy Bryan’s “beaded sporran” label on a statue of a high priest of Ptah (*Egypt’s Dazzling Sun*, p. 241) as opposed to her use of the term apron for the “corresponding” element of attire on the statues of Taitai and Anen.

⁶⁰ Elisabeth Staehelin, “Amtstracht,” *LÄ* 1 (1975), col. 231.

⁶¹ Etienne Drioton, “Un second prophète ...,” pp. 128–29.

cannot be assumed that it was limited to such officials,⁶² and it was not used for all images of high priests, including some already mentioned: CG 70038 (Ptahmose I, high priest of Memphis) and Berlin 17021 (Taitai, high priest of Horus, lord of Hebenu). Indeed, it has been observed that the lack of a specific costume or title for the high priest of Amun is evidence for the late appearance of this post (i.e., not until the beginning of Dynasty 18) in comparison with high priesthoods of other cults.⁶³ As for the leopard skin in general, one might note Jürgen von Beckerath's observation that "das Leopardenfell findet man seit dem Neuen Reich bei einer Anzahl von Priestern höheren Ranges, ohne das man jedoch feststellen könnte, welchen Rängen oder Tätigkeiten es spezielle zukam."⁶⁴

As is visible in Figs. 1–3, the leopard skin on the Brooklyn statue of Menkheperreseneb is adorned with stars carved in low relief, which, as others have indicated, is not unusual for a work of the New Kingdom. For example, it was over seventy years ago that Drioton observed that rose-like shapes, a star, and a star within a circle were used since Dynasty 18 to represent the natural spots of a leopard skin,⁶⁵ and von Beckerath has outlined the transformation of stars within circles into rosettes on some leopard skins in Dynasties 25–26.⁶⁶

The appearance of stars on garments has sometimes been seen as a possible reference to priest-astronomers in general.⁶⁷ The stars on the leopard skin of the Turin statue of Anen have often been linked to his title of *wr m3w m hwt-srw*⁶⁸ and, most recently, also to his claim in an

⁶² An interesting illustration of this point could be a scene in the Theban tomb (TT 48) of Amunemhat, called Surer: Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Private Tombs at Thebes 1, Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* (Oxford, 1957), p. 41 and pl. XL. If this very poorly preserved composition is restored and interpreted correctly by Säve-Söderbergh, it depicts a row of eight images of Surer, each wearing a leopard skin in the manner of Menkheperreseneb's, a knee-length skirt and an "instrument case." Exactly how this costume relates to Surer's various associations with the cult of Amun—none of them as "first prophet" or "second prophet"—remains uncertain. For Surer's priestly titles, see Säve-Söderbergh, pp. 33–36.

⁶³ Morris Bierbrier, "Hoherpriester des Amun," *LÄ* 2 (1977), col. 1241.

⁶⁴ Jürgen von Beckerath, "Eine Torso des Mentemhēt ...," p. 4.

⁶⁵ Etienne Drioton, "Une second prophète ...," p. 126, with fig. 5.

⁶⁶ Jürgen von Beckerath, "Ein Torso des Mentemhēt ...," p. 6. He also raises the interesting question of whether or not most of the New Kingdom depictions of leopard skins may have been of imitation leopard skins. Dagmar Förster ("A Late Period Statue ...," p. 48) sees the use of rose-like forms instead of stars or stars within circles on the leopard skin of the late statuette of a priest in the Sir John Soane's Museum as another example of archaizing on that figure, one that goes back to the statue of Amunemhat III cited in n. 25, above. If he is correct, the Walters Art Gallery figure of a priest should be considered similarly archaizing. However, as not all New Kingdom images of leopard skins bear stars, stars in circles, or even rose-shaped markings, the presence of such markings in later figures may not necessarily be archaizing.

⁶⁷ Ludwig Borchardt, "Die Instrumentasche ...," p. 20: "Priester mit bestennten Pantherfellen—Astronomen?"

inscription to astronomical knowledge.⁶⁹ While this may be true in Anen's instance, it does not necessarily follow that a star-spangled leopard skin must have the same meaning on images of other individuals.

Many, but not all,⁷⁰ representations of priests wearing star-studded leopard skins are Theban. Yet even if one considers only Theban images, one finds a variety of priests represented, including high priests of various deities, such as Montu,⁷¹ and of the cults of deceased kings,⁷² and priests of other ranks.⁷³ The use of stars or stars within circles for the markings on leopard skins is also found on actual garments from the tomb of Tutankhamun, which included both real and imitation skins. I.E.S. Edwards' comments on these in the catalogue of the 1970s Tutankhamun exhibition⁷⁴ include a possible relationship between this phenomenon and the king's role as high priest of Heliopolis. He also suggests that stars in circles, which resemble the hieroglyph for *d(w)st*, might otherwise only be found on images of high priests of the deceased king, a suggestion that some of the references already given demonstrates is not true. In the same place, Edwards further expressed the belief that the use of both stars and stars within circles on one of Tutankhamun's garments was unique. However, not only does this combination appear on the leopard skin worn by the Louvre's statue of Tutankhamun before Amun,⁷⁵ it also appears, for example, on an image of the high priest, Khonsu, in the shrine in his tomb where he offers to Osiris and Anubis;⁷⁶ on a statue of an *it-ntr* and *sm*-priest of

⁶⁸ E.g., Wolfgang Helck, "Priestertracht," *LÄ* 4 (1982), col. 1105; Mohamed Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 26 (Berlin, 1972), p. 156.

⁶⁹ Betsy Bryan, in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, p. 250.

⁷⁰ E.g., a high priest of Osiris on a stela from Abydos = Etienne Drioton, "Un second prophète ...," p. 129, fig. 8, and the figure Musée du Louvre E 11099, which is the focus of Drioton's article and is probably Thinite: see, most recently, Catherine Chadehoud, *Les statues porte-enseignes de l'Égypte ancienne (1580–1085 avant J.C.)* (Paris, 1982), p. 107, no. PE K6.

⁷¹ Norman de Garis Davies, *Seven Private Tombs ...*, pl. XI.

⁷² Norman de Garis Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition. Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series V (New York, 1927), pls. V and XI.

⁷³ E.g., Karl-Joachim Seyfried, et al., *Das Grab des Paenkhemenu (TT 68) und die Anlage TT 227*, J. Assmann (ed.), Theben 6 (Mainz am Rhein, 1991), pls. IV, XII–XV, show Scene 11, a Dynasty 20 image of the deceased owner's son as *sm*-priest before his parents. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42208 (Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes ...* 3 [Cairo, 1914], pl. XIV) is a Dynasty 22 statue of Nakhtefmut, for whose many titles see Ramadan El-Sayed, "Nakhtefmut, supérieur des portes-encensoirs (II)," *ASAE* LXX (Cairo, 1985), pp. 343–45.

⁷⁴ *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, exh. cat. (New York, 1976), pp. 104–105, no. 4.

⁷⁵ See the first two references in n. 26.

Dynasty 20;⁷⁷ and on the Brooklyn statue of Menkheperreseneb, stars and stars within circles appear in alternating rows. Whatever the meaning of this combination of stars and stars within circles decorating leopard skins, the Brooklyn Menkheperreseneb statue may provide its earliest dated occurrence.

The provenance of Menkheperreseneb's statue is not known. The Brooklyn Museum's accession records for the statue state that the vendor claimed it came from Bedrashein which is, of course, near Memphis and Saqqara. Given the current state of our knowledge, one cannot exclude the possibility that it may once have stood in Memphis. However, even if Menkheperreseneb's statue was at Bedrashein at one time, it may have reached there from someplace further south, which is one reason our old accession records also indicate that the vendor's statement was "probably untrue" and that a provenance of Thebes or Karnak was more probable. Given the Theban provenance of the closest parallels for elements of its form, the invocation of offerings from the offering table of Amun on the text on the skirt, and the fact that both Menkheperresenebs were high priests of Amun at Thebes, it is extremely tempting to ascribe the statue to that city. Moreover, even though the text on the statue does not refer to Ipet-sut, the statue, if it is from Thebes, is probably more likely to be from Karnak than the West Bank.

While the provenance of the Brooklyn statue of Menkheperreseneb is uncertain, the statue itself is surely one of the relatively rare Dynasty 18 private (as opposed to royal) statues in pink granite,⁷⁸ which is appropriate for a fine and, as we have seen, perhaps quite innovative sculpture of the Tuthmoside era.



⁷⁶ Norman de Garis Davies, *Seven Private Tombs ...*, pl. XVIII. In other scenes in his tomb (TT 31), and cf. n. 71, Khonsu's skins are adorned with only one type of star.

⁷⁷ Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42187: Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes ... 2*, pp. 54–55 and pl. XLIX.

⁷⁸ For the rarity of such sculptures, see Thierry de Putter and Christina Karlshausen, *Les pierres utilisées dans la sculpture et l'architecture de l'Égypte pharaonique. Guide pratique illustré* (Brussels, 1992), p. 85; and idem, "Why did Akhenaten forsake the use of pink granite?," *GM* 130 (1992), p. 21. Another private work in pink granite of the reign of Tuthmosis III is Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 29.728, a statue of the Vizier Neferweben: Dows Dunham, "Three Inscribed Statues in Boston," *JEA* 15 (1929), pp. 164–65, and pl. XXXII. If Karlshausen and De Putter are correct in characterizing pink granite private sculptures as rare in Dynasty 18, it is more difficult to accept their contention that Akhenaten abandoned the use of that stone after his installation at Akhetaten. In Egyptological literature, the terms pink and red granite often mean the same or essentially the same stone. Reports on the excavations at Amarna include a reasonable number of references to fragments of royal sculptures in such stone: e.g., John Pendlebury et al., *The City of Akhenaten 3, The Central City and The Official Quarters*, The Egypt Exploration Society, Forty-Fourth Memoir (London, 1951), pp. 37, 45, 46, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 72.

Der beredte Bauer: die zweite Klage



GERHARD FECHT

HERRN KOLLEGEN SIMPSON, DEM BEWÄHRTEN KENNER UND Erschließer ägyptischer Texte sei diese Untersuchung der zweiten Klage gewidmet. Sie sollte als Kostprobe einer Gesamtbearbeitung der "Bauerngeschichte" aufgefaßt werden, die ich noch zu leisten hoffe.

Auf die inzwischen vielfach erörterte Frage des zeitlichen Ansatzes des Archetyps der "Bauerngeschichte" gehe ich nicht ein, doch werden einige generelle Bemerkungen dazu wohl mit Recht erwartet. William Kelly Simpson hat in *GM* 120 (1991), S. 95 meine Position als "opting for a compromise" gesehen. Dem stimme ich gerne zu. Freilich möchte ich den Kompromiß dahin interpretieren, daß der *Archetyp* doch wohl in der Ersten Zwischenzeit anzusetzen ist, während das, was wir vor den Augen haben, eben diverse—und dies im Wortsinn des lateinischen *diversus*—mittelägyptische Bearbeitungen sind, die auf einer oder mehreren Umarbeitungen des alten Textes in mittelägyptische Metrik basieren und—in unbekanntem Ausmaß, vermutlich auch ohne rigore Konsequenz—mittelägyptische Sprache. Wir können nur hoffen, daß bei aller Änderung die Gedankenführung als solche nicht zu sehr beeinträchtigt worden ist. J. Assmann schreibt in *Ma'at* (München, 1990), S. 45, im Anschluß an Leo Oppenheim:

Ohne Kanonisierung läßt sich der 'Traditionsstrom' nicht stillstellen, er verändert nicht nur den Bestand, sondern auch die Gestalt der Texte und verlagert sein Bett mit jeder Epoche. Das ist das Problem der ägyptischen und der mesopotamischen Überlieferung.

Wenn er dann aber auf S. 59 von den "Klagen des Oasenmannes" meint: "Der Text gehört zu jenen Literaturwerken, die im späteren Mittleren Reich entstehen, aber in die Erste Zwischenzeit zurückversetzt werden", so ist das widersprüchlich und etwas vorschnell. Ich fürchte, daß mit den Fragen um Titel und Verbalformen die Archetypen nur unter sehr günstigen Bedingungen zeitlich festgelegt werden können. Unsere Basis ist ja schmal. Daß uns einiges von den einst in den Jahrhunderten des MR vorhandenen literarischen Handschriften überhaupt greifbar blieb, ist doch das Ergebnis einiger sehr unwahrscheinlicher Zufälle. Es genügt, auf die Darstellung aus der Hand Simpsons zu

verweisen: "Papyri of the Middle Kingdom", in: *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique* (ed. S. Sauneron), II, S. 63–72. Wenn nun in diesem minimalen Restbestand immer wieder ganz erhebliche Unterschiede zwischen den Textzeugen zu einem und demselben Literaturwerk auffallen, müssen wir schließen, daß es einst bei solchen Werken eine bunte Vielfalt von mehr oder minder stark voneinander abweichenden Redaktionen gegeben hat. Ägyptische Literatur kannte keine Stabilisierung wie die Homerischen Epen durch die Lesung bei den Panathenäen, sie kannte keine frühen philologischen Bemühungen wie die klassisch antike Literatur—"Philologie" ist nicht nur als Wort griechisch—geschweige denn so etwas wie die Akademie von Alexandria. Sie kannte auch keine Behandlung als Kanon heiliger Schriften, an denen nichts geändert werden darf. All das ist nichts Neues, alle wissen das. Zwischen dem MR und der Ersten Zwischenzeit (Nordreich) liegt die Schwelle des Übergangs von der älteren zur jüngeren Form der Metrik. Wo Handschriften des MR oder des NR erhalten sind, die die ältere Metrik aufweisen, müssen wir zwar auch mit Modernisierungen rechnen, doch dürften sich diese in etwas bescheidenerem Maß halten. Darüber habe ich in *Hommages à François Daumas* geschrieben: Ptahhotep. Entsprechendes zu der Lehre für Merikare steht noch aus. Bei unserem "Bauer" haben wir aber leider durchgehend MR-Metrik, wie z.B. auch beim "Lebensmüden". Ein Versuch, dem Verständnis schwieriger Texte näherzukommen, bleibt immer sinnvoll. Und vielleicht kommt man auf diesem Wege auch einmal zur Datierung des Archetyps.

UMSCHRIFT NACH B I (119–170)

Ich folge im Zweifelsfall der Umschreibung von R.B. Parkinson (1991). Wo ich das ausnahmsweise nicht tue, setze ich einen Asterisk (*) vor die Umschreibung. Das ist dann keine Kritik an Parkinson. Bei hieratisch einander sehr ähnlichen Zeichen und bei fachsprachlichen oder sonst ungewöhnlichen Wörtern ist damit zu rechnen, daß in einer der zeitlich vorausgehenden Abschriften und möglicherweise im Archetyp der in B₁ vorliegenden MR-Redaktion der "Bauerngeschichte" ein anderes, hieratisch ähnliches Zeichen gestanden hat. Im gegebenen Fall nehme ich die zuletzt genannte Möglichkeit an. Es handelt sich also nicht um abweichende Lesungen sondern um Emendationen.

Ich bleibe bei der alten Bezeichnung "Bauer" und "Bauerngeschichte", obwohl der Held dieser "Geschichte" kein Bauer war. Die Alternative "Oasenbewohner" klingt so bürokratisch wie eine Volkszählung, und auch "Oasenmann" ist unbefriedigend (was ist dann seine

Familie—die Oasenfrau und die Oasenkinder?). Es steht hier ähnlich wie beim "Pseudopartizip", das alte Unrichtige ist manchmal das immer noch ein klein wenig bessere, jedenfalls dann, wenn man für Fachgenossen schreibt.

Die Wiedergabe der Hieroglyphen soll lediglich das jeweils gemeinte Wort (/die grammatische Form) leicht erkennbar machen, ich bevorzuge deshalb ausführliche Schreibungen. Rubra sind unterstrichen; daß sie, wie so oft, als Gliederungselemente unbrauchbar sind, sieht man mit einem Blick. Der Text ist metrisch, das heißt in Verse, Versgruppen und Strophen gegliedert. Die links außen stehenden Ziffern zählen die 95 Verse der Klage durch. Rechts außen ist die Zeilenzählung nach Parkinson vermerkt.

ERSTER TEIL: REDE DES "BAUERN" (35 V.) UND EINWURF DES RENSI (3 V.)

1	35	12	6	3	<u>jw<i>j</i>. jn-rf-s<i>h</i>tj-pn r-spr-n.f zp-snnw</u>	38 (2 mal 19)	119
2				2	<u>ḏd.f-jmj-r3-prw-wrj nb.j</u>		
3				2	wrj n-wrjw		
4				2	ḥwd n-ḥwdw		120
5				2	ntj-wn-wrj n-wrjw.f		
6				2	ḥwd n-ḥwdw.f		121
7			6	2	ḥmw n-pt		
8				2	z3w n-t3		122
9				2	ḥ3jj f3jj-wdnw		
10				2	ḥmw m-zbnw		
11				2	z3w m-gs3w		123
12				2	ḥ3jj m-jrjw-nwdw		
13		11	7	3	nb-wrj ḥr-jtt m-jwtt-nb.s		124
14				2	ḥr-ḥrḏ3 ḥr-wrjw		
15				2	ḥrwt.k m-prw.k		
16				2	hnw-wrjw-ḥnqt ḥnr-ḥmtw-t'w		125
17				3	pw-tr pnqwt.k m-ss3t-tw3w.k		126
18				3	jn-mwt mwt ḥnr-ḥrjw.f		
19				2	<u>jn-jw.k-r-z' n-nḥḥ</u>		
20			4	3	ḥ-jw-js-pw jws ^w -gs3w tḥ-nnmw		127
21				2	mtj-m3r-ḥprw m-tnbḥ		128
22				2	mk-m3r ^t wtḥ.s-ḥr.k		
23				2	nš.tj m-st.s		129
24		12	6	2	srjww ḥr-jrt-jjtt		
25				2	tp-ḥsb n-mdt		
26				2	ḥr-rdjt ḥr-gs		

27				3	<i>sdmjw hr-hnp jtj.f (*jtj.n.f)</i>	130
28				2	<i>sjstj-pw n-mdt</i>	
29				2	<i>m-cq3-sj hr-jrt-rf-nwdw-jm.s</i>	131
30		6		2	<i>rdj-t3w hr-gst-hr-t3</i>	
31				2	<i>srfw hr-rdjt-nšp.tw</i>	132
32				2	<i>psšw m-cwnw</i>	
33				2	<i>dr-s3r m-wd-jrj.tw.f (/jrt.f)</i>	133
34				2	<i>dmj m-wdnw.f</i>	
35				2	<i>hsf-jw hr-jrt-jjt</i>	134

36		3		3	<u><i>dd.jn-jmj-r3-prw-wrj Rnsj z3-Mrw</i></u>	
37				3	<i>jn-cst-pw n.k-jmj hr-jb.k</i>	135
38				2	<i>r-jtj-tw šmsw.j</i>	

ZWEITER TEIL: REDE DES "BAUERN", ZWEITES THEMA (44 V.)
UND SCHLUSSERMAHNUNG (13 V.)

39	44	22		7		4	<i>dd.jn-šhtj-pn h3jw n-c3rw hr-sjst-n.f</i>	57 (3 mal 19)	136
40						3	<i>m3 n-kjj hr-hqs-h3w.f</i>		
41						3	<i>sšmw r-hpw hr-wd-cw3.tw</i>		137
42						2	<i>(j)nmw-jrf hsf.f-bw-hwrw</i>		
43						2	<i>dr-nw hr-jrt-nwdw</i>		138
44						2	<i>cq3-kjj hr-h3bb</i>		
45						3	<i>wf3-kjj jrj-jjt: j(n)-tr-gmj.k-rk-n(j).k</i>		139
46		15		7		2	<u><i>h(w)-hsf 3wj-jjt</i></u>		140
47						3	<i>jwj-bj3 r-st.f nt-sf</i>		
48						2	<i>wd-rf-pw jrj(w)</i>		
49						2	<i>n-jrrj r-rdjt-jrj.f</i>		141
50						2	<i>dw3-ntr-n.f-pw hr-jrr(w)t.f</i>		
51						2	<i>njt-jht-pw tp-cw-stt</i>		142
52						2	<i>wd-jht-pw n-nb-hnwt</i>		
53				8		3	<i>h3-3-st šhtm.s-pn3 m-rwj.k</i>		143
54						2	<i>3nd m-3pdw.k</i>		
55						2	<i>hb3 m-qbh.w.k</i>		144
56						2	<i>prj-m3w špw</i>		
57						2	<i>sdmw zh3w</i>		
58						3	<i>sšmw hprw m-stnmw</i>		145
59						2	<u><i>*cn(b)-bdw jn-tr-3snb(3).n.k</i></u>		146
60						2	<u><i>jrj.k-r.k-jr.f r-mw</i></u>		147

61	22	15	8	2	<i>mk-tw-nḥt(.tj) wsr.tj</i>		
62				2	<i>ʿw.k-prjw jb.k-ʿwnw</i>	148	
63				3	<i>zf-swʒ(jw)-ḥr.k nḥ-wj mʒr-skjj.k</i>	149	
64				3	<i>twt.k n-wpwtj n-ḥntj</i>	150	
65				2	<i>mk-tw-swʒj.tj ḥr-nbt-jdw</i>	151	
66				2	<i>ín-n.k ín-n.s</i>		
67				2	<i>ín-(r).s ín-r.k</i>		
68				2	<i>ń-jrr.k-st ń-jrr(.s)-st</i>	152	
69			7	3	<i>zf-nb-t' nḥt(w) n-ḥnr</i>	153	
70				2	<i>twt-tʒwt n-jwtj-jḥwt.f</i>		
71				2	<i>ḥnp(w)-jḥwt jn-ḥnr</i>	154	
72				3	<i>zp-bjn-jwtj-šwjw ín-rf-tʒj.tw-jm.f ḥḥj-n.f-pw</i>	155	
73				2	<i>jw.k-swt-sʒjtj m-t'.k</i>	156	
74				2	<i>tḥj.tj m-ḥnqt.k</i>		
75				2	<i>jw.k-ḥwd.tj m-sšrw(?) -nbw</i>	157	
76			7	5	3	<i>jw-ḥr n-ḥmj j r-ḥst</i>	
77					2	<i>zbn-dpwt r-mrr.s</i>	158
78				2	<i>jw-njswt m-ḥntj</i>		
79				2	<i>jw-ḥmjw m-ʿw.k</i>		
80				2	<i>rdj.tw-jjyt m-ḥʒw.k</i>	159	
81			2	2	<i>ʒwj(w)-sprw.j wdnw-fdq(w)</i>	160	
82				3	<i>jšst-pw ntj-jm kʒ.tw</i>		

83	13	7	3	3	<i>jrj-jbw(wʒ) snb-mrjyt.k mk-dmj.k-šnw</i>	161	
84				2	<i>ʿqʒ-ns.k jm.k-tnmw</i>	162	
85				3	<i>tʒmw-pw n-z' ʿt-jm.f</i>	163	
86			4	2	<i>m-ddw-grg zʒw-srjww</i>		
87				2	<i>mndm-pw ʿdjw-sdmjw</i>	164	
88				2	<i>smw.sn-pw dd-grg</i>	165	
89				2	<i>wn.f-jzjw ḥr-jb.sn</i>		

90	6	2	2	<i>rh-jht n-rmṯt-nbt</i>	166
91			2	<i>jn-ḥm.k m-hšw.j</i>	
92	4	2	2	<i>dr-sšr n-mw-nb</i>	167
93		3	3	<i>mk-wj ḥr-mjtnw jw(jw)</i>	168
94		2	2	<i>mjnj-mḥj-nb šdj-bgšw</i>	169
95		3	3	<i>ḥdr.k-wj m-hšw jr(j)-ḏrw.k</i>	170

ÜBERSETZUNG NACH B I, I 19–I 70

ERSTER TEIL: REDE DES "BAUERN", ERSTES THEMA (35 V.) UND EINWURF
DES RENSI (3 V.)

12	1	3	Da-kam-nun-dieser-Bauer, um-ihn-anzugehen, zum-zweiten- mal,
	2	2	und-er-sagte:-Obergüterverwalter, mein-Herr,
	3	2	Großer der-Großen,
	4	2	Reicher der-Reichen,
	5	2	dessen-Große einen-Großen-haben,
	6	2	und-seine-Reichen einen-Reichen!
	7	2	Steuerruder des-Himmels,
	8	2	Tragbalken der-Erde,
	9	2	Senklotschnur, die-das-Gewicht-trägt!
	10	2	Steuerruder, gleite-nicht-vom-Kurs,
	11	2	Tragbalken, neige-dich-nicht,
	12	2	Senklotschnur, mache-keine-Abweichungen!
11	13	3	Der-große-Herr bemächtigt-sich dessen-das-keinen-Herrn-hat,
	14	2	er-raubt von-dem-Alleinstehenden;
	15	2	deine-Rationen sind-(doch)-in-deinem-Haus:
	16	2	ein-Hin-Bier und-drei-Brote:
	17	3	was-ist-es-(mehr), was-du-aufzuwenden-hast beim-Sättigen- deiner-Klientel?
	18	3	Der-Sterbliche stirbt zusammen-mit-seinen-Leuten,
	19	2	(oder)-wirst-du-etwa-ein-Mann der-Ewigkeit-sein?
	20	3	Ist-es-denn-nichts-Schlimmes, wenn-die-Waage-schief-ist, das- Lot-abgeirrt,
	21	2	der-wahrhaftige-Gerechte-geworden-ist zum-Verwirrer?
	22	2	Siehe-die-Maat, sie-flieht-unter-dir-hinweg,
	23	2	weil-sie-verdrängt-ist von-ihrer-Stelle!

- 12 | 24 | 2 Die-Beamten schaffen-Unheil,
 25 | 2 (denn)-die-Norm(= Rensi!) der-Angelegenheit
 26 | 2 gibt auf-die-(eine-)Seite,
 27 | 3 die-Richter stehlen, weil-er(=Norm=Rensi)-wegnimmt
 (/weggenommen-hat?)!
 28 | 2 Das-bedeutet:-der-Verderber einer-Angelegenheit
 29 | 2 ist-einer-der-sie-richtig(=normgemäß)-macht, indem-er-gerade-
 Unrichtigkeit in-ihr-schafft:
 30 | 2 Der-Luftgeber macht-das-Gesicht-des-Landes(=der Menschen)-
 beengt,
 31 | 2 der-Ruhe-geben-soll, läßt-die-Leute-schnaufen:
 32 | 2 der-Teiler ist-ein-Habgieriger,
 33 | 2 —der-Vertreiber-der-Not ist-einer-der-befiehlt-daß-sie-
 geschaffen-wird,
 34 | 2 der-(sonst sichere)-Hafen ist-seine-Wasserflut-,
 35 | 2 wer-das-Böse-strafen-soll, schafft-Unrecht(/Unheil)!
- * *
- 3 | 36 | 3 Da-sagte-der-Obergüterverwalter Rensi, Sohn-des-Meru:
 37 | 3 Ist-denn-etwas-Größeres dein-Eigentum in-deiner-Meinung,
 38 | 2 als-daß-dich-packt mein-Diener?
- * * *
- 7 | 39 | 4 Da-sagte-dieser-Bauer: Der-Messer der-Kornhaufen verkürzt-zu-
 seinen-Gunsten,
 40 | 3 der-füllen-sollte für-einen-anderen, mindert-dessen-Betrag,
 41 | 3 der-führen-sollte gemäß-den-Gesetzen, befiehlt-daß-geraubt-
 wird,
 42 | 2 wer-denn wird-dann-die-Schlechtigkeit-bestrafend-abwehren?
 43 | 2 der-vertreiben-sollte-Ohnmächtigkeit, macht-
 Unregelmäßigkeiten:
 44 | 2 der-eine-ist-richtig bei(/wegen)-Schurkerei, (= *Nmtj-nhtw*)
 45 | 3 der-andere(=Rensi)-stimmt-zu dem-der-Unheil-schafft: findest-
 du-den-zu-dem-du-gehörst?
- 15 | 7 | 46 | 2 Wenn-das-Strafen-verkürzt-ist, dann-ist-das-Unheil-langwierig,
 47 | 3 doch-eine-vorbildliche-Tat-kommt an-ihren-Platz von-gestern:
 48 | 2 das-bedeutet-doch-daß-eine-Verfügung geschaffen-wordsen-ist
 49 | 2 für-den-der-zu-handeln-hat, um-zu-veranlassen-daß-er-handle;
 50 | 2 das-heißt-ihm-zu-danken für-das-was-er-tut,
 51 | 2 das-heißt-etwas-zurückstoßen vor-dem-Schießen,
 52 | 2 das-heißt-etwas-zu-befehlen einem-der-die-(betreffende)-
 Tätigkeit-(schon)-ausübt.

- 8 53 3 Ach-daß-doch-ein-Augenblick ungeschehen-machte-die-
Umkehrung in-deinem-Garten,
54 2 die-Verminderung unter-deinen-Vögeln,
55 2 die-Abnahme unter-deinen-Wasservögeln!
56 2 Denn-es-wurde-schließlich-der-Sehende zum-Blinden,
57 2 der-Hörende zum-Tauben,
58 3 der-Leitende zu-einem-der-geworden-ist zum-Irreleitenden!
59 2 Der-du-den-Schmelztiegel-umfaßt-hältst, hast-du-das-Stäbchen-
durchgestoßen?
60 2 Warum-nur tust-du-das-gegen-ihn?
- 15 8 61 2 Siehe-du-bist-hart, du-bist-mächtig,
62 2 dein-Arm-ist-gewalttätig, dein-Herz-ist-gierig,
63 3 die-Milde-hat-dich-übergangen, wie-beklagenswert ist-der-
Elende-den-du-vernichtest!
64 3 Du-gleichst dem-Boten des-Krokodil-Todesdämons!
(Amphibolie)
65 2 Siehe-du-hast-übertroffen die-Herrin-der-Pestilenz! (Amphibo-
lie)
66 2 gibt-es-nichts-für-dich, so-gibt-es-nichts-für-sie,
67 2 gibt-es-nichts-(gegen)-sie, so-gibt-es-nichts-gegen-dich;
68 2 wenn-du-es-nicht-tust, so-tut-(sie)-es-nicht!
- 7 69 3 Milde-ist-der-Herr-des-Brots, (nur)-indem-er-hart-ist zugunsten-
des-Räubers;
70 2 —gebührend-ist-das-Wegnehmen für-den-der-seinen-Besitz-
nicht-hat,
71 2 nachdem-der-Besitz-geraubt-wordsen-ist von-einem-Räuber —;
72 3 die-Untat-aber-dessen-der-keinen-Mangel-leidet, wenn-man-
diese-nicht-anlagt, bedeutet-das-für-sich-
(Vorteile)-zu-suchen!
73 2 Du-nun-aber-bist-satt von-deinem-Brot,
74 2 sattgetrunken von-deinem-Bier,
75 2 du-bist-reich an-allen-kostbaren-Dingen(?)!
- 7 76 3 Das-Gesicht des-Steuermanns ist-zum-Bug-hin-gerichtet,
77 2 —und-das-Schiff-gleitet-vom-Kurs nach-Willkür;
78 2 der-König ist-im-vorderen-Teil-des-Palastes; (Amphibolie)
79 2 das-Steuerruder ist-in-deiner-Hand,
80 2 —und-Unheil-wird-gegeben in-deinem-Bereich (/Angelegen-
heiten).
81 2 Meine-Petition-ist-(ja-nun)-zugestellt, doch-abgerissen-ist-das-
Lotgewicht:
82 3 “Was-ist-los mit-jenem-da?” so-wird-man-sagen!

13	7	83	3	Sei-eine-Zufluchtstätte, damit-dein-Uferdamm-sicher-sei, denn- siehe-dein-Hafen-ist-krokodilverseucht!
		84	2	Deine-Zunge-sei-richtig, damit-du-nicht-in-die-Irre-gehst,
		85	3	(denn)-Verschimmelung(?) des-Mannes bedeutet-ein-(von- Schimmel-befallenes)-Glied-von-ihm.
		86	2	"Lüge-nicht und-gib-acht-auf-die-Beamten!"
		87	2	das-ist-das-Korb=Sieb, das-die-Richter-worfelt(/seiht),
		88	2	(denn)-ihre-Beschäftigung ist-das-Lügen,
		89	2	damit-sie-leicht-sei nach-ihrem-Verständnis(/Meinung).
	6	90	2	Du-Wissender von-allen-Menschen,
		91	2	bist-du-falsch-orientiert über-meine-Angelegenheit?
		92	2	Der-du-abwendest-jede-Not des-Wassers,
		93	3	siehe-ich-habe einen-Weg, der-abgeschnitten-ist,
		94	2	der-du-an-Land-holst-jeden-Ertrinkenden, rette-den- Schiffbrüchigen,
		95	3	indem-du-mich-wegnimmst aus-einer-Angelegenheit, die-zu- deinem-Bereich-gehört!

KOMMENTAR

ERSTER TEIL, (V.I–38), THEMA: PERVERTIERUNG DER SPITZE FÜHRT ZUR PERVERTIERUNG DES GANZEN: CHAOS. EINWURF DES RENSI TRENNT VOM ZWEITEN TEIL.

ERSTE STROPHE (V.I–12): *„Das Richtige“*. In der ersten Halbstrophe von sechs Versen (2+2+2) wird Rensi als besonders Großer und besonders Reicher angesprochen. In seinem Umkreis ist das realistisch gesehen. Jedoch ist das zunächst nur das Äußere. Deshalb entspricht in der nächsten Halbstrophe zu sechs Versen (2+1, 2+1) in Vers 9 der Größe und dem Reichtum die bildhafte Nennung seiner Rolle, zumal als Richter: *„Senklotschnur, die-das-Gewicht-trägt“*, und in Vers 12 die daraus sich ergebende Verpflichtung: *„Senklotschnur, mache-keine-Abweichungen!“* Die Metapher *„Senklotschnur“* etc. ist identisch mit dem *tp-ḥsb* (in Vers 25) *„Rechnen, korrekte Methode, Richtigkeit, Norm des Handelns“*. *„Schnur, die das Gewicht trägt“* meint ja die Kontrolle der Richtigkeit der Waage, denn sie muß mit dem *„Zeiger“* der Waage übereinstimmen. Das ist der Maßstab der Maat, der *„Weltordnung als Gerechtigkeit“*.¹ Als Garant der Maat wird aber Rensi auch zum *„Steuerruder des Himmels“* und zum *„Tragbalken der Erde“*: Vers 7 und

¹ So mit Assmann, *Maat*, S. 34.

8, und er hat die daraus sich ergebenden Verpflichtungen: Vers 10 und 11. Der Autor denkt eingeleisig prinzipiell-konsequent und kommt damit folgerichtig zu unseren Formeln, die später gelegentlich in Königseulogien belegt sind, aber gewiß nicht erst im beginnenden NR geschaffen wurden. Ich sehe hier im Gegensatz zu J. Assmann, *LÄ* 2, 43 keine Ironie sondern allenfalls eine rhetorisch legitime Hyperbel als Gedanken-Tropus.

Die Maat, für die Rensi einzustehen hat, ist offenbar empfindlich. Sie zerbricht unter seinem Falschverhalten, wie dann Strophe 3 zeigt. Dazu ist zu bedenken, daß es keine kodifizierte Gesetzes-Norm gab, auch kein heiliges Buch mit verbindlicher Ethik. Es gab wohl geachtete Schriften, zumal Weisheits- oder Lebenslehren, aus denen man zitiert, aber—mit J. Assmann, *Maat*, S. 45—: “Ohne Kanonisierung läßt sich der ‘Traditionsstrom’ nicht stillstellen, er verändert nicht nur den Bestand, sondern auch die Gestalt der Texte und verlagert sein Bett mit jeder Epoche. Das ist das Problem der ägyptischen und der mesopotamischen Überlieferung”. Hinzu kommt, daß zur Zeit der Niederschrift der “Bauerngeschichte”—sicherlich des Archetyps des Textes—der Begriff Maat verunsichert gewesen zu sein scheint. In der sechsten Klage (B₁ 282–283) steht:

2 | *mḥ nfr*
2 | *ḥ-hqs ḥ-wbn-mꜣt*

2 | Fülle gut,
2 | ohne-daß-verkürzt-ist, noch-daß-überquillt-die-Maat!

Das kann keine Warnung vor Großzügigkeit sein, dahinter ist eher eine Kraft zu vermuten, die mehr “gefüllt” bekommen wollte und dies als Maat ansah.

In der achten Klage (B₁ 334–337) steht, noch deutlicher:

2 | *ḥrj-mꜣt n-nb-mꜣt*
2 | *ntj-wn-mꜣt nt-mꜣt.f*
3 | *rw šfdw gstj-Dḥwtj*
3 | *ḥrj.tj r-jrt-jjtt nfr-nfrt-nfr-rf*

2 | Tue-die-Maat für-den-Herrn-der-Maat,
2 | dessen-Maat Maat-besitzt!
3 | Du-Binse, du-Papyrus, du-Palette-des-Thot,
3 | halte-dich-fern vom-Tun-des-Unheils, denn-gut-ist-das-Gute-eben-(nur)-
des-Guten!

Hier ist sowohl die Maat relativiert wie auch das "Gute". Es gibt offenbar eine Schein-Maat, die von gewissen Leuten als Maat angesehen und propagiert wird, und man hat erlebt, daß etwas zunächst gut Erscheinendes von Menschen ausgehen kann, in denen man keine Guten sieht, und deren "Gutes" nicht gut sein kann, weil es bei Unkritischen, also der Masse der Menschen, das Schlechte beliebt macht.

Hinzu stelle ich einen geradezu krassen Spruch aus dem *jw-ms*-Korpus der Admonitions (5,3–5,4):

3 *jw-ms-mꜣt ḥt-tꜣ m-rn.s-pwjj*
 3 *jzft-pw jrr(w).sn ḥr-grg-ḥr.s*

3 Wahrlich-die-Maat ist-durch-das-Land-hin in-diesem-ihrem-Namen,
 3 doch-Unrecht-ist-es, das-sie-tun, indem-sie-sich-auf-es-verlassen.

Gardiner² hatte Zweifel an der ihm von Sethe vorgeschlagenen Lesung *mꜣt*, die jedoch auf meiner Infrarotfotografie des Papyrus eindeutig richtig ist. Hier haben wir also die Schein-Maat. Es bleibt bei Sethes Vorschlag "dem Namen nach", was im Zusammenhang meinen muß: "nur der willkürlichen Benennung, nicht dem Wesen entsprechend". Der Name als äußerer Schein ist aber eine sonst aus Ägypten nicht bekannte Vorstellung, es ist so extrem unägyptisch,³ daß man stärkste Zweifel an der Echtheit hätte, stünde der Text irgendwo isoliert. Gerade dies zeigt das Außergewöhnliche der gemeinten Situation, gewiß auch hinsichtlich ihrer geistigen Bewältigung.

Ich bin also überzeugt, daß der "Bauer" eine überwundene tief greifende Umbruchszeit reflektiert. Dies bleibt auch dann gültig, wenn man sich auf die beiden Belege aus der "Bauerngeschichte" beschränkt.⁴ Die Bedrohtheit der Maat verschärft die Verantwortung des hohen Richters, der als Norm des Handelns die Maat verwirklichen muß.

ZWEITE STROPHE (V. 13–23): "Das Verfälschte". In den ersten sieben Versen (2,1+2+2): zunächst in einem Verspaar die schlimme Realität, der Richter erweist sich als Räuber. Das Gut, das keinen Herrn als Schützer hat, ist der von Nemtinacht geraubte Besitz des "Bauern", der also auch

² Alan H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, S. 42.

³ P. Vernus in: *LÄ* 4, 320 zum Stichwort "Name" (Beginn des Artikels): "Point d'arbitraire du signe chez les Egyptiens, mais, au contraire, la croyance en un lien essentiel entre le signifiant et le signifié, entre le N. (*rn*) et ce qu'il désigne. Cela vaut pour toute réalité, objets, institutions, plantes, animaux, hommes, rois et divinités. Jusqu'en Copte *rn* peut se construire avec le suffixe possessif, comme les noms désignant ce qui est inné et qu'on ne peut acquérir. Aussi, la nomination ne se dissocie pas de la création,..."

der "Alleinstehende" ist, d.h. er hat keinen Patron, gehört nicht zu einer Klientel. Nemtinacht ist ja "dt"-Abhängiger des Rensi, man kann also prinzipiell-abstrakt denkend behaupten, daß auch Rensi durch das Verbrechen sich bereichert habe. Es ist interessant, daß aus Deir el-Medineh, d.h. aus dem späten Neuen Reich, der Grundsatz nachweisbar ist, daß ein an der jeweiligen Verhandlungssache persönlich interessierter Richter seine Funktion nicht ausüben darf.⁵ Das war offenbar zur Zeit der "Bauerngeschichte" noch nicht so. Des Rensi Verstoß gegen die Maat (Schutz des Schwachen, Schutz des Eigentums) ist—Verse 15–19—umso unverständlicher insofern, als er alles besitzt, womit er seine Klientel versorgen kann, was ja natürlich beinhaltet, daß er für sich selbst ohnehin sehr gut versorgt ist. Die genannte knappe Ration von einem Hin Bier und nicht ganz so kümmerlichen drei Broten⁶ zeigt, daß der ganze Passus Vers 15–19 die Versorgung der Klientel meint.⁷ Die Stelle setzt voraus, daß auch bei sehr Reichen die Versorgung der Klientel problematisch sein konnte, und das heißt, daß es sehr große Klientelen gab.

Damit ist das Thema "groß und reich" abgehandelt, es folgt das Thema "Steuerruder, Tragbalken, Lotschnur", also: Verantwortlicher für die Maat, die Himmel und Erde leitet und stützt. Die Waage ist schief, das Lot der Waage abgeirrt, und diese Metaphern führen zur direkten Aussage "der wahrhaftige Gerechte ist zum Verwirrer geworden". Damit kann nur Rensi gemeint sein, denn sich selbst sieht der "Bauer" gewiß nicht als "Verwirrer" oder "Verwirrter", wie wir auch

⁴ Anders, wie schon oben gesagt, J. Assmann, *Maat*, S. 56f., 59, 217. Ich halte aus vielerlei Gründen die dort vorgetragene globale Lösung für unrichtig. In Fecht, "Der Vorwurf an Gott in den Mahnworten des Ipu-wer" (1972) habe ich Datierungsfragen für dieses Werk auf den Seiten 10–27 (mit Nachträgen) erörtert: Teile des Textes aus der Ersten Zwischenzeit, aus der 13. Dyn., aus der Ramessidenzeit (Endredaktion). Zur Datierung des Archetyps der "Bauerngeschichte" soll die vorliegende Untersuchung Hinweise erbringen, deren Gewicht der Leser abwägen wird. Neferti kann nur aus der Zeit Amenemhet I. stammen, in der Lehre für Merikare gibt es noch AR-Metrik (vgl. einstweilen Fecht, loc. cit. S. 223). Wie kann man sich eine nur mündliche Überlieferung von Texten mit doch sehr unterschiedlicher und meist (auch) zeitgebundener Thematik über mindestens 200–300 Jahre vorstellen, und dies im so schreibfreudigen Ägypten? Und wie können die meisten der Texte "die These von der Lebensnotwendigkeit des Staates demonstrieren"? Falls sie jemals demonstriert werden mußte, was ich nicht glaube.—Die Grundlage eines Erklärungsversuches sehe ich vielmehr in dem ja von Assmann (*Maat*, S. 45) im Anschluß an Leo Oppenheim formulierten Satz: "Ohne Kanonisierung läßt sich der 'Traditionsstrom' nicht stillstellen, er verändert nicht nur den Bestand, sondern auch die Gestalt der Texte und verlagert sein Bett mit jeder Epoche. Das ist das Problem der ägyptischen und der mesopotamischen Überlieferung". Ich habe dies bewußt zum drittenmal zitiert. Weiterhin im Verhältnis zwischen Umgangs- und Literatursprache, wobei die ungewohnt persönliche Auseinandersetzungsliteratur der 1.ZZ. auch ungewohnt "fortschrittlich" gewesen sein dürfte.

⁵ S. Allam, *Das Verfahrensrecht in der altägyptischen Arbeitersiedlung von Deir el-Medineh* (Tübingen, 1973), 45ff.

übersetzen könnten. Unter diesen Umständen ist die Maat nicht mehr bei Rensi, und es liegt nahe zu sagen, daß sie fliehe, weil sie von ihrer richtigen Stelle verdrängt sei. Die lokale Bestimmung "unter-dir-hinweg" ist nur zu verstehen mit dem Hinweis auf den königlichen Thronsockel, der die Gestalt des Maat-Zeichens hat.⁸ Gewiß ist Rensi nicht König, doch als Richter steht er der Maat-Seite des Königs extrem nahe. Ich vermute, daß zur Zeit des "Bauern" die Beamten in Richterfunktion auf solchen Maat-Sitzen thronten. Die richtige Deutung der Stelle ist von der Richtigkeit dieser Annahme nicht abhängig. Es ließe sich auch mit einer Metapher rechnen: du vertrittst den König, die Maat flieht vor dir und damit auch vor dem König, dessen Thron auf dem Maat-Urhügel ruht.

DRITTE STROPHE (V. 24-35): "*Die Folge*". Diese Strophe mit dem Aufbau 1+2+1,2; 2,1+2+1 ist vom Gedanken der Konsequenz beherrscht. Rensi stellt in seinem Verhalten die Norm, den Maßstab dar. In ihm war die Maat sichtbar, erlebbar. Auch dann, wenn er die Maat verletzt, müssen die ihm untergeordneten Beamten in dieser Maat-feindlichen Haltung die richtige Norm sehen, an der sie sich orientieren. Als Folge sieht der Redner das Chaos: die Beamten tun nun, im Glauben das Rechte zu tun, das Gegenteil, nämlich Unrecht. Dahinter steht ein logisches Denken, daß uns einseitig konsequent anmutet. Wir haben diese Art abstrakter Logik schon oben, bei der Besprechung der zweiten Strophe erwähnt, und wir kennen sie gut aus dem Abschnitt "Vorwurf an Gott" der Admonitions.⁹

⁶ Wenn W. Helck (*Das Bier im Alten Ägypten* [Berlin, 1971], 46f.) Recht hätte, ist ein Hin Bier etwa 1/2 Liter, während der "Bauer" täglich zwei *ds* etwa 5–6 Liter erhält nach B₁ 115. Andererseits, ebenfalls W. Helck in: *LÄ* 3, 1206, n. 30 und 1213, n. 34, mögen zwei *ds* etwa einen Liter ausmachen, was wahrscheinlicher wirkt. Beim Brot ist das Verhältnis 3:10. H. Brunner, *Lehre des Cheti*, 198/9, pSallier II, 10, 6/7 werden zwei Hin Bier und 3 Brote als für den Schüler genügend angesehen. Demnach ist die Ration von einem Hin (falls kein Schreibfehler vorliegt) wirklich allzu knapp. Vielleicht handelt es sich bei den Rationen nur um Zuschüsse, die an die Klienten ausgegeben werden.

⁷ Zur Bedeutung der Klientel vgl. Fecht, "Cruces interpretum", in: *Hommages à François Daumas* (Montpellier, 1986), 239–46 (Ptahhotep, Max. 14). St.J. Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich*, z.B. S. 403–405, 412, 441.

⁸ Zum Maat (= Urhügel)-Thronsockel (seit AR belegt): H. Brunner, in: *Vetus Testamentum* 8, No. 4 (1958), 426–28; K.P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im Alten Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1977), Kap. 6.— Ein Beleg ohne Maat: CT VII 66g *n-bt.f-ḥr.k dt*; wer oder was dort nicht "unter dir weg im Stich lassen" soll, ist nicht ganz klar (*jmj-ḥwt-Pth*). Wenn, wie ich vermute, Leinen (*ḥbsw-nfrw* CT VII 65u) gemeint ist, wäre das leicht unter dem Toten zu denken.

Admonitions 12, 13–12,14 (s. Fecht, *Vorwurf*, 1972, S. 83):

- 2 Man-entspricht-dem was-du-befohlen-hast:
- 2 Wenn-drei-Männer-gehen auf-dem-Weg,
- 2 so-findet-man (nur-noch-) zwei-Männer;
- 2 die-Mehrzahl erschlägt-die-Minderzahl!
- 3 Gibt-es-denn-einen-Hirten der-das-Sterben-liebt? Dann-befiehl-
weiterhin-so-zu-handeln!

Weil Gott nicht sichtbar in das böse Handeln der Menschen eingreift, folgert man, daß er es befohlen habe. Unterlassen ist auch ein Tun.—Die rhetorische Frage des letzten Verses hat übrigens ihre formale Entsprechung im “Bauern”, dritte Klage, B₁ 179–182:

- 2 Weicht-etwa-ab die-Handwaage?
- 3 Urteilt-etwa parteiisch die-Standwaage?
- 3 Ist-denn-etwa-milde Thot? Dann-magst-du-weiterhin-Unrecht-tun!

Und eine dritte Parallele kenne ich aus Ḥeqanakhte (James, *Ḥeqanakhte*), pl. 6, 42/3:

- 2 (j)n-jw-ḥm-wꜣjw-jm.tn r-wḥd
- 3 srḥw-n.f ḥmt.f jḥ-wḥd.j

- 2 Würde-denn-einer-von-euch geduldig-bleiben,
- 3 wenn-ihm-gegenüber-verleumdet-würde seine-Frau? Dann-werde-ich-
geduldig-bleiben!

Die rhetorische Frage des jeweils letzten Verses läßt auf eine unsinnige Prämisse die unsinnig-verfehlte oder unzumutbare Aufforderung an den Angeredeten (im Brief: an sich selbst) folgen.

Mit den Passagen aus Ḥeqanakhte und “Bauer” verbindet James, *Ḥeqanakhte*, S. 10: *Urk.* 1, 205, 2–5 und 12–14.¹⁰ Es handelt sich offensichtlich um eine rhetorische Floskel, die zu einer bestimmten Zeit beliebt war: Erste Zwischenzeit mit unscharfen Rändern.

Inhaltlich bietet unsere dritte Strophe nun keine Schwierigkeiten mehr. Ich ergänze einige Bemerkungen. Die Gleichsetzung von *srjww*⁹ Vgl. dazu Seidlmayer, op. cit., S. 414, 422f., 429: “Es vollzieht sich also im späten AR ein Wandel des Bezugspunktsystems für die Ausrichtung der Grabbauten von der Orientierung an unmittelbar anschaulichen Größen hin zu einer abstrakten Norm” und: “Ein ‘wahres’ Wissen, das sich an einer gedanklichen Wirklichkeit orientiert und unbekümmert um die reale topographische Situation ideale Ausrichtungen (Kopf > Norden Blick > Osten) vornimmt”, und: “Offenbar ist der Bezug der Beigaben zur Person des Toten entschieden abstrakt geworden”.—Zur Dauer der 1.ZZ. s. id., ib., S. 378f., 438; zu ihrer Bedeutsamkeit passim, z.B. 442.

und *sdmjw* z.B. auch in B₁ 163/4 (= unten, Vers 86/87). Ein gutes Beispiel für *tp-ḥsb*: Ptahhotep, pPrisse 8,5 (Dév. 227).¹¹ Vers 28 *sjṯtj-pw n-mdt* nimmt natürlich Bezug auf Vers 25 *tp-ḥsb n-mdt*. Vers 34 *wḏnw* meint stets die gefährliche, bedrohliche Flut(-Welle); im "Bauer": B₁ 175/6 und 188, sonst z.B. Siut III 30, IV 51, Admon. 13,4, TPPI § 16,4. Vers 35 nimmt direkten Bezug auf Rensi und fordert die Unterbrechung heraus. Real steht, wie sich leicht erkennen läßt, dahinter nur die Absicht des Autors, seinen gedanklich zweigeteilten Text auch formal entsprechend aufzubauen. So läßt sich ja auch besser verstehen, daß Rensi seine Drohung nicht ausführt und im folgenden nichts gegen die um nichts sanfteren Anwürfe des zweiten Teils der Klage unternimmt.

ZWEITER TEIL (V. 39–95) = ZWEITER TEIL DER KLAGE (V. 39–82) UND SCHLUSSERMAHNUNG (V. 83–95)

Thema der Klage: Strafen. Unterteilung in A und B

A (V. 39–60), 7+15 Verse: Das Strafen, hinreichende Strafen und rechtzeitige Strafen, das dem Richter obliegt, doch verabsäumt wird.

B (V. 61–82), 15+7 Verse: Härte und Milde, vom pflichtvergessenen Richter pervertiert, amphibolisch verwoben mit der Strafe, die diesem Richter droht von seiten schrecklicher Gottheiten und des Königs; in der dritten Strophe ist dieses letzte Motiv, bis dahin amphibolisch im Untergrund, noch zunehmend deutlicher beherrschend geworden.

¹⁰ Für James geht es um die Schreibung (*j*)*n-jw*, also ohne das *j* und um Gunn, *Studies*, Kap. 21.

Urk. 1, 205, 2–5 (AR-Metrik!):

3	<i>j(n)-jw-mrjj.tn ḥzjj-tn njswt</i>	Wollt-ihr, daß-euch-begünstigt der-König,
2	<i>pṛt-ḥrw.tn m-ḥrt-nṯr</i>	indem-eure-Opfer in-der-Nekropole-sind,
3	<i>wnn-jmḥ.tn nfr(j) ḥr-nṯr-ꜣ</i>	und-daß-eure-Versorgung vollkommen-sei beim- Großen-Gott?
2	<i>ḏḏ.tn-n.j ꜣ-pn</i>	Dann-sollt-ihr-setzen-für-mich diesen-Deckel
2	<i>n-qrs-pn ḥr-m'wt.f</i>	dieses-Sarges auf-seine-"Mutter".
Urk. 1, 205, 12–14:		
3	<i>jn-jw-mrjj.tn ḥzj-tn njswt</i>	Wollt-ihr, daß-euch-begünstigt der-König,
2	<i>wnn-jmḥ.tn nfr(j)</i>	und-daß-eure-Versorgung vollkommen-sei
3	<i>ḥr-nṯr-ꜣ nb-qrs m-ḥrt-nṯr</i>	beim-Großen-Gott, dem-Herrn-der-Bestattung in-
der-		Nekropole
2	<i>ḏḏ.tn-n.j ꜣ-pn</i>	Dann-sollt-ihr-setzen-für-mich diesen-Deckel
2	<i>ḥr-m'wt.f m-bw-mnhj-n(.j?)</i>	auf-seine-"Mutter", genau-gefügt(-für-mich dadurch?)

Von diesem Modell, das in der Frage noch nichts Absurdes aufweist, gehen unsere drei Belege aus, die deutlich einen aggressiven Ton angenommen haben.

¹¹ Letzte Übersetzung in meiner in Anm. 7 genannten Arbeit, S. 235–38.

Zweigeteilte Schlußermahnung (V. 83–95): Rensi und die Richter; Rensi und der “Bauer”.

ERSTE STROPHE: (V. 39–45): *Wer wird strafend abwehren, wenn alles pervertiert ist?*

Diese Strophe zu sieben Versen beginnt mit einem Vers, der vier Kola umfaßt. Synchronisch gesehen ist das eine “Ausnahme”, diachronisch gesehen aber steht es in einem großen Zusammenhang und ist von erheblichem Interesse. In der äyptologischen Linguistik ist man vielfach bestrebt, Ausnahmen zu nivellieren, man strebt nach einheitlichen Systemen. Tatsächlich gibt es niemals solche “idealen” Systeme, denn überall ist Wandlung, stets gibt es sowohl Ansätze zu vielleicht einmal sich konsolidierenden Neuerungen einerseits wie deutliche oder erst unter der Angleichungsschicht freizulegende Reste älterer (Teil-)Systeme andererseits.

So ist es auch hier, wir fassen Älteres in Spuren. Im “Bauern” und im “Lebensmüden” gibt es—was wahrhaftig nicht “selbstverständlich” ist—nur Verse mit zwei oder drei Hebungen.¹² Die Ausnahme bilden Verse, mit denen eine Rede beginnt. Ich habe über dieses Phänomen schon in *LÄ* 4, Sp. 1140/1 gehandelt. Ich ergänze das hier.

In der Rahmenerzählung der “Bauerngeschichte” zeigt R zwei Vierheber dieser Art, die in B₁ und B_t getilgt, also normalisiert sind zu Drei-Kola-Versen (“Dreihebern”):

B₁ 33–34 (= B_t 39–40): 3 *ḏḏ.jn-šḥtj-pn jrj.j-ḥzjt.k nfr-mtn.j*
 R 8.5–8.6: 4 *ḏḏ.jn-šḥtj.pn jrj.tw m-ḏḏ.t.k nfr-mtn.j*
 B₁ 35–36: 3 *ḏḏ.jn-Nmtj-nḥtw-pn jn-jw-n.k-šmꜥ.j r-wꜣjt*
 R 8.7–8.8: 4 *ḏḏ.jn-Nmtj-nḥtw-pn jn-jw-n.k-jtj.j r-wꜣjt šḥtj*

Die Abgrenzung der Verse ist stets eindeutig. Dazu ist nun unser Vers 39 zu stellen, leider ohne Vergleichsmöglichkeit mit R.

Ohne Vergleichsmöglichkeit mit anderen Handschriften sind leider auch B₂ 118–120, also die ersten beiden Verse der kurzen Rede des “Bauern”, die mit der Preisung des ersehnten Todes der Abschluß seiner Bemühungen sein soll:

|4 *ḏḏ.jn-šḥtj-pn ḥsfw n-jbj m-mw*
 |4 *ḏꜣt-rꜣ n-ḥrd n-sbnt m-jrtt*

¹² Die extrem seltenen “emotionalen” Einheber, hier: des “Lebensmüden”, können unberücksichtigt bleiben, sie sind eine bekannte Erscheinung. Siehe meine “Prosodie” in: *LÄ* 4, 1139–40; zuletzt gute, wenn auch “akademische”, rhythmisch nicht wirkungsvolle, Beispiele in Fecht, “Das Poème über die Qadesch-Schlacht”, in: *SAK* 11 (1984), S. 294–97, spez. 296/7 (V. 161, 178).—In *LÄ* 4, 1140/1 auch zu den Vierhebern im Redebeginn.

Es folgt *ntf-mwt...* "so beschaffen ist der Tod..."—Weil der Text ein wenig unübersichtlich ist, sei er übersetzt:

4	Da-sagte-der-Bauer: "das-Herankommen an-einen-Dürstenden mit-	Wasser,
4	das-Säugen eines-Kindes einer-stillenden-Mutter mit-Milch,	
3	so-beschaffen-ist-der-Tod für-den-der-wünschte-ihn-zusehen, während-	er-aber-nicht-kam,
2	wenn-der-Zögernde-kommt, nämlich-sein-Tod".	

Das Wortspiel mit "Wasser" (**maw*) und "Tod" (**māwa*) ist nicht zu übersehen.—Vierheber gab es also in R, B₁, B₂.

In "Lebensmüder", Z. 55/6 hat die einzige erhaltene Handschrift den einzigen Vierheber des gesamten Textes:

4 *jw-wpj.n-n.j b3.j r3.f wšb.f-dd.t.n.j*

Der Kopist oder ein Besitzer des Papyrus hat sich wahrscheinlich daran gestoßen. Der "sitzende Mann" von *n.j* ist, anders als die benachbarten Zeichen, auffallend stark beschädigt. Dieser auffallende Befund in zwei hohen (Archetyps-)Alters verdächtigen Literaturwerken schreit nach einer Deutung. Ich gab diese in *LÄ* 4, Sp. 1140/1, wie schon erwähnt, doch gehe ich hier nochmals kurz von einer anderen Seite her darauf ein.

Erstens: Das Auftreten der Vierheber in spezieller Verumständerung kann kein Zufall sein. Die Texte sind lang, es finden sich keine weiteren Vierheber.

Zweitens: Es bestand nicht der mindeste Zwang zu diesen außergewöhnlichen Vierhebern, die Verse hätten ohne jede Schwierigkeit auf drei Kola beschränkt werden können. Bei den Versen aus dem "Bauer" zeigen das die B₁-Varianten, beim "Lebensmüden" wäre auf das trennende *n.j* ohne weiteres zu verzichten gewesen, die Gesprächssituation ist eindeutig, das—wörtlich—: "damit-er-beantworte-das-was-ich-gesagt-hatte" ist schon redundant.

Drittens: Das bedeutet, daß der Autor—bzw. in seinen Fußstapfen ein Redaktor—diese Vierheber bewußt geschaffen, daß man sie gewollt hat, daß man sie also als richtig im Redebeginn ansah.

Viertens: In den uns überkommenen Handschriften aus dem MR sind die Vierheber im Redebeginn nur eine kleine Minderheit und sie sind im Schwinden begriffen: B₁ neben R, wohl auch der fast ganz getilgte "sitzende Mann" im "Lebensmüden". Offenbar sind diese Vierheber Überreste, man hat es unterlassen, sie zu tilgen, sei es aus Flüchtigkeit, Bequemlichkeit oder sonst einem uns unbekanntem Grund.

Fünftens: In späteren Texten gibt es keine Vierheber im Redebeginn, zur Zeit unserer Texte sind sie im Schwinden. Wenn sie jemals üblich waren—und das müssen sie gewesen sein, sonst gäbe es sie nicht—, dann muß das früh angesetzt werden.

Sechstens: Die Frage lautet also: Gab es frühe Schriften, in denen Reden häufig waren und in denen Redeanfänge irgendwie vermehrt waren? Die Antwort ist eindeutig: in Frage kommen nur die "Dramatischen Texte", "Ritualtexte", "Mysterienspiele" oder wie man sie sonst benennen oder unterteilen mag. Vor den jeweils ersten Versen von Reden waren die Sprechenden genannt. Oft ist der Vermerk *dd-mdwww-X Y* "X spricht zu Y", doch gibt es auch die Nennung des Sprechenden allein, und überdies wissen wir nicht, ob das "X spricht zu Y" tatsächlich mit zwei Kola gesprochen wurde (mit Einfügung des nie geschriebenen *n* "zu"), oder vielleicht nur als Regievermerk "sprechen-X-Y".

Daß diese "Dramatischen Texte" als Genus sehr alt sind, ist m.E. unzweifelbar.¹³ Auch die Grabinschriften gab es ja vor dem, was wir Literatur nennen, sie standen einstmals neben den "dramatischen" Texten und Ritualtexten, magischen Texten etc.—eben Texten des *hrj-h3b*—als älteste Korpora umfangreicher Niederschriften, zu denen sich königliche und verwaltungstechnische Schriften stellten, z.B. Amtseinführungs- und Amtsbeschreibungstexte, die zusammen mit Elementen anderer Herkunft, v.a. Vater-Sohn-Belehrung, die Ausgangsbasis für die Weisheitslehren bildeten, dem ältesten Genus einer vom "Sitz im Leben" abgelösten, aber noch unproblematischen, auf die Gemeinschaft bezogenen "Literatur". So standen schon im AR verschiedene Sorten von Texten nebeneinander, jede Art mit den ihr eigenen Traditionen. Als man in der Ersten Zwischenzeit problematisierende, stark individuelle "Auseinandersetzungsliteratur" schrieb—greifbar in MR- bzw. NR-Redaktionen: "Lebensmüder" und älteste Teile der "Admonitions"—gestaltete man dieses Neue als Diskussionen (toter Mensch-Gott, lebender Mensch-Ba) und konnte sich dabei nur an die Tradition der "Dramatischen" Texte anschließen, denn diese bestanden weithin aus Zwiegesprächen. Zunächst wird man Namen oder Bezeichnungen der Redenden vor dem jeweils ersten Vers der Reden genannt haben, eben nach dem bekannten Vorbild, doch man schrieb ja keine Textbücher für Aufführungen, sondern Lesetexte, und so gerieten die Nennungen der

¹³ Ich sehe in CT IV, Sp. 312 ein zum Totentext entstelltes Spiel, das helfend und erklärend in der 6. Dyn. bei Thronwechseln aufgeführt wurde, um die Frage zu beantworten, warum der Thronfolger als Horus, "der Schützer seines Vaters", diesen seinen Vater, den gestorbenen König als Osiris, allein in das gefährliche Totenland gehen läßt.—H. Brunner, in: *ZDMG* 111 (1961), 439–45 (mit älterer Literatur), entwickelt eine geistreiche Deutung des Spruches, der ich im einzelnen wie im gesamten nicht immer zu folgen vermag.

Redenden notwendigerweise in das—auch metrische—Gefüge des Textes hinein. Daraus ergab sich für eine unbekannt lange Übergangszeit die Regel, daß erste Verse von Reden vier (anfangs wohl auch fünf) Kola hatten. Daß man das schließlich aufgab, ist leicht verständlich. Wir fassen Reste in der “Bauerngeschichte” und im “Lebensmüden”; in den erst in einer Handschrift des späteren NR überlieferten “Admonitions” ist natürlich keine Spur mehr davon zu finden. Die “Lehre für Merikare” hatte keine Diskussionen, als “Lehre” folgte sie anderen alten Traditionen, nicht denen der “dramatischen” Texte.¹⁴

Wir kehren zurück zur ersten Strophe des zweiten Teils der Klage. Isoliert in der Mitte der 7-Verse-Strophe, in Vers 42, wird das Thema dieses zweiten Teils genannt: das Strafen. In den Dreiergruppen vor und nach dem zentralen Vers stehen Beispiele für die schlimmen Zustände, und zwar in einer auf Rensi zunehmend deutlicher zielenden ansteigenden Linie. Jeweils im dritten Vers (also V. 41 und V. 45) ist Rensi angesprochen, erst als “der-führen-sollte”, dann sehr spezifisch. Die letzten beiden Verse stoßen scharf zu, sie konfrontieren *Nmtj-nḥtw* mit *Rnsj*. Sie sind bisher nicht verstanden. Vers 45 endet mit der rhetorischen Frage, ob Rensi “den zu ihm Gehörenden” (oder: “den, zu dem er gehöre”) finde. Das *n.k* des Verses 45 kann ja auch immer *n(j).k* sein, und das hat die beiden Bedeutungen, da die Nisbe nur die Zugehörigkeit, nicht aber deren Richtung festlegt. Das Verb *wfz* ist wohlbekannt, aber es scheint nicht erkannt zu sein, daß sich *wfz* zu *fj* verhält wie *wtz* zu *tzj*, beide mit der Grundbedeutung “hochheben” bzw. “hochheben” = “tragen”. Über “hochheben” = “bekanntmachen” kommen beide zu positiven wie zu negativen Bedeutungen. Auf die Details kann ich hier nicht eingehen. Es genügt festzustellen, daß in der Lehre des Ptahhotep, Dév. 72, pPrisse positives *wfz* hat (etwa “rühmen, positiv sprechen über”), *L*₂ dagegen negatives *wfz*. Prisse steht dem Archetyp aus dem späten AR recht nah, hat noch AR-Metrik, *L*₂ ist eine spätere Bearbeitung (cf. die in Anm. 7 genannte Arbeit). Sinuhe B 40 hat schon die negative Variante (etwas zwischen “anzeigen” und “verurteilen”), doch aus der Ersten Zwischenzeit haben wir in *nḏm-wfz.k-s(j)*, das Gardiner mit “It were agreeable that thou shouldst support her” übersetzt, einen wünschenswert eindeutigen Beleg für die positive Variante aus einem Totenbrief.¹⁵ Hier ist unsere Stelle im “Bauern” anzu-

¹⁴ Zu den Vierhebern siehe auch den Exkurs am Schluß dieses Beitrags.

¹⁵ A.H. Gardiner, “A New Letter to the Dead”, in: *JEA* 16 (1930), 19; cf. auch *ibid.*, S. 22, den Kommentar.—Die enge Verwandtschaft zwischen *fj* und *wfz* löst übrigens auch das Problem, vor dem Posener stand, in: *RdE* 16 (1964), 42f.

schließen, wo wir dennoch zurückhaltend “zustimmen” gewählt haben; “unterstützen” wäre deutlicher und nicht falsch.

DIE NÄCHSTE STROPHE ZU 7 VERSEN (V. 46–52) bildet mit der dann folgenden von 8 Versen eine größere Einheit: richtig strafen, rechtzeitig strafen—es ist hohe Zeit dazu. Die 7-Verse-Strophe (2, 2+[1+2]) stellt im ersten Vers verkürztes Strafen kausal neben langwieriges Unheil. Die Schreibung *hr* für *hwr* ist altertümlich, sie schließt sich AR-Schreibungen an.¹⁶ Die Aussage des Verses 47 dürfte die erwünschte Wiederherstellung der rechten Ordnung meinen.—Das folgende Verspaar (V. 48–49) wurde allgemein mißverstanden. Das *jrj(w)* Ende Vers 48 verknüpfte man mit Vers 49: “handle für den Handelnden, um zu veranlassen, daß er handle”. Die Metrik zeigt, daß mit *jrj(w)* ein Vers endet und damit eine relative Sinneinheit, wie ich das seit den ersten Publikationen zur Metrik stets formuliert habe. So versteht sich leicht, daß der Autor aus seiner Beobachtung über die Wirkung einer “verkürzten” (unzureichenden) Strafe einerseits und einer “vorbildlichen Tat” andererseits den Schluß zieht, daß dies die Existenz eines (göttlichen) Gebots erweise, das sich an den richte, der zu handeln habe, damit dieser auch wirklich handle. Das *pw* nach dem *rf* ist explikativ: “das-bedeutet-doch”. Die nächsten drei Verse (V. 50–52) geben drei Aspekte des Guten, das sich aus dem Befolgen dieses Gottesgebots herleitet. In allen drei Versen steht das richtige Handeln *vor* einem damit verbundenen anderen Handeln. In den letzten beiden Versen wird das präventive Handeln gepriesen, das angesichts von Rensi’s Verschleppen durch Schweigen als das extrem rechtzeitige Handeln gesehen wird.

DIE NÄCHSTE TEILSTROPHE VON 8 VERSEN (V. 53–60) wird gegen Ende etwas schwierig. Die ersten 6 Verse sind aber durchsichtig, wenn man an die erste Klage zurückdenkt, die der ägyptische Leser noch frisch im Kopf hatte, B₁ 84–102, speziell 92–93. Da hieß es, wenn Rensi auf dem See der Maat segle, dann: “...daß-kommen-werden-zu-dir Fische ist-als-zurückgehaltene(/gebannte), / daß-du-Vögel erlegen-wirst ist-indem-sie-fett-sind” (Verspaar), d.h. der Gerechte wird mit Reichtum und Erfolg gesegnet. Wenn der “Bauer” nun darum fleht, daß doch ein Augenblick die wirtschaftlichen Mißerfolge des Rensi in ihr Gegenteil umkehre, so fleht er darum, daß aus dem Ungerechten (dem es ja wirtschaftlich schlecht gehen *muß*) wieder ein Gerechter werde. Es folgt in drei Versen die Bestätigung dieser Deutung, denn an drei Partizipialpaaren wird die

¹⁶ Siehe mein “Die Belehrung des Ba und der Lebensmüde”, in: FS W. Kaiser, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 116 zu Vers 6: AR (Edel, *AG*, § 145) *j.k* für *jw.k* etc., *ʕ* für *ʕwʕ*, *hʕ(j)* für *hʕwʕ(j)*, *ssj* für *swʕj*. Dazu Fecht: *ss(j)* für *sswʕj* (Ptahhotep, Prisse, *Dév.* 526) und hier: *hr* für *hwr* (Bauer B₁ 139).

Wandlung des Gerechten zum Ungerechten aufgezeigt. Zu beachten ist "Augenblick" in Vers 53: es geht wieder um Schnelligkeit, wie oben, Verse 51–52.

Das abschließende Verspaar erfordert eingehendere Behandlung. Es muß im Anfang verderbt sein. Was dasteht ist das Wort *˚nbr(w)*, das im NR als eine Art Korb bezeugt ist: Jac. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 150, an unserer Stelle aber keinen Sinn ergibt. Ich emendiere in **˚nb-bd(w)* und denke dabei an *bd* "Schmelztiegel" (für Metalle) und *˚nb*, nach *Wb.* 1, 192, 3–4 "verschließen (mit Mund, also auch mit den Zähnen), umschlossen halten (vom Löwen gesagt, mit den Krallen)", bei Osing, *Nominalbildung*, Anm. 213 "um-, verschließen; fassen; binden, flechten"; die Grundbedeutung dürfte sein "umschließen(d halten), bedecken(d halten)". Der Tiegel wird, wenn das Metall geschmolzen ist, von einem Arbeiter gehalten, der es ausfließen läßt. L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, S. 84f., beschreibt das so: "Der Tiegel wird, da er glühend ist, vorsichtig mit zwei Steinen(?) angefaßt. Dann wird eine kleine Öffnung seitlich am Boden des Tiegels geöffnet, und die schwere, reine Schmelze am Grund des Tiegels fließt aus. Ein Mann sitzt mit einem Stäbchen in der Hand vor dem Gießenden, um die Schlacke zurückzuhalten". Sie bezieht sich auf die Darstellung bei Mereruka (Klebs, l.c., Abb. 68), der hockende Mann scheint nur dort gezeigt (so auch Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker*, S. 27 V, VII, XIV, XX). Zweifellos mißverstanden ist aber bei Klebs die Tätigkeit des hockenden Mannes. Er hat gewiß mit dem Stäbchen die "kleine Öffnung seitlich am Boden des Tiegels geöffnet", wovon Klebs spricht, ohne auf die Art der Öffnung einzugehen. Drenkhahn, l.c.: "Im AR hat der runde Tiegel ein seitliches Ausgußloch am Boden"; sie verweist auf "die gefundenen Schmelztiegel, *MDAIK* 18 (1962), Tf. 3–5". Daß dieses Loch während des Schmelzvorgangs provisorisch verschlossen war, ist selbstverständlich. Es mußte vor dem Ausgießen rasch geöffnet werden: wie anders als mittels eines Stäbchens, mit dem man den Verschuß durchstieß? Das mußte ein zweiter Mann tun, und zwar direkt über dem Gefäß, in das die Schmelze laufen sollte. Dies und nichts anderes ist bei Mereruka gezeigt. Die Wahl des Verbs *˚nb* dürfte mit der besonderen Art zusammenhängen, mit der man den glühend heißen Tiegel anfaßte: (Klebs) "vorsichtig mit zwei Steinen(?)".

Der Text geht weiter mit *jn-tr-snb.n.k*. Das letzte Wort kann nicht *snb* "gesund werden" sein. Ich lese *snb(˚)* und sehe darin eine Ableitung von *nb˚* "Stange/Stab, Tragstange, Spindel" (*Wb.* 2, 243, 5–8; Osing, *Nominalbildung*, Anm. 980). Als "Spindel" ist *nb˚* in den CT einmal sicher bezeugt (III 133, drei Belege), vielleicht noch einmal in VI 61 d

(Verschreibung? zu *tb₃*), indirekt wohl im Gottesnamen *snb₃.f* (VI 245 k); als "Stange" (o.ä.) einmal CT VI 1 l (zwei Belege), einmal in Tb 189 (Hornung, *Totenbuch*, S. 523: wohl "Schöpfungsbalken in der Art des Schadûf", also vielleicht ähnlich wie das Feldbaugerät in CT VI 1), schließlich des öfteren als Tragstange (*Wb.* 2, 243, 5–10 ab MR, für Korn sack, Säufte, Kapelle), und im Koptischen als S $\mu\pi\alpha\iota$ u. Dv. "Spindel" und S $\rho\alpha\mu\pi(\epsilon)\iota$ "Ring(e) zum Durchstecken von Tragstangen" (B $\alpha\rho\alpha+^* S \mu\pi(\epsilon)\iota$). Osing sieht in "Spindel" die Grundbedeutung, was aber wegen "Tragstange" unmöglich ist, denn man kann wohl die "Spindel" als "Stange" bezeichnen, nicht aber die Tragstange als "Spindel".¹⁷ Den etymologischen Anschluß für *nb₃* "Stange, Stock" möchte ich über ein Verb **nb₃* in *b₃* "hacken" suchen, wozu einerseits *b₃jj(w)*, *b₃b₃(w)* "Loch, Höhlung" gehört, andererseits *wb₃* "bohren, öffnen", *sb₃* "öffnen, *erhellen, unterrichten". Das Substantiv *nb₃* könnte einen "Grabstock" bezeichnet haben. Das Verb *nb₃* verhält sich dann zur Wurzel *b₃* "Loch" wie *ndb* "mit Horn verletzen" zu *db* "Horn" (*Wb.* 2, 367, 17; *Wb.* 5, 434, 3–7). Das Kausativ ist als Ableitung unproblematisch. Neben *nb₃* "Stab, Stock" steht *nb₃t* "Pfahl, zwischen deren zwei der Strick bei der Gründungszeremonie gespannt wird" (*Wb.* 2, 243, 10), sicherlich ein altes Wort, wenn auch nicht früh belegt. Wie *snb₃* neben *nb₃* so steht *snb₃b₃* neben *nb₃t*, das von P. Lacau–H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatchepsout à Karnak*, nicht erkannt worden ist. Dort heißt es in einer Rede Amuns an die Königin (Block 166, 4. Z. v.r.; Lacau–Chevrier, l.c., 107. 109. 111):

3 *srwd.t-ḥmw-nṯrw snb₃b₃.t-t₃-pw ḥr-mḥrw.f*
 3 damit-du-herstellst-die-Tempel-der-Götter, damit-du-gründest-dieses-Land¹⁸ samt-seinen-Bedürfnissen".¹⁹

¹⁷ Osing, *Nominalbildung*, Anm. 980, S. 785f., sucht das zugrundeliegende Verb. Das medizinische (pEbers) *nb₃* "in manischer Geistesverfassung sein" mag umgekehrt durch *nb₃* "Spindel" zumindest beeinflusst sein. Wenn *nb₃b₃* "sich drehen, winden" meint, was plausibel wirkt, gilt dasselbe. CT VII 214 i übersetzt Osing *ḥbn.n.j-pt* "ich habe den Himmel gedreht". Wegen der dortigen Parallele *pn* wird dieses *ḥbn* nicht heißen "in kreiselnde Bewegung versetzen" (wie die Spindel) sondern eher etwas wie "umkippen". Daß beides von deutschem "drehen" zur Not abgedeckt werden kann—man würde freilich eher "drehen" von "umdrehen" differenzierend unterscheiden—setzt den erheblichen Abstraktionsgrad einer modernen Sprache voraus. Wenn man in *nb₃* "Spindel" mit Osing eine Ableitung von *ḥbn* "drehen" (eher: umkippen) und den oben genannten *nb₃* und *nb₃b₃* sieht, muß man "Spindel" und "Stab" eben, wie gesagt, etymologisch trennen.—Die Etymologien um das Spinnen machen auch sonst Schwierigkeiten. In volkstümlichem Sprachgebrauch übliches deutsches "spinnen" für "verrückt sein" möchte man unwillkürlich mit der sich drehenden Spindel kombinieren, allenfalls macht das gleichfalls volkstümliche "sich etwas zurecht spinnen" stutzig. "Spinnen" im Sinne von "verrückt sein" kommt letztlich aus nicht so stark abwertendem verkürztem "Gedanken spinnen". Ein Beispiel aus einem etymologischen Wörterbuch: "Moritz ließ nicht ab... fortwährend zu sinnem und zu spinnen" (Goethe, *Ital. Reise*, Dez. 1787, das. 27, 182). Dies nur als Beispiel. Im Russischen gebraucht man das Wort für "flechten" im Sinne von "sich etwas zurechtdenken".

Wie auch immer die linguistische Entwicklung im einzelnen verlaufen sein mag—man muß z.B. auch mit der semantischen Einwirkung von Substantiva auf Verba rechnen—, praktisch steht im Ergebnis neben *nb:t* "Gründungspfahl" *snb:b* "Gründungspfahl in die Erde eintreiben" (= "gründen"), und ebenso neben *nb* "Stange" *snb* "die Stange (in den Tiegel) hineinstecken".²⁰ Dabei müssen wir offenlassen, ob in *snb* ein kausatives Element spürbar ist. Kausative können auch etwa gleichbedeutend mit der Grundform sein.²¹ Es ist auch gleichgültig, ob wir übersetzen "hast-du-das-Stäbchen-durchstoßen-lassen" oder "hast-du...-durchgestoßen". In Bildreden pflegt der Angesprochene als Handelnder zu fungieren, auch wenn ein Kausativ angebracht wäre.—Die Schwierigkeit und Verderbnis der beiden zuletzt erörterten Verse ist gewiß Folge davon, daß in einer Bildrede Fachsprache gebraucht war und mit Vorstellungen gearbeitet wurde, die Spezialisten unter den Handwerkern vertraut waren, aber kaum dem Schreiber-Kopisten. Die Übersetzung ergibt sich nun und bringt den Gedanken zum Ausdruck, daß es höchste Zeit sei zu handeln, weil sonst ein Unglück eintritt, wie es im Bild das Erstarren der Schmelze im Tiegel wäre.

IN DER NÄCHSTEN TEILSTROPHE VON 8 VERSEN (V. 61–68: 1+2+1, 1+2+1), die mit der nachfolgenden (V. 69–75: 1+2+1, 2+1) eine relative Einheit bildet, geht es zunächst gemäß den Stichwörtern im jeweils ersten Vers um den Mißbrauch der Härte, der Rensi angelastet wird, dann um den Mißbrauch der Milde. Dabei folgt in der ersten Teilstrophe nach der Aussage über die Härte eine ergänzende über die Milde, in der zweiten Teilstrophe auf die Aussage über die Milde eine solche über die Härte.—Man sieht, beide Teilstrophen sind kunstvoll verschränkt, doch dies ist bei weitem nicht alles. Zugleich wird nun, durch Amphibolien verdeckt, mit dem Eingreifen von gefürchteten Todes-Gottheiten gegen Rensi gedroht. Und diese Drohungen sind tatsächlich das Hauptthema, denn erstens führen sie das Thema "das Strafen"—nun Bestrafen Rensis—weiter, zweitens sind die letzten drei Verse der ersten Teilstrophe nur unter dem Aspekt der Drohung gegen Rensi verständlich, und dasselbe gilt für die letzte Strophe des Zweiten Teils, die als nächstes anschließt (V. 76–82). Zugleich ist der Text beider Teilstrophen

¹⁸ Zum Wortgebrauch vgl. *Wb.* 4, 178, 7–9.

¹⁹ Bei Lacau–Chevrier, S. 109: "que tu restaures les chapelles des dieux, que tu protèges ce pays grâce à sa (bonne) administration"; *snb:b* wird angeschlossen an *nb:b* (PT §§ 98a, 104a = *Wb.* 2, 243, 14), das aber nach Osing—s. hier Anm. 16—mit CT VII 480 g "dahingleiten, sich winden" bedeutet, und *nbnb* (*Urk.* 4, 21, 12), das aber einfach das bekannte "schützen" ist.

²⁰ Auf *snb* in der hier für *snb:b* konstatierten Bedeutung dürfte *snb* als **snb* "bauen" (griech., Edfu und Dendera) hinweisen.

²¹ Vgl. Fecht, "Der Totenbrief von Nag^c ed-Deir", in: *MDAIK* 24 (1969), spez. S. 116.

mitbestimmt von dem Willen des Autors, die beiden Amphibolien zu verdeutlichen: beide Schlüssel-Verben sind je zweimal gebraucht, einmal in der verschleiernnden Bedeutung da, wo gedroht wird, einmal in der dort gemeinten zweiten Bedeutung außerhalb des engsten Kreises der Drohungen, der die Verse 64–68 umgreift.

Nun zum einzelnen. Vers 61 ist neutral, Rensi ist stark und mächtig. Die beiden eng anschließenden nächsten Verse wenden das ins Negative: Mißbrauch. Im vierten wird daraus konkludiert, daß Rensi dem Boten des *ḥntj*, des Krokodil-Todesdämons gleiche (*twt*). Dieser schreckliche *ḥntj* ist gut bezeugt,²² in ihm kulminiert der schreckliche Aspekt des Krokodils, wobei zugleich—je nach Situation—ein Hinweis auf Osiris (*Wb.* 3, 308, 6–7) mitklingen kann. An unserer Stelle weist das “Bote” auf Osiris, denn Boten des *ḥntj*, des unmittelbar zupackenden Krokodils sind wenig wahrscheinlich, während die Boten des Osiris ja wohlbekannt sind. Dennoch steht im Vordergrund hier sicherlich das grausige Krokodil. Das vielseitige Wort *twt* kommt sechs Verse weiter in der zweiten Teilstrophe nochmals vor, und zwar keine nominale oder sonstige Ableitung des Verbs, sondern dasselbe Adjektivverb. In *Wb.* 5, 257 sind Bedeutungen des Wortes in der auch im “Bauer” vorliegenden Konstruktion mit der Präposition *n* aufgelistet: a–b “gleichen, ähnlich sein”, c “gebühren, angemessen sein, zustehen” (z.B. *twt-n.f j3w* “Lobpreis ist gebührend für ihn”). Diese Konstruktion haben wir in Vers 70, wo mit Selbstjustiz gedroht wird: *2 twt-t3wt n-jwtj-jḥwt.f* “gebührend-ist-das-Wegnehmen für-den-der-seinen-Besitz-nicht-hat”. Wenn wir nun diese Bedeutungsschattierung des *twt n-* in Vers 64 einsetzen, verstehen wir: “Gebührend-bist-du für-den-Boten des-*ḥntj*”, d.h. etwa: du hast es verdient, vom Todesboten abgeholt zu werden.

Auf diese mit *twt* bewerkstelligte Amphibolie folgt der Vers 65, mit dem eine neue Versgruppe von vier Versen beginnt: *mk-tw-sw3j.tj ḥr-nbt-jdḡw* “Siehe-du-hast-übertroffen die-Herrin-der-Pestilenz”, eine Aussage, die auf der Linie der voranstehenden liegt: “Du-gleichst dem-Boten des-Krokodil-Todesdämons”. Die die Teilstrophe abschließenden drei Verse, die ohne Zweifel Bezug nehmen auf Sachmet als die “Herrin der Pestilenz”, schließen sich mit “übertreffen” aber zu keinem evidenten Sinn zusammen: “gibt-es-nichts-für-dich, so-gibt-es-nichts-für-sie” etc. Wer Sachmet übertrifft, ist nicht abhängig davon, ob “es etwas

²² Vgl. Lüddeckens, “Totenklagen”, in: *MDAIK* 11 (1943), 107 (= Davies, *Tomb of Neferhotep* 1, pl. 22); H. Brunner, (mit Hinweis auf Osiris), *Lehre des Cheti*, S. 42 (pSallier II 8,3); Lebensmüder, 79; Admonitions, 5, 7-9 (= Fecht, in: *ZÄS* 100 [1973], 6–16); Černý–Gardiner, *HO* 1, pl. 38,2 vo.4/5 (s. unten im Text); sinngemäß auch Bauer, Erste Klage B₁ 91: *n-m3.k-ḥr-snḡw* “du-wirst-nicht-sehen-das-Gesicht-des-Fürchterlichen”, scil. des Krokodils beim Schiffbruch.

für sie gibt"! Das weist eben auf die Amphibolie. Das Verb *swꜣj hr-* heißt zunächst einfach räumlich "vorbeigehen an-" ("fern machen"), und daraus entwickelte sich einerseits "übertreffen", andererseits "nicht berücksichtigen, nicht hinreichend beachten, sich nicht kümmern um..." u.ä. (aus: "achtlos vorbeigehen, statt stehen zu bleiben und sich zu kümmern um..."). Diese zweite Bedeutung hatten wir in Vers 63 "die-Milde-ist-an-dir-vorübergegangen" oder "...hat-sich-nicht-um-dich-gekümmert", "...dich-nicht-berücksichtigt", das heißt: sie ist an dir vorbeigegangen, ohne dich zu beeinflussen, in einem deutschen Idiom: sie hat dich links liegen lassen. Wenn wir diese Bedeutung einsetzen in Vers 65, übersetzen wir: "Siehe-du-hast-nicht-hinreichend-berücksichtigt die-Herrin-der-Pestilenz", du hast bei deinen bösen Taten nicht daran gedacht, daß diese rächend über dich kommen wird. Die folgenden Verse sind nun durchsichtig: "gibt-es-nichts-für-dich, so-gibt-es-nichts-für-sie", d.h. wenn du nicht raubst, dann raubt sie dich nicht; "gibt-es-nichts-gegen-sie, so-gibt-es-nichts-gegen-dich", d.h. wenn ihr nichts anzulasten ist (scil. die Tötung des Rensi), dann deshalb, weil dir nichts anzulasten ist; "wenn-du-es-nicht-tust, so-tut-sie-es-nicht", d.h. wenn du nicht gewalttätig bist, so ist sie nicht gewalttätig (gegen dich). Der Krokodilgott *hntj* und die Löwengöttin Sachmet sind hier Rachegötter für Verbrechen gegen die Maat, und das sind dieselben Gottheiten, die zusammen mit dem distanziert nachstehenden Ptaḥ in dem Zitat älterer Literaturbruchstücke in Admonitions 5, 7–9, wo die Sinnhaftigkeit des Opfers an Götter negiert wird, als groteske Opferempfänger aufgeführt sind.²³ Der Grundgedanke ist natürlich derselbe wie in Merikare E 46–47 *jrj-mꜣt wꜣḥ.k tp-tꜣ* "Tue-die-Maat, damit-du-dauerst auf-Erden!" oder wie in der dritten Klage des "Bauern", B₁ 176–77 *zꜣw-tn-nḥḥ mrj-wꜣḥ / mj-dd-tꜣw-pw n-fnd jrt-mꜣt* "Hüte-dich-vor-dem-Nahen-der-Ewigkeit, wünsche-zu-dauern, / gemäß-dem-(Sprich)-Wort-'Luft für-die-Nase ist-das-Tun-der-Maat'", wo diesseitiges und jenseitiges Leben nicht mehr zu trennen sind.

²³ S. mein "Ägyptische Zweifel am Sinn des Opfers", in: *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 6–16. Dort sind *hntj* und Löwe (*mꜣj*) als groteske Beispiele für Opfer empfangende Götter genannt, denen Ptaḥ in rhetorisch geschickter Weise leicht abgesetzt folgt. Ich zitiere das Bruchstück aus einem unbekanntem Literaturwerk in Übersetzung:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 3 | Sei-es-das-Darbringen für-das-Todeskrokodil und-den-von-ihm-Zerrissenen, |
| 2 | sei-es-das-Schlachten für-den-Löwen, |
| 2 | das-Braten am-Feuer, |
| 3 | sei-es-das-Libieren für-Ptah, das-Herbeibringen-von-Opfertieren: |
| 3 | warum gebt-ihr-ihm? Es-erreicht-ihn-nicht, |
| 2 | Traurigkeit-hat-es-zur-Folge, daß-ihr-ihm-gebt! |

"Opfertiere" im drittletzten Vers kann ich nun dank der Infrarotfotografie deutlich als *jꜣjꜣwt* (+Tierfell) lesen.

Noch einige Bemerkungen zu den Amphibolien. Wenn wir die Verse 53–55 wieder ins Auge fassen, sehen wir, wie zunächst wirtschaftlicher Mißerfolg des Rensi als automatische Konsequenz vorausgesetzt wird, und wie dann (V. 64–65) die Bestrafung zur Frage nach Leben und Tod wird. Wenn dieser Automatismus versagt, bleibt der Ausgleich aus—oder: in—der postmortalen Existenz: Am Ende der neunten Klage will der “Bauer” weggehen, um sich (im Jenseits) bei Anubis zu beschweren, der schützend hinter ihm steht, wenn man seinen Namen *ḥwj.n-Ḥnpw* (Aussprache des NR: **ḥawīnanápa/i*) ernstnimmt. Auch dies ist eine Drohung, die an die Todes-Boten denken läßt.—Auffallend ist die Deutlichkeit, mit der auf die Amphibolien hingewiesen wird, eben durch die aufgezeigte Doppelung der beteiligten Verben. Das bestärkt den ohnehin naheliegenden Schluß, daß für den Autor beide Interpretationsebenen wichtig und richtig waren und daß diese Zweischichtigkeit als sachliche Identität im Sinne von Kausalität realisiert werden muß. Das heißt, daß in der Meinung des Autors derjenige, der sich dem Wesen gefährlich-dämonischer Götter angleicht, diesen Göttern selbst als Opfer anheimfällt. Das ist eine frühe Form eines uns wohlbekannten mittelalterlichen, aber im Grunde nie veraltenden Motivs: des Paktes mit dem Teufel.

DIE ZWEITE TEILSTROPHE (7 VERSE, V. 69–75) ist in der neuen Übersetzung nun wohl durchsichtig. Der “Herr-des-Brots” ist der Patron der Klientel²⁴ (vgl. oben V. 15–19), zu der wohl auch der Räuber Nemtinacht gehört. Das vom “Bauern” geforderte Recht auf Selbstjustiz für den Beraubten ist zwar zunächst die Reaktion darauf, daß Nemtinachts Raub ein vorgetäuschter Akt berechtigter Selbstjustiz war. Rensi ist milde nur gegenüber dem Räuber, in dessen Interesse er hart ist, er unterstützt also das nicht durch Not sondern durch Gier motivierte Rauben, das unbedingt angeklagt werden muß, weil ein Richter, der das nicht tut, sich der selbstsüchtigen Beihilfe schuldig macht. Demgegenüber wird die Selbstjustiz des Beraubten als passend, gebührend bezeichnet. Das wirkt immerhin recht bemerkenswert, denn in Ägypten war zumindest in der Theorie doch wohl der Prozess das einzig legale. Die Stelle wirkt revolutionär oder doch in einem revolutionären Sinn ausweitbar: *principiis obsta*.

DIE LETZTE STROPHE DES ZWEITEN TEILS der eigentlichen Klage, der dann noch der Schlußappell folgt, umfaßt wieder 7 Verse (V. 76–82). Die erste Strophe dieses zweiten Teils (V. 33–45) hatte den Aufbau 2+1,1,1+2; in ihr wurde Rensi mit Nemtinacht konfrontiert.

²⁴ Englisch “Lord” hat bekanntlich die Grundbedeutung “Brotwart”.

Die letzte Strophe nun hat den Aufbau 2+1+2,2; in ihr wird Rensi mit dem König konfrontiert. Metrisch haben beide Strophen (außer der Siebenzahl) den isolierten, betonten Einzelvers gemeinsam, der einmal zwischen zwei Dreiergruppen, einmal zwischen zwei Verspaaren steht. Dieser Einzelvers gab als Vers 42 das Thema an, das auch in der letzten Strophe noch gültig ist, wo er in Vers 78 das Thema der zweiten Ebene angibt: Strafen seitens des Königs.

In den beiden um den Mittelvers gruppierten Verspaaren (V. 76–77, V. 79–80) ist von Rensi gesagt, daß er ein Steuermann ist. Im Gliederungsaufbau erkennt man eine Wiederaufnahme des Steuer-Motivs der ersten Strophe der Klage (V. 7, V. 10), also ein zentrierendes Element. Sachlich ist die Aussage insofern richtig, als Rensi in seiner Eigenschaft als hoher Beamter leitet, also steuert. Weiterhin ist zweierlei gesagt. Erstens, daß das Schiff vom Kurs abgleitet, und (damit) Unheil-Unrecht in dem Bereich (den Angelegenheiten) des Rensi geschaffen wird. Zweitens wird gesagt, daß das Gesicht des Steuermanns nach vorn gerichtet ist, was auch stimmt, denn der Steuermann schaut nach vorne, zum Bug (*wꝛdt* oder *hꝛt*) des Schiffes hin, wo der Lotse (/Pilot) steht, der den Kurs angibt, dem Steuermann durch Handzeichen oder Zuruf anzeigt, wie zu steuern ist. Dieser Lotse kann in unserem Fall nur der König sein, der das Staatsschiff lenkt.²⁵ Im herausgehobenen Mittelvers (V. 78) steht nun, daß der König *m-hnt(j)* sei. Da *hnt(j)* ein geläufiger Ausdruck für den vorderen Teil des Palastes ist, in dem er u.a. Beamte empfing²⁶, wird man das mit "Haus" determinierte Wort zunächst eben als "Palast" interpretieren: "der-König ist-im-Palast". Im Zusammenhang der Strophe ist diese Interpretation des auffällig plazierten Mittelverses der 5 Verse einnehmenden Konfrontierung des Rensi mit dem König aber doch sehr schwach, und man erkennt rasch, daß hier wieder eine Amphibolie steckt: "im Palast" ist eine nichtssagende, harmlose Feststellung, "vorne", wie man genauso gut übersetzen kann—*m-hnt(j)* "vorne" kann auch mit dem "Haus" determiniert werden—, ist dagegen sinnvoll, freilich keineswegs harmlos. Es nimmt den König als Lotsen des Staatsschiffes mit in die Verant-

²⁵ Beispiele für das (auch bei den Griechen beliebte) Bild vom Staatsschiff in den Admonitions:

2,11 Wahrlich-das-Schiff-der-Südlichen (=Oäg.)-ist-in-Aufbruch, zerstört-sind-die-Oberägypten-ist-geworden zu-wüsten...
Städte,

12,5 Es-gab-keinen-Lotsen (*jrš-hꝛt*) zu-ihrer-Stunde (/Dienstzeit).

Gemeint ist im zweiten Beleg der Schöpfergott: Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott*, S. 17, 55.

²⁶ Die Darstellung O. Berlevs "The King's House in the MK" in den *Trudy mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov* (1960), S. 142–48, spez. 147, ist immer noch orientierend.

wortung hinein. Es gibt dann zwei Möglichkeiten, entweder ist Rensi illoyal, er verwickelt den König ohne dessen Wissen und entgegen dessen Weisungen in seine eigenen üblen Machenschaften, oder aber: der König ist schuld. Für den "Bauer" konnte nur die erste dieser Möglichkeiten die zutreffende sein: Rensi schaut auf den König, tut aber dennoch Unrecht. Er wird als Verräter überführt und schwer bestraft werden. Das ist die handgreiflichste Drohung, sie bricht zwar nicht aus dem Unbegreiflich-Göttlichen rächend in das irdische Leben ein, sie kommt aus dem diesseitig-realen Göttlichen und ist vernichtend.²⁷

Hier sei eine Randglosse eingeschaltet. In der ägyptologischen Literatur wird nicht selten die Meinung vertreten, daß in der "Bauerngeschichte" Humor und Ironie eine beträchtliche Rolle spielten. Ich bin nicht dieser Ansicht. An unserer Stelle freilich kann man derartiges vermuten, wenn auch nicht auf der Ebene der Argumentation, sondern auf einer zweiten Ebene dahinter. Da, wo die Drohung in gefährlicher Weise den König einbezieht, stellt sich für den orientierten Leser eine Realität her, die keineswegs bedrohlich ist. Der König hat ja tatsächlich dem Rensi Weisung gegeben, den "Bauern" hinzuhalten, um recht viele Reden aus ihm herauszulocken. Der gebildete Leser hatte gewiß Verständnis für das literarische Interesse des Königs, durch die Wahl seiner Lektüre bewies er ja das gleiche Interesse, und für den Unterhalt des "Bauern" und seiner Familie war auf das beste gesorgt. Der Leser wird an diesem geistreichen Spiel mit den beiden Ebenen seine Freude gehabt haben. Die Mehrschichtigkeit erinnert an die Amphibolien.

Und noch eine grammatische Bemerkung. In der gesamten Klage gibt es keinen Adverbialsatz mit dem eigentlich obligatorischen *iw-*; die Schlußermahnung ist frei von Adverbialsätzen. Die Ausnahme sind die Verse 76–80, die Konfrontation mit dem König, denn hier steht *iw-* dreimal, zweimal in einem Hauptsatz, dem ein Umstandssatz folgt, also da, wo allenfalls ein zweites Tempus erwartet würde.

Die letzten beiden Verse der Strophe (V. 81–82) gehören vielleicht noch in den "Königs"-Zusammenhang, "vielleicht" im Sinne einer möglichen und naheliegenden, in der Sprache zwingend vorgegebenen, Amphibolie. Der erste dieser Verse ist besonders merkwürdig mißverstanden worden, denn *ꜥwj* "einreichen, überreichen, zustellen" steht im *Wb.* 1, 15, 10–11; vgl. außerdem etwa: Hayes, *Late M.K. Papyrus*, S. 35f.; Helck, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), S. 32 (mit Liter.); *wdnw* nimmt Bezug auf

²⁷ In B₁ 244–246 (4. Klage) heißt es: "Wenn-die-Augen-sehen, wird-der-Verstand(Herz)-informiert:/Sei-nicht-hochfahrend gemäß-deiner-Macht, damit-nichts-Schlimmes-überdich-komme, /vernachlässige einen-Rechtsfall, und-er-wird-zu-zweien-werden". Auch hier ist mit dem "zweiten" Rechtsfall gewiß der gegen den Richter gemeint. Das scheint bislang nicht verstanden.

Vers 9, wo Rensi als "Senklotschnur, die das Gewicht trägt" apostrophiert wird (Gewicht = *wdnw*). Der Adressat der Petition, Rensi, der die Norm verkörpert, ist als solcher nicht mehr da, denn die Norm ist ja zerstört, die "Senklotschnur, die das Gewicht trägt", ist zerrissen. Bei Vers 82 denkt man an Ptahhotep, Dév. 273/4, wo es auch um die richtige Einstellung zu Bittstellern geht. Das pronominale Subjekt in *k3.tw* kann sich auf "die Leute" beziehen, aber auch auf den König, Verweis auf den König mit *tw* "man" gibt es im "Bauern". Wenn der König gemeint ist, dann muß "jener-da" Rensi sein, wenn "die Leute" gemeint sind, dürfte dabei eher an den "Bauern" zu denken sein. Der Vers ist im Grunde auch amphibolisch, und da die Aufmerksamkeit des Königs peinlicher für Rensi eingeschätzt worden sein dürfte, wird das Gemeinte eben der König sein.

* * *

Nun folgt die abschließende Ermahnung, rhetorisch die *peroratio*. Sie ist zweigeteilt, sieben Verse (V. 83–89) zielen auf Rensi und die Beamten, sechs Verse (V. 90–95) zielen auf Rensi und den "Bauern", zusammen macht das also dreizehn Verse aus.

Rensi soll eine Zufluchtsstätte gegen die Gefahren sein, die er selbst heraufbeschworen hat. Lexikalisch zeigt Vers 83 keine Schwierigkeiten. Was die Beschaffenheit der *jbw*-*"Zufluchtsstätte"* gegen Krokodile angeht, sagen einige Verse aus einem Lobpreis Amuns aus Černý-Gardiner, *HO* 1, pl. 38,2 vo., 4/5 immerhin ein wenig aus. Bei Assmann, *Äg. Hymnen und Gebete* ist dieser Text nicht berücksichtigt. In H. Brunners gehaltvoller Besprechung von *HO* (in: *BiOr* 15 [1958], S. 195–97) sind die ersten beiden Verse übersetzt, der dritte blieb unverstanden—das Fremdwort *dprw* nicht erkannt—und daher falsch übersetzt.²⁸

|2 *šh-sw r-jbw-mnh*
 |2 *hr-m3st ntj-ḥntj*
 |3 *ṭ3jj-dpjjw dprw r3.sn-wn(w)*
 |3 *k3p.n m-ḥnw.f ḥ-snd.j-n.w*

Meine Übersetzung:

|2 Nützlicher-ist-er als-ein-trefflicher-*jbw*-Schutzbau
 |2 auf-der-Uferbank des-Krokodils.
 |3 Die-Krokodile-packen die-Beutetiere mit-offenen-Mäulern,

²⁸ Das bisher ungedeutete *dprw* (Determin.: Krokodil) muß Lehnwort aus dem Semitischen sein: hebräisch *ṭrp* reißen (vom Raubtier), *ṭ' rēpāh* (vom Raubwild) zerrissenes Tier, *ṭārāp* Raub (des Raubwildes), das wohl das Vorbild unseres Wortes ist. Die Metathesis zu *dpr* kann von dem Wort für "Krokodil" beeinflusst sein, darauf weist auch das Determinativ.

3 doch-unser-Versteck ist-in-ihm, und-ich-fürchte-mich-nicht-vor-ihnen.²⁹ Daraus ist zu entnehmen, daß man vom *jbw* aus den Kampf der Krokodile ungefährdet betrachten konnte. Das setzt Höhe und einen soliden Unterbau voraus. Da Holz selten und teuer war, kam als Baumaterial nur Lehm, Schlamm in Betracht, zumal man diese *jbw*'s sicher möglichst bei allen gefährdeten Anlegestellen errichtete. Vermutlich waren es hinreichend hohe, solide runde Turmstümpfe aus Lehm mit eingelassenen Trittlöchern und Handgriffen zum Ersteigen, mit einer umwallten Plattform oben. In der "Bauerngeschichte" kommen diese Schutzbauten noch in der 3., 4. und 8. Klage vor.

Vers 85 ist schwierig. Zunächst zu *ṛt-jm.f*: die Bedeutung "ein Glied von ihm (selbst)" ist eindeutig, s. A.H. Gardiner, *AEO* 1, S. 109* (einige Belege aus PT, Dyn. 11 und ein unklarer aus Edfu; dazu noch Dyn. 11, Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, § 32). Die Konzentration der spärlichen Belege auf die späte Dyn. 11 (drei von vier oder fünf Belegen, alle nach der Reichseinigung des MR) ist sehr auffällig; vielleicht liegt herakleopolitanische Tradition aus der Zwischenzeit vor, die Belegverteilung erinnert etwas an die der oben S. 240 besprochenen rhetorischen Floskel. Entscheidend für das Verständnis ist das ungedeutete Wort *t3mw*. In B₁ ist es mit "Schlange/Wurm" determiniert, in R mit "Pflanze" (und Pluralstrichen). Ein etymologischer Anschluß läßt sich—lautlich und auch semasiologisch—bei *t3m* "bedecken, sich bedecken, /verhüllen" finden mit den Ableitungen "Binde, Nachsicht, Vorhaut", und dazu kopt. S τωλᾶ "besmieren, sich bedecken, /Verunreinigung"; dazu dann *tnm* (geschr. *dnm*) aus griechischer Zeit "Schmutz". Die Konsonantenfolge *n-m* wechselt ja gern dissimilatorisch mit *l-m*, und daß *ṛ* für *l* stehen kann, ist bekannt.

Das griechische *dnm* "Schmutz" ist Schreibung für eine Substantivbildung vom Stamm *t3m* aus, wahrscheinlich der substantivierte Infinitiv. Damit kann aber unser *t3mw* nicht einfach identisch sein, auch abgesehen von dem auslautenden *-w*; es hat wohl die Entwicklung von *t* zu *t* mit ihm gemeinsam, doch die Determinierungen (Schlange/Wurm und Pflanze) weisen auf eine semantische Spezialisierung: etwas, das man als pflanzlich oder als tierisch ansehen kann. Das paßt nun sehr gut zu "Schimmel", und dies wiederum stimmt zu unserem Kontext, denn hier stehen sich "Mann" und "ein Glied von ihm" gegenüber, und es geht um Verderbnis, die das Ganze überziehen wird. Daher die vorgeschlagene Übersetzung, in der gesagt wird, daß von einem verderbten Teil (Zunge) aus dessen Ganzes (Mann) verdorben werden kann, so wie

²⁹ Vgl. *Leidener Amunshymnen*, III 19: "es-gibt-keine-Kraft des-Krokodils (*ḥntj*), wenn-sein-Name-ausgesprochen wird".

das bei Verschimmelung ja tatsächlich geschieht. Ähnliche Aussagen zu diesem Thema gibt es bekanntlich, z.B. "Lehre des Ani", Max. 34: *whn.tw-rmt hr-ns.f* "der-Mensch-wird-zerstört von/wegen-seiner-Zunge"; in der "Lehre des Amenope" handeln zehn Stellen von der Zunge.³⁰—Die Syntax des Verses 85 ist verkürzt aus *t3mw-pw n-z' t3mw-ct-jm.f*, wie man das aus Vergleichen kennt (Gardiner, *Eg.Gr.* § 506,4).

Nun folgt der Abschnitt Vers 86–89 mit dem Bezug Rensi–Richter. Vers 87 wurde in jüngerer Zeit noch falsch übersetzt, doch sind die beiden Schlüsselwörter inzwischen eindeutig nachweisbar: *ꜥdj* steht im *Wb.* 1, 240, 3 mit der etwas unklaren Übersetzung "reinigen", weiterhin deutlicher bei Junker, *Giza* 11, 160f.; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 6; Helck, *Das Bier*, 26; und v.a. CT VI, 283 s, wo *ꜥdj* zusammen mit *mndm* genannt ist: *jw.f-rḥw rn / n-mndm-pw ꜥꜥdw-jm.f* "er-weiß den-Namen / jenes-Korbs, in-dem-er-geworfelt-wird."³¹ Zu *mndm*: P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives... Néferirkarê-Kakaï* 2, 374 (d), wo *mndm* als alter Konsonantenbestand gesichert ist. Das Verspaar ist nun verständlich: nur wenn Rensi nicht selbst lügt, kann er die Beamten kontrollieren, wobei das Bild des Worfelns als des Trennens von Brauchbarem und Unbrauchbarem mit einem großen Korb gebraucht wird. Das nächste Verspaar weist darauf hin, daß gerade das Lügen, das Rensi dringend zu vermeiden hat, den Richter-Beamten aus Bequemlichkeit so lieb ist. Wir denken an den Passus vor der Ersten Klage (B₁ 75–80), wo die Richter als Beisitzer dem Rensi eine sehr bequeme, aber lügenhafte Entschuldigung für den Überfall des Nemtinacht auf den "Bauern" anboten. Diese Richter müssen in dem Korb-Sieb geworfelt werden, wie das im Bilde gesagt ist, sonst greift die moralische Verschimmelung um sich.

Schließlich noch die letzten Verse, in denen der "Bauer" für sich selbst bittet und fordert. Es scheint ihm widersinnig, daß Rensi, der kundigste aller Menschen, nun gerade von seiner, des "Bauern", Angelegenheit nichts wissen sollte, daß er also nicht über die wirklichen Begebenheiten informiert sein sollte?³² Dann fordert er ihn in zwei Verspaaren auf—wie wissend oder unwissend Rensi auch sein mag—, er

³⁰ Es sei noch verwiesen auf den Artikel in *LÄ* und den Aufsatz von S. Herrmann, "Steuer-ruder, Waage, Herz und Zunge in äg. Bildreden", in: *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 106–15, dort auch der Hinweis auf das Neue Testament, Jacobusbrief 3,1ff. Dort heißt es in 3,6: "So wirkt die Zunge unter unseren Gliedern: sie befleckt den ganzen Leib...".

³¹ Die Verstrennung nach "Name" ist in Ordnung, weil hier diese Formel des Kennens des Namens oft hintereinander gebraucht ist, "er-weiß den-Namen" ist voranstehendes Formular.

³² Ich glaube, daß *hm m-* eine ähnliche Sonderbedeutung hat wie *rḥ m-* (*Wb.* 2, 445, 6). Einen schlüssigen zweiten Beleg für *hm m-* kann ich hier nicht darlegen ("falsch orientiert sein über etwas").

solle die ihm als Richter und großem Herrn zukommende Retterfunktion ausüben. Hier sind drei Stellen bisher nicht richtig erfaßt. Das *ḵw(ḵw)*—es muß PsP. sein—kann nicht “schifflos sein” meinen, denn der “Bauer” hat nicht “einen Weg, der schifflos ist”. Vielmehr ist zu übersetzen “abschneiden, abtrennen” (*Wb.* 1, 48,1). Es geht um den “abgeschnittenen Weg”, den der “Bauer” hat, d.h. er steht auf einem Weg, dessen Fortsetzung von der Flut weggespült ist, auf einem Dammweg also. Dieses Bild muß real oder imaginär jedem Ägypter präsent gewesen sein.

Das seltene *ḵdr* im letzten Vers hat G. Burkard behandelt in seinem *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu äg. Weisheitslehren* (Wiesbaden, 1977), S. 193.³³ Er meint fälschlich, das Wort sei nur Ptahhotep, Dév. 10 (pPrisse) belegt. Dort steht *sḍr-n.f ḵdr(w) rʿw-nb*. Stattdessen haben (Dév. 15) L₂ *sḍr-ḵb rmj(w) rʿw-nb* und C *sḍr-ḵb wrd(w) rʿw-nb*. Daß *ḵdr* ein altertümliches Wort ist, das L₂ und C, beide wohl Dyn. 18 (letzte Abschrift!), nicht mehr kennen, ist evident. Umso interessanter ist es, daß das Wort im “Bauern” vorkommt. Papyrus Prisse konnte ich—in seinem Archetyp, nicht etwa die letzte, uns zufällig erhaltene Kopie—in das Alte Reich datieren, sei es in Teilen, sei es als Ganzes.³⁴ Burkard meint, die Bedeutung könne aus dem Zusammenhang mit dem Determinativ des “schlechten Vogels” annähernd erschlossen werden. Ich zitiere: “Es ist eine bekannte Erscheinung, daß man mit zunehmendem Alter oft weniger Schlafbedürfnis hat, man “schläft schlecht”. Das ist m.E. auch hier gemeint, als Bedeutung ist daher “schwerfallen, schlecht sein” o.ä. anzunehmen; *sḍr* ist Infinitiv, *ḵdr* Pseudopartizip; ...”. Ich glaube nicht, daß dieser Schluß richtig ist. Ich bin sicher, daß auch Burkard zurückhaltender gewesen wäre, hätte er sich an die “Bauerngeschichte” erinnern können. Denn dort ist auch ein solcher schlichter erster Rückschluß konkreter eingebunden und damit aussichtsreicher. Wenn der “Bauer” in seiner Schlußermahnung zu Rensi sagt *ḵdr.k-wj*, so ist die Vermutung, daß er damit etwas wie “rette mich” oder “rette mich heraus” meint, sehr naheliegend. Und tatsächlich sind wir damit der Grundbedeutung des Wortes sehr nahe. Die ägyptischen Wörter für “retten” haben auch immer eine zweite Bedeutung: *nḥm* a) (fort)nehmen, rauben b) retten; *šdj* a) (fort)nehmen b) retten; *ʿwʿj* a) (fort)nehmen, rauben b) versorgen (wohl aus *retten).³⁵ Die Grundbedeutung dürfte—grob geschätzt—einfaches “nehmen” sein, daraus Weiterentwicklung in

³³ Später, aber mit demselben Deutungsversuch, in einem Aufsatz “Ptahhotep und das Alter” in: *ZÄS* 115 (1988), S. 19–30. Er hält in beiden Arbeiten den Text des pPrisse, den wir hier analysieren, in der Abfolge der Verse für verderbt, er geht von L₂ und C aus. Der Beleg für *ḵdr* aus dem “Bauer” fehlt auch im *ZÄS*-Aufsatz.

³⁴ Siehe meinen oben, Anm. 7, genannten Aufsatz.

zwei Richtungen: "wegnehmen, fortnehmen, rauben" einerseits, "herausnehmen, retten" andererseits. Die Variante "retten" haben wir im "Bauer", Vers 95. Die Variante "wegnehmen, fortnehmen" in Ptahhotep, denn ein Aspekt des Schlafens ist im Ägyptischen das "Fortgenommenensein". Ich habe in *SAK* 1 (1974), S. 186f. gezeigt, daß *sḏr* "schlafen" ursprünglich als Zustandsverbum "ferngehalten sein, entrückt sein" heißt. Die Schlafenden befinden sich bekanntlich nach ägyptischer Auffassung im Jenseits, der Unterwelt, bei den Toten.³⁶ So nennt sich Ptahhotep als altersschwacher Mann "entrückt", d.h. er schläft infolge der *jḥw* "Kindesschwäche" auch am Tag gelegentlich ein, so wie das bei kleinen Kindern zu sein pflegt. Dieses Vor-sich-hindämmern in Benommenheit, etwa: nach dem Essen, ist gewiß ein Problem des Tags! Im Kontext ist der betreffende Vers Ende einer Teilstrophe. Doch um Unsicherheiten auszuräumen, ist es wohl richtig, die erste große Strophe zu dreißig Versen zu umschreiben. Es ist nämlich auch hier möglich, ein wenig aus dem Zusammenhang zu schließen, aber nur, wenn dieser Zusammenhang der ägyptische ist, d.h. als Minimum zunächst einmal der metrische. Um mich so knapp wie möglich zu halten, verzichte ich weitgehend auf die Übersetzung, wo umschreibende Inhaltsangabe wichtiger ist.

Ptahhotep, pPrisse, Dév. 1ff. (Metrik des AR und der 1.ZZ.–Nordreich):

30	4	2	<i>sbꜣjꜣt nt-jmj-rꜣ-nwt</i>	EINLEITUNG DER LEHRE
		2	<i>tꜣtj Pthḥtpw</i>	
		3	<i>ḥr-ḥm n-jnzwbjt</i> [<i>Jzzj</i>]	
		3	<i>ꜣḥw ḏt r-nḥḥ</i>	
	20	2	3 <i>jmj-rꜣ-nwt tꜣtj Pthḥtpw</i>	EINLEITUNG DER REDE
		3	<i>ḏḏ.f jtjw nb.j</i>	
		5	2 <i>tnj ḥprw</i>	Altersschwäche wegen
			2 <i>jꜣwj ḥꜣw</i>	Alter
		3	2 <i>wgg jwjw</i>	somit Minderung, die führt
			2 <i>jḥw ḥr-mꜣwj</i>	zu Erneuerung von Kindesschwäche
			3 <i>sḏr-n.f ḥḏr(w) rꜣw-nb</i>	d.h. Schlafen am Tag wie Kind ³⁷

³⁵ Weitere Belege: *Wb.* 1, 249,1 (Chassinat, *Edfou* 2, 200, 2); CT III, 345b; Graefe, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), S. 214; *BiOr* 35 (1978), S. 60; Fecht, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), S. 125f.

³⁶ De Buck, *De godsdienstige opvatting van den slaap*, MVEOL 4; E. Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* 2, 57f.; Černý–Gardiner, *HO* 1, pl. 37 ro, 6f.

6	3	2	<i>jrtj nḏsw</i>	Augen	PHYSISCHE	FÄHIGKEITEN LASSEN NACH	
		2	<i>ḥwḥj jmrw</i>	Ohren			
		3	<i>pḥtj ḥr-ḥq n- wrd-jb</i>	Kraft			
	3	3	<i>rḥ gr(w) n- mdw.n.f</i>	Mund/Rede	GEISTIGE		
		2	<i>jb tmw</i>	Intelligenz			
		2	<i>n-ḥḥ.ḥ.n.f sf</i>	Gedächtnis			
	5	3	3	<i>qs mn-n.f n- ḥww</i>	Knochen: Rheuma = unbeweglich		GENUSSUNFÄHIGKEIT
			3	<i>bw-nfr ḥpr(w) m-bw-bjn</i>	"Gutes": Sexuali- tät(?)		
			2	<i>dpt-nbt šm.tj</i>	Schmecken		
		2	<i>jrr(w)t-jḥwj n- rmḥw</i>	Folgen des Alters			
2		<i>bjn(w) m-jḥt- nbt</i>	sind übel, kein Genuß				
2		3	<i>fnḏ ḏbḥ(w) ḥ- ssn.n.f</i>	Kurzatmigkeit bei	SCHLUSS DER ALTERSREDE:		
	2	<i>n-tnw-ḥḥ ḥmst</i>	jeglicher Bewegung =	DIENSTUNFÄHIGKEIT			
6	3	3	<i>wḏ.tw n-bḥk-jm jrt-mdw-jḥwj</i>	Stab des Alters	Lehrprogramm: Worte der jetzt Hörenden, Gedanken der einst auf Könige Hörenden, damit auf den jetzigen König gehört wird, damit die Untertanen und das ganze Land sich gebührend verhalten		
		2	<i>jḥ-ḏḏ.j-n.f mdww-sḏmjw</i>	Lehrprogramm: Worte der jetzt Hörenden,			
		3	<i>ḥrw-jmjw-ḥst pḥw-sḏm n-nḥrw</i>	Gedanken der einst auf Könige Hörenden,			
	3	2	<i>jḥ-jrj.tw-n.k mjtt</i>	damit auf den jetzigen König gehört wird,			
		2	<i>dr.tw-šnw m-rḥjtt</i>	damit die Untertanen			
		2	<i>bḥk-n.k jdbwj</i>	und das ganze Land sich gebührend verhalten			

Man sieht nun, wie das "entrückt" oder "benommen" für *ḥdr(w)* sich in den bewußten Zusammenhang einfügt. Auch grammatisch ist klar, daß *ḥdr(w)* nicht, wie Burkard wollte, Pseudopartizip sein kann, denn damit verliert das Suffix von *n.f* seinen Bezug, weil *ḥdr(w)* hier als passives Partizip Subjekt ist.—Die Altersschilderung ist natürlich topisch.

Das letzte Wort, das in der "Bauerngeschichte" offenbar Schwierigkeiten macht, ist merkwürdigerweise *ḏrw* "Bereich" (*Wb.* 5, 586, 8–11 und öfters darüber hinaus). Das sinnvolle Spiel mit den Worten "meine

³⁷ *ḥdr(w)* ist pass. Part.: "der Entrückte".

Angelegenheit" (*h₃w.j*, Vers 91) und "Angelegenheit, die zu deinem Bereich gehört" (*h₃w jrj-drw.k*, Vers 95), ist nicht zu übersehen. Es bildet den eindrücklichen und rhetorisch überzeugenden Abschluß der zweiten Klage.

Die Gesamtzahl der Verse ist 95 (5 mal 19). Die beiden großen Themenkreise, die "Teile", aus denen die Klage besteht, haben jeweils die Gesamtverszahlen 38 (= 2 mal 19) und 57 (= 3 mal 19). Zwischen den möglichen Teilungen 35:60 (dies fairerweise gewählt, weil der kleinere Teil hier 38 ist) und 47:48 inclusive liegen dreizehn Möglichkeiten, davon keine so angenehm einfach passend ist wie unsere 2:3-Aufgliederung.

Der erste Teil ist gegliedert: 35 (5 mal 7) und 3 (Unterbrechung durch *Rensi*, Trennung der beiden Teile), die 35 Verse wiederum in 12–11–12. Der zweite Teil ist gegliedert in 44 (zweites Thema) und 13 (Schlußermahnung), die 44 Verse wieder in 22–22, diese beiden 22 in 7–15 und 15–7, diese beiden 15 in 7–8 und 8–7. Die Schlußermahnung fällt dagegen mit ihren 7 (3–4) und 6 (2–4) Versen etwas ab. Andere Redaktoren mögen andere Lösungen gefunden haben. *R* weicht von *B*₁, soweit erhalten, im Schlußteil, aber auch in *B*₁ 152 ab. Leider ist von *R* nicht genügend vorhanden, um die Gliederung zu erfassen.

EXKURS

Wegen der Bedeutsamkeit, die den Versen mit vier Kola im Redebeginn zukommt, muß ich hier noch auf den Aufsatz von J. Osing, "Die Worte von Heliopolis", in: *Fontes atque Pontes, FS H. Brunner* (Wiesbaden, 1983), S. 347ff. eingehen, der (S. 358, Anm. 29) fälschlich meint, zwei Vierheber ansetzen zu müssen. Ich gebe meine Umschreibung des Textes, also des Gebetes an *Amon-(Re^c)*, sodann Osings und meine Übersetzung. Selbstverständlich bauen meine Beiträge auf Osings Leistung in Lesung und Übersetzung auf. Es geht um die angeblichen Vierheber und damit um die Gliederung des Gebets, und das heißt eben auch um die gedankliche Gliederung.

Zunächst meine Umschreibung des Textes:

ḏd-mdwww:

8	4	2	<i>j-bꜣ-špsj wtt-nꜥrw</i>		
		2	<i>jtjj n-qmꜣ.n.f</i>		
		2	<i>rnp{tw}-nhḥ nb-ḏt</i>		
	4	3	<i>jmj.sn m-hꜣ-snd n-ḥkꜣ{m}w.f</i>		
		3	<i>ḥj-pw rnp-sw r-nw.f</i>		
		2	<i>ꜣt{t}.n-Nwt r-trwj</i>		
		3	<i>dwꜣ.tw r-nḥt.f rꜥ-nb</i>		
		2	<i>ḥpr-kꜣt-nb jw-ḥr-ḥr.f</i>		
		14	5	2	<i>wḏ-jrt jwꜥj-ḥnn.f</i>
				2	<i>n-nꜥrw mj-rmꜥw</i>
2	<i>r-ḥpr m-ꜥ(w.w)</i>				
3	<i>Jwnw ḥr-mꜣr.f-ḥꜥḏꜣ m-ꜥ-ḥꜣswt</i>				
3	<i>km(w)-rnpt wḥm.n.s-wpt n-jwd.n-ḥꜣrww-ḥr.f</i>				
4	2		<i>wnn-tꜣš.k r-rꜣ-ꜥ-ḥꜥtj</i>		
	2		<i>r-ḏrw-tꜣw wꜣḏ-wr</i>		
	2		<i>jn-jw-ꜣr-tw m-ḥnd.k</i>		
	2		<i>njs-n.k ḥꜣtjw-nbwt</i>		
5	2		<i>mkꜣ.tw ḥft-sḏm.tw</i>		
	2	<i>twꜣ-tw Kmt-ḥr.s</i>			
	2	<i>Ḥqꜣ-ꜥḏ dmj(t).k-tn</i>			
	2	<i>Jwnwj ḥqꜣ-ḥqꜣjj</i>			
	3	<i>nn-nḥt n-ḥm.n.k-r.s wpw-zp-ḥzi</i>			

Ich lese das von Osing ungedeutete Wort in Vers 3 *rnp{tw}*, möglicherweise auch *rnp.tw* für *rnp.tj*, im Anschluß an die drei von Osing vorgeschlagenen Lesungen. Die Wortverbindung ist zwar bisher nicht belegt, aber ist doch evident richtig im ägyptischen Sinne. Der Sonnengott macht die in periodischer Gliederung zu verwirklichende, aktive Zeit (*nhḥ*) durch seine periodisch unendliche Aktivität—also durch seine Tat—stets wieder jung, wie auch das Jahr *rnpt* “das Junge” heißt, weil jedes neue Jahr als eine große Zeiteinheit neu und jung herbeigebracht wird. Der Gott kann *rnpj-nhḥ* sein, weil er Herr der *ḏt*-Ewigkeit/Zeit ist, des ungliederten, passiven, potentiellen Zeit-Vorrats, der also “raumhaft” ist, aber nicht Raum. Das Nebeneinander von *rnp-nhḥ* und *nb-ḏt* ist daher zwar nicht zu “erwarten”, es ist aber sehr sinnvoll. Es mag mit der unbekanntenen Sonnen-Theologie von Heliopolis verbunden sein.

Ich gebe Osings Übersetzung und damit Gliederung, die Umschrift entspricht, sie erübrigt sich. Mit Ausnahme des eben erklärten *rnp* habe ich ja Osings Umschreibung übernommen. Osing wendet meine Metrik

an, leider wie verbreitet ohne Kola-Striche, doch meint er zwei Vierheber finden zu müssen. Ich setze, was Osing nicht tat, über die Gliederungseinheiten als Überschriften Osings Formulierungen, die ich seinem Text wörtlich entnehme.

“Anbetung in der 2. Ps. (Vers 1–4)”

Worte sprechen: O erhabener Ba, der die Götter erzeugte,
Herrscher dessen, was er erschaffen hat,
? Ewigkeit, Herr der Unendlichkeit,
für dessen Zauberkraft das, was darin ist, Verehrung bezeugt!

“Prädikationen Amuns in der 3. Ps. (Vers 5–12)”

Er ist ein Kind, das sich zu seiner Zeit verjüngt,
das Nut gewartet hat Tag und Nacht.
Man ist früh auf, um zu ihm zu beten, jeden Tag,
und es geschieht alle Arbeit, indem das Gesicht auf ihn gerichtet ist.
Der zu tun gebietet, ungestört,
den Göttern und Menschen, damit dadurch etwas geschieht:
Heliopolis sagt: ‘möge er beseitigen das Rauben von Seiten der Fremdländer,
da nun das Jahr beendet ist und wieder den Scheitelpunkt erreicht hat, ohne
daß die Syrer davon ablassen.’

“Die eigentliche Bitte an den Gott wieder in der 2. Ps. (Vers 13–20)”

Sowahr deine Grenze bis zum Ende der Welt geht,
soweit Wind und Meer reichen,
sollen dich bedrängen an deinem Thron
und zu dir rufen die Nordvölker?
Möge man aufmerksam hören!
Darum geht dich Ägypten an, der Gau von Heliopolis und diese deine Stadt.
Du von Heliopolis, Herrscher der Herrscher,
nicht gibt es eine Bitte, welche du ignoriert hättest, einen unwürdigen Fall
ausgenommen.

Ich lasse nun meine Übersetzung folgen.

Vers 1–8: Theologische Grundlage der Bitte, erst in der 2. Ps. (Anrede), dann in der 3. Ps. (die theologische Ausführung): Ältester und doch ewig jung und stark, Urgott und doch als Sonnengott sich stets zum Kind verjüngend, Ziel der Gebete, auf dessen Licht alles Wirken angewiesen ist.

8		4		2		2	O-erhabener-Ba, der-die-Götter-erzeugte,
						2	Herrscher-dessen, was-er-erschaffen-hat,
				2		2	der-verjüngt-die-Ewigkeit, Herr-der-Unendlichkeit,
						3	für-dessen-Zauberkraft das-was-darin-ist Verehrung-bezeugt!
							⋮

4	2	3	Er-ist-ein-Kind, das-sich-verjüngt zu-seiner-Zeit,
		2	das-Nut-gewartet-hat Tag-und-Nacht.
		3	Man-ist-früh-auf, um-zu-ihm-zu-beten, jeden-Tag,
		2	und-es-geschieht-alles-Werk, indem-das-Gesicht-auf-ihn-gerichtet-ist.

Vers 9–22: Auf die Preisung folgt das Gebet, eingeleitet mit einer Feststellung, die den Angerufenen als denjenigen ausweist, der hier einspringen muß.

14	5	3	2	Der-du-zu-handeln-gebietest, ungestört,
			2	den-Göttern und-den-Menschen,
			2	damit-etwas-geschieht durch-sie!
		2	3	Heliopolis-sagt: 'möge-er-beseitigen-das-Rauben von-seiten-der-Fremdländer,
			3	da-nun-das-Jahr-beendet-ist und-wieder-den-Scheitelpunkt-erreicht-hat, ohne-daß-die-Syrer-davon-ablassen!'
	4	2	2	Sowahr-deine-Grenze bis-ans-Ende-der-Welt-geht,
			2	soweit-Wind und-Meer-reichen,
		2	2	sollen-dich-bedrängen an-deinem-Thron
			2	und-zu-dir-rufen die-Nordvölker?
	5	3	2	Möge-man-aufmerksam-sein, indem-man-zuhört(= erhört):
			2	Ägypten geht-dich-darum-an,
			2	der-Gau-von-Heliopolis und-diese-deine-Stadt!
		2	2	Du-von-Heliopolis, Herrscher-der-Herrscher,
			3	es-gibt-ja-keine-Bitte, welche-du-je-übergangen-hättest, mit-Ausnahme-eines-unwürdigen-Falles!

Das Gebet hat 22 Verse (8+14) und 50 Kola. Für die Annahme von Vierhebern gibt es keinen Grund. Die Verspaare sind nicht durchgängig, sie sind angenehm aufgelockert durch die Dreiergruppen Vers 9–11 (2+1) und Vers 18–20 (1+2); dabei sind alle Verse "relative Sinneinheiten", so wie auch Verspaare, Dreiergruppen, und selten selbst Einzelverse "relative Sinneinheiten" sind. Als Beispiele für solche Einzelverse sind in der Zweiten Klage des "Bauern" z.B. die Verse 42 und 78 zu nennen.

Es gibt nur eine Bitte: in der ersten 5-Verse-Strophe, in Vers 12/13, und es gibt eine Bitte um Erhörung dieser Bitte: in der zweiten 5-Verse-Strophe, in Vers 18–20, und darauf folgt der Vortrag der Überzeugung, daß diese Bitte als eine würdige erhört werde.

Ich kenne aus der Zeit nach der 1.ZZ. und dem MR einen Vierheber im großen Amarnahymnus (Grab des Aja, M. Sandman, *Texts from the*

fälschlicherweise als Zweiheber gedeutet werden. Bei Schlüssen auf Metrik aus Texten der Ramessidenzeit ist Vorsicht angebracht (vgl. z.B. Fecht, "Das Poème über die Qadeš-Schlacht", *Fs. Helck* = SAK 11 [1984], S. 291f., 300, 309f., 324f.).

POSTSCRIPT

Da oben die Zahl der Kola des Gebets aus Heliopolis (50) erwähnt wurde, seien die entsprechenden Zahlen der Kola der Zweiten Klage des "Bauern" hier noch nachgetragen.

Klage, Erstes Thema	= 84	= 6 mal 14
Klage, Zweites Thema	= 102	= 6 mal 17
Schlußermahnung	= 30	= 6 mal 5
Insgesamt: 6 mal 36	= 6 mal 6 mal 6 (bzw. 8 mal 3 mal 9 oder 9 mal 3 mal 8)	= 216 Kola

Diese Zahlen sind objektiv existent, sie sind richtig errechnet, sie sind wissenschaftliche Fakten. Beurteilen mag sie jeder so, wie es ihm gefällt. Daß Lesung, Umschreibung, Übersetzung nicht manipuliert sind, um irgendwie interessante Zahlen vorzutäuschen, das muß jeder erkannt haben. Gewiß sieht das alles nach Zahlenspielerei aus, doch "gespielt" ist hier eben nichts. Deshalb kurz zu den Zahlen: 6: vgl. die "sechs hohen Gerichtshöfe" (seit AR), *Wb.* 3, 4, 9–10; 7 (in: 14), 8, 9: das sind die beliebtesten bedeutsamen Zahlen, jeder kennt sie im Bereich der ägyptischen Religion, in der Metrik findet man immer wieder an entscheidenden Stellen diese Zahlen; 17 ist beliebt, weil darin 7, 8 und 9 sich finden, 7 in Aussprache und Schreibung, 8 + 9 als Summanden. Ich habe über all das geschrieben. Aber *suum cuique*, mit richtig oder falsch in Übersetzung und Deutung haben diese Zahlen nichts zu tun.



Notes on Some Texts of the Old Kingdom and Later



HENRY G. FISCHER

THE FOLLOWING NOTES ARE OFFERED AS A TOKEN OF APPRECIATION, however small, to the inaugurator of the splendid *Giza Mastabas* series, and author of several other most useful publications concerning the Old Kingdom. These remarks are not presented in chronological order, but rather in what I conceive to be their order of interest.

I. ANOTHER FRAGMENT FROM COPTOS


The recent publication of an inscription from Coptos, Cairo JE 43290,¹ may be supplemented by a fragment of identical date, provenance and material, published by Petrie nearly a century ago (fig. 1).² Like the larger fragment in Cairo, this lists a series of items used in the temple rites; and, although only a few signs of the three entries shown here are preserved, all may be restored, to some extent, from the larger fragment:

1. $[h\bar{t}]-h\bar{s}w$ "imported wood" (= Cairo IV, 1-2)
2. $[\check{s}ps]t$ " $\check{s}pst$ vessel" (= Cairo I, 3-4)
3. $\bar{s}bw \text{ } \epsilon \text{ } m[-h\bar{t}]$ "ivory censer" (= Cairo I, 9)

The only new feature is that, in the last case, the material is not copper, but "ivory." The third sign of this word, the phonetic complement of $\bar{s}b$ is ϵ , Gardiner's Sign List, W 8, which he dates to Dynasty 11.³ The form of the censer is noteworthy for the same reason; there is scarcely any other evidence for the armlike extension before the Eleventh Dynasty.⁴

¹ Hans Goedicke, "A Cult Inventory of the Eighth Dynasty from Coptos," *MDAIK* 50 (1994), pp. 71-84.

² W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), pl. 12 (1). On p. 12 it is described as "a piece of a basalt stela referring to officials of the temple and naming the month Epiphi," and is dated "after the XIIth dynasty." There is no mention of it in *PM* V, and its present location is unknown to me.

³ Although the sign begins to have this form as early as Dynasty 6: , on the lower architrave above the false door of *Qsr* in the Cairo Museum (drawn from a photograph); cf. *Urk.* I, 253 (7).

⁴ The example I have attributed to Dynasty 6 in *JARCE* 2 (1963), pp. 29-30 and fig. 1, has now been redated to a point decidedly later than the Old Kingdom: Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 87, 170ff.

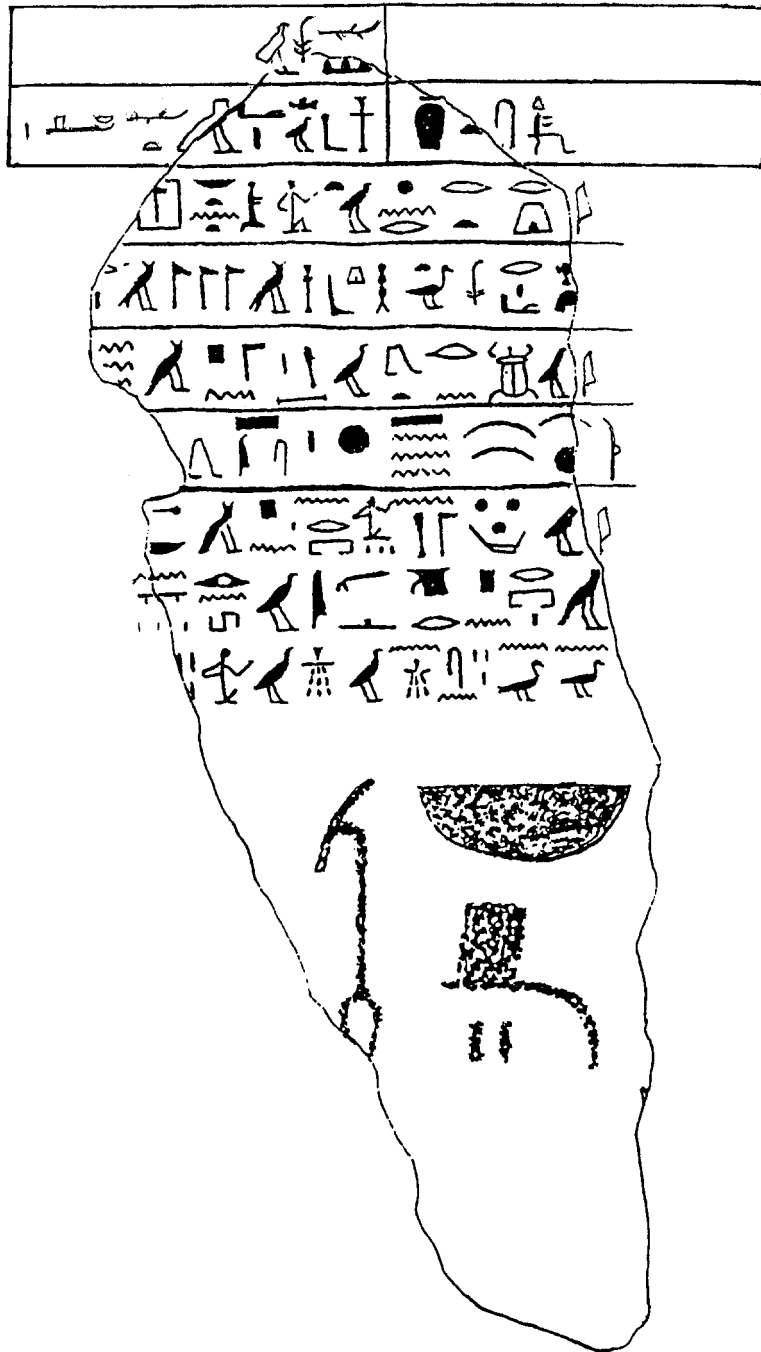


Fig. 1. Fragment of a decree from Coptos.

The interpretation of the remainder of the inscription raises several questions because of its incompleteness, but the disparate phrases may be translated as follows:

- 1 ... as for any of the *hnrt*-people of the temple ...^a
- 2 ... on behalf of^b the hereditary prince, the king's son, the lector priest, director of those in whom the gods are(?),^c the overseer [of priests ... NN]^d ...
- 3 ... It happened that the majesty of this god^e came by water ...
- 4 ... [Year 1,]^f third month of summer, day 1, accompanied ...
- 5 ... I have exempted the priests of this temple^g from(?)^h ...
- 6 ... in this temple formerly. I acquired chestsⁱ of ...
- 7 ... for their sons' sons, for their childrens' children ...

^a In line 5 of the Cairo fragment this term for the temple personnel appears in the masculine form *hnrw*.

^b The initial *hr-tp* cannot belong to a title, for such a title would not take precedence over the exalted titles that follow.

^c For this title see Junker, *Giza XI*, p. 84.

^d The first two titles are identical to those of the *Htp-k3-Mnw* of the Cairo fragment; he is given none of the other titles listed here, but was undoubtedly the overseer of the priests of Min, since that document was made in the presence of the inspectors of priests, implying that he was their superior. Quite possibly the same person is involved in both cases.



^e It seems questionable whether the phrase "majesty of this god" would have been applied to the king at so early a date as this fragment must be (cf. Goedicke, *Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich* [Wiesbaden, 1960], p. 41). One of the Eighth Dynasty Coptos decrees mentions the making of a boat of *Wsry*, "Two Powerful Ones," (*Urk. I*, 298), doubtless referring to the twin gods of the nome, for which see my *Coptite Nome*, pp. 3, 46; and the passage under consideration may refer to the return of such a vessel from a ceremonial voyage to visit a neighboring divinity. Alternatively, it might concern the visit of a divine bark from a temple located elsewhere (discussed in Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 125–26).



^f It hardly seems possible that the copy has misread $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{f} \\ \text{⊙} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$. The numeral is omitted in "first year," just as it is on the Cairo fragment.

^g One would normally expect an exemption of this kind to be executed by the king, but in this case one might expect the subject to be *hm.i* "my majesty." Furthermore the following phrases, in the next line, seem more suited to the boasts of a non-royal person, especially the statement concerning the acquisition of chests of goods, even though these were evidently acquired for the temple. The exemption of the temple priesthood therefore seems to be decreed by the overseer of priests himself.

^h Reading *m-?*; but this group could be *mki* "protect."

ⁱ There is little doubt about the reading of *hnw*, despite the odd substitution of \square for \square . The same substitution apparently occurs in the list of offerings on the Cairo stela (col. III, 6) where $\begin{smallmatrix} \square \\ \square \end{smallmatrix}$ is evidently to be read *mhr* "milk vessel," which, despite *Wb. II*, 115, is attested as early as Dynasty 6 (*Urk. I*, 254, [15]). The reading *mr* could also be applied to a jar for milk, but it seems doubtful that \square was used as a phonetic complement as early as the presumed date of the two Coptite fragments; as Gardiner notes (*EG*, Sign List, O 5), this use follows its employment as a determinative in a Dynasty 12 occurrence of *mrrt* "street."

The large hieroglyphs at the bottom of the fragment are perplexing. If the pair of strokes beneath  is correct, and not a mistake for | or , this word must be *imꜣhy* “revered,” written in a way that would be unexpected much before the Eleventh Dynasty. The word *nb* would then belong to the preceding sign rather than to *nb imꜣh* “possessor of reverence.” All of the signs face left, evidently belonging to the same person, the individual for whom the stela was made, who addresses a representation of the local god, or simply faces his temple, located beyond the stela.⁵ They most surprisingly seem to attribute to this individual a royal epithet, “given... all(?) dominion,” as well as the non-royal epithet *imꜣhy*, or *nb imꜣh* and this “revered” person is presumably the overseer of priests.⁶

It is clear that the fragment, along with its counterpart in Cairo, is to be dated beyond the end of the Eighth Dynasty, when the power of the king had waned considerably in the southernmost provinces. Goedicke has assigned the Cairo fragment to that dynasty, but while he rightly compares the basalt false door of *Wsr*, who has similar titles, he ignores indications that place the false door later, towards the end of the Heracleopolitan Period.⁷ In the present case this late a date is confirmed not only by the presumptuous combination of epithets that has just been considered, but also the mention of the armlike censer and the sign for *ꜣb*; perhaps too the substitution of the sign  in place of .



2. SOME LINKS BETWEEN U.E. NOMES 7 AND 14

Thanks to Torgny Säve-Söderbergh’s new publication,⁹ it is now possible to make a clearer comparison between the Sixth Dynasty tomb chapels of the cemetery hitherto known as Qasr es-Sayyad and those of other sites. The excellent workmanship of the tombs at Meir seem to have been a particular source of inspiration, even though the craftsmen further upstream were somewhat less adroit. Among the motifs that were borrowed, one may note, in the chapel of *Idw/Snni*,¹⁰ the female figure,

⁵ Cf. my *Orientation of Hieroglyphs* (New York, 1977), pp. 20–25.

⁶ The closest parallel that occurs to me, as far as this period is concerned, is the addition, to the names of nomarchs, of such tags as “life, prosperity, health,” “living for ever and ever,” and “protection and life about him like Re for ever and ever.” Anthes, *Hatnub*, passim. The last phrase is also adopted, in the Twelfth Dynasty, by the vainglorious *Wh-ḥtp* (Blackman, *Meir* VI, pp. 26, 28 and pl. 13), as well as an even more presumptuous statement (p. 35 and pl. 17).

⁷ See my *Coptite Nome*, pp. 40–41; *Dendera*, p. 75, n. 307, p. 89 (13, 14).

⁸ Another late feature is the addition of a pair of arms to the signs  and , which is attested in the Eighth Dynasty Coptos Decrees: *ibid.*, fig. 23 (6) on p. 133.

⁹ *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (EL-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)* (Stockholm, 1994).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 8, and Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 28.

3. AN OSTRACON FROM HELWAN

The ostracon shown in fig. 2 is one of a pair published by Hans Goedicke under the title "Two Lost Old Kingdom Ostraca,"¹⁷ on the basis of photographs found among the papers of Bernard Grdseloff in 1958, or somewhat earlier. They were not in fact lost, but are in the Cairo Museum, where they bear the Journal d'Entrée numbers 88555 (shown here) and 87192. I made copies of both of them in 1956, along with those I have discussed in *Orientalia* 29 (1960), pp. 187–90, and Goedicke discussed this one with me at the museum when he came upon me at work. On that occasion he thought that the place named in the heading should be read *Nst-Hr* "Throne of Horus." I think he is right in abandoning this idea, but cannot agree with his present transcription: $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{H}}$. The third sign is indeed $\overline{\text{H}}$, and not $\overline{\text{H}}$, while the first one is $\overline{\text{A}}$. His attempt to see the presumed *gst* as a variant spelling of *ghst* "gazelle" is therefore to no purpose.

In view of the fact that the final $\overline{\text{H}}$ can hardly be "Horus," which would be written $\overline{\text{H}}$ or more probably $\overline{\text{H}}$,¹⁸ the only interpretation of *Hr-st-hr* that occurs to me is "under (my?) supervision." Although *hr-st-hr* is not known to have replaced *hr-hr* in this sense prior to the Middle Kingdom (*Wb.* III, 316 [6]), some similar *st*-compounds were in use earlier (*Edel, Altäg. Gramm.*, § 260), and so the present example would not be anomalous. For other toponyms introduced by *hr* one may compare $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{H}}$ and $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{H}}$.¹⁹

Goedicke's reading of the feminine name is likewise untenable, for the first sign is not $\overline{\text{H}}$ but $\overline{\text{H}}$. *Phr.s* is not attested from other sources, but a feminine name *Phr-nfrt* is known from Dynasty 6,²⁰ while *Phrt* (Ranke, *PN* I, 136.4) is attested for the Middle Kingdom, and from the Old Kingdom we have its masculine counterpart *Phr* (*ibid.*, 420.14). The name *Phr.s* evidently identifies the mother of the deceased, who is mentioned thereafter. His rather unusual name, *Hbs*, is likewise unknown elsewhere.²¹ Both these names, like many others,²² may refer to the circumstances of birth; the first would then mean "she turns about" (par-

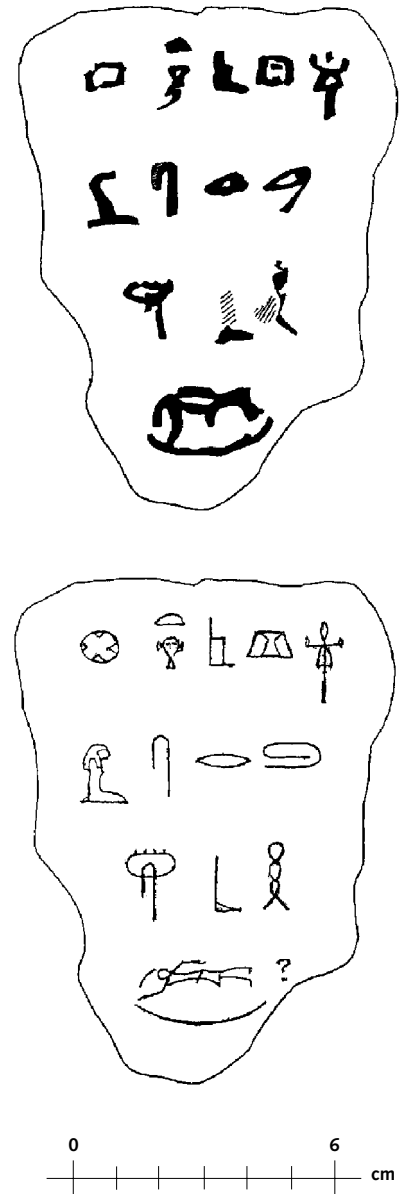


Fig. 2. Cairo ostracon JE 88555, from Helwan.

¹⁷ *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (Vienna, 1983), pp. 155–164.

¹⁸ Among the many names of estates mentioning Horus that are listed by Helen Jaquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 480, only three have the phonetic writing: pp. 189, 383, 392. The phonetic writing is usual in non-royal personal names, but is scarcely ever reduced to $\overline{\text{H}}$; for one such exception see Ranke, *PN* II, 296(1).

¹⁹ Karola Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1978), pp. 192–194.

²⁰ Incorrectly listed as *Phrt-nfrt* by Ranke, *PN* II, 136(5); this misreading is explained in my *Egyptian Studies III: Varia Nova* (New York, 1996), p. 66, n. 173.

alleled by “the beauty turns about”) and the second “one who is hidden” (i.e., whose head is hidden by the caul).

Although I feel doubtful about the precise form of the final determinative, Goedicke is probably right in concluding that the orientation of the outstretched human figure is reversed.²³ This reversal is quite unexpected, for the recumbent figure of a corpse is normally shown with the head forward.²⁴ It should also be noted that a stream of blood appears to emerge from the head—a detail that is known from one of the Helwan ostraca published formerly.²⁵

It does not seem necessary to comment on Goedicke’s lengthy discussion of the “East Nome,” which is mentioned as the region in which *Hr-st-hr* was located, except to express disagreement with his conclusion that it likewise designates the province in which Helwan was situated.

4. THE READING OF THE OLD KINGDOM SIGN FOR “WEAVER”

I have already acknowledged in *Egyptian Studies III: Varia Nova* (New York, 1996), p. 239, that the Old Kingdom sign representing a female weaver cannot be read *inrt*, as I had previously deduced, since *inrt* is a distinctively different title. That does not mean, however, that one should revert to the reading *irjt*, proposed earlier by Junker,²⁶ for there is further evidence that strongly favors another solution.

That evidence is provided by the meticulous drawings in Christiane Ziegler’s *Le Mastaba d’Akhethetep* (Paris, 1993), p. 176, where the object held in the lap of the seated woman is delineated in greater detail than in any other example known to me (fig. 3).²⁷ The object cannot be a shuttle, as I have suggested elsewhere,²⁸ nor can it be a spindle (𓆎: Gardiner’s W34), as Ziegler proposes,²⁹ or any other implement used in



Fig. 3. Weaver-sign, Louvre E 10958.

²¹ But cf. *Hbsy*, Ranke, *PN* II, 305(2), from a papyrus of the Second Intermediate Period: Smither, *JEA* 34 (1948), p. 32 and pl. 7A, lines 4 and 11. There is some uncertainty about the termination of this name.

²² Ranke, *PN* II, pp. 3, 30, 198.

²³ I had myself thought that it might show the body on a bier, with a cloth (𓆎) thrown over the foot-board, as in Dows Dunham and W.K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), fig. 8.

²⁴ Cf. *Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, p. 38 and fig. 41. Also the determinative of *iz n k:f* in *Urk.* I, 71 (4, 6).

²⁵ *Orientalia* 29 (1960), p. 188, where other Old Kingdom examples are cited.

²⁶ *Giza* III, pp. 210–11.

²⁷ The unpublished examples in Giza tomb 1607 are incised and lacking in detail. The one in the chapel of *Mr(w)-ib(i)* (LD II, 20a) is insufficiently intact, as I have seen from a photograph kindly provided by Peter Der Manuelian.

²⁸ *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom* (New York, 1989), pp. 10–11.

weaving.³⁰ It is clearly the *hts*-scepter, good examples of which are to be found in the tombs of two queens of the Fourth Dynasty at Giza: *Mr-sy-rnh* (fig. 4)³¹ and *Rht-Rc* (fig. 5).³² Since it seems unlikely that the scepter as such would be placed in the lap of the weaver, it evidently functions as a phonetic element, forming a composite hieroglyph of a kind that is well attested in the Old Kingdom.³³ And it is closely paralleled by a composite of this kind signifying *hmt* "servant" (fig. 6).³⁴

The meaning of *hts*, as applied to female weavers, is rather obscure. Apart from its reference to a scepter,³⁵ it occurs in the epithet *wrt hts*, with or without the addition of *nbty* "the Two Ladies," referring to the king, and is sometimes accompanied by *wrt hzwt* "great of praises," which may convey much the same sense.³⁶ This suggests that the weaver called *htst* may have been "one who is rewarded" or "adorned," and she is, in fact, repeatedly shown receiving costly ornaments in payment for her services.³⁷ In other contexts *hts* also refers to "completing" a period of time, and to "celebrating" a festival.³⁸ I feel doubtful that this meaning can be stretched to refer to weavers who were "finished" in learning their craft, or who "finished" the process of weaving, as distinguished from those who assisted in preparing the rove, spinning the thread, setting up the warp, and so on. But, at all events, the designation *htst* seems to honor them as particularly skilled and well-paid workers.



²⁹ Op. cit., p. 130. Not only is the shape different, but it would be upside-down, for the spindle is normally held by the shaft; cf. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*³ (New York, 1958), p. 47.

³⁰ All well displayed in H.E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life* (New York, 1955), pl. 67.

³¹ From Grdseloff, *ASAE* 42 (1942), p. 114, fig. 18, probably from the west wall of the main chamber: Dunham and Simpson, *Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, fig. 7.

³² From Hassan, *Giza VI/3*, p. 5, fig. 3.

³³ *MMJ* 12 (1977), p. 9, fig. 4.

³⁴ *MDAIK* 16 (1958), p. 131.

³⁵ *Wb.* III, 202 (7), referring to Pyr. 248.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, (9–10). Repeatedly in Dunham and Simpson, op. cit.; and cf. Fischer, *JEA* 60 (1974), pp. 95, 97. Although he adduces some interesting early evidence, Grdseloff's interpretation of this in *ASAE* 42 (1942), pp. 112–16, is unconvincing; cf. R.O. Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), p. 146; Fischer, loc. cit., n. 11.

³⁷ Junker, *Giza V*, pp. 45–61. This meaning of *hts* is actually attested, but not before the Ptolemaic Period (*Wb.* III, 203 (5–7)).

³⁸ *Wb.* III, 202 (13–17).



Fig. 4. *Hts*-sign, tomb of Queen *Mr-sy-rnh*.



Fig. 5. *Hts*-sign, tomb of Queen *Rht-Rc*.

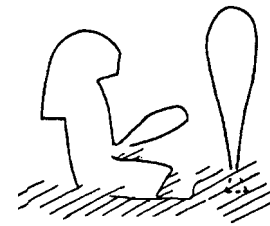


Fig. 6. Composite sign for *hmt* "servant."

Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12



RITA E. FREED

FEW HAVE MADE CONTRIBUTIONS TO AS MANY AREAS OF EGYPTOLOGY as William Kelly Simpson. He is especially renowned for his advancement of Middle Kingdom studies, and his pioneering volume, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*,¹ published in 1974, has led many to look at Middle Kingdom stelae in new and useful ways.² This study,³ offered in his honor and inspired by his research, represents, in part, an attempt to address one of the questions posed by him in that volume, namely whether it is possible to identify the work of individual sculptors or workshops of relief sculptors.⁴

In a broader sense, it examines stelae for the information they can provide about the organization of artisans in early Dynasty 12 and the development of relief styles.⁵ Accordingly, works are grouped together on the basis of their similar style or iconography. Stelae with significant elements in common are considered to come from the same “workshop” or “studio,” here defined as a group of artisans working cooperatively in the same place over a period of time and observing a common model.⁶ Although written records are lacking, that such workshops existed seems only logical, particularly in the Middle Kingdom, when large

¹ William Kelly Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974).

² For a review of literature on stelae since Simpson’s work, see C. Obsomer, “*Di.f prt-ḥrw* et la filiation *ms(t).n/ir(t).n* comme critères de datation dans les textes du Moyen Empire,” in C. Cannuyer and J.-M. Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l’Égypte pharaonique et Copte. Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès* (Brussels, 1993), pp. 164–65.

³ For his many valuable editorial comments, I am grateful to Mr. Peter Shapiro.

⁴ Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 4 and n. 4.

⁵ Much of this material was presented by the author in a paper entitled “Abydene Stelae Workshops of Early Dynasty XII” at the International Congress of Egyptology meeting in Toronto, September, 1982.

⁶ Simpson considered the existence of such workshops in *Terrace*, p. 4, item 12, and the concept was further developed for early Dynasty 12 by R. Freed, *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief: Sculptural Schools of Late Dynasty XI, with an Appendix on the Trends of Early Dynasty XII* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1984), p. 207ff., and for the Second Intermediate Period by M. Marée, “A Remarkable Group of Egyptian Stelae from the Second Intermediate Period,” *OMRO* 73 (1993), pp. 7–17. D. Franke discusses workshops at Elephantine in *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib aus Elephantine* (Heidelberg, 1994), p. 105ff.

numbers of similar stelae found at the same site are dated or datable within a relatively short period. This study covers a representative sample of workshops from approximately the beginning of Dynasty 12 through the reign of Amenemhat II.

Although stelae from that time have been found throughout the Nile Valley,⁷ workshops may be identified with certainty only at Abydos, Thebes, and Elephantine, owing to the number of stelae found at those sites. The Theban and Abydene workshops are discussed here.⁸ While the primary focus of the study is art historical, inscriptional information, particularly in the offering formula, is included when it provides information about the date of a stela or workshop. It is hoped that further work will add more stelae to the workshops listed on the following pages, uncover additional workshops, and refine those workshops identified here.

CLARIFICATION OF TERMINOLOGY

A *stela workshop* is defined here as three or more stelae sharing distinctive aspects of composition or style which collectively set them apart from others. Each workshop is given a name based on one or more of its salient characteristics although stelae in a given workshop may show considerable variety aside from their shared attributes. In virtually no case are all of the distinctive attributes found on all the stelae.

Alternatively, stelae associated with certain workshops appear so similar as to suggest the work of an individual artist. The "Vertical Curves and Flower Group" is an example. Stelae in the same workshop may span several decades.

Occasionally, architectural elements such as wall reliefs and false doors are included in the workshops where they meet the appropriate criteria. Most of the monuments discussed are decorated in relief, but a few uncarved stelae which were painted (usually, although not necessarily, in preparation for carving) are included, based on their similarity to carved examples in a given workshop.

For each *member* of a workshop, an attempt is made to include at least one primary or significant reference where additional information about the piece may be found. Photographs of representative examples of each group are also included.

⁷ Stelae were also found at quarry sites beyond the Nile Valley.

⁸ For the Elephantine workshops, see Franke, *Heqaib*, p. 109ff. For a reference to a stela found near Elephantine which I believe was made in Abydos, see "Packed Offerings Group."

Generally, the *provenance* given is the one listed in the primary publication of the stela. All those in Simpson's groupings in *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* are assumed to come from Abydos. He includes examples from the great mid-nineteenth century collections of Athanasi and Anastasi, sold at auction in London in 1837 and 1857 respectively. Following Simpson's model, other stelae from those collections not included in his groupings are also treated as Abydene.⁹

As far as *date* is concerned, a stela is considered dated if it contains a cartouche in or near its lunette or upper border, or if the context of the cartouche otherwise implies that the stela's owner lived during the reign of the king mentioned.¹⁰ A stela is labeled "datable" (as opposed to "dated") if it belongs to the same owner as a dated stela or if its owner is known through other sources, such as statuary or papyri, to be associated with a given king. Stelae listed together by Simpson in the same group (see below) are considered to be approximately contemporary when a product of the same workshop. Workshops are listed in approximate chronological order, although there is substantial overlapping.

Simpson Number refers to the number assigned by Simpson to a given Abydos North Offering Chapel (ANOC) group in his *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*.

WORKSHOP NO. I. COLORFUL THEBAN GROUP

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
NY, MMA 16.10.333 ^a (fig. 1a)	Thebes, Asasif	—	—
Cairo, JE 45626 (fig. 1b)	Thebes, Asasif	—	—
Cairo, JE 45625 ^b (fig. 1c)	Thebes, Asasif	—	—
NY, MMA 16.10.327 ^c (fig. 1d)	Thebes, Asasif	—	—
Florence 6364 ^d	Edfu ^e	—	—
Vienna ÄS 202 ^f (fig. 1e)	—	—	—

^a W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I* (New York, 1953), p. 331, fig. 219, where it is called "probably Eleventh Dynasty."

^b M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz, 1987), no. 79, where it is attributed to Dynasty 11. Obsomer, "Critières de datation," pp. 170, 197, is inclined to place it in Dynasty 12.

⁹ Simpson, *Terrace*, pp. 5–6.

¹⁰ A cartouche in the context of a pyramid name is an example where the name of a king is only a terminus post quem and not a specific date.

^c *Nofret—die Schöne. Die Frau im Alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1984), pp. 48–49, where it is ascribed to Dynasty 12.

^d S. Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le Stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno* (Rome, 1959), pp. 23–24 and pl. 17, where it is ascribed to Dynasty 11.

^e Purchased in Luxor (Bosticco, *Stele*, p. 23).

^f I. Hein and H. Satzinger, *Corpus antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien 7, Stelen des Mittleren Reiches II* (Mainz, 1993), pp. 140–44. It is dated “11th or early 12th Dynasty,” although a date “from Amenemhet I through Sesostri I” is favored on the basis on style and epithets (p. 141).

DATE RANGE. Possibly as early as late Dynasty 11, although most are more likely to be early in the reign of Amenemhat I. This is based on a combination of style,¹¹ inscription,¹² and the archaeological record.¹³

RELIEF STYLE. Stelae in this group may be carved in either relatively low, flat, raised relief, sunk relief with a deep outline, or painted only. Regardless of the technique, they all preserve abundant and skillfully painted detailing, particularly in the offerings. Males tend to be either short and stocky or overly thin-waisted, and females may be quite slender and high-waisted.

SHARED ATTRIBUTES. This group, which may be either horizontal or vertical in format, is characterized by a large, figural field and an inscription most often restricted to no more than two lines. Often the inscription does not include an offering formula but only identifies the figures depicted and names one of a variety of deities. Women and men share equal prominence. Relatively large facial features are given extra emphasis through paint. Eyes and brows are placed particularly high on the face and extend in thick, parallel cosmetic lines to the temples. Men often sport short beards and carry staves with upturned ends.¹⁴ The offerings represented are disproportionately large and few in number. They tend

¹¹ For the low flat, raised relief style of MMA 16.10.333 and Cairo, JE 45626, which is characteristic of Amenemhat I see R. Freed, “A Private Stela from Naga ed-Deir and Relief Style of the Reign of Amenemhat I,” in W.K. Simpson and W. Davis, eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan* (Boston, 1981), pp. 68–76.

¹² The following are indicators of a date in Dynasty 12: *di.f prt hrw* on Cairo, JE 45626, (C. Bennett, “Growth of the *Htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom,” *JEA* 27 [1941], pp. 78–91, but see also D. Spänel, “Ancient Egyptian Boat Models of the Herakleopolitan Period and Eleventh Dynasty,” *SAK* 12 [1985], p. 253, n. 43 for a Dynasty 11 example), and the orthography of *ntr 3 nb* on MMA 16.10.327 (W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelagyptische Studien* [Bonn, 1962], pp. 30–31 [hereafter *FMÄS*], where there is also one Dynasty 11 example listed).

¹³ The pottery found with MMA 16.10.327 (in TT 5A.R6 in the Assasif) is ascribed to Dynasty 12 by Dr. Dorothea Arnold. Dr. Arnold considers the pottery found with MMA 16.10.333 (in TT 5A.R8) to be late Dynasty 11 or early Dynasty 12 (both oral communication). I am grateful to Dr. Arnold for her kind assistance in looking at this material.

¹⁴ Such staves occur on stelae of Dynasty 11 to early Dynasty 12 date. See H.G. Fischer, “Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt,” *MMJ* 13 (1978), pp. 9–10.

Fig. 1a. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 16.10.333, stela of *Ddw*. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916.



Fig. 1b. Cairo, JE 45626, Stela of *Imn-m-hst*. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Fig. 1c. Cairo, JE 45625, Stela of *Nit-ptḥ*. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

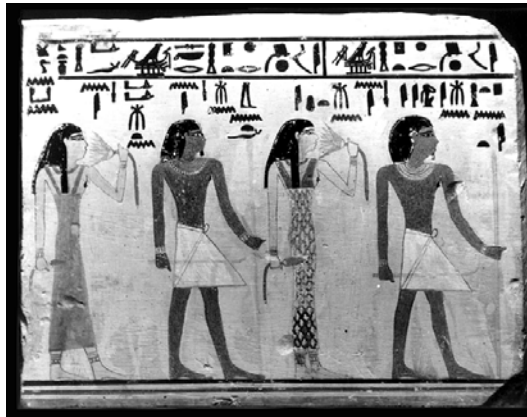


Fig. 1e. Vienna, ÄS 202, stela of *Hty*. Courtesy, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.

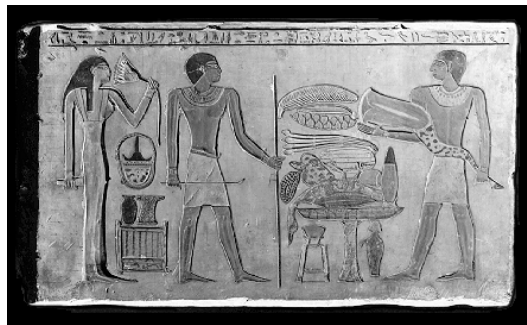


Fig. 1d. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 16.10.327, stela of *Intf* and *Nsw-mntw*. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916.

to be loosely packed and well balanced. There is at times an inventiveness seen, for example, in Cairo, JE 45626, where three figures on a chair with two backs interlock arms (and legs) in an embrace.

COMMENTS. Although generally not quite as fine, the style of painting and relief is remarkably similar to what is found in the tombs of Dagey and Meketre at Thebes, which have recently been related to Mentuhotep III and the early years of Amenemhat I respectively.¹⁵ This represents a continuation of a style seen on a group of Theban stelae made during the reign of Mentuhotep II after the reunification.¹⁶ The beginning of a dynasty, before its canons are established, is at times characterized by the charm and playful inventiveness seen in this group. Vienna ÅS 202 preserves traces of a full eighteen-square grid, perhaps the earliest stela to do so.¹⁷ This fleshing out of the limited guidelines of the Old Kingdom *Achsenkreuz* came about presumably as an attempt to emulate Old Kingdom proportions at a time when Old Kingdom monuments were again accessible.¹⁸ The fact that it is often impossible to distinguish between late Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12 material at Thebes lends further support to Arnold's theory that Amenemhat I ruled from Thebes for a longer period than is generally realized.¹⁹ Both the inscriptions and decoration of MMA 16.10.327, MMA 16.10.333, Cairo, JE 45626, and Cairo JE 45625 may have been executed by the same hand.

WORKSHOP NO. 2. FEW STANDING FIGURES

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
London, BM 52881 ^a	W. Thebes	—	—
Berlin 22820 ^b (fig. 2a)	Kamala (17 km W. of Luxor)	—	—
Florence 6378 ^c (fig. 2b)	Purchased in Luxor	—	—
Dufferin Collection ^d	Deir el Bahari	—	—

¹⁵ For the former, see J. Allen, "Some Theban Officials of the Early Middle Kingdom," in the present volume and, for the latter, D. Arnold, "Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes," *JMMA* 26 (1991), p. 21ff.

¹⁶ Freed, *Middle Kingdom Relief*, pp. 181–84, 191–93.

¹⁷ These figures are standing. The earliest full grid for a seated figure (14 squares) appears as early as the reign of Mentuhotep II following the reunification, on the stela of Intef, Cairo, CG 20003 (Freed, *Middle Kingdom Relief*, pp. 83–84).

¹⁸ H.W. Müller, "Der Kanon in der ägyptischen Kunst," in *Der Vermessene Mensch* (Munich, 1973), pp. 15–18.

¹⁹ Arnold, *JMMA* 26 (1991), p. 14ff.

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
Stockholm, MM 18155 ^e	Purchased in Sheikh abd el Gurna	—	—
Oxford, Ashmolean 1954.25 ^f (fig. 2c)	—	—	—
Moscow 4160 ^g	—	—	—
Berlin 19582 ^h	—	—	—
Marseilles 21 ⁱ	—	—	—
Moscow 4159 ^j	—	—	—
Rome, Museo Barracco4 ^k	—	—	—
Boston, MFA 25.659 ^l	Naga ed-Deir	—	—
Oxford, Ashmolean A 149 ^m	Dendera	—	—
Los Angeles County 50.37.13 (fig. 2d)	Dendera	—	—
New York, MMA 65.269 ⁿ	—	—	—
Leiden V 124 ^o	Abydos	—	ANOC 37.1
Leiden V 125 ^p	Abydos	—	ANOC 37.2
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 8789 ^q	—	—	—

^a *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae* ⓄC in the British Museum V (London, 1914), pl. 3 (hereafter *HTBM*). It was found in Theban Tomb 62.

^b R. Anthes, "Eine Polizeistreife des Mittleren Reiches in die Westliche Oase," *ZÄS* 65 (1930), pp. 108–14 and pl. VII.

^c Bosticco, *Stele*, pp. 25–26 and pl. 19. The stela is placed in Dynasty 11.

^d I.E.S. Edward, "Lord Dufferin's Excavations at Deir el-Bahri," *JEA* 51 (1965), pl. 10, no. 2.

^e B. Petersen, "Ägyptische Stelen und Stelenfragmente aus stockholmer Sammlungen," *Opuscula Atheniensia* 9 (1969), pp. 95–96. I am grateful to Dr. Edward Brovarski for bringing this stela to my attention.

^f Ashmolean Museum, *Annual Report 1954*, p. 23 and pl. IV.

^g S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), no. 28, pp. 72, 75. It is ascribed to the first two reigns of Dynasty 12.

^h Unpublished.

ⁱ J. Capart, *L'Art Egyptien* (Brussels, 1911), pl. 141.

^j Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, no. 27, pp. 73–74, where it is attributed to Dynasty 11.

^k *Museo Barracco di Scultura Antica. La Collezione Egizia* (Rome, 1985), pp. 12–13 and pl. 10.

^l R. Freed, "Relief Style of Amenemhat I," pp. 68–76.

^m W. Petrie, *Denderah* (London, 1900), pl. XI bottom left.

ⁿ Unpublished. The stela is sandstone, a material which was quarried south of Thebes.

^o Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 19 and pl. 55 top.

^p *Ibid.*, p. 19 and pl. 55 bottom.

^q W.M. van Haarlem, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam* (forthcoming), pp. 4–5.

DATE RANGE. Based on the high, rounded relief style of some and the jewel-like, incised detailing of others (see comments), it is possible that a few stelae in this group are attributable to late Dynasty 11. According to Hodjash and Berlev, the fact that the name of the owner of Moscow 4159 is separated from his titles by the epithet *imꜣḥ ḥr* and the name of the patron deity supports a date prior to Dynasty 12.²⁰ The phrase *n.f* after *prt.ḥrw* on Ashmolean A 149 is commonly found on Heracleopolitan Period false doors and post-reunification Dynasty 11 monuments from Thebes.²¹ On the basis of style and attributes, however, most stelae in this workshop appear to be early Dynasty 12. Dated examples of the bookroll with single tie, seen on Leiden V 125, are not known earlier than the coregency between Amenemhat I and Sesostri I.²²

RELIEF STYLE. These stelae display considerable variation of style. The relief may be decidedly high and rounded or significantly lower and flatter. One stela is carved in sunk relief. Musculature in legs and knees are often exaggerated. Incised interior detailing is generally restricted to wigs on both men and women. Figures tend to be canonical vertically but males particularly may vary from canonical norm in breadth of shoulders or girth.

SHARED ATTRIBUTES. The presence of a large-scale standing couple, a triad of equal height, and less often, a single male bind these stelae together as a group. With the previous Theban-based workshop it shares, in most instances, a limited area for inscriptions. When present, offerings tend to be relatively packed and restricted to the far side of the stela by a visual barrier created by a walking stick. Additional shared attributes include a large basin with tapering sides which either rests on the offering table or replaces it, and a scepter with upturned end (also seen on the previous group) held by many males. On a few stelae, the offering table itself is quite tiny, and either the walking stick or a flower stem may rest directly on it. In several instances the walking stick

²⁰ Hodjash and Berlev note that this separation is unattested after Dynasty 11, *Egyptian Reliefs*, no. 27.

²¹ E. Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1989).

²² Schenkel, *FMÄS*, p. 28. For additional comments on aspects of the inscription see n. 17.

Fig. 2a. Berlin 22820, stela of *Kꜣy*.
Courtesy, Staatliche Museen zu
Berlin.



Fig. 2b. Florence 6378, stela of *Mn-nḥt*.
Courtesy Museo Egizio di Firenze.

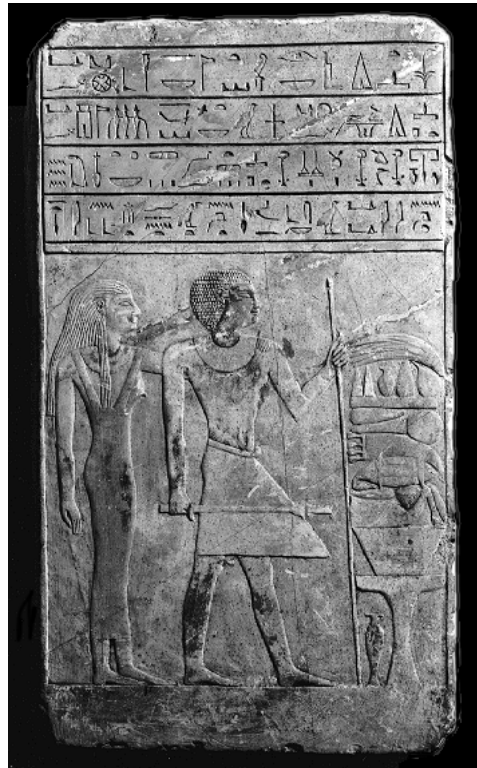


Fig. 2c. Oxford, Ashmolean 1954.25, stela of
Ddw-sbk. Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum,
Oxford.



Fig. 2d. Los Angeles County Museum of Art
50.37.13, stela of *Imw*. Courtesy Los Angeles
County Museum of Art, Gift of William Randolph
Hearst.

intersects the table. A triangle is either incised or cut out of the bottom of the table leg.

On many, incised detailing draws attention to the wigs. Individual curls on male wigs generally are arranged in horizontal rows or radiate out from a central point on the skull and follow the contour of the head. Female wigs may also be decorated. Either the hair is “braided,” as indicated by cross-hatched lines, or it is pulled directly back from the forehead, as indicated by incised parallel lines.

COMMENTS. The geographical spread of this stela group (Thebes to Abydos) suggests the increasing popularity of stelae, as well as the greater ease of travel and communication in the post-reunification years. The relief style and attributes of Los Angeles County Museum 50.37.13 are very similar to those of Ashmolean A 149, which was also found at Dendera. These two stelae may well be the earliest known from the workshop or be from the hand of an artist trained prior to the reunification. This is based on the non-canonical style of the Ashmolean stela and the intricate interior detailing seen on both. The latter is found not only at Dendera,²³ but also in the tombs of Mentuhotep II’s minor queens at Thebes, which predate the reunification,²⁴ and in other contemporary material.²⁵

The bold, rounded, raised relief style of Moscow 4159 is also very similar to what is found on Theban material dating prior to the reunification.²⁶ Conversely, the low, flat, raised relief style devoid of interior detailing and the overall formality of MFA 25.659 from Naga ed Deir reflects the Northern influence on early Dynasty 12 material.

Although differences of style link certain stelae to specific sites, overall there is a tendency toward standardization of format and sophistication. Such features link these stelae more closely to later Twelfth Dynasty works. Within the standardization, there is still room for creativity, as seen, for example, in Berlin 22820, where the owner *Ksi* carries a bow and arrows in the same manner as he would carry a walking stick and scepter. He is also accompanied by his hunting dogs. The curved stick held horizontally on several stelae in this group and the flower held at the base of the stem on Marseilles 21 are features found on other stelae from the end of Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12.²⁷

²³ W. Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. XI, for example, and W. Barta, *Das Selbstzeugnis eines alt-ägyptischen Künstlers* (Berlin, 1970), pls. VI–VII, nos. 17–18.

²⁴ E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I* (London, 1907), pl. XVII C, F, and Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, pl. VIII, no. 20. See also Freed, *Middle Kingdom Relief*, p. 153ff.

²⁵ From Gebelain: Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, pls. III–V, nos. 14–16.

²⁶ Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, pls. III–VIII and Freed, *Middle Kingdom Relief*, p. 153ff.

London, BM 52881, Berlin 22820, the Dufferin Collection stela, Ashmolean 1954.25, Marseilles 21, Museum Barracco 4, and Leiden V 125 appear to be the work of the same sculptor,²⁸ irrespective of their different provenances.²⁹ Similarly, the decoration and text on Ashmolean A 149 and Los Angeles 50.37.13 may also be by the same hand.

WORKSHOP NO. 3. FLESHY FEATURE GROUP

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
Paris, Louvre C 3 ^a (fig. 3a)	Abydos	Year 9, Sesostris I	ANOC 6.3
Paris, Louvre C 19 ^b	Abydos	datable Amenemhat I/ Sesostris I	ANOC 6.1
Berlin ÄGM 26/ 66 ^c (fig. 3b)	Abydos	datable Amenemhat I/ Sesostris I	ANOC 6.4
Cairo, CG 20756 ^d (fig. 3c)	Abydos	—	—
Paris, Louvre C 1 ^e	Abydos	Amenemhat I/ Sesostris I	ANOC 6.2
Munich ÄS 33 ^f (fig. 3d)	—	—	—

^a Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 17 and pl. 15 top. For a discussion of this stela, see P. Vernus, "La Stele C 3 du Louvre," *RdE* 25 (1973), pp. 217–34.

^b Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 17 and pl. 15 bottom left.

^c H. Satzinger, "Die Abydos Stele des *Ipwy* aus dem Mittleren Reich," *MDAIK* 25 (1969), pp. 121–30. See also Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 282.

^d H. Lange und H. Schäfer, *Grab-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo IV* (Berlin, 1902), pl. LVIII.

^e Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 17 and pl. 14.

^f S. Schoske and A. Grimm, "Eine Stele des Mittleren Reiches," *Im Blickpunkt*, gallery guide (Munich, 1991).

DATE RANGE. Two stelae in this group are dated by cartouche to the coregency of Amenemhat I and Sesostris I. Others belong to the same owner or family group (ANOC) as the dated examples or were carved by the same hand as the dated examples.

²⁷ Fischer, *MMJ* 13 (1978), pp. 9–10.

²⁸ Simpson attributes Leiden V 124 to the same sculptor as Leiden V, 125 (*Terrace*, p. 4, n. 25), but I prefer to see them as the work of two different hands in the same workshop. The somewhat better quality of Leiden V 125 suggests that it served as the model from which Leiden V 124 was made. Both belong to the same owner.

²⁹ When the capital moved to *It-tswy* during the reign of Amenemhat I, it is likely that the center of stela production also shifted northward.



Fig. 3a. Paris, Louvre C 3, stela of *Mry*. Courtesy Musée du Louvre; photo Chuzeville.



Fig. 3b. Berlin ÄGM 26/66, stela of *Ipwy*. Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.




Fig. 3c. Cairo, CG 20756, stela of *Wsr* and *Nht*. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig. 3d. Munich ÄS 33, stela of *Wshw*. Courtesy State collection of Egyptian art Munich.

RELIEF STYLE. With one exception all the stelae in this group were carved in sunk relief or combine raised and sunk relief. Both types are unmodeled and share rather coarsely incised linear interior detailing. Proportions are often non-canonical. In the case of Berlin ÄGM 26/66, two figures display the elongated legs, high waists, and small heads characteristic of pre-reunification Dynasty 11.³⁰ In other examples, torsos are elongated or heads too large or too small.



SHARED ATTRIBUTES. Prominent pug noses and fleshy upper and lower lips forming a horizontal “V” in the cheek are the most notable features of this group. A pronounced hydrocephalic bulge and too thin necks are often evident on males represented either in close-fitting wigs or natural hair. The attribute they most frequently carry is a folded bolt clutched to the chests. On women’s sheath dresses, a relief-carved band generally delineates the upper border. In most instances, the offerings are loosely organized, but the pairing of similar items indicates an interest in symmetry. For example, on Berlin ÄGM 26/66 and Louvre C 3, two geese lie hind-quarter-to-hind-quarter on an offering table, and their heads hang limply but decoratively over the sides. On another (CG 20756) paired leeks are shown in a similar manner, and in yet another (Munich ÄS 33) joined double breads () are shown in pairs. This type of bread³¹ appears on all but one stela in this group. Other shared attributes not commonly found on stelae include a duck head among the offerings, ducks in flight(?) restrained by a leash, and jars of sacred oils, which are named.³² Many of the tables are noteworthy for their truncated conical tops with concave sides placed atop narrow legs. Two stelae occasionally write horizontally oriented signs vertically,³³ perhaps as a space-saving measure. Others have additional inscriptional oddities including confused signs, reverse orientation, and the sporadic use of hieratic.

COMMENTS. Many of these stelae belong to the same family group (ANOC), as shown by Simpson, but additionally, the figural areas of Louvre C 3, C 19, and Munich ÄS 33 are clearly by the same artisan,³⁴ who also carved the inscription. This is one of the earliest of the Abydene schools and differs from the approximately contemporary (or

³⁰ W. Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, pp. 75–76.

³¹ For a discussion of these breads see Vernus, *RdE* 25 (1973), p. 230.

³² For comments on the oils, *ibid.*, p. 230.

³³ On Louvre C 1 several *n*'s () and one *r* () are oriented vertically and there is one vertical *n* on CG 20756. This occurs occasionally on stelae outside this workshop as well.

³⁴ The presence of the same hand on Munich ÄS 33 and Louvre C 3 was already noted by Simpson in Vernus, *RdE* 25 (1973), p. 230.

slightly earlier) “Colorful Theban Group” in its lengthier inscriptions and, not surprisingly given its Abydene provenance, in both the mention of Osiris and the inclusion of his multiple epithets. Also, incised linear details replace the painted ones of the “Colorful Theban Group.”

WORKSHOP NO. 4. VERTICAL CURLS AND FLOWER

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
Cairo, CG 20256 ^a (fig. 4a)	—	—	—
Berkeley, Hearst 93 ^b (fig. 4b)	—	—	—
London, BM 560 ^c (fig. 4c)	Abydos (Anastasi)	—	—
Cairo, CG 20516 ^d	Abydos	Year 30, Amenemhat I/ Year 10, Sesostris I	—

^a Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XIX.

^b H. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California* (Leipzig, 1927), pl. 47, where it was considered to be of “spurious origin.”

^c *HTBM II* (London, 1912), p. 10 and pl. 35.

^d Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XXXV.

DATE RANGE. All of the stelae in this group are stylistically and epigraphically similar, as described below. The presence of the cartouches of Amenemhat I and Sesostris I on CG 20516 therefore dates the group.

RELIEF STYLE. All were carved in sunk relief. Incised detailing is mainly restricted to male wigs and flowers. Males are canonically correct, or nearly so. Women’s torsos and arms are often attenuated.

SHARED ATTRIBUTES. Men wearing close-fitting wigs meticulously incised with rigid vertical rows of individual curls, and women carrying straight-sided lotus flowers with short stems are among the many unifying characteristics of this group. Almond-shaped eyes without incised cosmetic lines or eyebrows, pointed noses, small straight mouths, and relatively large ears with distinct inner ridges are also shared. Of the three member stelae of this group which have offering tables (CG 20516, CG 20256 and Hearst 93), the overall design is very similar. Each table, for example, exhibits the unusual feature of a leg with its extra ring at the bottom and top. The latter two stelae also share a meat offering of roughly heart shape with a projection at the top, a shape seldom found on stelae.



Fig. 4a. Cairo, CG 20256, stela of *Nb.it.f*. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

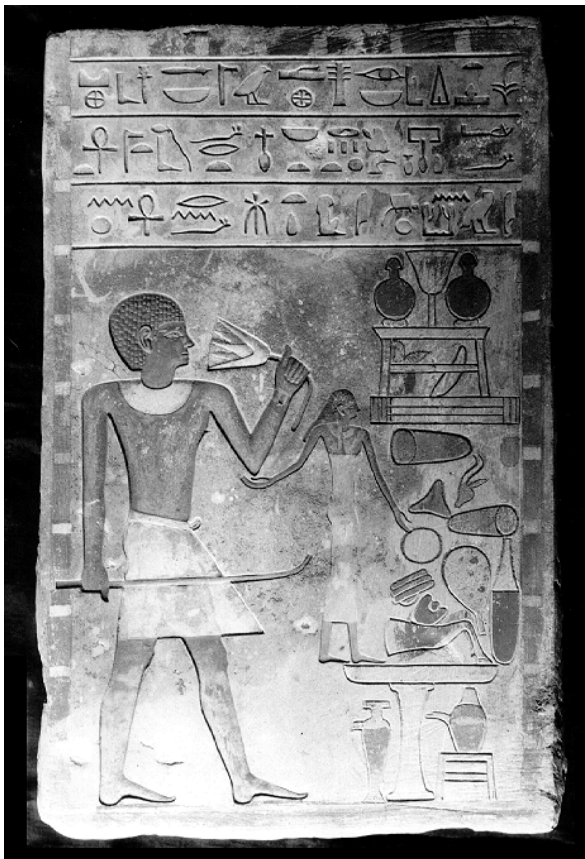


Fig. 4b. Berkeley, Hearst 93, stela of *Itj(?)*. Courtesy Phoebe Hearst (formerly Lowie) Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley.

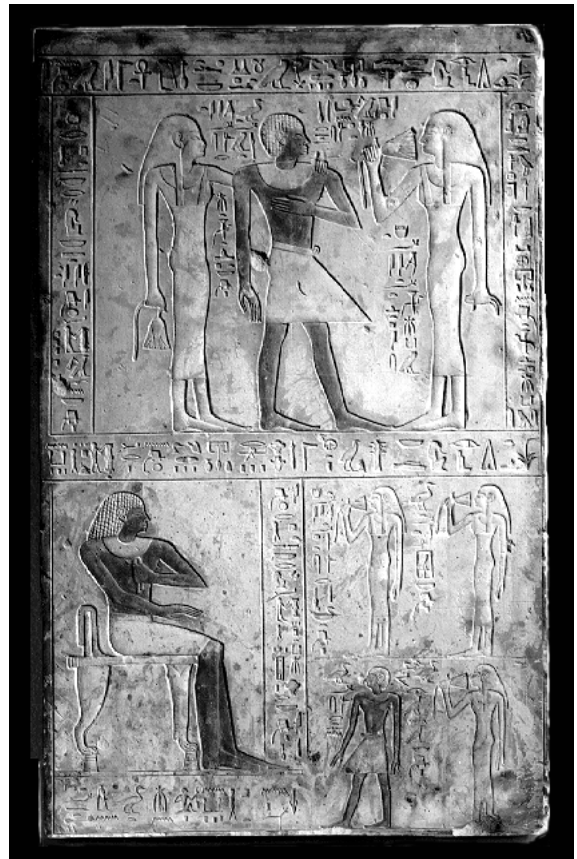


Fig. 4c. London, BM 560, stela of *Nht-hrw* and *Pth-ksw*. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

COMMENTS. In relief style, attributes, and epigraphy these stelae are strikingly similar, and it is not out of the question that they were all made by the same artist. Many of the stelae exhibit a slight awkwardness in execution, particularly in the proportions of female figures. Various body parts are either too long, too thin, or too fleshy, as if the sculptor was unfamiliar with any canon of proportion. This awkwardness can also be seen in the off-center table leg and mat on Hearst 93, a feature that undoubtedly contributed to the initial belief that the piece was spurious.³⁵ The offerings radiating out from a central point on the table of CG 20256 is also unusual. Further, the arrangement of hieroglyphs on many of the stelae in this workshop is uneven. All of these things suggest they were made during a period of experimentation, as one might expect at the beginning of Dynasty 12 at a site like Abydos, which had previously lacked a strong tradition of stela production. For Late Eleventh and Early Dynasty 12 parallels to the curved stick on Hearst 93, see note 14 above.

WORKSHOP NO. 5. PACKED OFFERINGS GROUP

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
London, BM 152 ^a (fig. 5a)	Salt Collection	"Year 10"	—
Cairo, CG 20315 ^b (fig. 5b)	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, JE 36420 ^c (fig. 5c)	Aswan	—	—
Detroit 81.4 ^d (fig. 5d)	—	—	—

^a *HTBM* II, pl. 34.

^b Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XXIV. Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 343 ascribes this stela to "Anfang 12. Dynasty."

^c Freed, "Relief Style Amenemhat I," p. 76 and fig. 7.

^d Unpublished.

DATE RANGE. Late Amenemhat I to early Sesostri I. No stela in this group is dated by cartouche, but one (BM 152) has a year date of ten. On the basis of its style and organization (see below under comments), it is most likely to be Year 10 of Sesostri I. Other stelae in this workshop exhibit strong stylistic similarities to BM 152. Additionally the contents of the tomb in which Cairo, JE 36420 was found, including the coffin, have recently been attributed to Amenemhat I.³⁶

³⁵ Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles*, p. 9 and pl. 47.

³⁶ H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata. A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (Leuven, 1995), pp. 21–25, esp. p. 25.

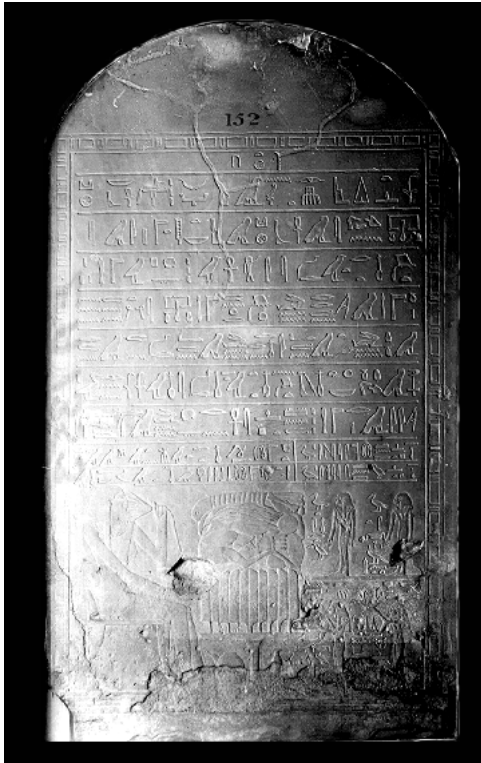


Fig. 5a. London, BM 152, stela of *Nfr-twt*. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 5b. Cairo, CG 20315, stela of *Nht*. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

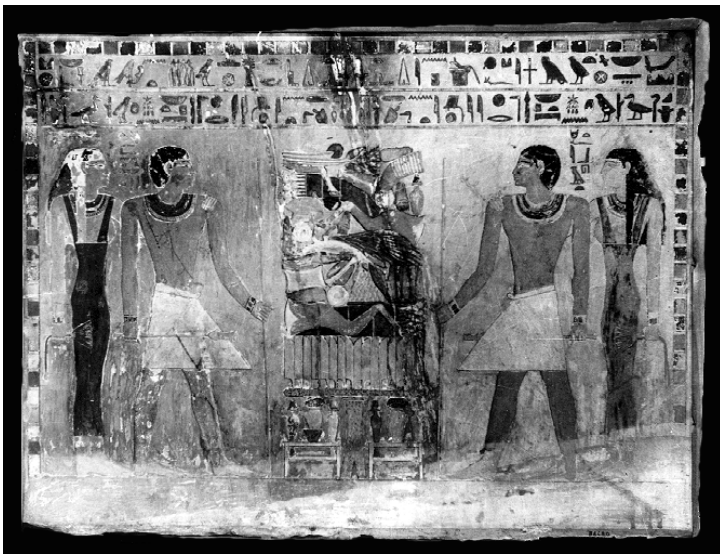


Fig. 5c. Cairo, JE 36420, stela of *Msnw*. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig. 5d. Detroit 81.4, stela of *Hty*. Courtesy Founders Society, Detroit Institute of Arts Founders Society Purchase, Hill Memorial Fund and Contribution from an Anonymous Donor.

STYLE. All were carved in low, flat raised relief. Interior modeling was used sparingly and skillfully, especially to highlight leg muscles and facial features. Interior detailing is restricted to jewelry and the essential elements of offerings. Figures are canonically correct.

SHARED ATTRIBUTES. On all members of this group, the offerings are artificially compressed, forming a compact, rigidly rectilinear unit. Also, the offerings are balanced on reed leaves with overly tall stems arranged on distinctive, split-foot splayed-leg tables. The tables additionally feature an extra ring between the leg and the table top. At least one spoutless *hs* vase and a libation set lies below the table. The strict academic symmetry apparent in JE 36420 may also have been present in CG 20315, which is damaged.

COMMENTS. The low, flat relief style and rigidly symmetrical composition which characterizes all the stelae in this group support a date in the reign of Amenemhat I.³⁷ At this time artisans had not yet achieved the sophistication of stelae carving or subtlety of detail which appears later in the reign of Sesostri I (see workshops following). Cairo JE 36420 was found in Aswan, but because it bears such a striking resemblance to other stelae in this group, one of which comes from Abydos, it seems likely the Aswan stela was also made in Abydos.³⁸

WORKSHOP NO. 6. LARGE MALE

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
Paris, Louvre C 2 ^a	Abydos	Year 9, Sesostri I	ANOC 29.1
Paris, Louvre C 34 ^b (fig. 6a)	Abydos	datable, Amenemhat I/ Sesostri I	ANOC 29.2
Cairo, CG 20473 ^c	Abydos	datable, Amenemhat I/ Sesostri I	ANOC 29.3
Cairo, CG 20474 ^d	Abydos	datable, Amenemhat I/ Sesostri I	ANOC 29.4
Leiden V 2 ^c (fig. 6b)	Abydos (Anastasi)	Year 9, Sesostri I	—

³⁷ Freed, "Relief Style Amenemhat I."

³⁸ One other stela, now Cleveland 21.1017, was also found in this tomb, but it, as well as other early Twelfth Dynasty reliefs from Aswan, differs stylistically from this stela. Detlef Franke excludes it from his Elephantine workshop but assigns it, as well as a few other Elephantine reliefs, to "Königlichen Residenz-Handwerkern," cf. *Heqaib*, p. 107.

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
London, BM 558 ^f (fig. 6c)	Abydos (Anastasi)	—	—
London, BM 587 ^g (fig. 6d)	Abydos (Anastasi)	—	—
London, BM 585 ^h (fig. 6e)	Abydos (Anastasi)	—	—

^a Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 19 and pl. 44.

^b *Ibid.*, p. 19 and pl. 43.

^c *Ibid.*, p. 19 and pl. 45 top.

^d *Ibid.*, *Terrace*, p. 19 and pl. 45 bottom.

^e P. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden* (Den Haag, 1909), pl. 7.

^f *HTBM* II (London, 1912), pl. 14.

^g *Ibid.*, pl. 36.

^h *HTBM* III (London, 1912), pl. 31.

DATE RANGE. Late Amenemhat I to Sesostri I. Undated stelae are dated on the basis of family relationship to dated examples or on the basis of relief style. Offering formulae incorporate the classic hallmarks of the first half of Dynasty 12.³⁹

RELIEF STYLE. These stelae exhibit mainly raised relief, the height of which varies from low and flat to a higher, more rounded surface. Modeling is particularly noticeable on the face, torso and legs. Incised interior detailing is sparingly and artfully used, particularly on wigs and offerings. All figures are canonical.

SHARED ATTRIBUTES. The dominant presence of a male figure, usually alone and standing, unites most of these stelae. On many, naturalistically rendered rolls of fat and a sagging breast symbolize prosperity. Offerings are organized into a discreet area. Although they fill the available space, they are only loosely balanced, rather than being artificially compressed, as they are in the "Packed Offerings Group" above. A conspicuously large eye may be further highlighted by delicately incised lines or shallow depressions rendered above, below, and sometimes encircling the orbit.

COMMENTS. The hands of master artisans are evident on a number of these stelae. For example, subtle modeling sets off the abdomen and back muscles of the owner of Leiden V 2, and the neck muscle of the deceased in Louvre C 34. Often the contrast between shallow and more deeply carved incised detailing creates an almost three-dimensional ef-

³⁹ Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941), pp. 77–82. G. Rosati, "Note e proposte per la datazione delle stele del Medio Regno," *OrAnt* 19 (1980), pp. 269–78, and most recently Obsomer, "Critères de datation," pp. 163–200.



Fig. 6a. Paris, Louvre C 34, stela of *Hr*.
Courtesy Musée du Louvre; photo
Chuzeville.

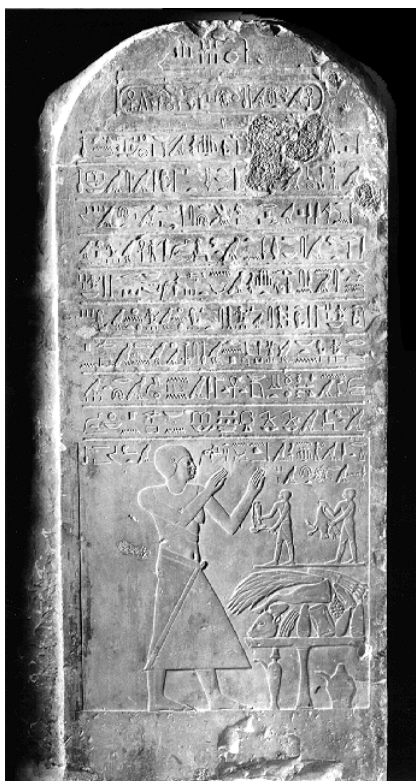


Fig. 6b. Leiden V 2, stela of *M-hst*. Cour-
tesy of Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

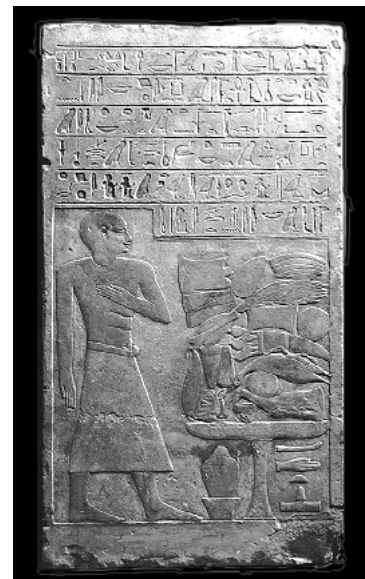


Fig. 6c. London, BM 558, stela of
Bmky. Courtesy Trustees of the
British Museum



Fig. 6d. London, BM 587, stela of *Imn-m-hst*. Courtesy Trustees of
the British Museum.



Fig. 6e. London, BM 585, stela of *Ss-rmwtt*. Courtesy
Trustees of the British Museum.

fect. Nowhere is it more beautifully done than on the feathered wings and webbed feet of the duck on BM 585. There is also a sense of playfulness in the way the duck's tail on BM 558 overlaps the side border and in the manner that the foot of a figure on Louvre C 34 steps into the inscription.

CG 20473 and CG 20474 are wall reliefs. The many stylistic similarities between them and Louvre C 2 indicate that they were carved by the same hand.⁴⁰ On BM 558 and BM 587 the similar faces and naturalistically rendered hair (including the hint of sideburns), also suggest they were executed by the same artist.

Overall, the provincial, folk art quality of many earlier stelae is absent in this group, but there is still a playfulness seen in the experimentation with surface textures and the violation of borders. All of these stelae appear to have come from Abydos and were most likely made there by an experienced, well established school.

WORKSHOP NO. 7. INCISED FALSE DOOR

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
Cairo, CG 20515 ^a (fig. 7a)	Abydos	Year 10, Sesostris I	ANOC 30.1
Cairo, CG 20751 ^b	Abydos	datable, Sesostris I	ANOC 30.3
Cairo, CG 20263 ^c	Abydos	datable, Sesostris I "	"ANOC 30"
Berlin 1192 ^d (fig. 7b)	Abydos	Year 14, Sesostris I	ANOC 31.2
Cairo, CG 20470 ^e	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20088 ^f	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20708 ^g	Abydos	—	—
Paris, Louvre C 32 ^h (fig. 7c)	—	—	—
Leiden V 85 ⁱ (fig. 7d)	—	—	—
Cairo, CG 20524 ^j	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20525 ^k	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20400 ^l	Abydos	—	—
Berkeley, Hearst 5-352 ^m	—	—	—

^a Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 19 and pl. 46.

^b *Ibid.*, p. 19 and pl. 47 bottom.

⁴⁰ As noted by Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 4, n. 25.

^c Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XX. This stela was added to ANOC 30 by H. de Meulenaere in his review of Simpson, *Terrace*, in *CdE* 52 (1977), p. 80.

^d Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 19 and pl. 49.

^e Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XXXIII.

^f *Ibid.*, pl. VIII.

^g *Ibid.*, pl. LIII.

^h E. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre, Stèles de la XIIIe dynastie* (Paris, 1886), pl. LVII.

ⁱ Boeser, *Beschreibungen*, pl. XI.

^j Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XXXVII.

^k *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII.

^l *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX.

^m R. Fazzini, *Images for Eternity* (Brooklyn, 1975), pp. 54–55.

DATE RANGE. First half of the reign of Sesostri I on the basis of the dated and datable stelae in the group and the stylistic similarity of the undated stelae to the dated examples.

RELIEF STYLE. The stelae in this group exhibit a wide variety of relief styles. Seven out of the thirteen were executed in a low, flat, raised relief. Two combine this type of raised relief with a “silhouette” sunk relief for the minor figures, where not just the outline but the entire figure is depressed considerably below the surface of the background. Two are carved entirely in this sunk relief technique, and one is painted only. Except for the leg muscles, there is virtually no modeling, but incised details, including those articulating anatomical elements, may be abundant. The proportions of all the main figures approximate canonical norm, but there is great variety within the minor figures.

SHARED ATTRIBUTES. A false door incised on the bottom register of five stelae (CG 20470, CG 20515, CG 20088, Hearst 5-352, and Berlin 1192) is the element for which this workshop is named. Two eyes adorn the door’s lintel. Additional attributes shared by other stelae in the group include the enumeration of offerings in the lunette, the arrangement of offerings (especially *hs* jars and libation basins) beneath the offering table, and the placement of a mirror or *b3s* jar beneath the legs of a seated female. Reed leaves on offering tables have almost imperceptible stems. In general, offerings are relatively few and loosely grouped. On or near the top of the offering pile, an over-large lettuce, when present, tends to dwarf other items.

With two exceptions, all stelae feature at least one seated couple (a man and usually his wife, but occasionally his mother or sister). On many raised relief examples, shared details include horizontal registers of curls on male wigs and parallel strands on the wigs of women. Tiny



Fig. 7a. Cairo, CG 20515, stela of *Nht*.
Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig. 7b. Berlin 1192, stela of *Dbw.s*.
Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



Fig. 7d. Leiden V 85, stela of *Hr-hr*.
Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.



Fig. 7c. Paris, Louvre C 32, stela of *Nht-nhy*.
Courtesy Musée du Louvre; photo Chuzeville.

almond-shaped eyes devoid of eyebrows or cosmetic lines, a small nose, either pointed or pug, and a narrow slit mouth are also present.

In addition to the main couple, most of these stelae have one or more registers of auxiliary figures, usually identified as family members. In most instances, they stand with both hands hanging empty at their sides or with one raised in a worshipful gesture. On only a few stelae are auxiliary figures depicted in more active poses or bearing offerings.

COMMENTS. The variety of proportions approximating canonical norm seen on some of these stelae is to be expected in the early years of Dynasty 12 because the bulk of canonical material of the North would have been accessible to court artisans for relatively few years. Low, very flat relief is also characteristic of this time. The custom of clasping a lotus at or near the bottom of its stem (Leiden V 85 and Louvre C 32) is a hold-over from the previous dynasty⁴¹ and is seldom found in Dynasty 12. The facial features of the raised relief stelae are relatively similar to what is seen on stelae dated to Sesostri I's second decade in the long-enduring "Many Active Figures group" (see below). Eyes appear on lintels of false doors in the tomb chapels beginning in the late Old Kingdom.⁴² Berlin 1192, CG 20263, and CG 20751 appear to be by the same hand. Similarly one artisan likely produced, Louvre C 32 and CG 20515, as well as possibly CG 20470. Another hand was responsible for both Leiden V 85 and CG 20524.

WORKSHOP NO. 8. MANY ACTIVE FIGURES

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
Cairo, CG 20026 ^a	Abydos	Year 10, Sesostri I	—
Alnwick 1932 ^b	Abydos	Year 13, Sesostri I	ANOC 31.1
London, BM 586 ^c	—	Year 14, Sesostri I	—
MMA 12.184 ^d (fig. 8a)	Abydos	Year 17, Sesostri I	—
Paris, Louvre C 167 ^e (fig. 8b)	Abydos	Year 25, Sesostri I	ANOC 4.1
Paris, Louvre C 168 ^f	Abydos	datable, Sesostri I	ANOC 4.2

⁴¹ Brovarski, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, pp. 237, 926, and 1039 n. 20.

⁴² A. Rusch, "Die Entwicklung der Grabsteinformen im Alten Reich," *ZÄS* 58 (1923), p. 116.

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
Cairo, CG 20561 ^g	Abydos	datable, Sesostris I	ANOC 4.4
Leiden V 3 ^h (fig. 8c)	Abydos	Year 33, Sesostris I	—
Leiden V 4 ⁱ	Abydos	Year 44, Sesostris I	ANOC 20.1
Turin 1534 ^j (fig. 8d)	—	—	—

^a H. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches I* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 33–34.

^b Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 19 and pl. 48.

^c *HTBM II*, p. 7 and pl. 12.

^d C. Ransom, "The Stela of Menthu-weser," *BMMA* 8 (October, 1913), pp. 216–18 and frontispiece.

^e Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 17 and pl. 10 top, and R. Moss, "Two Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Louvre," in *Studies Presented to F. LL. Griffith* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 310–11 and pl. 47.

^f Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 17 and pl. 10 bottom, and Moss, "Two Middle Kingdom Stelae," pp. 310–11 and pl. 48.

^g Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 17 and pl. 11 bottom.

^h H. Schneider and M. Raven, *Die Egyptische Oudheid* (Leiden, 1981), p. 66, no. 45.

ⁱ Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 18 and pl. 30.

^j *Museo Egizio di Torino. Civiltà' Degli Egizi. Le Credenze Religiose* (Turin, 1988), p. 109, fig. 144–45.

DATE RANGE. Based on the numerous dated examples, and the stylistic similarity of the undated pieces to the dated ones, this workshop must belong in the four last decades of the reign of Sesostris I.

RELIEF STYLE. All member stelae are in relatively high raised relief, which often includes interior modeling, especially in the area of the leg muscles. Incised interior detailing, particularly emphasizing details of offerings and attire, is abundant in some, but in others it is more restrained. All figures are canonical.

SHARED ATTRIBUTES. Attendants carrying an interesting variety of goods, as well as the presence of numerous, well-organized offerings on tables characterize this group. The existence of separate baselines for single figures on CG 20561 and MMA 12.184 and small tables for just a few offerings provide further examples of the organizational tendencies artisans of the group exhibit. The leg of the main table has two variants; it is either slightly concave and narrower at the top with separate rings at top and bottom, or broadly splayed and split at the foot.

The static appearance produced at first glance by the neat spacing of offering bearers with their repetitive gestures (particularly on Louvre C 167, C 168, and Alnwick 1932), is offset, however, by the rich variety of offerings, many of which feature realistic details executed with

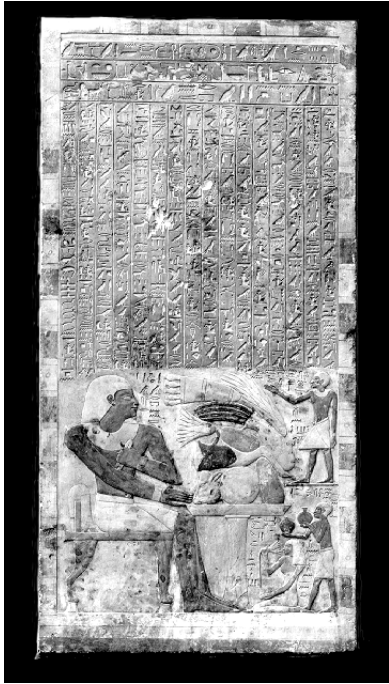


Fig. 8a. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.184, stela of *Mntw-wsr*. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1912.

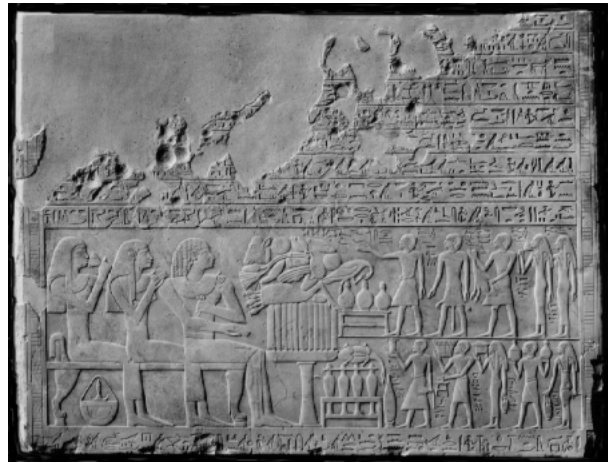


Fig. 8b. Paris, Louvre C 167, stela of *Intf*. Courtesy Musée du Louvre; photo Chuzeville.



Fig. 8c. Leiden V 3, stela of *Intf-ikr*. Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.



Fig. 8d. Turin 1534, stela of *'b-kšw*. Courtesy Museo Egizio-Torino.

minute precision. The net bags in which women carry jars on CG 20561 and Louvre C 167 and the tapered vertical rows of curls on Leiden V 3, V 4 and Turin 1534 provide delightful examples.

Facial features in this group tend to be relatively uniform. Eyes are large and almond-shaped. Brows and cosmetic lines are often executed in paint only, and ears are large and well defined. Especially on the minor figures, the elongated and at times aquiline nose above a tiny upturned mouth produces a profile with a slightly compressed appearance.

COMMENTS. The dated stelae in the group demonstrate the tendency for relief to become higher and more plastically modeled as the reign progresses. Stela format has now become relatively standardized, and although the overall organization is similar in earlier groups (for example compare CG 20561 to MMA 65.269 in the “Few Standing Figures Group,” or MMA 12.184 to BM 152 in the “Packed Offerings Group”), there is often now a polished sophistication which sets them apart from the somewhat provincial awkwardness and forced organization of earlier examples. Both the overall design and the exquisitely carved details of these stelae bear eloquent testimony to the skill of their artisans, who, one might conjecture, were now part of a thriving community of artisans at Abydos. It is likely that CG 20561, Louvre C 167,⁴³ Louvre C 168, MMA 12.184 and Alnwick 1932 were carved by the same artist. Similarly, Turin 1534, Leiden V 3 and Leiden V 4 may be a product of the same hand.

WORKSHOP NO. 9. ELONGATED SKULL

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
London, BM 572 ^a	Abydos	Year 39, Sesostris I	ANOC 5.1
London, BM 562 ^b	Abydos	Sesostris I	ANOC 5.3
London, BM 581 ^c	Abydos	datable, Sesostris I	ANOC 5.2
Cairo, CG 20539 ^d	Abydos	Sesostris I	—
Boston, MFA 1980.173 ^e (fig. 9a) (false door)	—	Sesostris I/ Amenemhat II	—
Munich GL. WAF 35 ^f	—	Year 13, Amenemhat II	ANOC 20.2
London, BM 571 ^g	Abydos (Anastasi)	—	—

⁴³ Simpson also ascribes CG 20561, Louvre C 167, and C 168 to the same hand (Simpson, *Terrace*, p.4, n. 25).

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
Vienna 90 ^h (fig. 9b)	—	datable late Sesostris I/ early Amenemhat II	—
Cairo, CG 20425 ⁱ	Abydos	—	—
Kansas City 33–16 ^j (fig. 9c)	—	—	—
Cairo, CG 20592 ^k	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20456 ^l	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20458 ^m	Abydos	—	ANOC 24.1
Cairo, CG 20033 ⁿ (fig. 9d)	Abydos	—	ANOC 24.2
London, BM 564 ^o	Abydos	—	ANOC 24.3

^a Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 17 and pl. 12.

^b *Ibid.*, p. 17 and pl. 12.

^c *Ibid.*, p. 17 and pl. 12.

^d Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pls. XLI–XLII and S. Sauneron, “Les Deux statues de Mentuhotep,” *Karnak V 1970–1972* (Cairo, 1975), p. 72 and pl. XXVIII.

^e W. K. Simpson, “Mentuhotep, Vizier of Sesostris I, Patron of Art and Architecture,” *MDAIK* 47 (1991), pp. 331–40 and pl. 47.

^f Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 18 and pl. 30, right.

^g *HTBM* II, pl. 16.

^h W.K. Simpson, “The Steward Iey’s Son Anhurhotpe in Vienna (Stela Inv. 90) and the Reisner Papyri,” *SAK* 11 (1984), pp. 157–64, where the stela is dated on the basis of the owner’s presence in the Reisner Papyri.

ⁱ Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XXX.

^j *Handbook of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art* (Kansas City, 1933), p. 116, lower left.

^k Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XLVII. In Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 778 the stela is ascribed to “ca. Sesostris I” and “Anfang/Mitte 12. Dynastie.”

^l Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XXXII.

^m Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 18 and pl. 36 right.

ⁿ *Ibid.*, p. 18 and pl. 36 bottom.

^o *Ibid.*, p. 18 and pl. 36.

DATE RANGE. Late Sesostris I through early Amenemhat II, based on dated examples and the stylistic similarity of the undated stelae to the dated ones. Also *n imꜥḥ* (rather than *n kꜥ n imꜥḥ*) on many of these stelae is an expression found only rarely after Amenemhat II.⁴⁴

RELIEF STYLE. On all of these stelae, the relief style is quite distinctive. They were carved in sunk relief made by cutting a deep outline, and (in most instances) rounding the surface of the cut inward and up to background level, so that little of the interior of a figure or object was

⁴⁴ Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941), p. 79, and later, A. Obsomer, “Critères de datation,” pp. 186–87.

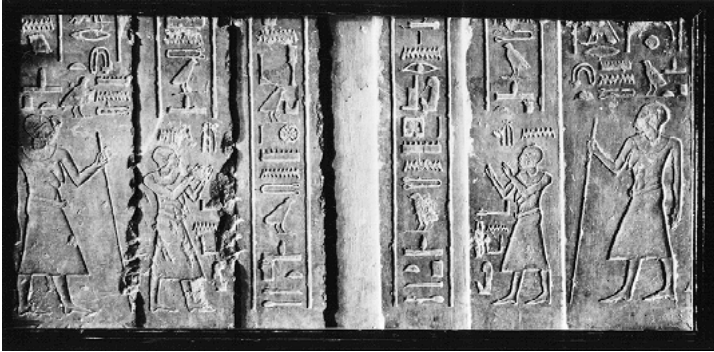


Fig. 9a. Boston, MFA 1980.173, false door of *Mnṯw-ḥtp*. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 9b. Vienna 90, stela of *Iy*. Courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.

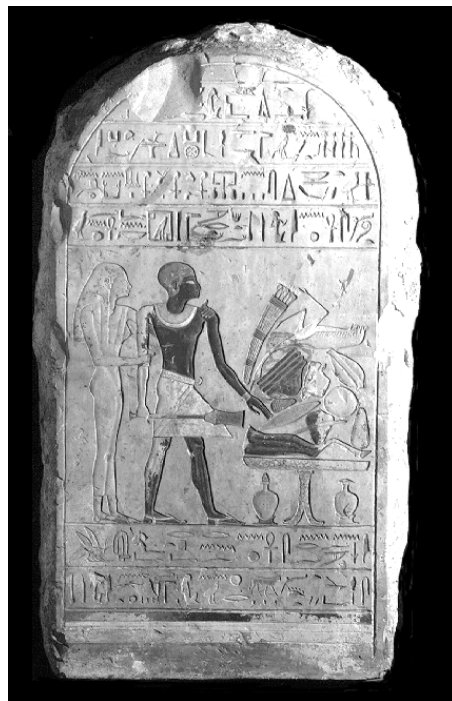


Fig. 9c. Kansas City 33-16, stela of *Sṛnhy*. Courtesy The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri (Purchase: Nelson Trust).



Fig. 9d. Cairo, CG 20033, stela of *Rn-ṛḥ*. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

actually recessed. An elegant attenuation marks many figures, particularly the attendants, but it seems clear this was done deliberately rather than in an unsuccessful attempt to produce canonically correct figures. This elongation is echoed in the exaggerated thinness of many of the offerings and even in the long, narrow shape of many of the stelae themselves. Lyrically curved lines offset the vertical emphasis. This is seen, for example, in the pronounced curve at the back of the skull of males in cap wigs (the feature after which the group was named), the upturned legs of tables, and the curvilinear shape of many of the vessels.

Incised interior detailing is sparse and, for the most part, restricted to offerings. Modeling is used with great skill, particularly to highlight musculature in the arms, legs, abdomen, and even the neck, which is marked by a vertical depression on five stelae in this group.

SHARED ATTRIBUTES. In addition to the pronounced bulge at the back of the head and the deeply split table leg with upturned ends mentioned above, many of these stelae display offerings piled loosely around tables with no pretense of balance, and a wide variety of jar shapes. Generally the number of offerings is quite limited. Male owners are often overweight, and this is represented by abstract horizontal cuts on the chest and a pendant breast. (On only the false door fragment, MFA 1980.173, is this rendered with any degree of naturalism.) Most seated men wear a wrap-around kilt exposing part of the thigh. On women's dresses, a lock of hair substitutes for at least one shoulder strap. The nose is the most prominent facial feature and is either long and decidedly aquiline or comes to a point.

COMMENTS. The large size of this group reflects, at least in part, the increasing demand for stelae at Abydos toward the end of Sesostri's reign. Because of the demand, there is also a tendency toward mass production, and that may account for the wholesale substitution of sunk relief for the more time-consuming raised relief, as well as the absence of meticulously carved detail. Instead, the skill of the artisans is expressed in their use of abstract curvilinear forms, which have their own decorative impact. Simpson noted that BM 572, BM 562, and BM 581 were carved by the same hand.⁴⁵ To this list should be added Vienna 90, Kansas City 33–16, CG 20425, CG 20539, CG 20458, and CG 20456 Recto at least as far as the decorative areas are concerned. It seems likely, however, that in this instance, several different scribes were responsible for the inscriptions.⁴⁶ Based on their epigraphic idio-

⁴⁵ Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 4, n. 25.

⁴⁶ This follows Franke's suggestion that two people, a *sš-kdwt* (draughtsman) and a *gnwty* (sculptor) work on a single stela (Franke, *Elephantine*, p. 105).

syncrasies, it appears one hand “wrote” BM 572, BM 562, and BM 581, while another “wrote” Vienna 90, Kansas City 33–16, CG 20425, and CG 20456 Recto (CG 20539 and CG 20458 appear to have unique “hand-writing” as far as this workshop is concerned.)

WORKSHOP NO. 10. ATTENUATED FIGURES

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
Paris, Louvre C 172 ^a	—	Year 3, Amenemhat II	—
London, BM 828 ^b (fig. 10a)	Abydos (Anastasi)	Year 3, Amenemhat II	—
Berlin 1183 ^c	Abydos	Year 3, Amenemhat II	—
Cairo, CG 20531 ^d	Abydos	Amenemhat II	ANOC 23.1
Paris, Musée Guimet 11324 ^e	Abydos	datable, Amenemhat II	ANOC 23.3
London, BM 576 ^f	—	datable Amenemhat II or later	—
Berlin 1200 ^g (fig. 10b)	—	“Year 24”	—
Cairo, CG 20090 ^h	Abydos	“Year 24”	—
Cairo, CG 20546 ⁱ	Abydos	—	ANOC 2.2
London, BM 162 ^j	Abydos	—	ANOC 2.3
Berlin 1188 ^k (fig. 10c)	Abydos	—	ANOC 8.2
Paris, Louvre C 176 ^l	Abydos	—	ANOC 21.1
Cairo, CG 20526 ^m (fig. 10d)	Abydos	—	ANOC 30.2
Cairo, CG 20567 ⁿ	Abydos	—	ANOC 39.1
Cairo, CG 20568 ^o	Abydos	—	ANOC 39.2
Cairo, CG 20288 ^p	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20063 ^q	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20091 ^r	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20094 ^s	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20139 ^t	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20285 ^u	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20300 ^v	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20566 ^w	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20589 ^x	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20676 ^y	Abydos	—	—
Cairo, CG 20697 ^z	Abydos	—	—

MEMBERS	PROVENANCE	DATE	SIMPSON NO.
Cairo, CG 20750 ^{aa}	Abydos	—	—
London, BM 241 ^{ab} (fig. 10e)	Abydos (Athnasi)	—	—
London, BM 839 ^{ac}	Abydos (Athnasi)	—	ANOC 42.1
London, BM 971 ^{ad} (fig. 10f)	—	—	—
Paris, Louvre C 180 ^{ae}	—	—	—
Paris, Louvre C 181 ^{af}	—	—	—
Paris, Louvre C 184 ^{ag}	—	—	—
Paris, Louvre C 245 ^{ah}	—	—	—
Paris, Musée Guimet 4 ^{ai}	—	—	—
Paris, Musée Guimet 10 ^{aj}	—	—	—
NY, MMA 12.182.1 ^{ak}	—	—	—
Chicago, Oriental Institute 9920 ^{al}	—	—	—
Berlin 7280 ^{am}	—	—	—

^a Mentioned most recently in C. Obsomer, "La date de Nésou-Montou (Louvre C1)," *RdE* 44 (1993), p. 118, n. 58.

^b *HTBM* II, pl. 21, and K. Piehl, "Explication d'une stèle datant du Moyen Empire," *Sphinx* 2 (1898), pp. 131–36.

^c H.W. Müller, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), pl. 33.

^d Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 18 and pl. 35 bottom.

^e *Ibid.*, p. 18 and pl. 35 top.

^f *HTBM* II, pl. 10. The owner of the stela was an *iry-rt* of Amenemhat II.

^g E. Varga and S. Wenig, *Ägyptische Kunst. Sonderausstellung der Ägyptischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Budapest, 1963), p. 9, no. 50 and pl. V. The year date on this stela is crudely incised below the baseline, following a line of hieratic. It may post-date the figural carving.

^h Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. IX. The year date on this stela is at the bottom of a crudely incised column of hieratic. It may be a later addition, as on Berlin 1200.

ⁱ Simpson, *Terrace*, pp. 14–15, 17 and pl. 6 left, and Franke, *Dossiers*, nos. 93, 100, and 379 where the stela is dated "end Amenemhat II" to "somewhat earlier (than Sesostri III)."

^j Simpson, *Terrace*, pp. 15, 17 and pl. 6 right, and Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 100, where the stela is ascribed to "beginning/middle 12th Dyn. (before Sesostri III)."

^k Simpson, *Terrace*, pp. 17, 23 and pl. 17 bottom, and Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 496, where the stela is ascribed to "middle 12th Dyn."

^l Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 18 and pl. 32 upper left, and Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 267, where the stela is ascribed to "beginning of Dynasty 12."

^m Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 19 and pl. 47 top. Simpson dates this stela to Year 10, Sesostri I (*Terrace*, p. 19), based on the fact that its owner, the *sš kd, Nht* is the son of the owner depicted on Cairo CG 20515, which is dated to that time, and Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 338, agrees. I would, nevertheless, argue for a later dating for Cairo CG 20526 on the basis of its stylistic similarities to members of this stelae group (see following paragraphs), which are dated or datable to late Sesostri I – Amenemhat II.

ⁿ Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 20 and pl. 57 left. Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 308 ascribes it to “early/middle Dynasty 12.”

^o Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 20 and pl. 57 right. Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 308 ascribes it to “early/middle Dynasty 12.”

^p Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XXII.

^q *Ibid.*, pl. VI.

^r *Ibid.*, pp. 110–12.

^s *Ibid.*, pl. IX.

^t *Ibid.*, pl. XII.

^u *Ibid.*, pl. XXII.

^v *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII.

^w *Ibid.*, pl. XLV, and Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 566 (“early/middle Dynasty 12”).

^x Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. XLVII.

^y *Ibid.*, pl. LI.

^z *Ibid.*, LIII. A dog sits under the owner’s chair on this stela. Pflüger’s claim that this is not found on stelae after the reign of Sesostri I has been proven incorrect by Obsomer, “Critères de datation,” p. 183, where he cites an example from the reign of Amenemhat II.

^{aa} Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. LVIII.

^{ab} *HTBM* III, pl. 36.

^{ac} Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 20 and pl. 61 left. Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 597 ascribes the stela to Sesostri I.

^{ad} *HTBM* III, pl. 37. Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 345 ascribes it to “beginning 12th Dyn.”

^{ae} Gayet, *Stèles*, pl. XXXV.

^{af} *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI.

^{ag} *Ibid.*, pl. L.

^{ah} Unpublished.

^{ai} A. Moret, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet. Galerie Egyptienne* (Paris, 1909), pl. III.

^{aj} *Musée Guimet*, pl. IX.

^{ak} Hayes, *Scepter* I, pp. 333–34 and fig. 221. Franke, *Dossiers*, no. 391 ascribes it to Sesostri I, and Obsomer, “Critères de datation,” p. 191, places it at the end of the reign of Sesostri I or in the reign of Amenemhat II, based on filiation designated by *ir(t).n*.

^{al} D. Silverman, “The Chamberlain *NJ-SW HJW*,” *Serapis* 3 (1975–76), pp. 35–40 and pl. I.

^{am} I. Müller in Priese, ed., *Ägyptisches Museum*, pp. 56–57, where the provenance is listed as “Abydos?”

DATE RANGE. Late Sesostri I – Amenemhat II. Three stelae are dated by both the King’s name and a year date (see above) to Year 3, Amenemhat II. Another bears that King’s cartouche. (The Year date of 24 found on Berlin 1200 and CG 20090 is, in my opinion, a later addition because in both cases the numerals and their accompanying hieratic signs are crudely incised in comparison with the rest of the text and differ from it in size, and are not placed in an area where an inscription is generally found.) Others in this workshop are stylistically similar (or even by the same artisan) to the dated examples. Franke includes eleven of the non-dated stelae in his *Dossiers*, where he dates them from Sesostri I to late Amenemhat II, including “beginning/middle 12th

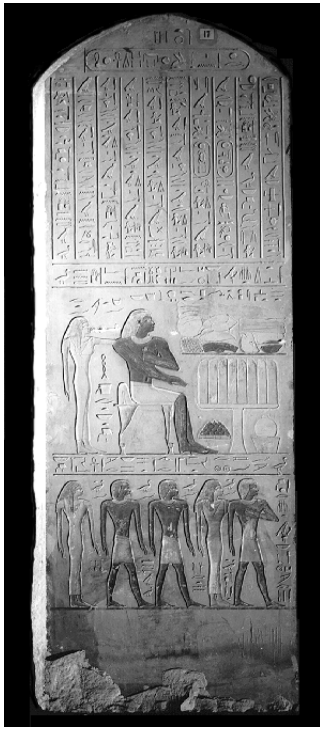


Fig. 10a. London, BM 828, stela of *Sḫ-mntw*. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

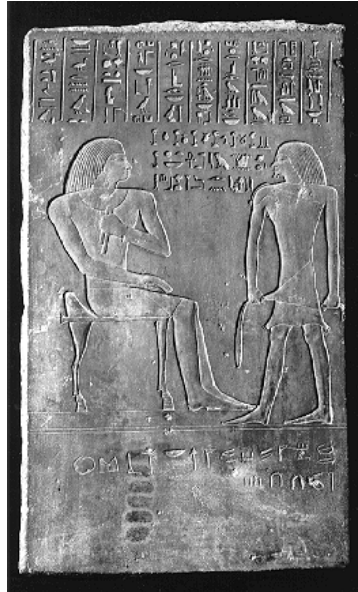


Fig. 10b. Berlin 1200, stela of *Sḫ-rnnwtt*. Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

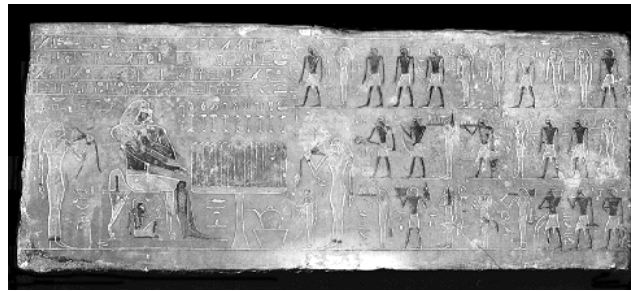


Fig. 10c. Berlin 1188, stela of *Wsr-tsn*. Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



Fig. 10d. Cairo, CG 20526, stela of *Nḫt*. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig. 10e. London, BM 241, stela of *Nḫti* and *Ḥnt-ḥty-ḥtp*. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 10f. London, BM 971, stela of *Mḫ-ḥs-wsr*. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

Dyn." (see Workshop no. 10, notes i–o, w, ac–ad, and ak), on the basis of other sources of information about the people represented.

The presence of the title *nbt-pr* (Woman of the House) on two of the stelae (Berlin 1188 and Guimet 11324), has often been used as an argument for a date of Amenemhat III or later. However, noting the relatively frequent occurrence of the title in the context of dated tombs from the reign of Mentuhotep II on, Obsomer argues for a pre-Amenemhat III date for their appearance on stelae.⁴⁷ Additionally, many of these stelae preface the name of the owner with *n imꜣḥ*, rather than *n kꜣ n imꜣḥ*, which, as noted earlier, is rare after Amenemhat II.⁴⁸ As far as a terminus post quem for this workshop, many of these stelae indicate filiation by *ir(t).n* rather than *ms(t).n*. According to Obsomer, this places them at the end of the reign of Sesostri I at the earliest, or the reign of Amenemhat II.⁴⁹

In short, art historical, philological and administrative criteria all point to a date from Late Sesostri I through Amenemhat II for this workshop.

RELIEF STYLE. The stelae in this group share a strikingly similar carving style. For the most part, they are in sunk relief with an occasional element in raised relief to provide contrast. This is seen, for example, on CG 20566 with the owner and his wife, the main offering table on CG 20091 and CG 20094, and a pile of offerings on Oriental Institute 9920 and BM 576. There is an angularity evident in the carving, produced by outlining figures and objects with a deep, sharp line, and making a second cut from the interior, which meets the first at approximately a 45° angle. No attempt was made however, to smooth the sharp edge left where the second cut meets the interior surface, as was done in the "Elongated Skull Group."

The angularity is carried over into the shape of the figures, particularly those of the male attendants whose torsos are reduced to a triangle from which thin straight arms hang limply downward. Often the arms, not only of the minor figures, but of the owner and his wife as well, are overly long, and in that sense they are non-canonical. The offering table, the offerings, and even the hieroglyphs (Musée Guimet 10) may assume the same attenuated form. Incised interior detailing and modeling is virtually non-existent on both main and minor figures, although the essential elements of offerings are occasionally indicated, perhaps to identify them.

⁴⁷ Obsomer, "Critères de datation," pp. 166–67, where all the previous discussions are summarized.

⁴⁸ See note 44.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 180–91.

Despite the overall angularity, a number of stelae make use of curves in an ingenious way. On CG 20531, CG 20546 and BM 162, the top few lines of hieroglyphs curve to echo the rounded tops of the stelae themselves.

Even and generally fairly ample spacing of the figures, whether carrying offerings or empty-handed, as well as the tendency toward similar gestures, give these stelae an overall repetitive and somewhat sterile feeling. They are easily recognizable as a group.

SHARED ATTRIBUTES. The majority of stelae in this large group fit into a few basic models. Most commonly the owner, always male, sits while his wife stands some distance behind and clasps him on his far shoulder. A column of inscription between them identifies her. Less commonly he sits alone. On a few stelae only standing figures are shown. The last group is generally devoid of both offerings and an offering formula.⁵⁰

Additionally, most stelae feature six or more family members who stand on subsidiary registers with their arms hanging limp and empty-handed at their sides. Most are identified by their relationship to the stela owner. Occasionally, attendants bring one or two items of food or drink, and this contrasts sharply with the more heavily laden offering bearers seen on stelae from other workshops, for example, in the "Incised False Door Group."

Seated males most often wear a closely wrapped kilt which extends to their knees. Standing males wear a kilt of similar length, but with an overlapped front flap projecting forward in a triangle, and the interior edge hanging in an elongated triangle pendant between the legs. Male wigs generally fall into two categories; one type falls in a gentle curve from the forehead to well below shoulder level and is occasionally decorated with parallel horizontal striations. On the other type, a horizontal line extends beyond the profile and delineates bangs. The rest of the hair falls in a pronounced curve from in front of the ear to just below the shoulders.

Women wear sheath dresses on which both shoulder straps are generally indicated. The straps increase dramatically in width from shoulder to bodice, forming a wide "V" which is bisected by a lock of hair.

A concave-leg offering table supporting stemless reed leaves is a prominent feature of this group. The leaves may be either wide-bladed,

⁵⁰ Presumably another element of the offering chapel would have contained an offering formula. For a discussion of these stelae particularly as individual components of Abydene stela chapels, see Simpson, *Terrace*, p. 15.

usually eight in number, or tall and narrow, in bundles of as many as sixteen. To its right, and beneath or beside it may rest a tall *hs* jar or libation set. To the left of the table leg, *dbꜣt-ꜥtp* (offerings) is frequently inscribed, and above, often *ḥꜣ* (thousand) signs accompany the hieroglyphs for the foods and material goods enumerated in the offering formula. Less often, a thin mat or a low table placed above or beside the reed leaves contains additional items.

COMMENTS. The “Attenuated Figures Group” is both the largest and chronologically the latest of the workshops presented here. Its member stelae are also the most homogeneous in both relief style and attributes. There is less variation in the positions of figures and greater spacing among them. There is also a tendency toward carelessness which is particularly noticeable in the angular cutting of the minor figures. The compositions are generally spare, including few offerings and showing little attention to individual detail. Although they are not unappealing, their simplicity and overall sameness suggests that they were hastily carved.

Within that uniformity, a few individual hands may nevertheless be noted. Clearly CG 20546 and BM 162, (both ANOC 2) were carved by the same artist, who may have also carved BM 839, Berlin 1188, CG 20091, CG 20094, CG 20285, and CG 20531.

Similarly, CG 20567 and CG 20568 (both ANOC 39), are from the same hand,⁵¹ also possibly responsible for Louvre C 172. Another hand carved CG 20091 and CG 20285. Another: CG 20090, Berlin 1200, and Guimet 11324. Another: CG 20526. Another: Berlin 1183, Louvre C 176, Louvre C 181, BM 576, and BM 828. Another: BM 241, Louvre C 180, and Guimet 10. Another: Oriental Institute 9920, CG 20697, and BM 576.

Because so many more stelae have survived from this workshop than from any other, because so many individual hands can be identified, and because the variation in composition and attention to detail and execution is so dramatically reduced, one may infer that by the reign of Amenemhat II a greater demand for stelae has led to short cuts in the stela-making process. These shortcuts include the widespread use of sunk relief, the sameness of pose, a lack of time-consuming intricate details, and an overall simplicity of format. Moreover, a number of stelae contain names and titles in hieratic (CG 20090) or in hieroglyphs that seem cursorily rendered compared to the hieroglyphs of the offering formula (CG 20300), or to precisely executed figural carving (CG 20139).

⁵¹ Ibid.

This suggests that at least some stelae were now available from a ready-made, generic stock, which could be personalized after purchase.

On the basis of the dated stelae, this workshop endured for at least twenty years.

CONCLUSION

In addition to what they show us about the make-up of stela workshops, private stelae from the reigns of Amenemhat I, Sesostris I, and Amenemhat II provide a rich illustration of the art historical creativity of the time and mirror its political changes.

Of the 123 stelae in this study, twenty-three are dated by cartouche, thirteen are datable on the basis of the identity of their owners or specific aspects of style, attributes, or inscriptional information, and an additional eighty-seven are attributed to a given reign (or reigns) based on their inclusion in a dated or datable workshop. When not only dated stelae, but also stelae in dated or datable workshops are considered, much more material is available from which trends may be observed.

Stela workshops discussed here fall roughly into three groups, corresponding approximately to the three reigns. The earliest workshops, specifically the "Colorful Theban Group" and "Few Standing Figures Group" were headquartered at Thebes, where the capital was presumably still located. The former follows very closely the style of painting and relief found in the tombs of the royal courtiers, Dagy and Meketre, believed to date to the reign of Mentuhotep III and Amenemhat I respectively.⁵² It is possible both workshops were established in Dynasty 11 and continued into Dynasty 12. Whether or not the earliest member stelae were made in Dynasty 11, their debt to the post-reunification style is readily discernible. Although both groups may be contemporary, the "Few Standing Figures Group" bears the stamp of Northern influence in its relief style, and it is this style that prevails, with some modification, well into the reign of Sesostris I.

When the capital moved northward to *It-tawy*, it appears that the center of stela production also shifted northward, but only as far as Abydos. Regardless of whether it preceded the move, it is not surprising that the "Fleshy Features Group," probably the earliest Abydene workshop, reflects a Theban influence in its occasional non-canonical proportions.

It is noteworthy that fully seven stelae included here are dated by cartouche and year date to Year 9 or 10 of the reign of Sesostris I. These seven stelae belong to five different workshops ("Fleshy Features," "Ver-

⁵² See discussion on p. 302 of this article and especially n. 15.

tical Curls and Flower," "Large Male," "Incised False Door," and "Many Active Figures"), and they clearly demonstrate the extent of experimentation and creativity that followed the move northward and the royal building projects a new capital and necropolis demanded. At no point later in the dynasty does such a diversity of styles exist at the same time.

Politically, the middle years of the reign of Sesostri I were a time of stability, and stela workshops appear to have flourished. Although different workshops are identifiable, there is also much more similarity among them, particularly in relief style, than previously. The mature raised relief style of Sesostri I (seen particularly in the "Large Male," "Incised False Door," and "Many Active Figure" workshops) is higher, thereby permitting more plastic modeling. On the face of the owner of Leiden V, 2, for example ("Large Male" workshop), a depression surrounds the eye, parallels the nose, and separates the face from the neck. A fold of flesh marks the corner of the nostril. Such realistic modeling is often accompanied by delicate touches of incised detail, as the feathering of a duck's wing on British Museum 585 in the "Large Male Group," and the painstakingly executed jars carried in net bags on Louvre C 167 or Cairo, CG 20561 (both in the "Many Active Figures" workshop). These skillfully executed touches demonstrate a confidence derived from experience in relief carving. Virtually all include canonical figures.

The combination of plastic modeling and finely incised detailing which unites the Abydene workshops after the first decade of Sesostri I's reign is characteristic of both royal and private works of the same period made elsewhere. On the White Chapel of Sesostri I at Thebes, for example, the reliefs are covered with painstakingly incised detail.⁵³ The face of the nomarch Ukh-hotep in his tomb at Meir⁵⁴ is marked by plastic modeling similar to what is seen on Leiden V 2. Although reliefs from each region maintain some of their own idiosyncrasies, these broad characteristics bear testimony to a trend toward country-wide artistic unity.

There is also a tendency for the content of a stela to be more complex at this time and to feature more figures in a greater variety of poses. For example, Leiden V 4 from the "Many Active Figures" workshop shows figures in a series of "action poses," one mashing grain, another trussing a bull, and numerous male and female attendants bringing a wide variety of offerings. The "Incised False Door Group" is so named because of the inclusion, on four of its member stelae, of a complete

⁵³ P. Lacau and H. Chévrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostri I à Karnak* (Cairo, 1951), plates.

⁵⁴ A. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir II* (London, 1915), pl. XXXV, no. 1, for example.

false door in miniature in the center of the bottom register. The combination of the false door, the offering bearers, and the scenes of daily life means that most of the repertoire of an entire chapel is included within these stelae.

In the reign of Amenemhat II, the high, plastic modeling, intricate detailing, and complex compositions which characterize the workshops flourishing under Sesostri I give way to a less detailed, more mechanical style, probably as the result of increased demand. This is seen particularly in the "Elongated Skull" and "Attenuated Figures" workshops. All those stelae were executed in sunk relief, which is both easier and faster to carve than raised relief. In the latter workshop particularly, not only is the amount of detailing reduced, but there are fewer figures and fewer offerings. The repertoire of poses is limited, and generally the figures assume more passive positions, thereby demanding less creativity on the part of the artisans. By far the largest workshop, with thirty-nine stelae carved by several identified hands, the "Attenuated Figures Group" exhibits a decided carelessness with regard to the canon, each artisan seeming to have his own variant. Accordingly, within the same workshop, legs, arms, torsos, and necks may be too long or too short, or too fat or too thin, particularly on the minor figures.

No workshop can be dated exclusively to the reign of Sesostri II, although it is not out of the question that the "Attenuated Figures" workshop continued that late. Following that reign, the production of stelae, like pottery, grave goods, and many other aspects of the material life of Egyptian society underwent significant changes reflecting the wholesale reorganization of the country that occurred under Sesostri III, and the new world vision that was promulgated.⁵⁵



⁵⁵ For an overview of these changes and their reasons, see J. Bourriau, "Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom," in S. Quirke, ed., *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, Surrey, 1991), pp. 3–20, especially pp. 10–12.

Notions of Cosmos in the Step Pyramid Complex



FLORENCE DUNN FRIEDMAN

I OFFER THIS CONTRIBUTION WITH MUCH GRATITUDE TO PROF. WILLIAM Kelly Simpson for his encouragement and interest in my study of the Step Pyramid complex.

That notions of cosmos can be elucidated by the architectural and sculptural program of the Step Pyramid complex rests on recent work on the relief panels of King Djoser found under the pyramid and south tomb,¹ the results of which are reviewed below.²

The Step Pyramid complex, oriented north–south, was constructed for Djoser, known exclusively at this time by his Horus name Netjerykhet (*Ntry-ḥt*), meaning the Divine,³ or Most Divine One of the Corporation (of gods),⁴ this being the earliest royal appellation that identifies a king with the notion of *ntr*.⁵ Djoser's funerary complex, built during his reign of 19⁶ (but possibly as long as 30)⁷ years, underwent numerous alterations and expansions, some possibly intended from the start,⁸ revealing in part the deliberate adoption and revision of many

¹ F.D. Friedman, "The Underground Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex," *JARCE* 32 (1995), pp. 1–42.

² A modified version of this paper was delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Atlanta, April, 1995.

³ J. Baines, "Origins of Egyptian Kingship," in D. O'Connor and D.P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1995), p. 143.

⁴ E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, English translation by John Baines (Ithaca, New York, 1982), pp. 46, 221–22.

⁵ Baines, "Origins," p. 143; but note that Hornung, *Conceptions*, pp. 44–46, gives nineteen private Early Dynastic names (cited from P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* [Wiesbaden, 1963], pt. 3 and idem, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* [Wiesbaden, 1966], pp. 40–41) that are construed with *ntr*.

⁶ According to the Turin Papyrus, he had a nineteen-year reign: J. von Beckerath, "Djoser," *LÄ* I, col. 1111.

⁷ N. Swelim, "Rollspiegel, Pierre de Taille and an Update on a King and Monument List of the Third Dynasty," in Ulrich Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt, Studies Presented to László Kákosy*, *Studia Aegyptiaca* XIV (Budapest, 1992), p. 551. A thirty-year reign seems more likely given the size and complexity (both above and below ground) of his funerary monument.

⁸ J.-Ph. Lauer, "Sur certaines modifications et extensions apportées au complexe funéraire de Djoser," in J. Baines et al., eds., *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (London, 1988), p. 11.

earlier architectural forms and their attendant meanings. Perhaps the most significant architectural adoptions and revisions are the use of the rectangular Abydos enclosure form, with antecedents in the early First Dynasty (Djer),⁹ and the mimicking, in the placement of the original mastaba, of Khasekhemwy's placement of a mound in the northwest quadrant of his Second Dynasty enclosure (the antecedents for which may go back to the Temple of Hierakonpolis).¹⁰ Numerous other adoptions and revisions draw on Saqqara as well as Abydos traditions.¹¹

Djoser's complex is located on the highest ground of the Saqqara plateau,¹² suggesting a desire to incorporate into his funerary monument the regenerative notion of the primeval hill, a mythological form also manifested in the pyramid. This great rectangular complex is surrounded by a niched palace wall enclosing structures that include the pyramid, heb sed court to the east, the south tomb below the southern wall, and a great *wsḥt*-broad court to the south of the pyramid, in which were two sets of territorial markers around which Djoser was understood (as illustrated on the underground reliefs) to have run as part of the sed festival.

Statues played a major role in the complex, where they appear to have been vehicles for regeneration.¹³ Abundant niches suggest that much statuary, most now lost, originally filled the architecture, including the famous statue base with the king's feet subjugating the Nine Bows and the *rḥyt*,¹⁴ a typical palace theme akin to the smiting scene, the subject of which is underscored by the limestone heads of foreign prisoners also found in the entrance colonnade.¹⁵ The statue—of which

⁹ D. O'Connor, "New Funerary Enclosures (*Talbezirke*) of the Early Dynastic Period at Abydos," *JARCE* 26 (1989), p. 81.

¹⁰ D. O'Connor, "The Status of Early Egyptian Temples," in R. Friedman and B. Adams, eds., *The Followers of Horus, Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 85–86.

¹¹ See most recently W. Kaiser, "Zur unterirdischen Anlage der Djoserpyramide und ihrer entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung," in *Gegengabe: Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 168–90; Lauer, "Sur certaines modifications..." pp. 5–11; and Friedman, *JARCE* 32, esp. pp. 8–10, n. 44. See also B. Adams, *Ancient Nekhen*, Egyptian Studies Association Publication No. 3 (Whitstable, Kent, 1995), pp. 71–72 (refer also to fig. 23) for comparisons of the layout of the complex with that of the Temple of Nekhen at Hierakonpolis and for further comparisons with the Khasekhemwy enclosure at Abydos.

¹² C.M. Firth and J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara: The Step Pyramid* (Cairo, 1935), vol. I, p. 1. For a plan, see Lauer, *La Pyramide à Degrés: L'Architecture* (Cairo, 1936), vol. II, pl. III.

¹³ Cf. D. Arnold's comments on the role of Fifth and Sixth Dynasty pyramid complexes as a site for the victory of the king over his enemies and as a place to ensure his continued existence in the form of his statues: "Rituale und Pyramidentempel," *MDAIK* 33 (1977), esp. pp. 13–14.

¹⁴ Firth and Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, vol. I, pp. 65–66; vol. II, pls. 58–59.

only the base survives—probably stood in a niche in the southeast side of the entrance corridor, an area thought to be a palace of sorts, its form borrowed from late Second Dynasty Abydos enclosures.¹⁶ The subject of the statue base proclaims the usual royal responsibility to dominate, with its cosmic implication that the king, once standing above, is the maintainer of Maat by imposing order over chaos. Using an interpretation of the pedestal inscription based on a Pyramid Text reading, Helck suggests that the king was reborn as an *ꜥḥ* through this statue by means of the effective actions of Horus and Thoth, “the two brothers of *bjtj*,” who he believes are mentioned in the inscription.¹⁷ An even clearer example of statuary as a vehicle for rebirth is the serdab statue to the northeast of the pyramid, which faced the Circumpolar Stars, site of regeneration in the Pyramid Texts.¹⁸

Sculpture once filled the heb sed court, where its shrines, doorways and niches show that statuary, whether of king or gods, was predominantly oriented to the east (on the west side of the court) and to the south (on the east side of the court).¹⁹ These orientations are relevant to our understanding of the relief sculpture beneath the pyramid and south tombs. For about 30 m below and to the east of both the pyramid and South Tomb are corridors that are entered from the north. Each corridor has three doorways that contain relief panels showing the king standing or running. The relief images, each set almost a meter off the ground as though on a pedestal, I believe, are to be understood as statues.²⁰ The perimeter of each doorway is surrounded with the titulary of the king,²¹ while the design of the corridor with recessed doorways recalls his palace facade, the design of which is repeated in a variant and larger form on the enclosure wall above ground.

The subjects of the relief panels (figs. 1a–f) are Djoser’s ritual acts during the Sed festival, as he stands in the shrines of the gods, runs the

¹⁵ For a discussion of these and related heads probably also from the complex, see B.V. Bothmer, “On Realism in Egyptian Funerary Sculpture,” *Expedition* 24:2 (1992), pp. 29–31.

¹⁶ I.e., the Abydos enclosures of Peribsen and Khasekhemwy. See W. Kaiser, “Zu den königlichen Talbezirken der 1. und 2. Dynastie in Abydos und zur Baugeschichte des Djoser-Grabmals,” *MDAIK* 25 (1969), pp. 9; 19, n. 6; W. Helck, “Zu den ‘Talbezirken’ in Abydos,” *MDAIK* 28 (1972), pp. 95–99; D. Arnold, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst* (Munich, Zurich, 1994), p. 68.

¹⁷ “Zum Statuensockel des Djoser,” in *Gegengabe*, pp. 143–50.

¹⁸ E.g., Pyr. 1080b, 1454b, 1760b.

¹⁹ I thank Mark Lehner for pointing out these orientations.

²⁰ Most citations for the following discussion of the reliefs are omitted, since they are detailed in *JARCE* 32 (1995), pp. 1–42.

²¹ See Lauer, “Remarques sur les Stèles Fausses-Portes de l’Horus Neteri-khet (Zoser) à Saqqarah,” *Mon. Piot* 49 (1957), esp. pp. 6–12.

ritual race, seizes the two lands, possesses the two skies, and stands recrowned as eternal monarch of Egypt. The reliefs replicate subject matter (and sometimes format) from the Early Dynastic ticket labels (e.g., the race between territorial markers on a Den label) and sed-related Palermo Stone year entries (e.g., for a statue of Khasekhemwy), as well as from the Narmer Palette (the theme of subjugation and victory) and the Narmer Macehead (the race between markers that later becomes part of the sed festival).²² The reliefs are to be read in sequence from right to left, that is, north to south, in the direction in which the king faces, just as in the contemporary tomb of Hesy-Re, one reads and walks from left to right in the direction in which Hesy faces (i.e., south) as he stands or sits within the niche doorways of his corridor. Read from the right, the Djoser reliefs show the king as he stands, runs, runs, runs, stands, and stands again. Very briefly, the first panel (fig. 1a) shows the king standing in what is labeled the shrine of Horus the Behedite. The inscriptions in four of the panels (figs. 1 a, b, e, f) label as a shrine the site in which Djoser stands or runs, and in all six panels I believe he is understood as though within a shrine. And just as the images of Hesy are oriented south in the direction he faces, but are also understood frontally, which is east,²³ so Djoser's standing and running images are to be understood in dual orientation, i.e., south in the direction in which he faces and east toward the viewer.

Two signs always situated behind the king ($\overline{\text{𓂏}}$) have been shown to be abbreviated sky glyphs,²⁴ the dual form suggesting the upper and netherworlds,²⁵ *pt* and *Nwt*,²⁶ whose mirror-imaged sky vaults bracket the cosmic stage on which Djoser is the main player. The object on the standard preceding the king is identifiable as a throne cushion based on several appearances in Niuserre's Fifth Dynasty Sun Temple texts where

²² Friedman, *JARCE* 32, esp. pp. 1–8, and 42 for summary.

²³ W. Wood, "A Reconstruction of the Reliefs of Hesy-Re," *JARCE* 15 (1978), esp. p. 17, and see Friedman, *JARCE* 32, p. 13.

²⁴ A.J. Spencer, "Two Enigmatic Hieroglyphs and Their Relation to the Sed-Festival," *JEA* 64 (1978), p. 54.

²⁵ W.K. Simpson, "Poetry from the Oldest Religious Literature," in W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven and London, 1973), p. 272, n. 16, notes in the Cannibal Hymn that the two *pt*-skies around which the king is said to have traveled (Pyr. 406C) are the upper world and netherworld. Elsewhere the king is told, "You shall ascend to the sky ... the sky is given to you, the earth is given to you" (Pyr. 1009c; 1010b; 1985a).

²⁶ On Pyramid Text use of *pt* in opposition to *Nwt*, see Pyr. 149a–b, cited in James P. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*, Yale Egyptological Studies 2 (New Haven, 1988), p. 4, and pp. 1–7 for a fuller discussion of this and other aspects of the Egyptian universe; and idem, "The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts," in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, Yale Egyptological Studies 3 (New Haven, 1989), pp. 1–28.

Fig. 1a–f. Relief Panels under the Pyramid and South Tomb. Drawings by Yvonne Markowitz as published in F.D. Friedman, *JARCE* 32 (1995), figs. 2a and b.



it is upheld by the *hm st*, throne priest,²⁷ signaling that a critical subject of Djoser's drama is the king's recrowning and enthronement.

In the middle panel under the pyramid (fig. 1b), the king runs, holding the *mks* container, inside of which is understood to be the *imyt-pr*, a document that gives Djoser claim over Egypt. He runs between the *dnbw*-territorial markers, symbols of the land's expanse that are reconstructed today above ground in the great *wsht* court. The king here is understood as running above ground in the great court, both around the territorial markers by means of which he reclaims Egypt, and out of the gate on the south wall, which is closely aligned with the panels underground. Through that gate he could run around the complex in the *phr ḥꜣ inb* ritual of circuiting the capital walls, which occurred at the accession of the king and as a renewal of his reign in the sed festival. Egypt is

²⁷ F.W.F. von Bissing and H. Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1923), Blatt 16, 39, Blatt 12, 32.

thus taken and the capital reclaimed by the recrowned king, justly termed a "territorial claimant."²⁸

In the next panel (fig. 1c), the king continues to run; *pt*, *Nwt* and the land signs flank him, suggesting that they are, have been and will be taken, an already-but-not-yet principle that pervades this ritual stage. In the first panel under the south tomb (fig. 1d) the king completes the run, the orientation of all glyphs but one shifting direction in order to signal his change of direction around the markers above ground.²⁹ He is understood to have run across the court above ground (fig. 4) in order to circuit the markers and/or run out of the dummy gateway on the south wall.³⁰ The final two reliefs (figs. 1e–f) show the king after the completed run as he *ḥr*-stands in shrines, crowned as king of Lower and then Upper Egypt.

The shrines in which the king is depicted have their three-dimensional correlate above ground in the heb sed court. Though there is no one-to-one correlation between the underground relief shrine references and the above ground actual shrines, the statue context for both links them closely. The southern and eastern orientations of the panel statue figures underground correspond to the mainly southern and eastern orientation of the doorway and niche statuary that once stood in the heb sed shrines or embedded in the pedestals on which the shrines sit³¹ above ground. The relationship is purely schematic, however, without any correlation in size between the panel figures and doorway or niche dimensions. (And some of the shrine statuary was surely of gods.³²)

The doorways of the underground reliefs of the king are bordered by the royal titulary and surrounded by greenish-blue faience tiles in the form of bound reeds.³³ The reed motif recalls both the earthly reed mat-

²⁸ A term used by Barry J. Kemp in *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London and New York, 1989), pp. 59–62, esp. p. 62.

²⁹ The designer obviously realized that to reverse the orientation of the sign with the corner of the buttressed wall would have rendered the glyph illegible.

³⁰ Sed festival statues of a running king are best represented by the figures of Tuthmosis III in the tomb of Rekhmire: N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes* (New York, 1943; reprinted by Arno Press, 1973), pls. 36, 37.

³¹ M. Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids* (Thames and Hudson, forthcoming), manuscript p. 17.

³² See D. Wildung, "Two Representations of Gods from the Early Old Kingdom," in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana*, The Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn, 1972), pp. 145–60.

³³ Lauer, *PD I*, pp. 34–38; idem, *Histoire monumentale des Pyramides d'Égypte I* (Cairo, 1962), pp. 76–79. On the tiles, see S. Schliegl, "Investigation on Faience Tiles from the Walls of Djoser's South Tomb in Saqqara: An Approach to Reveal the Technique of Their Manufacture," in *Abstracts of the Fifth International Congress of Egyptologists* (Cairo, 1988), pp. 242–43; P. Vandiver, "The Manufacture of Faience," in A. Kaczmarczyk and R.E.M. Hedges, *Ancient Egyptian Faience: An Analytical Survey of Egyptian Faience from Predynastic to Roman Times* (Warminster, Wiltshire, 1983), esp. A–83–85; J. Vandier, *Manuel*, Tome I** (Paris, 1952), fig. 584, pp. 883–87.

ting of the archaic palace of the king and the afterlife abode of the Field of Reeds, the *šht isrꜥw*, a domain that in Pyramid Texts is important enough for the king to receive it along with the sky and earth.³⁴ With their *wꜣd*-green color of regeneration³⁵ and glistening surface, the tiles also evoke the primeval waters, already alluded to in the watery vaults of *pt* and *Nwt*. Djoser's predecessor, Khasekhemwy, may have had such notions in mind when he used smaller similarly glazed plaques in his Abydos tomb.³⁶ And such ideas may also have been relevant for the dwelling of the gods, as illustrated by palm tree and other vegetal inlays or tiles from the archaic Osiris temple at Abydos,³⁷ the archaic temple at Hierakonpolis, and earlier as well as contemporary temple tiles at Elephantine.³⁸ Djoser was thus drawing on an already established faience tradition and the regenerative meaning it probably carried in early tomb and temple contexts.

All facets of regenerative watery creation are indicated in the Djoser complex: the primeval ocean in the tiled rooms,³⁹ the watery vault of heaven above, and (fig. 2) its netherworld counterpart below. But there is also the terrestrial plane of earth, Egypt, which the king assumes in his run,⁴⁰ below which is an underworld plane with the two tombs⁴¹ (fig. 3). The sky above, the sky below, and earth and underworld are understood in an accordion-like vertical expansion of layered planes.

³⁴ Cf. Pyr. 1010b and 1985c.

³⁵ For the multiple meanings of *wꜣd*, see most recently F.L. Vergès, *Les Bleus égyptiens: de la pâte auto-émailée au pigment bleu synthétique* (Louvain, 1992), pp. 17–18. The author wonders whether the blue was intended to ensure the protection of the king or merely arose from the manufacturing technique. But examples of Djoser faience tiles with originally reddish brown glaze (A.J. Spencer, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum V: Early Dynastic Objects* [London, 1980], Cat. 524, EA 2444; Cat. 525, EA 2445), presumably furniture inlays, show that other colorants could have been used and thus suggests that the blue-green glaze of the Djoser tiles was deliberate.

³⁶ See Spencer, *Catalogue*, nos. 502–507 for Khasekhemwy glazed plaques, and thirteen glazed plaques from an inlay (no. 508) from Sakkara, Tomb 3504, mid-First Dynasty, reign of Djoser. Cf. earlier use of inlays in a temple context at the temple of Osiris (nos. 500–501) and tiles from the same (nos. 509, 511, 512; Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.107.7, illustrated in G. Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII: Der Tempel der Satet* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), pl. 62 g; and at Hierakonpolis (e.g., J.E. Quibell and F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis*, pt. II [London, repr. 1989], p. 43 and pl. 32, upper right image showing an especially interesting tile whose underside carries the imprint of the palm-leaf mat on which it rested while drying).

³⁷ See palm tile in Spencer, *Catalogue*, 501 and other examples of tiles from the Osiris Temple from Dynasties 1 and 2 in previous note.

³⁸ Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII*, esp. pls. 47–50.

³⁹ Cf. also the so-called Lepsius blue rooms just to the east of the pyramid burial chamber, found on plan in Lauer, *PD II*, pl. XVI.

⁴⁰ And cf. Pyr. 1167a–b, which enjoins the king to “Run your course, Row over your waterway like Re on the banks of the sky,” suggesting that at the Step Pyramid Complex the racetrack arena might be comparable to a celestial Nile.

In addition to this cosmic layering and expansion of features, there is a circular rhythmic nesting of above- and below-ground features, one within the other, that cannot easily be illustrated graphically: below ground, inside a palace corridor are shrines within whose doorways are statue images of the king; just as, above ground, within the palace walls, are heb sed shrines, within whose doorways and niches were statues (at least in part) of the king.

Within the larger palace walls are also smaller palace structures, like the one in the entrance corridor, Temple T⁴² beside the sed court, possibly the south tomb itself,⁴³ and the building north of the pyramid⁴⁴ (more often called the mortuary temple), as well as the underground palace equivalents in the corridors beneath the pyramid and south tomb. There are *wsḥt*-broad courts that echo across the superstructure, from the huge moat in the form of a *wsḥt*-glyph that encloses the complex,⁴⁵ to *wsḥt*-glyph-shaped corridors in the heb sed shrines, to the *wsḥt*-courts northeast and south of the pyramid, to those between the heb sed shrines, and others south of the House of the North and south of the House of the South. *Wsḥt* is further echoed in the substructure in what I believe are *wsḥt*-glyph references on two of the relief panels, the most southern beneath the pyramid and the most northern beneath the south tomb (figs. 1c and d).⁴⁶ The nesting of form within form, idea within idea, yields intensified resonating notions of each, from below ground to above and above ground to below.

There are also architectural and sculptural features with complementary orientations, such as the south tomb oriented east–west and its complement the pyramid tomb oriented north–south, so that Djoser's spirit ascends from the south tomb into the west and from the pyramid tomb into the north, the west and the northern Circumpolar Stars being two celestial afterlife abodes in Old Kingdom religious thinking. The west and north also complement the subterranean relief orientations, namely, south and east, thus enabling the king to move toward all four

⁴¹ E. Hornung discusses the three aspects of the watery depths in *Idea Into Image* (New York, English edition, 1992), p. 96: "the watery sphere of the primeval ocean, the earthly depths of the underworld, and the heavenly realm above."

⁴² O. Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom* (University Microfilms International, 1982), pp. 391–92; Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, pp. 17, 22–23.

⁴³ Z. Hawass, personal communication, Giza, September, 1992; Friedman, *JARCE* 32, esp. pp. 14, 16, 40, 42.

⁴⁴ D. Arnold, *Lexikon*, pp. 68–69.

⁴⁵ N. Swelim, "The Dry Moat of the Netjerykhet Complex," in Baines et al., eds., *Pyramid Studies*, pp. 12–22.

⁴⁶ Friedman, *JARCE* 32, pp. 40–41.

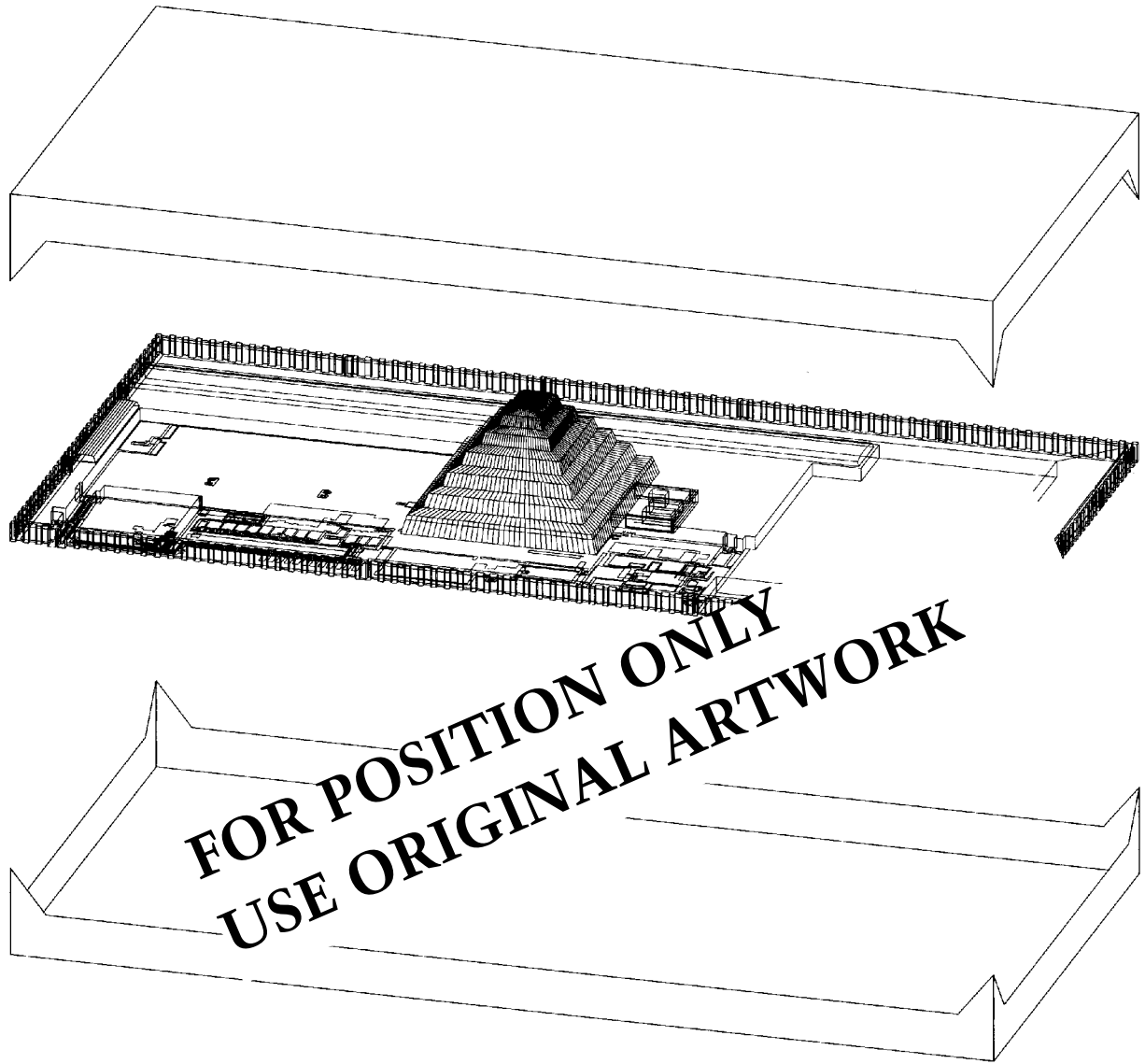


Fig. 2. The complex with *pt* above and *Nwt* below. Drawing by Peggy Sanders. Data base for complex provided by Mark Lehner.

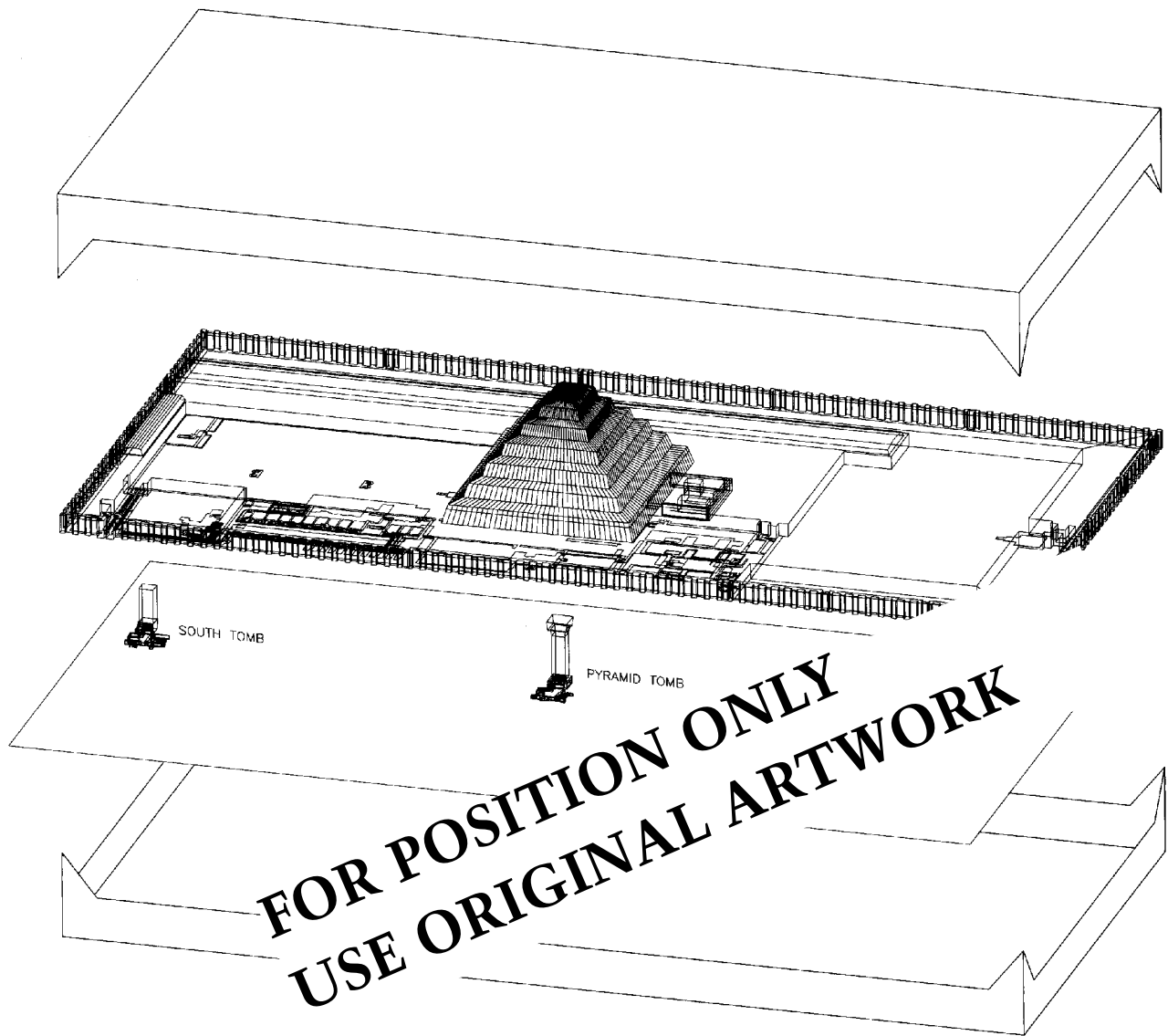


Fig. 3. The complex with an additional underworld plane bearing the tombs. Drawing by Peggy Sanders.

cardinal points. And finally, the great court markers south of the pyramid are oriented to a southern gate, complemented by (originally two) markers in the court of the House of the South oriented to what was once a northern gate.⁴⁷

And there are parallel features, like the north–south orientation of both the south tomb and pyramid corridors and their panel images; or the great court to the south of the pyramid with a statue chamber in its southwest corner that may have originally been planned to parallel the court to the north(east) of the pyramid with a southwest statue chamber (i.e., the serdab). Complementary and parallel features encompass all four cardinal points as well as up to down and down to up (as when the subterranean panels of the king are to be understood above and below ground); and not necessarily sequentially, but at one and the same time, so that the complex is experienced as a single narrative. These layered, complementary and parallel features suggest an attempt on the part of the designer to “raise to a higher coefficient of reality”⁴⁸ all cosmic elements necessary to ensure the King’s eternal life in the terrestrial and celestial, earthly and divine realms.

Considering the Dynasty 0 and Early Dynastic sources from which Djoser borrowed architecturally and sculpturally, it would not be surprising to find antecedents for this layered, cosmic construct. I identify one such antecedent in the Narmer Palette, a monument that established, as Baines notes, “an iconographic definition of the Egyptian cosmos, which set the pattern for later periods.”⁴⁹ It is a monument that incorporates, repeats and modifies subjects from earlier palettes that cannot be discussed here. Baines analyzes the palette as a description of the ordered cosmos in which the human/cow heads (i.e., Bat), along with the Horus (sky god) serekh at top, denote the sky realm; the central relief areas, with king and subjugation scenes (and entwined symbolic beasts on the front), denote the ‘world;’ and the fleeing enemies on the lowest register refer to “what is outside and ‘beneath’ the ordered cosmos.”⁵⁰ Interpreting Baines’s description graphically (fig. 5) yields a three-part separation of the two-dimensional registered scenes into a tiered spatial conception in which the sky⁵¹ lies above the world/earth, which in turn

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14 and n. 77.

⁴⁸ Using a phrase of Bernard Berenson on Florentine Renaissance art.

⁴⁹ J. Baines, “On the Status and Purpose of Ancient Egyptian Art,” *CAJ* 4:1 (1994), p. 76.

⁵⁰ J. Baines, “Communication and display: the integration of early Egyptian art and writing,” *Antiquity* 63 (1989), p. 475. For his subsequent discussions of the same, see, in addition to *CAJ* 4:1 (1994), p. 76, Baines, “Origins of Egyptian Kingship,” in D. O’Connor and D.P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, New York, Cologne, 1995), p. 120.

lies above a netherworld outside the ordered universe. The king participates in all these realms—as the implicit Horus falcon in heaven, as king and subjugator in the world, and as repeller of chaos in the sphere beyond order⁵²—and he is the dominant player in this cosmic schema.⁵³

Djoser expands and modifies the cosmic construct inherent in the Narmer Palette within a process of repetitions and revisions that echo throughout the complex, all of them part of a long “chain of replications,”⁵⁴ to use a phrase from Davis in his analysis of late predynastic palettes.⁵⁵ Davis shows how the palettes repeat and revise one another’s graphic and metaphoric vocabulary with the result that each can only be fully understood within the “replicatory sequence.”⁵⁶ Djoser’s monument is, I believe, part of such a sequence. In the underground panels he drew on the format and subject matter of Early Dynastic ticket labels and sed-related Palermo Stone entries, and borrowed subject matter from the Dynasty 0 Narmer Palette and Narmer Macehead.⁵⁷ Architecturally, he borrowed and expanded on the plan of the Early Dynastic enclosures at Abydos, among many other sources. But from the Narmer Palette (and undoubtedly from other yet unidentified monuments), he does more than adopt themes. He borrows and expands on its very cosmic construct. From a formal point of view, the complex is much like a gigantic Narmer Palette, whose registers have been separated into successive layers and then dramatically expanded into three dimensions.⁵⁸

But while the Narmer Palette has a verso (like most palettes) that must be turned over and read in conjunction with the front, the two sides usually understood as a unit, Djoser’s complex cannot be inverted. It must be read by moving in all directions on a single level as well as through the layered images from above and below at the same time, embracing multiple parts above ground and below ground, including visible images (statues) and invisible images (the running figures in the court;

⁵¹ Possibly a dual, as suggested by the two Bat heads on each side of the palette.

⁵² See Baines, *Antiquity* 63 (1989), p. 475.

⁵³ The primacy accorded the king is also emphasized by his magnified view on the back of the palette. And see W. Davis, *Masking the Blow* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1992), pp. 123–24.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, passim and esp. pp. 8–20 and Chs. 2–6.

⁵⁵ E.g., the Oxford, Hunter’s, Battlefield and Narmer Palettes.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁷ Friedman, *JARCE* 32, passim and esp. p. 42.

⁵⁸ It seems unlikely that such a cosmic construct should have been used architecturally only by Djoser. Since Djoser’s is the earliest surviving stone complex, the others in more perishable materials may not have survived well enough to reveal such an intent. One may speculate that other monuments, possibly the Abydos or other rectangular enclosures at Saqqara, may have been originally designed with such inherent cosmologies.

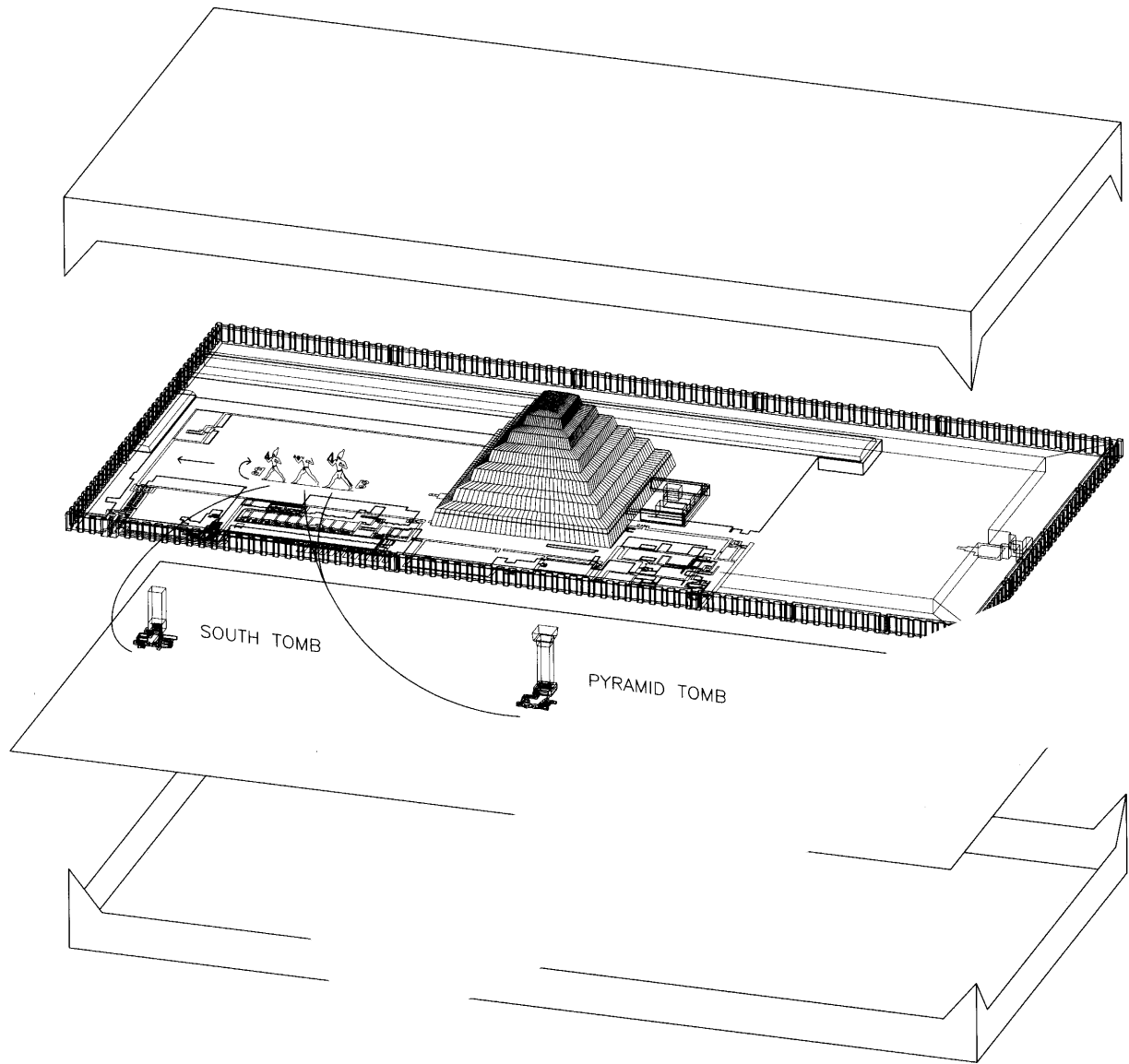


Fig. 4. Illustration showing the underground relief panels with running figures of the king (from under pyramid and south tomb) as though the figures were running in the great court above ground. Drawing by Peggy Sanders.

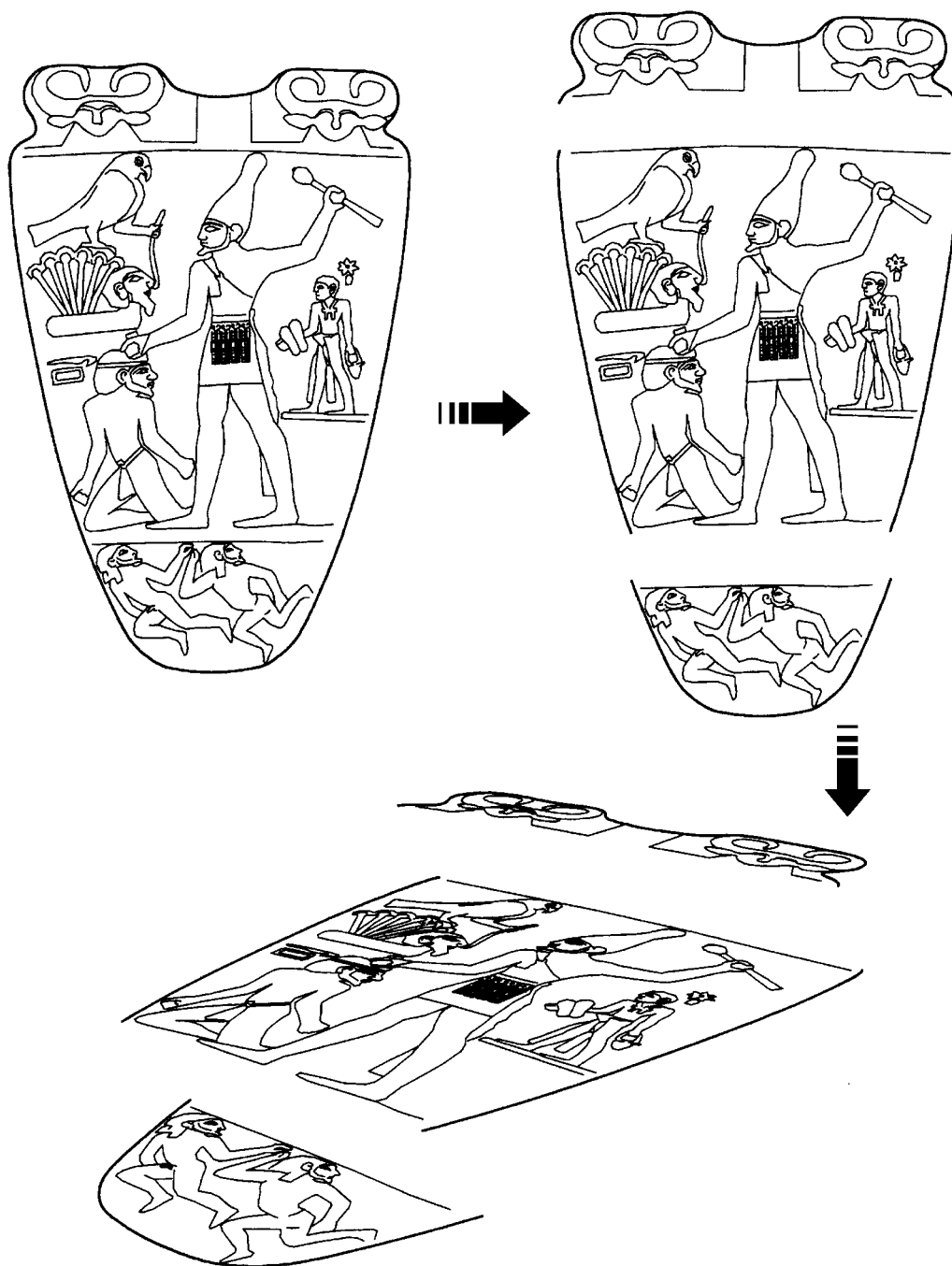


Fig. 5. Narmer Palette separated into three cosmological layered segments. Drawing by Peggy Sanders. Data base for palette provided by Mark Lehner.

see fig. 4) that together comprise a single reading of a multi-directional cosmic whole. It is Djoser, through his images above and below ground, who, like Narmer, links and integrates the parts.

And as Narmer takes center stage as the king writ large on the back of his palette, so Djoser takes center stage in the Great *wsht*-Court as a projected statue presence. But here he is more than a subjugator of enemies and territorial claimant: this Netjerykhet, the “Divine One of the Corporation (of Gods),” is a cosmic claimant, seizing heaven and earth and the eternal office of kingship, and thereby effecting his royal and cosmic role as maintainer of Maat. And as he maintains this cosmos, so is he regenerated by it—through its primeval hill, primordial reed-filled waters, celestial and underworld heavens, and the once abundant statuary within its palaces, niches and shrines.



A Special Toast



HANS GOEDICKE

ALTHOUGH THE EGYPTIANS WERE ARDENT LOVERS OF BEER FROM the earliest times on, it was certainly not the only beverage they cherished. Wine as well has a very long history in Egypt. While extensive information is available about the preparation of these two drinks, much less is known about others, and this applies not only to their preparation but also to their degree of appreciation in the society. A rare bit of information is contained among the inscriptions in the tomb of a certain *Sw-m-niwt*, who was closely attached to the retinue of Amenophis II.¹ It is my intention to offer the following observations as an Egyptological toast to the jubilee celebrant with my sincere wishes.

As far as I am aware, the texts in *Sw-m-niwt*'s tomb have not received much attention.² The activity which the text annotates is carried out by men on ladders apparently involved in harvesting, and depicts as well trays with the fruits of this labor in booths. *Sw-m-niwt* attends this activity in his capacity as "king's butler" (*wbꜣ (n) nswt*)³ with the recurrent laudatory epithet "clean of hands."⁴ What makes it so interesting is the implication that officials in personal contact with the king were required to adhere to specific standards of purity. Such an obligation would make it most likely that he was excluded from any physical involvement in the preparation of royal condiments and that his role was one of supervision.

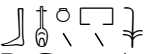
¹ TT 92; *PM I*/1², pp. 187–89.

² *Urk.* IV, 1449. Basically, there is the translation by Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, German edition (Berlin, 1961), p. 103 and its English version by Barbara Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, Fascicle II (Warminster, 1984), p. 144f.

³ Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I* (London, 1947), p. 43*f.

⁴ It is apparent, of course, that it might refer to the man's cleanliness in executing his office. However, while hygienic concerns might be implied, it would seem likely that the epithet conveys more than the fact that *Sw-m-niwt* was in the habit of keeping his hands clean. It seems rather likely that the epithet reflects a specific degree of purity, but it could also be interpreted metaphorically as "with clean hands," i.e., free of improper actions. The continuation of the epithet *wbꜣ rwy* as *wdnw n Imn* (*Urk.* IV, 1459.19) suggests that *Sw-m-niwt* observed ritual purity in his service to the king, as would have been necessary for him in his capacity for offering to Amun.

This supervisory role on the upper part of the tomb's west wall is specified as *mꜣ bw-nfr nw pr-nswt ḏsrw iꜣtt*, and accompanies various activities connected with the preparation of beverages, the whole filling five registers.⁵ It concerns the making of beer from the measuring of grain for making bread to its fermentation in huge vessels. An obviously different kind of drink is contained in smaller jars of a different type. *Sw-m-niwt*'s activity was understood by Helck as "Inspizieren des Guten des Königspalastes, des Milchgetränks durch... S," while B. Cumming gave for it "Inspecting the good things in the royal palace, milky ale, by ... S."

Considering the associated array of activities it can be assumed from the outset that the attached annotation is summary in nature. This, however, does not confirm the previous renderings which disregard the pictographic record in their lack of any reference to the depicted comestibles. While *ḏsrw* and *iꜣtt* are indicated as beverages, the preceding  is not. Neither Helck's "das Gute des Königspalastes" nor B. Cumming's "the good things in the royal palace" appear to capture the full meaning. *Bw-nfr* is in a genitival connection with *pr-nswt*;⁶ the use of the plural genitival adjective *nyw* makes it clear that *bw-nfr* is a plural (or collective). The term, which might have its origin in the vernacular, is rare before the Ptolemaic Period.⁷ Like English "goodies" *bw-nfr* appears to denote especially cherished edibles and requires a rendering "delicacies." It would seem doubtful that *pr-nswt* denotes here specifically the "royal palace," as this would narrow its application unnecessarily. As *Sw-m-niwt* in this connection holds the epithet "royal follower at his moves on southern and northern foreign countries," it would seem better to take *pr-nswt* as inclusively as possible, i.e., denoting any place of the king, which does not rule out the existence of an ideal fare associated with the royal household, just as there are Western traditions about "royal cuisine."

⁵ Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte I* (Leipzig, 1923), pls. 295, 296.

⁶ This fact stands against the rendering by B. Cumming.

⁷ A Late Egyptian occurrence is pLansing 15, 2 "everybody who acquaints you in festivity is with goodies;" the rendering differs somewhat from that by A.M. Blackman and T.E. Peet, "Papyrus Lansing: A Translation with Notes," *JEA* 11 (1925), p. 298 and Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), p. 421 in separating the two prepositional adjuncts. The latter had connected both with the addressee as "whoever beholds you is festive with good cheer." Instead, I understand the passage to mean that anybody who gets in touch with the celebrating teacher is instantly invited to partake of the goodies. *Wb.* I, p. 452.9 lists *bw-nfr* with the meaning "Brot," but the occurrences, such as *Edfu* I, 91, 92, etc. suggest a more inclusive meaning of the term.

Dsrw i3tt has occurred as a compound since the Fourth Dynasty⁸ although it has also been considered as two separate items. There is some justification to this, as *i3tt* denotes a milk product while *d3rw* applies to beer. Helck combined the two into a "Milchgetränk" followed by B. Cumming as "milky ale." The notion of combining milk with beer made of fermented bread is technically improbable and fantastic as far as taste is concerned. Any addition of milk to a fermented or fermenting brew would make it curdle instantly. *i3tt* does not denote "milk" proper, but rather the result of a process the milk goes through. The latter has two distinct stages: one is the raising of the cream to the top, the other the settling of the firm parts from the whey. In either case there is a distinction between a lower and an upper layer; it is the latter which I envision denoted as *i3tt*.⁹ As for *d3rw*, it is not the common term for "beer," which is *hnqt*. This suggests that *d3rw* denotes something special in the beer production.¹⁰ The term is probably connected with the verb *d3r*, "to separate" or "to raise," and might reflect the fermentation process when the liquid separates from the mash. Caminos¹¹ rendered it "strong ale," but it might denote a particular, apparently cherished stage in the making of beer. I would surmise it to be specifically the initial fermentation of the cereal material, i.e., the time when the alcohol content was the highest. The attached specification *i3tt* could apply, as pointed out before, when the separation had taken place and the beverage was at its best. To reflect these particulars a rendering "cream ale" might be appropriate.

The second scene, depicted on the east wall, shows *Sw-m-niwt* inspecting harvesting activity. Despite the seemingly horticultural nature of the depicted activity, its ultimate purpose is the preparation of a beverage. It is again a result of *Sw-m-niwt*'s position as "king's butler" that he supervises, at least theoretically, this activity. The scene, to judge from a photograph taken by the late Siegfried Schott (see fig. 1),¹² is not easily understandable in its details, so that the accompanying brief text is of special importance. Helck¹³ rendered this text as "Inspizieren der

⁸ Winfried Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, MÄS 3 (Berlin, 1963), p. 43.

⁹ While the writing with the sign 𓆎 is not entirely clear, it would seem feasible to connect the word either with *i3t*, "kom, mount" or with *i3w*, "aged." Either one would seem appropriate for the process milk passes through.

¹⁰ Cf. Hildegard von Deines and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, Grundriß der Medizin der Alten Ägypter VI (Berlin, 1959), p. 604.

¹¹ Op. cit., p. 425.

¹² I wish to thank Professor Dr. Erich Winter for supplying me with the photograph from the archive held at the University of Trier.

¹³ Op. cit., p. 103.



Fig. 1. Theban tomb of Sw-m-niwt (TT 92), detail of east wall. Photograph by Siegfried Schott.

Mahlzeit des Trinkgelages des Palastes, das für Pharao (L.H.G.) gemacht wird, ausgestattet mit allen guten Dingen, um den Herrn der beiden Länder zu erquicken und den guten Gott zu erfreuen, durch den...”, and B. Cumming,¹⁴ “Inspection of provisions for the drink supply of the Residence which is carried out on behalf of Pharaoh, L.P.H., is being provisioned with all (kinds of) good things to refresh the lord of the Two Lands and to delight the good god, by...” Both translations contain aspects which seem open to improvement. The theme of the connected picture does not support a reference to a “meal” as the focal point in the description. Equally unlikely is the notion of a “drinking bout” (“Trinkgelage”), especially its performance “for Pharaoh” (“das für Pharao gemacht wird”), which would give the impression of a drinking competition in honor of the Pharaoh. That the shown activity is “for the drink supply of the Residence” would require a rather limited number of residents or a vast production to satisfy a sizable population. Neither appears likely, nor that it was “carried out on behalf of Pharaoh,” whose concern for the thirst of the people in the Residence is hard to imagine.

¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 144.

The object of observation or inspection is given as $\text{ḥ}bw-\overline{\text{ḥ}}$. Although given in this form in the *Urkunden*, Helck subsequently emended it to $\text{ḥ}bw-\overline{\text{ḥ}}$.¹⁵ This term is repeatedly attested and rendered as “Mahlzeit, Frühstück.”¹⁶ While the occurrences in the offering list do not provide a basis for establishing the nature of the repast meant by $\text{ḥ}bw-r3$, its mention among *In3n3*’s and *Sn-m-ḥ*’s inscriptions helps somewhat in advancing the question. *In3n3* brags,¹⁷ “As I am in the favor of His Majesty daily, I am supplied from the king’s table with bread of the king’s $\text{ḥ}bw-r3$ and beer, likewise fat meat, vegetables and various fruits, honey, cakes and wine, as well as oil.”¹⁸ Since “bread and beer” are usually associated in the offering list as integral parts of the king’s $\text{ḥ}bw-r3$, the same should be assumed here. Not clear is if the other foodstuff should be seen as typical of the $\text{ḥ}bw-r3$ or if it was an unusual extension beyond the customary. In either case the fare would seem excessively heavy for “breakfast” if it is considered the initial food intake in the morning.¹⁹ Similar doubts about the nature of $\text{ḥ}bw-r3$ as “breakfast” result from *Sn-m-ḥ*’s claim “one brought me servings²⁰ at the time of day and night with things of the king’s $\text{ḥ}bw-r3$.” It would seem unlikely that one distributed items of the royal breakfast by night. Both passages suggest that $\text{ḥ}bw-r3$, lit. “cleaning the mouth,” is more an elegant term for a fancy repast, especially the king’s, without the implication of a specific time when it was consumed.²¹

¹⁵ This reading is repeated by B. Cumming.

¹⁶ *Wb.* I, p. 175.19; R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 40 “breakfast.” Occurrences are *Urk.* IV, 59.7; 506.10; *Siut* I, 51. It is attested on the coffin of *Min-ḥʿf* (G 7430 = Cairo JdE 48852) in *šns n ḥb-r3*; cf. William St. Smith, “The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf,” *JEA* 19 (1933), p. 150ff., specifically p. 151 and pl. 22; and Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri, *I sarcofagi egizi dalle origine alla fine dell’antico regno* (Rome, 1969), p. 117ff., pl. 33. For other occurrences of *šns n ḥw-r3*, see Barta, op. cit., p. 48.





¹⁷ *Urk.* IV, 59.6-10; see also Eberhard Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni: Theben Nr. 81, AVDAIK 68* (Mainz am Rhein, 1992), p. 54, rendering the passage concerning us “indem ich ernährt wurde vom Tisch des Königs mit Brot vom ‘Frühstück’ des Königs und Bier desgleichen und fettem Fleisch, verschiedenem Gemüse und Obst, Honig, Kuchen, Wein und Öl.”


¹⁸ The final mention of “oil” makes sense only when seen as ointment, because oil would not make sense as part of a meal. I wonder if $\Delta \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$ might not be an error for *qb* “jar” (*Wb.* V, p. 25.3ff.).

¹⁹ Cf. Hermann Kees, *Ägypten, Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* (Nördlingen and Munich, 1933), p. 67; Wolfgang Helck, *LÄ* III, col. 1164f.; also Hans Goedicke, *The Report about the Dispute of a Man with his Ba* (Baltimore, 1970), p. 140.

²⁰ *Urk.* IV, 506.9-10. *Wb.* I, p. 430.15 gives “ein Gebäck” for *b3kb3k*, which was repeated by Faulkner, op. cit., p. 79. From the following *m ḥt nt ḥw-r3* it is clear that *b3kb3k* consisted of things of the royal repast, thus requiring a more inclusive meaning of *b3kb3k*. Using *b3k*, “to serve,” as the root from which the reduplicated word might be derived, a rendering “serving (of food)” would not only suit the context but also the etymology.

²¹ One could possibly compare it with degustation which has a wide range of applications.

Tempting as the proposed emendation might seem, the epigraphic situation is unambiguous (see fig. 1). The signs  and  have nothing in common, neither in the hieroglyphic nor in the hieratic, which could inspire a confusion. Disregarding the possibility of a freak error, which, of course, is always a remote possibility, it seems necessary to take the extant text seriously. That the term is a compound is certain as is the first element *ḥbw* “cleansings.” It is also certain that it ultimately concerns a beverage as it is destined for a “drinker” (*n swri*). The ideographic spelling  allows only reading *ḥnn* or, less likely, *bḥ*. A literal rendering of the compound term would be “cleansing the phallus.” Its mention on the wall can be interpreted in two ways. It is either an intentional, sarcastic substitute for *r3* “mouth,” or else the topic of the scene is the preparation of a beverage to increase the consumer’s potency. As we do not know what it is made from, the question has to remain open. What *Sw-m-niwt* is observing is thus not the preparation of the king’s breakfast, which would have gotten him into the orchards at a very early hour. The depicted activity, however, has a specific recipient indicated as *n p3 swri n ḥnw* and does not refer to a drinking orgy of the palace, as Helck’s translation might suggest. This “drinker of the Residence” is nobody else than the tomb’s owner *Sw-m-niwt*. The determinative  does not concern the activity of drinking, but rather indicates its doer, who was paying a visit to his estate in the countryside.

In the following are two participial qualifications which are intertwined, thus causing some difficulty for the previous translators. Helck apparently connected  with *p3 swri*, in which B. Cumming followed him. The participle should qualify the last preceding masculine word, i.e., *ḥnw*, which, of course, would make no sense. The idiom *iri ḥr* has the meaning “to act on behalf of someone” and not “for someone.”²² It results that the participle qualifies the gentleman for whom the repast is being prepared by describing his former activity.²³ This specification is divided by an intrusive reference to the repast being prepared and should be recognized as *irw ḥr pr-ḥ3 ḥnḥ wd3 snb... r sd3y-ḥr n nb-t3wy šḥmḥ-ib n ntr-nfr*, “who acted on behalf of Pharaoh, L.P.H., in order to amuse the lord of the Two Lands and distract the heart of the *ntr-nfr*.” If

²² B. Cumming was aware of this aspect and thus rendered *p3 swri n ḥnw* as “the drink supply of the Residence.” It should be noted that *swri n ḥnw* is introduced by *p3*, which would seem to have here the force of a demonstrative, i.e., “this drinker of the Residence,” thus making it even clearer as a reference to *Sw-m-niwt*; for the use of *p3*, see Burkhart Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (Diss. Tübingen, 1970), p. 9ff.

²³ *Irw* certainly would seem a past participle, thus concerning *Sw-m-niwt*’s former activity, rather than an imperfective one, which would concern his ongoing activity.

the different forms of referring to the king have any significance, or if they are mere synonyms remains an open question.

Embedded in the description of *Sw-m-niwt*'s activity is the qualifying statement *ꜥpr m ḥt nbt nfrt*. It is connected neither with the immediately preceding, nor with what follows.²⁴ Its only antecedent is, of course, *ꜥbw-r*, i.e., the "repast" which was "furnished with every good thing."²⁵ What they were is not detailed, but according to the picture, fruit is only a part of the repast prepared for the butler *Sw-m-niwt*.

In a very clever fashion the scenes and their annotations combine the description of the man's professional pursuit as king's butler with his personal outlook towards a permanent record of his interest in good living. It is especially the second scene discussed here that portrays *Sw-m-niwt* as an onlooker of the preparation for a repast worthy of the king, which he seems to anticipate for his own enjoyment. In his office he acted on behalf of Pharaoh for the ruler's pleasure,²⁶ but ultimately he wants to pursue the pleasures he had experienced in the Residence in his own retirement, on earth and hereafter.

The epicurean mood of *Sw-m-niwt* is the topic of the wishes addressed to him: "To your *ka*, O my father! Drink, get drunk, celebrate a pretty day, O favorite butler!"



²⁴ Helck and B. Cumming both linked it with what follows as if *ꜥpr m ḥt nbt nfrt* was for the purpose of amusing the lord of the Two Lands. Such an interpretation, however, leads to some contradictions. First, the "repast" observed by *Sw-m-niwt* is "for the drinker of the Residence," i.e., himself, so that the reference to the ruler could not concern the meal readied for the tomb's owner. Second, the past nature of *ꜥpr* would be contradicted by the intentional *r* + infinitive, except if the furnishing would have been done with the purpose of amusing the ruler. If the intention had been to mention things which normally were used for the king's amusement, it should be construed with a genitive.

²⁵ For the use of *ꜥpr*, cf. *Wb.* I, p. 180.17.

²⁶ The reflective mood of the inscription is well illustrated by the claim *ir ḥsst imy ꜥḥ m ḥrt hrw n r nb*, "who did what the one in the palace always praised in the course of every day."

A Decorated Protodynastic Cult Stand from Abydos



STEPHEN P. HARVEY

IN HONOR OF THE DISTINGUISHED EGYPTOLOGICAL CAREER OF WILLIAM Kelly Simpson, I would like to discuss an object that reflects his involvement with Abydos as Co-Director (with David O'Connor) of the University of Pennsylvania–Yale University Expedition to Abydos, as well as his former position as Curator of the Department of Egyptian, Nubian, and Ancient Near Eastern Art of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I have had the privilege to work for Kelly in Boston, to study with him at Yale, and participate in the work of the Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition, and have greatly benefited in all instances from his teaching and leadership.¹

An important and representative group of objects from the excavations of W.M.F. Petrie in the “Osiris Temple” at Abydos in southern Egypt was distributed in 1903 to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Among the finds from the earliest levels of the temple site was an unusual ceramic jar stand, decorated just below its rim with the figure of a ram (figs. 1–2). The ram is surrounded by a row of incised triangles and by numerous partly excised triangles and ovals. Four large fenestrations are placed around the body of the stand. Already in 1902, heavy calcareous accretions obscured the decoration of the lower half of the stand, as can be seen from a contemporary photograph.²

In the course of reorganization and inventory of the storage areas belonging to the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near

¹ An earlier version of this paper was originally presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, held in Philadelphia, April 23, 1989. I would especially like to thank Dr. Rita Freed for permission to publish this object, as well as Dr. Peter Lacovara for his tremendous help. Carol Warner, formerly an intern in the Museum of Fine Arts’ Objects Conservation Laboratory, and currently a conservator at the National Park Service Cultural Resources Center, Lowell, Massachusetts, was responsible for painstakingly and skillfully conserving the stand. Yvonne Markowitz provided the excellent illustrations, and Pamela Hatchfield aided in its conservation photography. For suggestions and advice, I would also like to thank Mrs. Barbara Adams, Ms. Brigit Crowell, Dr. Günter Dreyer, Dr. Henry G. Fischer, Ms. Renée Friedman, Dr. E. Christiana Köhler, Dr. Patricia Podzorski, Dr. Ann Macy Roth, Mr. Josef Wegner, and Dr. Richard L. Zettler. Dr. David O’Connor, Dr. David P. Silverman, and Ms. Barbara A. Porter have been extremely helpful in reading drafts of this paper.

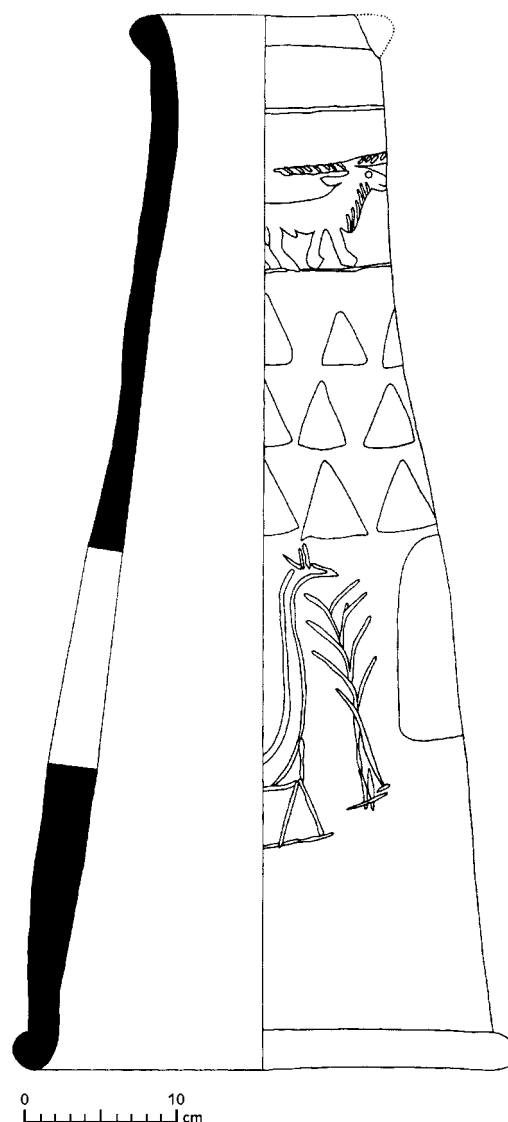


Fig. 1. Jar stand from Abydos, Museum of Fine Arts 03.1959. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903 (courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

Eastern Art in 1987, the ram stand was relocated and identified. Having noticed traces of an incised inscription beneath the concreted surface, Dr. Edward Brovarski arranged for the stand to be conserved and, through the skill and hard labor of Carol Warner, formerly of the Objects

² W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos Part II* (London, 1903), pl. 12, no. 273. Apart from a mention in the Egypt Exploration Fund's yearly exhibition of finds (*Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities Found by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Abydos, 1903* [London, 1903], p. 14, the stand appears not to have received further notice, with the exception of an illustration in A. Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan, Part I, The Temples and Cult Objects* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 53, fig. 10, no. 2.

Fig. 2. Profile of jar stand, drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.



Conservation Laboratory of the Museum of Fine Arts, the accretions were dissolved with nitric acid.

Surprisingly, the cleaning exposed extensive incised decoration over the lower half of the stand (figs. 2–3). Two of the four spaces between the large triangular fenestrations had been decorated before firing with the images of a giraffe standing on a base line and facing a tree. Attached to the back of the neck of one of the giraffes is a rectangle containing three hieroglyphs (figs. 3–4). Three excised triangles fill the third panel between fenestrations, while the fourth area contained an incised

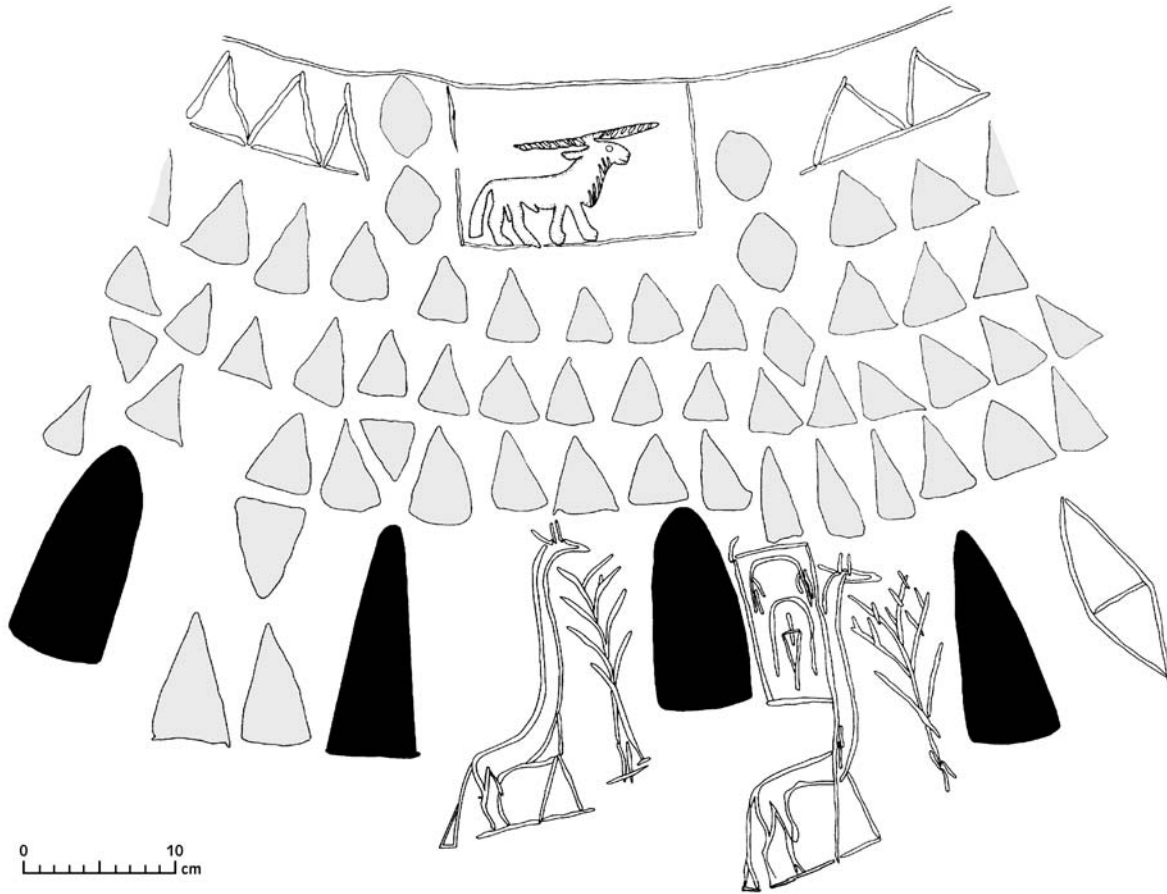


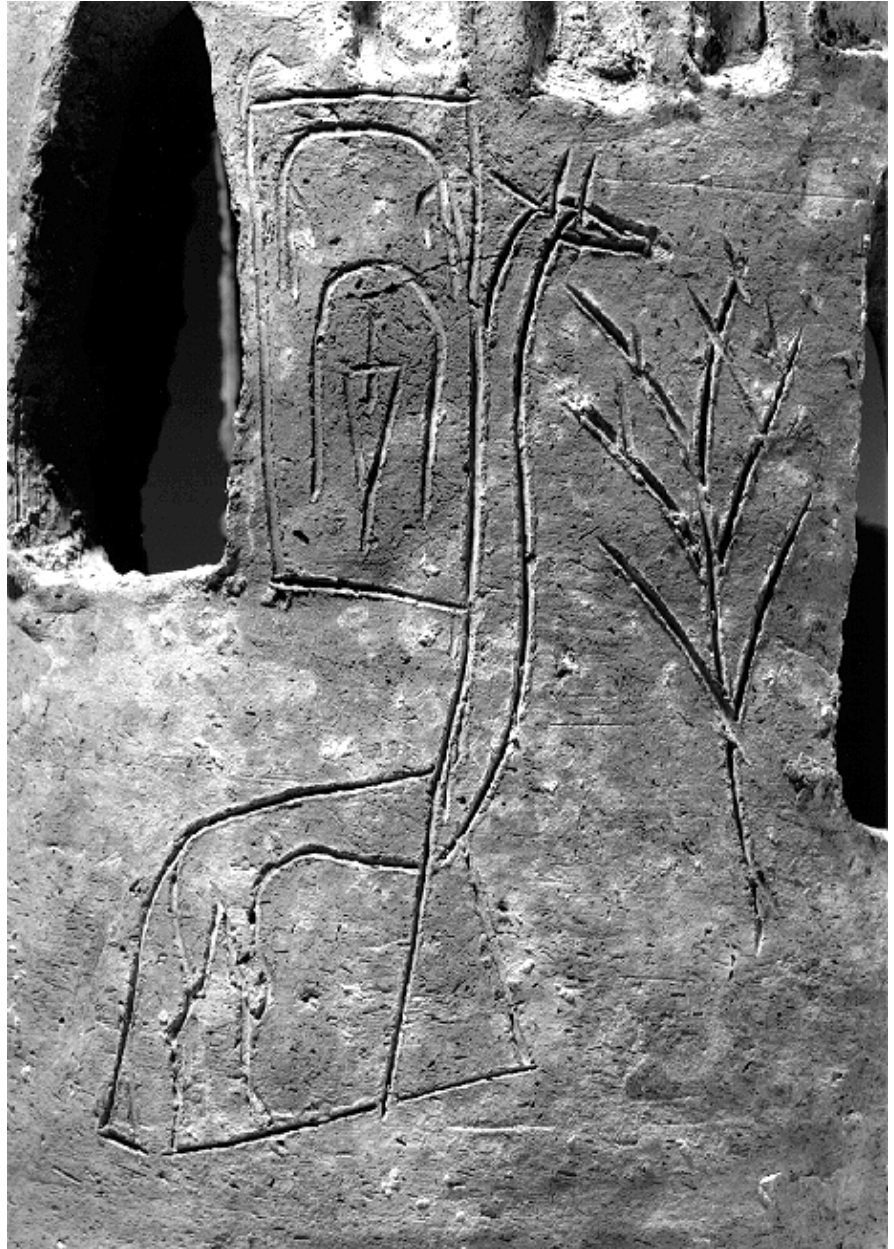
Fig. 3. detail of decoration on the jar stand; drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.

decoration of two triangles joined in a diamond pattern. The stand bears the accession number MFA 03.1959.

While its findspot suggests a cultic function, the information from Petrie's excavation does not allow for precise dating of the stand. Based on excavated parallels, however, it is likely that it was made and decorated before Dynasty 1, during the period defined in archaeological terms as Naqada IIIa2–IIIc1.³ Thus, the decoration of the stand (including applied, excised, and incised elements) is of considerable interest as an example of the art of Naqada III, a period which is only now being defined through excavation and analysis. The image of the giraffe and plant with inscription attached may in particular provide further insight

³ See now the usefully annotated chronology in J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in den 0.–3. Dynastien*, Göttinger Orientforschungen 29 (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 7–10.

Fig. 4. Detail of giraffe and inscription
(courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).



into the interaction of art, symbol, and sign during this early phase of writing in Egypt.

MANUFACTURE AND FUNCTION

Sixty-nine centimeters tall, with a maximum diameter at the rim of 17.8 centimeters, the profile of the stand swells towards the base, creating a



Fig. 5. Detail of ram figure (courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

nearly bell-shaped profile.⁴ The fabric is Nile silt with straw inclusions, and the black core visible in the break at the rim is indicative of firing at a low temperature. The body was probably built by hand, and the rims at both ends display rilling indicative of the use of a slow wheel or tournette. While the stand was leather hard, four large triangles were cut through, and numerous triangles and ovals were partly excised using a knife or spatula. The incised decorations were made with the point of a tool, and the ram figure was made separately and applied to the incised rectangular area near the top of the stand (fig. 5). Interestingly, an area of excess clay near the edge of one of the excised triangles preserves the impression of woven cloth, perhaps from cloth used in wiping the surface smooth. Considerable abrasion around the inside of the mouth of the stand implies that it was actually used to support vessels in antiquity.⁵

The porosity of the clay and the shape of the stand suggest that its function may have been to cool liquids (perhaps wine or water) through evaporation. Early models and representations of stands indicate that

⁴ The profile is closely paralleled by another stand (British Museum 38092) from the early levels of the "Osiris Temple" at Abydos; Petrie, *Abydos II*, pl. 44, no. 104, and pl. 12, no. 270; A.J. Spencer, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, vol. 5, *Early Dynastic Objects* (London, 1980), pl. 42, no. 339 and p. 48, there called "Probably Second or Third Dynasty."

⁵ I am indebted to Carol Warner for providing insights into the manufacture and conservation of the stand.

they could be used to support closed-mouth jars, bowls, and tables.⁶ It is also possible that incense or other materials may have been burned in a censer atop such a stand, but there is no evidence of burning preserved on this example.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Due to the complex nature of the site of the "Osiris Temple" at Abydos, Petrie created a building sequence for the temple with reference to the superposition of walls and objects, the elevations of which were recorded in inches above an arbitrary datum. Petrie assumed a First Dynasty date for the ram stand on the basis of the level at which it was found (178 inches above arbitrary zero).⁷ A sealing of King Qa'ra, the last king of the First Dynasty, was also found at the same elevation in the general area, which Petrie took as an indication of contemporaneity.

Barry Kemp's study of Petrie's excavation, making use of publications and notes, has demonstrated the great extent to which Petrie's reliance on relative elevations was insufficient.⁸ In itself, the elevation of the stand is not very meaningful for precise dating and only implies that the deposition of the stand predates a structure of the Sixth Dynasty (Building H in Kemp's nomenclature), the floor of which lay well above the stand.⁹ Based on architectural and textual studies, O'Connor and Brovarski have independently identified Building H as a "ka-chapel" of the Sixth Dynasty,¹⁰ although other scholars prefer to view it as one of the cult structures devoted to the local god Khentymentiu.¹¹

⁶ For faience models of closed-mouth jars on stands, see the following examples: from the "Osiris Temple" at Abydos: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 03.1736 (unpublished), from the deposit of votive objects known as M69; in the Kofler-Truniger collection, Lucerne, and reportedly from illicit excavation in the "Osiris Temple:" H.W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern, MÄS 5* (Munich, 1964), p. 43, A 64a-g; and reportedly from the same source, W. Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum*, Wilbour Monographs 9 (Brooklyn, 1984), p. 303 and pl. 52, nos. 226 and 227; from Hierakonpolis: University College 15011, B. Adams, *Ancient Hierakonpolis* (Warminster, 1974), p. 33, nos. 163 and Ashmolean E206 and literature there; pls. 24 and 31, nos. 163; from Elephantine, see Dreyer, *Elephantine 8. Der Tempel der Satet. Die Funde der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches AVDAIK 39* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), p. 83 and pl. 41, no. 274.

⁷ W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos II*, pl. 59.

⁸ Barry J. Kemp, "The Osiris Temple at Abydos" in *MDAIK 23* (1968), pp. 138-55; "The Osiris Temple at Abydos: A Postscript to *MDAIK 23* (1968), 138-155," in *GM 8* (1973), pp. 23-25.

⁹ Kemp, "The Osiris Temple at Abydos," pp. 148-51.

¹⁰ David O'Connor, "The Status of Early Egyptian Temples: An Alternative Theory," in R. Friedman and B. Adams, eds., *The Followers of Horus: Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman 1944-1990*, pp. 83-97; E. Brovarski, "Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, Part II" in D.P. Silverman, ed., *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, SAOC 55 (Chicago, 1994), pp. 15-44, esp. pp. 17-20.

Whatever the precise nature of Building H during the Sixth Dynasty, there is considerable evidence of earlier activity on the site. Thus, Kemp observed that, "Beneath the floor [of Building H] was found a confused sequence of brick walls and sand beds, no doubt partly foundations and partly the remains of earlier temples, perhaps extending back to the First Dynasty."¹² Inscriptions of kings Aha, Den, and Qa'ra beneath the Old Kingdom structure provide evidence of activity in the area during the First Dynasty. Early cult activity is implied by the type of objects found by Petrie in the levels below Building H, including incense burners, *hes*-vases, and numerous tall jar stands.¹³ The faience, stone, ivory, and ceramic objects from the votive deposit below Building H known as "M69" are often given an Early Dynastic date and they may provide evidence of cultic activity on the site during the earliest dynasties. However, the objects were deposited during the late Old Kingdom, or possibly even later, as Kemp has cautioned.¹⁴ Votive deposits appear to be a feature of early Egyptian temples, as similar finds from Hierakonpolis and Elephantine demonstrate.¹⁵ The context and dating of these deposits and their contents underscore the need for caution in dating finds from early levels of temple sites at Abydos and elsewhere.

In all likelihood, the Abydos ram stand was used in the presentation of offerings, a cultic function of tall stands that is well documented during most phases of pharaonic civilization.¹⁶ A representation of a temple dating to the First Dynasty depicts a jar stand inside of the building.¹⁷ Ceramic stands are also encountered in funerary contexts in Egypt, either at the entrance to graves¹⁸ or in the actual burial chamber.¹⁹

¹¹ For example, B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1991), pp. 77–79.

¹² Kemp, "The Osiris Temple at Abydos," p. 150.

¹³ Numerous stands indicated in Petrie, *Abydos II*, pl. 52, below the floor level of "Building H," a black-topped redware *hes*-vase from 215 inches below arbitrary zero, and thus below Building H, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 03.1955 (cf. op. cit., pl. 44, nos. 93 and 94); and a copper handle for an incense burner, Boston MFA 03.1789 from the "Osiris Temple," most likely to be identified with the object in op. cit., pl. 21, 2. I would like to thank Dr. Ann M. Roth for her identification of this object as the handle of an incense burner, and for drawing my attention to a similar example from Giza, Boston MFA 13.2951.

¹⁴ Kemp, "The Osiris Temple at Abydos," pp. 153–55.

¹⁵ For similar examples of votive objects dating as early as Dynasty 1 and deposited during the Old Kingdom, see Günter Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII*. See also the discussion of temple deposits in Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 72–79. Note also a tall painted stand with geometric designs and figures of birds, among the cultic equipment from the pre-Fifth Dynasty levels of the Satet Niche, W. Kaiser et al., "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: Siebter Grabungsbericht," *MDAIK* 33 (1977), pl. 20d.

DATE OF THE STAND

In an early work on the interrelations between Egypt and Mesopotamia as reflected in ceramic finds, Henri Frankfort stated that jar stands did not exist in Egypt prior to the First Dynasty.²⁰ A review of more recent literature indicates that stands were already used during the Naqada III period, some 150 years before the traditional start of Dynasty 1.²¹ Bowls or beakers with pedestalled bases, which occur already in the Naqada I phase, do not come under consideration here.²²

A significant early group of tall Egyptian stands occurs as imports in the series of elite A-Group burials excavated at Qustul by the Oriental Institute, which can be dated, on the basis of their contents, to the late Naqada III period, just before Dynasty 0.²³ Although more slender in profile than the Abydos stand, the Qustul stands provide interesting comparanda, since they include examples decorated with rows of excised triangles,²⁴ applied ceramic relief,²⁵ and incised decoration.²⁶

¹⁶ P.P. Betancourt et al., "Ceramic Stands: A Group of Domestic and Ritual Objects from Crete and the Near East," *Expedition* 26:1 (Fall, 1983), pp. 32–37. For ceramic and stone stands found in temple contexts, cf. Ahmed Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, vol. 1: *The Bent Pyramid* (Cairo, 1959), pp. 84–87 and pl. 32; Linda Hulin, "Pottery Cult Vessels from the Workmen's Village" in B.J. Kemp et al., *Amarna Reports I* (London, 1984), chapter 12, pp. 165–77. For other examples of pottery stands *in situ*, cf. H.G. Fischer, "Offering Stands from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I," *MMJ* 7 (1973), p. 126, n. 7.

¹⁷ Represented on the Narmer Macehead from Hierakonpolis, first published in J.E. Quibell and W.M.F. Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, Part I (London, 1900), pl. 26B.

¹⁸ Offering vessels (*hes* jars) and stands were found at grave-side (often inscribed with the name of the deceased) during the First Intermediate Period; cf. G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari II* (London, 1928), p. 6 and pl. 92, no. 96W; R.A. Slater, *The Archaeology of Denderah in the First Intermediate Period*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1974, p. 43.

¹⁹ The earliest examples of ceramic stands in a burial context known to me date to Naqada III; cf. Naqada Tombs 17 and 112, Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. 82; B. Williams, *The A-Group Royal Cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L*, OINE III (Chicago, 1986), pp. 76–79 and figs. 46–47; p. 155 and pls. 93–94.

²⁰ H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East I. Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt and their Earliest Interrelations*, Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Papers no. 6 (London, 1924), pp. 127–30.

²¹ For a discussion of the chronology of Naqada III–Dynasty 1, cf. Rainer M. Boehmer, Günter Dreyer, and Bernd Kromer, "Einige frühzeitliche ¹⁴C-Datierungen aus Abydos und Uruk," *MDAIK* 49 (1993), pp. 63–68; also see note 3 above.

²² An early example is Metropolitan Museum 07.228.182, a black-topped Naqada I beaker with fenestrated base (provenience unknown).

²³ B. Williams, *A-Group Royal Cemetery*, pp. 76–79 and figs. 46–47; p. 155 and pls. 23–24; pls. 93–94; the dating of the tombs is discussed, pp. 163–65.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 47b; fig. 181b and pl. 24e.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 46c and pl. 23.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 46b; fig. 47d and e; for incised and painted decoration on Naqada III pottery from Qustul, see also B. Williams, *Decorated Pottery and the Art of Naqada III*, MÄS 45 (Berlin, 1988).

Rectangular or polygonal stands from Qustul also bear rows of excised or cut-through triangles, as well as incised and painted decoration, including representations of animals.²⁷

Decoration in the form of rows of excised and cut-through triangles occurs on early stands from a variety of contexts. Very close in style to the Abydos ram stand is a fragment of a sculptured ceramic support, possibly in the shape of an animal, from the settlement ("Osiris Town") excavated by Petrie in the vicinity of the "Osiris Temple" at Abydos.²⁸ A circular hole in the top of the fragment may have been used to support a jar, and the exterior is decorated with triangles, both excised and incised. A number of fragments of tall stands with excised triangles have been found at Hierakonpolis Locality HK-29a, in a pit dated to early Dynasty I, which had been cut into the earlier oval "cult structure."²⁹ Dr. Christiana Köhler has kindly shown me an example of excised triangle decoration on a cylindrical vessel (possibly a stand) which derives from Level IIIe at Buto, a context dated to Naqada IIIa2/b1.³⁰

Although not securely dated, a fragment of a stand from the temple at Coptos (fig. 6) provides an intriguing parallel to the Abydos ram stand.³¹ Rows of impressed triangles surround a human figure, the head of which was carried out in applied ceramic relief, with details of the

²⁷ B. Williams, *A-Group Royal Cemetery*, pls. 93, 94; (excised and cut-through triangles, painted giraffe(?) and wavy lines); pls. 96a, 97 (excised triangles and incised cobra). Williams suggests that the animal represented is a bubalis, *Decorated Pottery*, p. 17.

²⁸ University College 17384, from level 112 "in the 'Osiris Town,'" unpublished, called "Archaic." (I would like to thank Mrs. Barbara Adams of the Petrie Museum for permission to mention this object.) The area of settlement excavated by Petrie appears to have existed prior to the First Dynasty, and survived into the First Intermediate Period, cf. W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos I* (London, 1902), p. 9; see also B.J. Kemp, "The Early Development of Towns in Egypt," *Antiquity* 21 (1977), pp. 185–200. Supports in the shape of animals are known as early as Naqada III, cf. Ashmolean 1895.776, a sculpted ceramic stand in the shape of a reclining ram from Naqada, tomb 115 (probably Naqada III in date), Elise J. Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt I* (London, 1955), pl. 12, no. 5.

²⁹ Renée Friedman, paper presented at symposium on early Egypt, British Museum, London, July 22, 1993. For the "temple site" of HK-29a, see R. Friedman, "Hierakonpolis. Locality 29A," *Bulletin de Liaison du Groupe International d'Etude de la Céramique Egyptienne XIV* (1990), pp. 18–25; and a plan and reconstruction drawing in B. Adams, *Ancient Nekhen: Garstang in the City of Hierakonpolis* (New Malden, 1995), pp. 36–41. Note also excised triangles on ceramic from Hierakonpolis temple, date unknown, B. Adams, *Ancient Hierakonpolis Supplement* (Warminster, 1974), p. 40.

³⁰ E. Christiana Köhler, *Buto III, AVDAIK* (forthcoming), pl. 57, no. 1; another example with rows of excised triangles derives from the "Early Dynastic Pit" at Buto, pl. 57, no. 2.

³¹ W.M.F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), p. 5 and pl. 5, no. 3. See discussion in B. Adams, *Sculptured Pottery from Koptos in the Petrie Collection* (Warminster, 1986), pp. 19–20, and pls. I and VII. Although Petrie read the human head in profile as the hieroglyph *tp*, followed by a phonetic complement of *p*, the incised decoration below the head almost certainly represents the body of a seated or standing human, to judge from the photographs and drawing in Adams, *ibid.*

Fig. 6. Fragment of a stand with applied relief and impressed triangles from Coptos; reproduced from B. Adams, *Sculptured Pottery from Koptos in the Petrie Collection* (Warminster, 1986), pl. 7. Courtesy Barbara Adams, Petrie Museum.



face and hair incised with a sharp tool, while the rest of the body was indicated by means of incised lines. As in the case of the Abydos stand, the context of the Coptos fragment in the lower levels of the Min Temple is too general to allow close dating, but the similarity in decoration and technique of the Coptos fragment to examples from the Naqada III/Dynasty 0 horizon implies to me a date in this range.

As can be seen from the parallels cited above, repeated rows of small excised or impressed triangles seem to be a common feature of many early stands. Petrie (discussing an undated tall stand from Dendera with rows of fully cut-through triangles) suggested that such triangles represent a lattice effect "copied from stands made of crossing reeds bound together, and plastered with mud," but no actual examples of organic prototypes have survived.³² Large open fenestrations such as those in

³² W.M.F. Petrie, *Denderah* (London, 1900), pp. 23–24, pl. 16, no. 38 (there called "undated," but similar to an example of the First Intermediate Period from the same site, *op. cit.*, pl. 16, no. 28). Petrie's suggestion for the origin of "cut-out" decoration is repeated in Do. Arnold and J. Bourriau, eds., *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* (Mainz am Rhein, 1993), p. 88, which makes reference to the same example from Dendera.

the Abydos stand certainly also had a function as a means of ventilation, perhaps for the cooling of jars containing liquids.

Similar fenestrations and rows of excised triangles are a feature of Mesopotamian stands of the Early Dynastic I phase from cultic contexts, a fact which led P. Delougaz, following Frankfort, to suggest influence from Mesopotamia on Egyptian potters.³³ Based on recent discussions of synchronisms between Egypt and Mesopotamia, however, Early Dynastic I in Mesopotamia is partly synchronous with Dynasty I in Egypt, and therefore the examples of stands with excised triangles from Buto and Qustul dating to the Naqada III period actually predate the Mesopotamian examples.³⁴

DECORATION AND TEXT

Despite the intriguing nature of the newly revealed incised decoration representing giraffes and plants, the figure of a ram at the top of the stand is clearly the dominant image, as it is carried out in applied relief and enclosed in its own rectangular field (figs. 1, 3, and 5). The variety of ram is identifiable through its distinctive straight corkscrew horns, thick mane below the neck, and long tail as the archaic ram, *Ovis longipes palaeoegyptiacus*.³⁵

A number of Predynastic and Early Dynastic representations in both animal and anthropomorphic form reflect the early significance of rams.³⁶ Further, several Early Dynastic objects from Abydos explicitly suggest divine connotations for the animal form of the ram.³⁷ This impression is strengthened by the existence in early texts of the names of several deities (most significantly Khnum) worshipped in later times in the form of a ram.³⁸ The name of the god *Hrti* is determined with a reclining ram as early as the Second Dynasty, as is the name of the related deity *Ti-zp-f*, who is known from the First Dynasty.³⁹ Both of these deities are known from later texts, in which they appear to relate to the protection of the granary and the herd, according to Kaplony.⁴⁰ The

³³ P. Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region*, OIP 63 (Chicago, 1952), p. 134, and pls. 45 and 173. For "cut ware" in Early Dynastic contexts in Mesopotamia, cf. B. Pongratz-Leisten, "Keramik der fröhdyastischen Zeit aus den Grabungen in Uruk-Warka," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 19 (1988), p. 296. I would like to thank Dr. Richard L. Zettler of the University of Pennsylvania for this last reference, and for discussing the Mesopotamian examples with me.

³⁴ See, for example, R.M. Boehmer et al., "Einige frühzeitliche ¹⁴C-Datierungen," cf. also P.R.S. Moorey, "On Tracking Cultural Transfers in Prehistory," in M. Rowlands et al., eds., *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World* (1987), pp. 36–45.

³⁵ L. Keimer, "Remarques sur quelques représentations de divinités-béliers et sur un groupe d'objets de culte conservés au Musée du Caire," *ASAE* 38 (1938), pp. 297–331; L. Störk, "Schaf," *LÄ* 5 (Wiesbaden, 1984), cols. 522–24; P. Behrens, "Widder," *LÄ* 6 (Wiesbaden, 1986), cols. 1243–45.

culture-specific meanings in the viewer). The motif of giraffes and trees is known from a variety of finds ranging in date from Naqada III to the First Dynasty. Thus, pairs of giraffes flanking palm trees occur on several slate ceremonial palettes attributed to the Naqada III period,⁴³ as well as on a painted bowl of Naqada IIIb date from Qustul,⁴⁴ and on a cylinder seal from Helwan dated to the First Dynasty (possibly Aha).⁴⁵ Unlike these examples, the giraffes of the Abydos stand do not face one another, but consist of a single giraffe before a tree, which in neither instance on the Abydos stand resembles the palms depicted on slate palettes.⁴⁶ The spiny branches of one of the trees indicate that the acacia is more likely intended, and its leaves are known as a favored food source of the giraffe.⁴⁷ Aside from its use as a determinative in a few Egyptian words, giraffes (unlike falcons, vultures, rams, or other animals) appear to have evoked few, if any symbolic associations during the pharaonic era, perhaps partly due to the scarcity of giraffes in Egypt in dynastic times.⁴⁸

Although it is conceivable that the giraffe and plant motif is purely decorative, the placement of an inscription against the neck of one of the giraffes implies a more overt level of symbolism. It is important to note that the rectangle enclosing the inscription was not merely squeezed into the remaining space left between giraffe and fenestration. Rather, all incision was carried out before firing, and the line that forms the right-hand side of the rectangle continues in an unbroken stroke as the neck and one of the forelegs of the giraffe. The giraffe and inscription thus form an integrated unit. The giraffe seems almost to carry the inscription on its neck, in a fashion reminiscent of the later tradition of "personified estates," which bear names of funerary domains on their

⁴³ Examples include the "Two Dogs Palette," H. Asselberghs, *Chaos en Beheersing: Documenten uit Aeneolithisch Egypte* (Leiden, 1961), pl. 73; the reverse of the "Battlefield Palette," *op. cit.*, pl. 87, (lower part) and pl. 89, fig. 154 (upper); and two fragments in Berlin, *op. cit.*, pl. 89, fig. 156 and pl. 91, fig. 161. W. Kaiser suggested that the flanking giraffes might symbolize the unification of the two lands, but he does not adequately explain why a pair of giraffes would have come to represent Upper and Lower Egypt, "Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit III," *ZÄS* 91 (1964), p. 116.

⁴⁴ B. Williams, *A-Group Royal Cemetery*, pls. 88–92 and pp. 154–55. See also *idem*, *Decorated Pottery and the Art of Naqada III*, *MÄS* 45 (Berlin, 1988).

⁴⁵ Z. Saad, *The Excavations at Helwan* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1969), pl. 95.


⁴⁶ I. Wallert, *Die Palmen im Alten Ägypten*, *MÄS* 1 (Berlin, 1962), pp. 66–73, discusses the plants represented on the palettes and the Helwan seal as examples of the palm and repeats the idea that the motif might symbolize unification.

⁴⁷ Berthold Laufer, *The Giraffe in History and Art* (Chicago, 1928), p. 6. I would like to thank Peter Lacovara for this reference.

⁴⁸ Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, "Giraffe," *LÄ* 2, cols. 600–601. For the frequent assertion that the giraffe determinative in the verb *sr*, meaning "to foretell" (*Wb.* 4, pp. 189–90) relates to the giraffe's ability to see far in the distance, see Chr. Cannuyer, "Du nom de la giraffe en ancien égyptien et de la valeur phonétique du signe 𓆎," *GM* 112 (1989), pp. 7–10.

heads.⁴⁹ Juxtaposition often implies possession or relation in Egyptian art, as for example when animals (representing deities or concepts) grasp symbols or tools, or stand atop inscriptions.⁵⁰


An important group of painted marks on jars from the recently discovered elite tomb U-j (Naqada IIIA2 in date) in the U cemetery at Abydos may perhaps elucidate the meaning of the giraffe and plant motif. The ink inscriptions, which consist mostly of the graphic device of an animal or animal part (e.g. fish, bull's head, scorpion, sea shell) alongside a plant have been explained by Dr. Günter Dreyer as the names of royal plantations or other economic entities. This requires taking each animal or animal part as a previously unattested royal name, perhaps of rulers of a local Thinite dynasty preceding the kings of Dynasty 0, while the plant is considered to denote "plantation."⁵¹ Rather than extend Dreyer's interpretation to the ram stand and suggest the existence of a plantation of "King Giraffe," whose existence is entirely unattested, I prefer to interpret all instances of the combination "animal + plant" as graphic emblems that denote particular domains (i.e., "the giraffe domain," etc.).

Support for an interpretation of the giraffe and plant pair as a graphic device for an estate may be provided by the inscription at the giraffe's neck. The absence of the vertical lines of the palace façade rule out the reading of the rectangle as a *serekh*, and the rectangle is best understood as an early writing of the enclosure  (*ḥwt*, Gardiner Sign-list 06).⁵² Although *ḥwt* in general can refer to economic, administrative, or religious institutions, the names of funerary domains during the Old

⁴⁹ Cf. H.K. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, BdE 34 (Cairo, 1962).

⁵⁰ For example, the Horus falcon atop the *serekh*, the vulture grasping the *šn* sign and *wš* scepter, or the animals atop the fortified towns on the Libyan Palette (cf. note 36). For the related phenomenon of composite hieroglyphs, which employ juxtaposition of elements, see H.G. Fischer, "The Evolution of Composite Hieroglyphs in Ancient Egypt," *MMJ* 12 (1978), pp. 5–19.

⁵¹ G. Dreyer, "Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 5./6. Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 49 (1993), p. 35, also pl. 8a–c. I would like to thank Dr. Dreyer for discussing his finds with me.

⁵² There are numerous examples of rectangles (as well as circular enclosures) containing signs in early inscriptions, interpreted variously as names of temples, palaces, and domains, cf. P. Kaplony *IÄF* II, pp. 816–17, notes 809 and 810; W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit*, *ÄA* 45 (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 204–205, also 212–14; also J. R. Ogdon, "Studies in Archaic Epigraphy II. On the Nature of , " *GM* 57 (1982), pp. 41–47; idem, "Studies in Archaic Epigraphy IV. On Architectural Design for Names of Constructions in Archaic Hieroglyphs," *GM* 62 (1983), pp. 55–61. For examples of a rectangle written without the characteristic square in the corner, cf. Kahl, *System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, sign list o2.

Kingdom are usually formed of the phrase “*ḥwt* + royal name” (composed of the royal name written inside the *ḥwt* sign).⁵³

Turning to the three signs within the rectangle, the group is not paralleled elsewhere, which makes any interpretation particularly difficult. No less of a problem is the fact that the study of early incised inscriptions on ceramic vessels (“potmarks”) has come to be separated from research into the more readily comprehensible inscriptions found on seals, sealings, labels, and written in ink on vessels, despite some overlap between the two general categories.⁵⁴ Although parallels can be drawn between each of the signs on the stand and signs that occur as both “potmarks” and “early hieroglyphs,” their meaning is still elusive.⁵⁵

The uppermost element, which consists of what is usually interpreted as human arms pointing downwards, with three fingers on each hand, is usually read as either *k3* or *shn* and is well attested as the Horus name of a ruler of Dynasty 0 (here called King “Ka”). Since the name of King “Ka” of Dynasty 0 may occur with arms pointing either up or down, (according to the location of the lines of the palace façade within the *serekh*), it is possible that the inscription on the Abydos stand may relate to a *ḥwt*, or cultic foundation of King “Ka.”⁵⁶ This attribution agrees well with the date for the stand based on finds from Qustul, Hierakonpolis, and Buto (see discussion above).

⁵³ For example, in the example of the generic term for all of the estates of Sneferu, *ḥwt-Snfrw*, to which are added individual identifying names for each estate, Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, p. 5, and pp. 57–79.

⁵⁴ Note, for instance, the same groups of signs found both as “potmarks” and on a jar sealing from Abydos, cited in E.C.M. van den Brink, “Corpus and Numerical Evaluation of the ‘Thinite’ Potmarks,” in R. Friedman and B. Adams, eds., *Followers of Horus*, p. 265.

⁵⁵ Although the combination of three signs on the ram stand is precisely paralleled neither in the corpus of “early inscriptions” nor among “potmarks,” similar signs occur as “potmarks,” cf. van den Brink, “Corpus and Numerical Evaluation...,” p. 282, Group III (𓏏 “arms”), Group VII (𓏏 “arc”), Group X (𓏏 “dagger”), and note also the occurrence of “potmarks,” p. 283, group XXX, 𓏏 which recall the diamond pattern incised between fenestrations on the lower portion of the stand.

⁵⁶ Kaiser noted that the arms may point either up or down inside the *serekh*, according to the location of the lines of the palace façade, and reads both instances as *k3*: “Einige Bemerkungen...,” pp. 92–93. Kaplony, however, reads the arms as *shn*, citing the higher frequency of arms pointing down rather than up, “Sechs Königsnamen der 1. Dynastie in neuer Deutung” *Orientalia Suecana* 7 (1958), pp. 54–57. Helck, on the basis of a comparison of incised and painted inscriptions and seal impressions prefers to interpret the “arms” as a kind of cloth with fringed ends, *Untersuchungen*, p. 92. Kahl, *System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, pp. 38–40, tabulates all examples and provides a useful overview of the debate. Note also the variability of orientation of this sign on Egyptian “potmarks” of the same period and later, E.C.M. van den Brink, “Corpus and Numerical Evaluation...,” p. 286, Group III.

If, however, the uppermost sign in the inscription may be read as *k3*, it is also possible that, together with the enclosing rectangle as *ḥwt*, the two signs form a writing of *ḥwt-k3* or “ka-chapel.” While *ḥwt-k3* generally seems to denote a funerary complex,⁵⁷ and is not attested as a term until the late First Dynasty, it is perhaps possible to read the rectangle and arms in this manner.⁵⁸ Considering the evidence for a ka-chapel of Dynasty 6 above the findspot of the Abydos stand, this reading might imply that the stand formed part of the equipment of an earlier ka-chapel.⁵⁹ The term *ḥwt-k3*, however, is usually followed by the name of a king or (rarely) a private person, a situation which leads us to a discussion of the final two signs of the Abydos stand.

The sign directly beneath the arms pointing down is a tall arc that may be an early writing for the folded cloth, \parallel (Gardiner Sign-list S29), the uniliteral sign with the value of *s*. Its form, with both sides of equal length, is attested frequently in the Archaic period.⁶⁰ The sign directly beneath the arc consisting of a stroke penetrating the top of an elongated triangle is difficult to read, although numerous examples of similar signs have been interpreted by Kaplony as \Downarrow (Gardiner sign-list T22) read as *sn*.⁶¹ In many instances, the *sn* sign is written already during the First Dynasty with the phonetic complement of \parallel .⁶² The resulting reading of the inscription thus might be *ḥwt-k3 Sn* (“the ka-chapel of Sen”), taking *Sn* as a private name,⁶³ or *ḥwt sn-k3* (perhaps “the *ḥwt* (called) venerating the ka”),⁶⁴ taking the verb as an infinitive.⁶⁵

Whatever the exact reading of the signs, I believe it is likely that the decoration of the ram stand simultaneously employs two forms of early

⁵⁷ See now D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*, SAGA 9 (Heidelberg, 1994), pp. 118–27. I would like to thank Dr. Dorothea Arnold of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for this reference.

⁵⁸ Compare Second Dynasty writings of *ḥwt-k3*, Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, pl. VIII, nos. 10 and 11, and discussion in Helck, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 63–64. Note also the intriguing occurrence of a “potmark” \square which might be read *ḥwt-k3*, W.B. Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka* (Cairo, 1938), pl. 39, no. 98.

⁵⁹ See above, note 10.

⁶⁰ Note also the occurrence in Old Kingdom representations of the folded cloth with ends of either equal or unequal lengths, H.G. Fischer, “An Elusive Object within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues,” *MMJ* 10 (1975), pp. 14–15. Note the objections to interpreting the archaic form with sides of equal length as *s*, in J. R. Ogdon, “Studies in Archaic Epigraphy V. Some Reflections on the Logogram \parallel and its meanings,” *GM* 64 (1983), pp. 53–59.

⁶¹ For example, Kaplony, *IÄF* III, figs. 41, 107, 361, 371, 382, 467, 474, 475, 495, 497, 528, 537, 539, 551, 554, 558, 599, 607, and 610.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Cf. numerous examples of names with *sn*, Kaplony *IÄF*. Note also the stela from Abydos naming an individual called $\overline{\text{sn}}$, which might be read as *sn* (note 41 above).

⁶⁴ For this meaning of *sn*, cf. *Wb.* 4, p. 154, 16.

signing. Thus the giraffe and plant motif is an emblem, recalling both the “animal + plant” markings on vessels from Umm el-Qa‘ab Tomb U-j and similar incised markings on the Coptos Min colossi.⁶⁶ In all these cases, I interpret the emblems to denote domains, and I do not believe that the animal element is likely to reflect any royal name. The attached rectangle with signs within, however, is an instance of an early hieroglyphic inscription, which seems to provide a specific name for the domain, whatever its reading. The juxtaposition of hieroglyphic signs and symbolic emblem agrees well with what we know of the development of the interaction of symbol and text in Egyptian art from Protodynastic, and indeed Dynastic, times.

The final issue to be considered here is the overall meaning of the stand, taking into account its cultic context, and the apparent reference that its decoration makes to a domain or estate. Most likely, the stand was used in the ritual of a ram deity such as Khnum, which would have taken place in an early temple predating the “Osiris Temple” at Abydos. The graphic elements of giraffes and plants in the stand’s decoration probably refer to a specific domain of this cultic complex, perhaps known as “plantation of the giraffe.” The signs at the back of the neck of one of the giraffes appear to name a specific endowment (*ḥwt*), whether royal or not in nature, and provide a unique hieroglyphic complement to an emblematic representation. While much that has been set forth here remains speculative, future excavation of Protodynastic cult sites will certainly provide better information on the mechanics of cult in early Egypt and the existence of cultic and administrative entities in this period of state formation.



⁶⁵ It is also possible, however, that the third sign is to be taken as an early form of the later dagger $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, with the value of *tp* (Gardiner Sign-list T8). A similar sign occurs frequently as an incised “potmark,” cf. van den Brink, “Corpus and Numerical Evaluation...,” p. 289, Group X ($\overline{\text{𓏏}}$), in combination with both the “arc” sign, (𓏏) p.289, X5 and with the “arms,” (𓏏), p. 289, X7. The third sign on the ram stand inscription lacks the horizontal line crossing the vertical typical of the examples cited, however, and *sn* thus seems a more likely reading.

⁶⁶ For the Coptos colossi, see B.J. Williams, “Narmer and the Coptos Colossi,” *JARCE* 25 (1988), pp. 35–59; B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, fig. 28, pp. 80–82; and G. Dreyer, “Die Datierung der Min-Statuen aus Koptos,” in *Kunst des Alten Reiches* (Mainz am Rhein, 1995), pp. 49–56.

The Discovery of the Satellite Pyramid of Khufu (GI-d)



ZAHI HAWASS

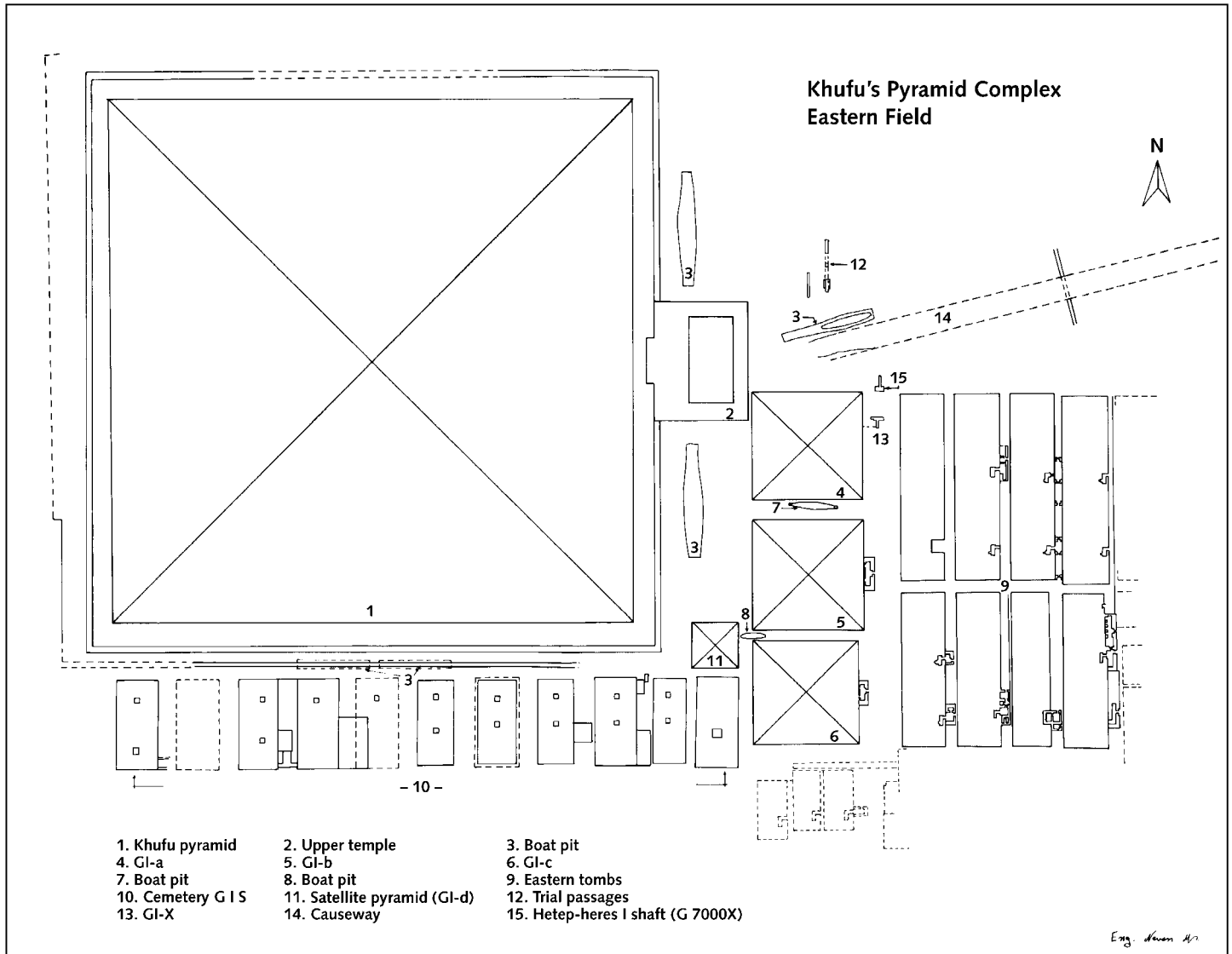
IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE TO DEDICATE THIS NEW DISCOVERY TO Professor William Kelly Simpson. I have known Kelly since 1969, when he was the Co-Director of the Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition at Abydos. I was Inspector of Antiquities for the Expedition then, and after that association became a very close friend of Kelly's. In 1975 he invited me to visit the Museum of Fine Arts and see the excellent collection of which he was curator. Kelly had been publishing the mastabas that Reisner discovered in the eastern and western fields by the Great Pyramid at Giza, and when I became Inspector of Giza, I was able to see him at work on his superb volumes of *Giza Mastabas*. In 1992, Kelly was in Egypt and came to the site to see the recent discoveries on the plateau. We had just discovered the new pyramid discussed below, and Kelly was impressed with this find, even more so because it was unexpected. While Giza has supplied several discoveries about which I could write in honor of Prof. Simpson, it is perhaps this one that might mean the most to him, and I offer my article in honor of his scholarship and friendship.¹

The Antiquities Department of Giza, of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, decided in 1991 to work on the east side of the Great Pyramid of Khufu.² George Reisner excavated this site and recorded most of the architectural components known on the east side of Khufu's pyramid.³ The Antiquities Department also worked in this area and, under Selim Hassan, cleared over 10 meters of sand located on the east face of the pyramid, in addition to excavating the Upper Temple of

¹ I would like to thank Mark Lehner, David P. Silverman, Jennifer Hauser, and Peter Der Manuelian for their assistance in the preparation of this manuscript. In particular, Mark Lehner deserves special thanks for reviewing much of the data presented below.

² This work was done by a team from the Giza Inspectorate of Antiquities: Alaa el Din Shahat, archaeologist; Abdel Hamid Koteb and Nevien Mohammed Mustafa, architects; Mostafa Waziry, Josef Nabieh and Esmat Abdel Ghany, assistant archaeologists; and Hasabala el-Taib, photographer.

³ G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis 1* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942); G.A. Reisner and W.S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis 2. The Tomb of Hetepheres, Mother of Cheops* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).



Khufu⁴ (see figs. 1–3). After Hassan’s excavation, the Antiquities Department prepared the site for visitors and erected a paved road in the area flanking the northern and southern part of the Upper Temple.

Recently, as part of an effort to prepare the site properly for visitors, and to clean and restore the existing monuments, the Antiquities Department decided to remove this road, thereby preventing cars and

Fig. 1. Overview plan of the Great Pyramid and Eastern Cemetery, showing the location of the satellite pyramid (no. 11).

⁴S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 10. The Great Pyramid of Khufu and its Mortuary Chapel* (Cairo, 1960); H. Abu-Seif, “Dégagement de la face est de la pyramide de Chéops,” *ASAE* 46 (1947), pp. 235–43; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *L’Architettura delle Piramidi Menfite* 4 (Rapallo, 1965).

buses from driving on the basalt pavement of the Upper Temple.⁵ During this work, the satellite pyramid of Khufu was discovered. It is located about 25.5 m southeast of the southeast corner of the Khufu Pyramid and about 7 m west of the subsidiary pyramids GI-b and GI-c. The satellite pyramid shares the same orientation to the cardinal directions and is found at nearly the same level as the Khufu Pyramid.

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE PYRAMID

The ruins of the satellite pyramid cover an area approximately 24 m square (fig. 4). The remains include fine, Tura-quality limestone blocks from the pyramid's outer casing and perimeter foundation, some of which remained in situ (see below), large blocks of cruder limestone and debris that filled the core of the pyramid, and a passage and chamber cut into the bedrock. All the masonry of the pyramid core had been removed from above the substructure when we excavated the pyramid. We found the passage and chamber unroofed and open to the sky.

1.1 Superstructure

What remained of the core of the superstructure as we found it was a U-shaped block of crude masonry and fill of debris that surrounded the substructure on the west, south, and east, and was open to the north. Two courses of irregular blocks remained of the core with debris fill between the blocks. The east and south sides had the most preserved foundation slabs and casing blocks of fine, Tura-quality limestone.

East side

On the east side, nine foundation slabs are in situ, with clear traces of the original pyramid baseline across their top surface. Five casing blocks are also in situ, but the foot of their outer sloping faces is broken away. A bottom course of squared-off core blocks is also preserved, standing above the foundation platform along much of the east side.

South side

We found eleven foundation slabs in situ on the south side of the pyramid with the pyramid baseline visible across their top surface. Farther in toward the core, there was a mass of debris and large irregular limestone pieces along the south side. Closer to the burial chamber, there are large limestone core blocks that were better squared and joined than those near the edge.

West side

Only one foundation slab remains in situ on the west side. The original pyramid baseline is clear on its upper surface. North and south of

⁵ The publication of this work with a map of the eastern field will appear shortly.



Fig. 2. The Upper Temple and Great Pyramid of Khufu, looking west, excavation in February, 1940.



Fig. 3. The Upper Temple of Khufu, looking north, excavation in February, 1940.

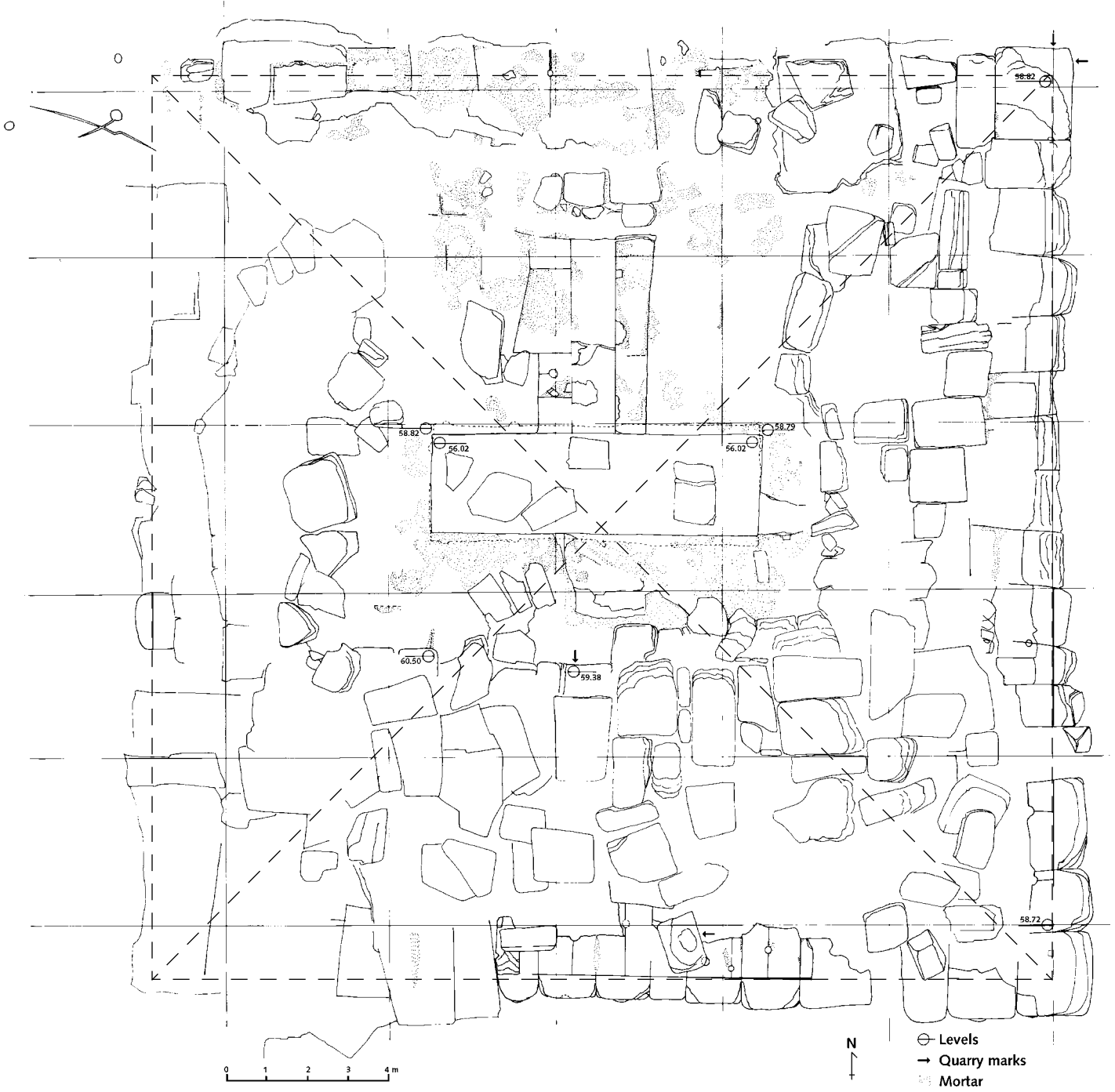


Fig. 4. Plan of the satellite pyramid of Khufu (GI-d).



Fig. 5. View of the satellite pyramid substructure, looking south.

this slab there are broad cuttings in the natural rock which served as emplacements for missing foundation slabs. We found a mass of limestone and mortar debris that composed part of the core along the west side and, closer to the burial chamber, there are large limestone pieces that are very irregular in shape and position.

North side

We found the northeast corner foundation slab in its original position, but any trace of builders' lines had been worn off its upper surface. None of the original foundation slabs remains along the rest of the north side, except for one slab toward the west end, just short of the original corner. This slab revealed a very rough indication of the baseline. Along the north side there are cuttings in the rock floor that were emplacements for missing foundation slabs.

Other comments

On the south (back) side of the pyramid (see fig. 5), there is an inscription in red paint on the north side of a core block facing toward the burial chamber. The graffito reads: *imy rsy s*, "which is on the south (back) side" (see fig. 9).

We found several blocks of the outer casing that were not in their original position. One of these was a casing block of the southeast corner, probably from the second course above the foundation platform. We found many casing blocks toppled out of place along the south side.

Reconstruction of the pyramid base

The original baseline, or setting line, marking the foot of the lowest course of casing blocks, is preserved on five foundation slabs of the east side, and seven foundation blocks on the south side. We found no remains of the original baseline on the north side where most of the foundation slabs were missing. When the foundation slabs are missing, one can see sockets or emplacements cut into the rock floor to receive the individual slabs. However, these do not help determine the exact position of the original pyramid baseline. On the west side there is only one foundation block in situ that carried the baseline.

This single block on the west side allowed us to ascertain the original base length of the pyramid, 21.75 m, by measuring to it from the preserved baseline on the east (the values here are measured graphically off the 1:50 plan). This is a bit less than 41.5 cubits. This reconstruction of the base puts the center of the pyramid .20 m north of the south (upper) edge of the burial chamber. The north–south center axis of the pyramid falls about .15 m east of the best approximation of the north–south center axis of the passage and chamber.

Apex

On the south side of the pyramid we found a large piece of fine, Tura-quality limestone with three exterior sloping faces of the pyramid (fig. 13). An examination of this piece indicates that it formed a little more than the south half of the third course below the apex of the pyramid. It is 2.70 m long and .56 m thick. The exterior faces are coated with a light brown patina from their exposure when they formed part of the completed pyramid. The mean slope of the preserved faces is 52.40°. The underside of the block is flat, but the top surface was shaped as a concavity. When it completed the square of the top of this course of the pyramid, there were four triangular planes sloping toward one another to form the lines of the diagonals of the square. The four triangular planes also sloped 2.6° to the center of the original square of the top of this course. The diagonal lines must have helped the builders control the squareness of the pyramid, to make sure the sides of the pyramid met at a point. This concavity of the top surface was intended to receive the convex underside of the block(s) forming the second course down from the top. Here, obviously, the pyramid superstructure is all casing, with no fill or core material, as it narrows to the apex.

The block or blocks of the second course down from the top are missing, but later we found the actual apex stone of the satellite pyramid, a single piece of fine, Tura-quality limestone. It is the second oldest pyramidion ever found, the earliest belonging to the North Pyramid of

Sneferu discovered by Rainer Stadelmann at Dahshur.⁶ The underside of the pyramidion was convex, with four triangular faces sloping outward 7.3° to the center point of the base. This protruding convex base was meant to fit into the concavity of the second course from the top, just as the blocks of the second course had evidently fit into the convex top surface of third course down (of which the block of the southern half is described above). The edge along the base of the pyramidion was broken away, as was the top, but Joseph Dorner established the mean slope of the faces as $51^\circ 45'$.

This evidence allows us to conclude that the mean slope of the satellite pyramid was almost exactly that of Khufu's main pyramid ($51^\circ 51'$), a slope of 28:22, a *seked* of 5 palms two fingers, with a 7:11 proportion between height and base⁷ of the pyramid. The original height of the satellite pyramid was 13.80.

1.2 Substructure

The passage is closely aligned north–south. The upper end of the passage begins 3.75 m from the reconstructed north base line. The width of the passage between the rock-cut walls is 1.05 m (2 cubits). It slopes downward at an angle between 25° and 28° (measured on the section drawings, fig. 6), for a length of 5.25 m (10 cubits) to its opening .55 m above floor level of the chamber. At the upper edges along both sides of the passage there are cuttings to receive the blocks that flanked and covered the passage. These emplacements are cut to depths ranging from 45 to 85 cm, and widths ranging from 75 cm to 1.40 m from the edges of the passage.

The passage and chamber together have the T-shape normal for satellite pyramids subsequent to this newly discovered one of Khufu. The chamber is cut to a depth of 2.85 m. The long walls of the burial chamber lean inward, so that the top of the chamber is narrower than the floor line. A similar situation exists in the eleven galleries under the east side of Djoser's Step Pyramid at Saqqara.⁸ The chamber is 7.92 m long (east–west). The east end of the chamber is 3.35 m wide at the floor and 2.35 m wide at the top, while the west end of the chamber is 3.40 m wide at the floor and 2.45 m wide at the top.

⁶ See Z. Hawass, "The Discovery of the Pyramidion of the Satellite Pyramid of Khufu," *Gs. Abdel Aziz Saleh*, (San Antonio, forthcoming).

⁷ The estimation of the pyramid angles was based on the remaining stones found in situ on the east and south sides, and also on the remains of lines found in the three corners (east, west, and south). Still, the figures are approximate.

⁸ W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, revised by William K. Simpson (Harmondsworth, 1981), pp. 53–62.

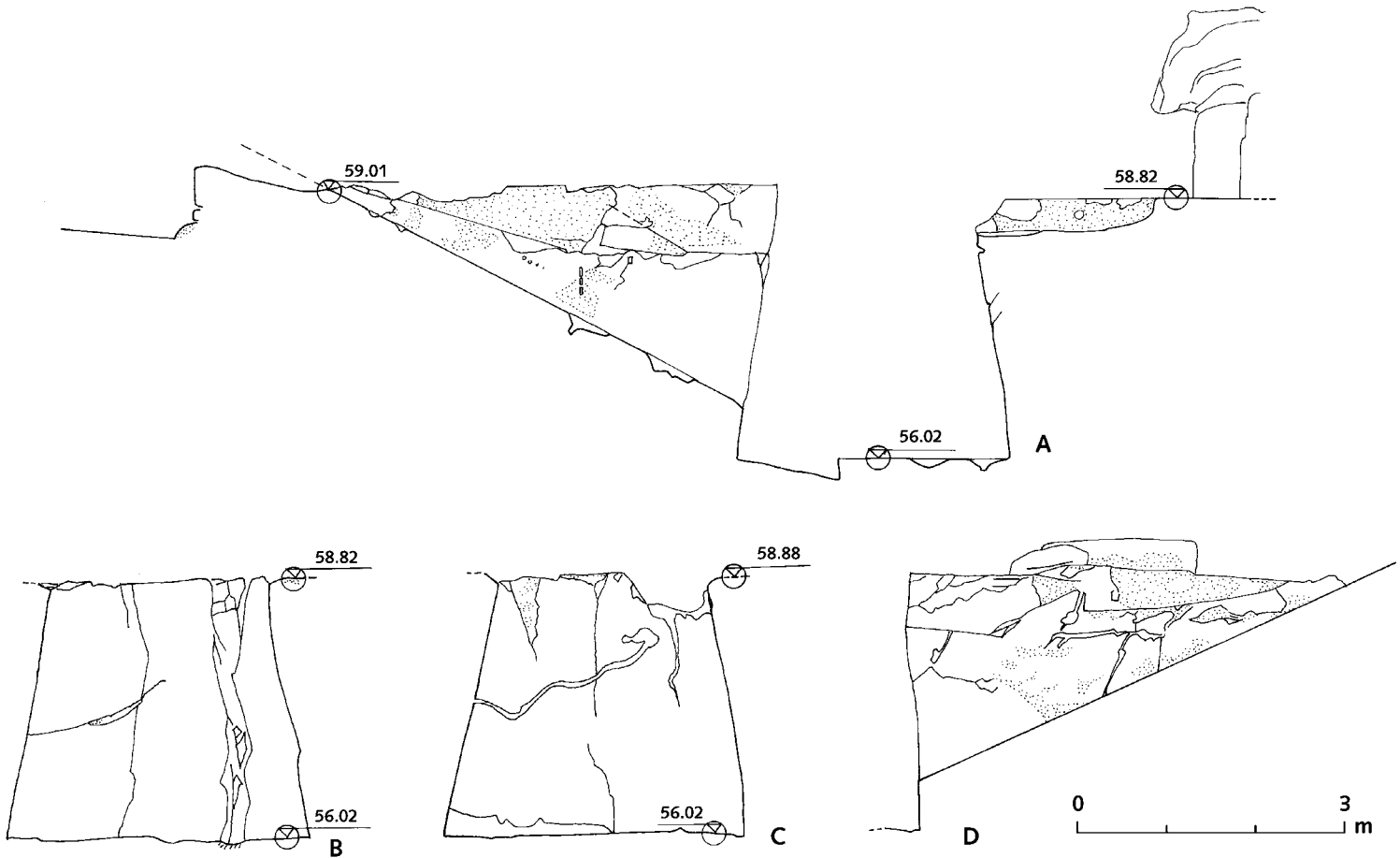


Fig. 6. Sections of the satellite pyramid substructure.

There is a cutting in the floor of the burial chamber, one meter wide, immediately in front of the opening into the chamber of the entrance passage. The bottom of the cutting slopes to a depth of .25 m and ends at a vertical face. The cutting probably received the end of the first block with which the passage was plugged.

At the west end of the chamber there are four small holes, a pair in the north and south walls respectively. The backs of the holes are round. They are about .10 m deep, and spaced, in each pair, about 1.45 m apart. Located a certain height above the floor, they appear to be sockets for wood cross-beams, perhaps for lowering or covering an object in the west end of the chamber.

Since the upper part of the burial chamber is no longer extant, and no ceiling blocks remain, the original shape of the chamber remains a mystery. The inward slope of the north and south walls forms an unusual tent shape. No part of the walls is smoothed or polished. There are

traces of red mortar on the floor of the burial chamber, and traces of red on the south side. The mortar could indicate an original limestone pavement.

1.3 Restoration

In order to give visitors an idea of the original appearance of this small pyramid and its place in the architectural context of the site, as well as to preserve the loose and crumbling core material, we restored parts of the satellite pyramid with new masonry.

Our restoration began on the east side of the satellite pyramid where much of the first casing course was in situ (see fig. 14). The blocks that we recovered allowed us to establish the inclination angle of this side as well as that of the northeast and southeast corners. The restoration team began by making a new corner block for these corners. Displaced and in situ casing blocks, as well as the in situ core block on the east side, allowed us to reestablish the heights of the courses.

On the south side of the pyramid (see fig. 15), the architect first replaced a section of missing foundation slabs so as to complete the pyramid baseline which was partially preserved on this side. During the course of the excavation, large stone blocks which came from the first casing course on the south side were collected, studied and measured, and it was possible for the architect to place a few of them back into their original locations. As we re-established the southeastern corner, we based the angle of inclination of the restored upper course of casing on the blocks that we recovered, on those in situ on the eastern side, as well as on the angle of the limestone block of the third course below the pyramid apex (see above).

On the north side (see fig. 16), we had to replace most of the foundation platform between the only in situ foundation slabs, one at the northeast corner and another toward the west end. We established the north pyramid baseline by taking the pyramid width as given by the preserved baseline on the east side and the single slab with baseline on the west side, and then measuring this width from the preserved baseline on the south side.

On the west side (see fig. 17), we extrapolated from the baseline preserved on the single in situ foundation slab, and found the intersection with our reconstructed north baseline.

We also replaced missing limestone blocks in front of the entrance to the passage and along the sides. We added a lintel across the top of the

⁹ The restoration work on the pyramid was done by Abdel Hamied Koteb and Nivien Mohammed Mustafa, the architects of the Giza Inspectorate of Antiquities. Miss Nivien did the daily restoration and was responsible for all the work completed.

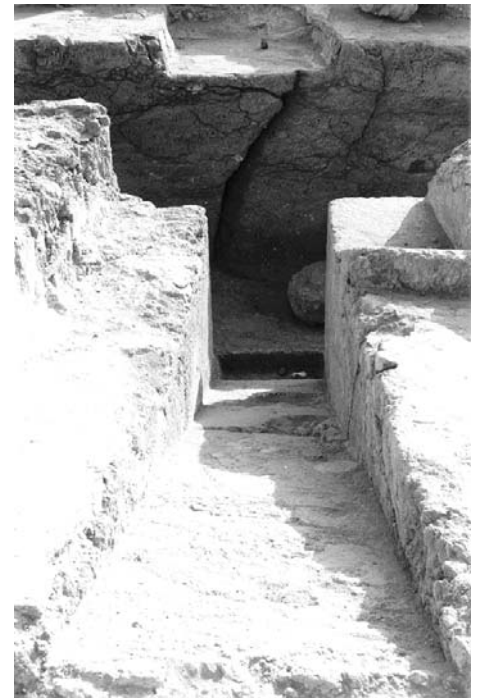


Fig. 7. Detail of the satellite pyramid substructure, looking south.

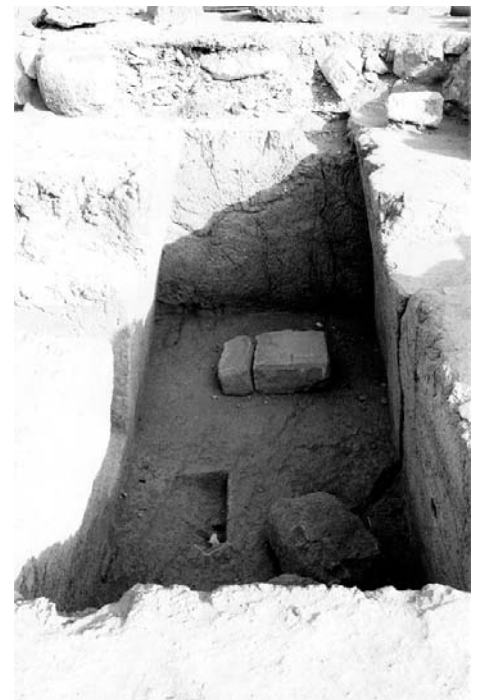


Fig. 8. Detail of the satellite pyramid substructure, looking east.

Fig. 9. Inscribed core block on the back (south) side of the satellite pyramid.



southern end of the trench of the passage, where it meets the pit of the burial chamber.

2. OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS ON THE EAST SIDE OF KHUFU'S PYRAMID

Scattered around Khufu's pyramid are several constructions whose functions are unknown. They include, in the order in which they are discussed below:

1. The "neben-pyramid"
2. GI-X (the unfinished pyramid)
3. The trial passage and the narrow trench

2.1 The "neben-pyramid"

This structure was found and named by Junker during his excavations in the GIS cemetery south of the Great Pyramid.¹⁰ It lies about 21.50 m south of the base of the pyramid, 42 m from the pyramid's southeastern corner and just outside the second enclosure wall. It is cut into the rock of the plateau and consists of a 4.30 m long descending passage that slopes to the north and ends in a small room measuring 1.5 m x 1.2 m x 0.8 m. The passage measures 0.9 m in height and 1 m in width. The top of the room is 1.3 m below the surface of the bedrock and lies under the second enclosure wall.¹¹

¹⁰ Junker, *Giza* 10, pp. 9–12, fig. 6.

¹¹ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *L'Architettura* 4, pp. 74–75, pl. 2, fig. 4; M. Lehner, *The Pyramid Tomb of Hetep-heres and the Satellite Pyramid of Khufu* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), p. 37.

Junker and Reisner believed that this structure was planned as a queen's pyramid. Possibly for topographical reasons, it was abandoned and rebuilt to the east.¹² Reisner noted that before and after Khufu's time, the location of the queens' pyramids was to the south of the main pyramid, for example: the South Pyramid complex of Sneferu at Dahshur and the pyramid complexes of Khafra and Menkaura at Giza. Both he and Junker believed that the "neben-pyramid" was abandoned because of the proximity of the quarry to the south of the Khufu Pyramid.¹³

Maragioglio and Rinaldi originally suggested that it was a tomb (Reisner, type 9) which predated the Great Pyramid and was abandoned when the pyramid was built. Later they rejected this theory and proposed that the "neben-pyramid" was a serdab similar to the one found south of the pyramid of Khafra.¹⁴ Brinks, however, felt that the "neben-pyramid" was built as the substructure for a satellite or ritual pyramid for Khufu.¹⁵

Recently, we found at Giza two sections of a supply ramp located on the south side, extending to the southwest corner of the Great Pyramid.¹⁶ Its presence suggests that the area to the south of Khufu's pyramid was free of structures during the building of the pyramid. The "neben-pyramid" had no apparent relationship to Khufu's pyramid. Most likely it was dug before or after Khufu's reign and has nothing to do with Khufu's burial as either a satellite or queen's pyramid.

2.2 The unfinished pyramid (GI-X)

Reisner found the substructure of an unfinished pyramid just east of Pyramid GIa. About 12.70 m north of this, almost on the east–west axis of Khufu's pyramid is the shaft of Hetep-heres I, G 7000x.

Maragioglio and Rinaldi offered another alternative explanation for GI-X, namely that it represents a trial cutting designed to test the process of laying masonry onto bedrock for the entrances of the small pyramids.¹⁷

¹² Junker, *Giza* 10, pp. 9–12, fig. 6; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 72.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *L'Architettura* 4, pp. 174–76, obs. 56.

¹⁵ J. Brinks, *Die Entwicklung der königlichen Grabanlagen des Alten Reiches*, HÄB 10 (Hildesheim, 1979), pp. 113–22, pl. 5.

¹⁶ The publication of the newly discovered ramp will appear shortly. See the discussion on the ramp in Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, p. 81. See also the discussion of the serdab south of Khafra in A.H. Abdel-Al and A. Youssef, "An Enigmatic wooden object discovered beside the Southern Side of the Giza Second Pyramid," *ASAE* 62 (1977), pp. 103–20, and *ASAE* 62 (1979), pls. 1–2. Cf. P. Lacovara and M. Lehner, "Brief Communication: An Enigmatic Object Explained," *JEA* 71 (1985), pp. 169–74.

¹⁷ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *L'Architettura* 4, p. 182, obs. 76.



Fig. 10. The satellite pyramid area, looking west.



Fig. 11. The satellite pyramid area, looking east.



Fig. 12. The satellite pyramid area, looking south.



Fig. 13. Block forming the south half of the third course below the apex of the satellite pyramid.

GI-X is a T-shaped cutting in the rock, consisting of an open trench sloping from north to south measuring 6.35 m wide, and a 3.75 m long corridor descending from north to south which measures 0.54 m high and 0.85 m wide. Reisner believed that this cutting was abandoned when the nearby tomb of Hetep-heres I was dug.¹⁸ Lehner offers a different explanation for the existence of GI-X. On the basis of the relationship he sees between GI-X and G 7000x, he suggests that the two were features of the same subsidiary complex. According to his theory, G 7000x was dug first and GI-X was started later, only to be abandoned when the plan of the eastern field was changed.¹⁹

2.3 The trial passages and the narrow trench

North of the causeway of Khufu, beside the secret tomb of Hetep-heres I are corridors cut out of the rock. These passages, called the “trial passages,” lie 87.50 m from the eastern base of Khufu’s pyramid and 43.50 m north of the east–west axis. They are oriented north–south, with carefully cut and well-squared blocks, some of which were cased with mortar.

The passages have a total length of 22 m and a total vertical depth of 10 m. At the north end, an opening in the bedrock is cut in steps. It becomes a sloping passage 1.05 m wide and 1.20 m high, which continues at an angle of $260^{\circ} 32'$ for a distance of about 21 m. At a point about 11 m from the north entrance to this passage, a second passage of almost identical cross-sectional dimensions begins. This second passage ascends southward at approximately the same angle as that by which the first passage descends. At 5.80 m from its beginning, this second passage reaches the surface of the bedrock and widens into a corridor which is open to the sky. A square shaft, about 0.72 m in width was cut vertically from the surface of the bedrock to the point where the two passages meet.²⁰

About 6 m west of the trial passages is another long corridor called the “narrow trench.” This runs parallel to the other passages and is almost exactly equal in width to the vertical shaft in the trial passages. It measures 0.15 m deep at the north end and 0.43 m deep at the south end. It is 0.71 m wide and 7.35 m long.²¹

The function of these trial passages has been debated by scholars since their discovery by Perring and Vyse, who believed that they were

¹⁸ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 70.

¹⁹ Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, pp. 71–74; 35–40.

²⁰ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *L'Architettura* 4, pp. 160–62; 58, 68–70; Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, pp. 45ff., fig. 10.

²¹ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *L'Architettura* 4, p. 70; Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, pp. 45–46.



Fig. 14. East side of the satellite pyramid, looking southwest.

part of the substructure of a fourth queen's pyramid that was left without a superstructure.²²

Petrie, who examined and mapped these passages, noted the similarity between them and the passages inside the Great Pyramid. He suggested that the trial passages functioned as a model for the interior of the Great Pyramid and noted that the trial passages had the same height and width (although shorter in length) as that of the passages in the Great Pyramid.²³

The trial passages reproduce in form the following features of the pyramid passages: the descending corridor, the ascending corridor, the northern end of the grand gallery with the lateral branches and the middle horizontal corridor.²⁴

²² H. Vyse, *Operation carried on at the Pyramids of Giza 2* (London, 1841), pp. 63ff.

²³ W.M.F. Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Giza*, with an update by Z. Hawass (London, 1990), pp. 15–16.

²⁴ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *L'Architettura* 4, p. 68.

Fig. 15. South side of the satellite pyramid, looking northeast.



Lehner lists several objections to the theory that these are model passages: flaws in the sides of the passages would not have been covered with plaster if they were not meant to be used; the lower part of the ascending passage narrows as if to provide a resting place for plugging blocks, a situation that implies a superstructure and a burial; the north opening of the descending passage is cut in steps as if to provide a place for the masonry of a superstructure; and the narrow trench appears to mark the north–south axis of a pyramid. On the basis of these points, he reconstructs a pyramid over the area.²⁵ This pyramid would have been comparable in size to GI–a, b or c, and would have lain on their north–south axis. The upper temple, the causeway, and the fifth boat pit were cut into the hypothetical area of this pyramid, indicating that it was never built.²⁶ Lehner suggested that this pyramid might have been planned as a satellite or ritual pyramid for Khufu. He thinks that it might have

²⁵ Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, pp. 50–51.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 63ff., figs. 9 and 15.

been planned to be twice as large as the eventual queen's pyramids and assumes that it was abandoned for topographical reasons.²⁷ Lehner also suggested that the three queen's pyramids were planned at the same time as the building of this pyramid. According to his hypothesis, this pyramid was never completed, probably due to the expansion of the upper temple and the change in route of the causeway. At this point, Lehner thinks that the queen's pyramid GI-a was taken over as the ritual pyramid. He chooses this pyramid because of its proximity to Khufu's upper temple and the absence of any traces of a mortuary temple associated with it.²⁸

Lehner's theory that the trial passage was originally in the substructure of a satellite pyramid is based on the fact that many of the satellite pyramids have interiors which echo the interior of the main pyramids with which they are associated.²⁹ Lehner later assigned GI-a to the burial of Khufu's mother, Hetep-heres I and GI-b as a satellite pyramid.

The most likely scenario for the subsidiary pyramids of the eastern side of the Great Pyramid seems to be the following: Khufu planned the four subsidiary pyramids on the east side, the trial passages as the substructure of the satellite pyramid and the other three pyramids as queen's pyramids.

In year 5, Khufu changed his cult and appointed himself as Re, then he enlarged the upper temple to accommodate the new subjects of the wall reliefs as well as the new cult.³⁰ The satellite pyramid was abandoned. At this time, GI-a was the pyramid for the original burial of Queen Hetep-heres.³¹

We assumed that GI-c was a satellite pyramid because this pyramid did not have a boat pit on the south side, as did GI-a and b. We excavated the south side of GI-c and found no evidence of boat pits. Queen Henut-sen died and was buried inside GI-c, but apparently the pyramid was not finished, a fact we determined based on the cross lines we found through clearance on the west side of the pyramid. The satellite pyramid was planned in the southeast corner. Its location suggests that it was built at the end of Khufu's reign in year 23, and the method of construction

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 78–85.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 81; see also Jéquier, *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit* (Cairo, 1933), pp. 10–11.

³⁰ Z. Hawass, "The Great Sphinx at Giza: Date and Function," *International Congress of Egyptology 2* (Turin, 1993), pp. 177–95.

³¹ See Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, pp. 30–31; Z. Hawass, *The Funerary Establishments of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura during the Old Kingdom*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania (1987), pp. 101–111.

Fig. 16. North side of the satellite pyramid, looking southwest.



indicates that it was built in a hurry and further suggests that it was built a few days after the death of Khufu.

The style of T-shaped burial chamber of the recently discovered satellite pyramid is typical of that of most of the satellite pyramids. Stadelmann determined that GIII-a of Menkaura's subsidiary pyramid was a satellite pyramid because of its T-shaped burial chamber.³² Khafra followed his father in building his subsidiary pyramid with a T-shaped structure,³³ but he built it to the south on the north-south axis of his pyramid. He did not follow his father Khufu in the location of the pyramid. Khafra chose the southeast corner, a location that became the standard location of the satellite pyramids of Dynasties 5 and 6.

³² R. Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden. Vom Ziegelbau zum Weltwunder* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp. 146–47.

³³ U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 34–35 and pl. 13.



Fig. 17. West side of the satellite pyramid, looking northeast.

3. LOCATION OF THE OLD KINGDOM SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID

Subsidiary pyramids have been discovered in the complexes of most of the pyramids of the Old Kingdom. A debate exists over whether these represent queen's pyramids or satellite pyramids; i.e., pyramids built for the owner of the main tomb. While several of the subsidiary pyramids at Giza definitely belonged to queens, the newly discovered satellite pyramid which is the subject of this paper did not. It has been suggested that these subsidiary pyramids developed from the southern tomb of King Djoser of Dynasty 3.³⁴

The southern tomb of Djoser, which lies below the southern wall surrounding his complex, west of the north–south axis of the Step Pyramid, is in the form of a mastaba. The burial chamber, which is not

³⁴ H. Ricke, *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 4: Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des alten Reiches 1* (Zurich, 1944), pp. 106–107; Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, p. 75; J.P. Lauer, *Histoire monumentale des pyramides d'Égypte 2: Les pyramides à degrés (IIIe dynastie)* (Cairo, 1962), pp. 132–33; Jéquier, *Pepi II 1* (Cairo, 1936), p. 9, note 2.

thought to be large enough for an actual interment, was empty. Other internal chambers contained the remains of a wooden box and quantities of pottery and stone vessels thought to have held milk and beer.³⁵ The most significant finds, those in a long north–south gallery, were three paneled niches decorated with reliefs portraying Djoser himself, clearly identified by the inscriptions.³⁶ These stelae, along with the small burial chamber, strongly suggest that this tomb was built for the use of Djoser, and not for a member of his family.

The southern tomb of Sekhemkhet also lies on the north–south axis of the main pyramid, but inside the enclosure wall. It was never finished, but was also in the form of a mastaba. Within the tomb were found the remains of a gilded wooden coffin, dated stylistically to the Old Kingdom, associated with the skeleton of a child.³⁷

The subsidiary pyramid at Meidum is also located south of the main pyramid. There were no finds in this pyramid, except for a fragment of a stele that bears part of a falcon. Interpreted as part of a royal stele, this discovery would suggest assigning the small pyramid to the owner of the main pyramid.³⁸

In the Bent Pyramid complex at Dahshur, a subsidiary pyramid was built south of the main pyramid, on its north–south axis. The interior of this pyramid was empty, but a stele bearing the names and titles of Sneferu next to a representation of the king seated on a throne was found outside the northern entrance.³⁹ No trace of a subsidiary pyramid has yet been found in the northern complex at Dahshur.⁴⁰

In the complex of Djedefra at Abu-Rawwash, a subsidiary pyramid was started in the southwest corner of the complex.⁴¹ Khafra has one subsidiary pyramid, south of the main pyramid and on its central north–south axis. Inside this pyramid several items were found: ox bones, fragments of wood, and a jar-sealing bearing the name of Khafra.⁴² It has

³⁵ J.P. Lauer, *La pyramide à degrés 1* (Cairo, 1935), p. 20; C.M. Firth, J.E. Quibell and J.P. Lauer, *La pyramide à degrés 2* (Cairo, 1936), pp. 62–63; Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, pp. 76–77.

³⁶ Lauer, *Pyramide à degrés 1*, pp. 18–20; *ibid.* 2, pp. 105–109, pls. 31–36.

³⁷ Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, p. 77; Lehner, “*Récherche et découverte*,” pp. 101–102.

³⁸ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *L'Architettura 3* (Rapallo, 1964), pp. 26–28, 44ff.; Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, p. 75; Cf. Petrie, MacKay and Wainwright, *Meidum and Memphis 3* (London, 1910), pp. 10–12.

³⁹ A. Fahkry, *Sneferu 1*, pp. 89–96; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *L'Architettura 3*, pp. 74ff., 116, pl. 15, and figs. 1–2.

⁴⁰ Stadelmann, “*Snofru*,” pp. 437–49; *idem*, “*Die Pyramiden des Snofru in Dahschur: Erster Bericht über die Grabungen an den nördlichen Steinpyramide*,” *MDAIK 38* (1982), pp. 379–93.

⁴¹ Lepsius, *Denkmaeler 1*, p. 23; Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, p. 76.

⁴² U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 34–35, 57, 64.

been referred to as both a queen's pyramid and a satellite pyramid.⁴³ There are subsidiary pyramids south of Menkaura's pyramid.⁴⁴ These are, again, usually referred to as queen's pyramids, but it has been suggested that either GIII-a or GIII-c were satellite pyramids.⁴⁵ Userkhaf's complex contains one subsidiary pyramid, which is located to the south of the west side of the main pyramid.⁴⁶ Almost all of the remaining Fifth and Sixth Dynasty pyramid complexes contain one subsidiary pyramid, and these are always, except in the case of Niussera, whose subsidiary pyramid is on the east end of the south side,⁴⁷ east of the main pyramid and south of the upper temple.⁴⁸ The only evidence of attribution in any of these later subsidiary pyramids is from the small pyramid in the complex of Neit. A group of model vessels bearing the name of the queen herself was found in the pyramid,⁴⁹ suggesting that it as well as these later subsidiary pyramids were satellite pyramids dedicated for the use of the owner of the main pyramid.⁵⁰ The fact that many of the Sixth Dynasty queens had their own pyramids and complexes (including as in the case of Neit, subsidiary pyramids) renders the identification of any of these later subsidiary pyramids as queens' pyramids highly unlikely. Thus it seems that the satellite pyramid existed as a part of the pyramid complex of the Old Kingdom since Dynasty 3.



⁴³ Hawass, *Funerary Establishments*, pp. 163–68.

⁴⁴ G.A. Reisner, *Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge, MA, 1931), pp. 55–68.

⁴⁵ Ricke, *Bemerkungen 2*, p. 126; Stadelmann, "Pyramiden," pp. 137–38; J.P. Lauer, "Sur le dualisme de la monarchie égyptienne et son expression architecturale sous les premières dynasties," *BIFAO* 55 (1955), p. 168. However, I believe that GIII-c is a satellite pyramid; see Hawass, *Funerary Establishments*, pp. 283–85.

⁴⁶ Firth, "Excavations," p. 66; J.P. Lauer, "Le temple haute de la pyramide du roi Ouserkaf à Saqqarah," *ASAE* 53 (1956), pp. 119–33.

⁴⁷ Borchartd, *Ne-user-re*, pp. 108–109, pl. 18.

⁴⁸ Lehner, *Satellite Pyramid*, p. 76; J.P. Lauer, *Le mystère des pyramides* (Paris, 1974), pp. 133–71; Cf. Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, figs. 51–52, 55, 59, 61, 63, and 67.

⁴⁹ Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, pp. 10–11.

⁵⁰ Jéquier, *Pepi II 1*, p. 2; Lauer, "Temple-haut," pp. 167–69; Lauer, *Les pyramides à degrés (IIIe dynastie)*, pp. 132–33; Ricke, *Bemerkungen 1*, pp. 106–107; idem, *Bemerkungen 2*, p. 125.

Redating the Bat Capital in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



JOYCE L. HAYNES

THE DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN, NUBIAN, AND NEAR Eastern Art of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, possesses a large red granite capital adorned on two faces with a woman's head with cow's ears (figs. 1–2). The date of this capital and the goddess represented on it have long been a matter of dispute.¹

From the Early Dynastic Period through the First Intermediate Period, the image of the goddess Bat, identified by a woman's face with cow's ears, adorns a variety of objects. These include her nome standard, the king's kilt,² and pendants of royal officials, to name only a few. In these early uses Bat, the goddess of the seventh Upper Egyptian nome, has no obvious connecting link to the goddess Hathor, the goddess of the eighth Upper Egyptian nome.³

It is not until the Bat fetish came to be incorporated into the *sh̄m* sistrum⁴ in Dynasty 11 that the images of Bat and Hathor first became associated. The unadorned sistrum had long been in use both for secular and religious purposes.⁵ In particular it was carried by the priestesses of Hathor when they were in her service.⁶ As far as our evidence shows, the

¹ Bat Capital: red granite, Dynasty 19, reign of Ramesses II, ca. 1290–1224 B.C.; from the Temple of Bubastis, Hypostyle Hall, Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund; MFA 89.555; max. h. 1.7 m; max. w. 1.37 m.

² Narmer's bead apron and the girdle of King Djoser.

³ The capitals which L. Borchardt and H. Ricke, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, BÄBA 2 (Cairo, 1938), pl. 10, show from a Princess's tomb in Sakkara near the Step Pyramid, dating to Dynasty 4, are not precursors to the Hathor column. These columns are actually missing the portion that these authors attribute to being faces. All that remains are two side pieces which look rather leaf-like, which they have called hairstyles. Actually no hairstyle compares with these two side pieces of the capital. Further, as is noted here, the hairstyle was not added to the Bat image until Dynasty 12 and the connection to Hathor was made in Dynasty 11. Overall, there is no direct link to Bat, Hathor or the sistrum in these capitals. Apparently the leafy sides of the earlier style of column reminded New Kingdom architects of their Bat-headed capitals, as they used the Old Kingdom examples as a model for those built in the Hathor shrine in Deir el Bahri, which explains the strange wooden horn, and *kheker* frieze, which both shrines share.

⁴ H.G. Fischer, "The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat," *JARCE* 1 (1962), fig. 6.c; L. Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, place in History, Deification, and unusual Representations in the form of Gods," *MDAIK* 19 (1963), p. 26, fig. 8.



Fig. 1. Bat capital, frontal view. MFA 89.555. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Bat image was added to the sistrum in Dynasty 11. It is seen possibly for the first time in a relief in Mentuhotep's chapel to Hathor in Dendera. Here Hathor herself holds a Bat-faced sistrum.⁷

⁵ Hathor and the sistrum are linked at least since the reign of Tety, as evidenced by the inscription to Hathor, Lady of Dendera, which appears on a sistrum handle dating to his reign (N. de Garis Davies, "An Alabaster Sistrum Dedicated by King Teta," *JEA* 6 [1919], pl. 7). Fischer, "Bat" p. 15, also notes numerous stelae of priestesses of Hathor from Dendera dating to the Old Kingdom holding the plain *sh̄m* sistrum.

⁶ L. Klebs, "Die verschiedenen Formen des Sistrums," *ZÄS* 67 (1931), p. 60.

⁷ Habachi, *MDAIK* 19, p. 26, fig. 8.

Fig. 2. Bat capital, three-quarter view. MFA 89.555. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



When Bat's face, ears and horns were applied to the double faces of the sistrum her image remained relatively unchanged. The shape, function and the name of the sistrum also did not change when the face of Bat was incorporated. The sistrum was still used for accompanying singing and dancing as well as for religious ceremonies.⁸

⁸ Klebs, *ZÄS* 67, p. 61. A separate sistrum does appear called the Bat-frame sistrum which serves a musical function (see A. Blackman, *Meir I* [London, 1914], pl. II). According to Klebs, this is the only sistrum which is played with other musical instruments. This variety is short-lived, as it is only used in the Middle Kingdom. Another sistrum type, the Bat-Loop sistrum, is not known before Dynasty 18; C. Ziegler "Sistrum" *LÄ* 5 (1984), cols. 959–60.

What prompted the merging of the image of Bat onto Hathor's cult objects is not certain.⁹ J. Bourriau suggests that it might relate to an assimilation process between the seventh and eighth Upper Egyptian nomes.¹⁰

The image of the Bat-sistrum in Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12¹¹ is not the definitive development of the instrument. In the reign of Sesostri III a relief in the tomb of Ukhotept, son of Ukhotept,¹² may offer evidence for the first hairstyle added to the Bat head. Here, however, the Bat image is not used on a sistrum, but as a capital on top of a slender column supporting a kiosk.¹³

In the reign of Amenemhat III the first examples of the "Hathoric" or upturned hairstyle appear on Bat's head in the tomb of Neferewptah at Hawara,¹⁴ and also on a Bat image in the form of a decorative gold inlay on a wooden box from Lahun.¹⁵

This hairstyle that has been termed "Hathoric" is seen only on the double-faced head of Bat, while the goddess Hathor is never seen wearing it herself. Furthermore, the Bat sistrum is never worshipped as Hathor.¹⁶ The function of the Bat-faced sistrum is well defined. It maintains the status of a fetish, or cult object and is not treated as, or called Hathor.

The origin of this hairstyle is clearly not related to Hathor. There are numerous hypotheses concerning the derivation of this style suggesting Egypt¹⁷ or the Near East.¹⁸

⁹ The Bat head is also placed on mirror handles as early as Dynasty 12, and also provides a double-faced surface to accommodate this image; see W.M.F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1891), pl. 13.

¹⁰ J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 148. The cult of the goddess Bat "was in the process of becoming assimilated to that of Hathor, and by the New Kingdom Bat's attributes and epithets had all been adopted by Hathor."

¹¹ Habachi, *MDAIK* 19, p. 26, fig. 8; and Blackman *Meir* I, pl. 10.

¹² Blackman, *Meir* VI (London, 1953), pl. 11.

¹³ As the scene is partially broken the style of the hair cannot be ascertained. However, it could be short and straight as that seen in the reign of Amenemhet III, G. Jéquier, *Considerations* (Neuchâtel, 1946), fig. 85, or with the curled-up ends as in the tomb of Neferewptah at Hawara (N. Farag and Z. Iskander, *The Discovery of Neferewptah* [Cairo, 1971], cover). The Bat image as a capital has a history reaching back to Dynasty 4, where a relief in prince Nebemakhet's tomb at Giza shows that the Bat symbol was utilized as a capital over a catafalque at least as early Dynasty 4, well before Bat appears on sistra (S. Hassan *Giza* IV [Oxford, 1943], p. 140, fig. 81). Also see L. Borchardt "Sistrumsäulen," *ZÄS* 35 (1897), p. 168; and compare P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* III (London, 1893), pl. 5, No. 81.

¹⁴ Farag and Iskander, *Neferewptah*, cover.

¹⁵ G. Brunton, *Lahun* I (London, 1920), pl. 8. This latter arrangement is unique, not only because of the hairstyle, but also because it is an extremely rare occurrence of the Bat head crowned with a sun disc and horns, the customary crown of Hathor. It is noteworthy that this box was assembled from many fragments and there is no way to ascertain if indeed these crowns belong to these images.

The earliest example of a woman wearing the “Hathoric” hairstyle is in the reign of Sesostris I. It is worn by two non-royal women who flank a high official, Senweseretankh.¹⁹ Many other non-royal women such as these also wear this style throughout Dynasty 12.²⁰ In the reign of Sesostris II this coiffure is first seen on a Queen, as Neferet’s statues from Tanis are adorned with this style.²¹ From her reign throughout Dynasty 12 this coiffure is the one most commonly seen on royal women.²²

¹⁶ Only in very rare instances is Bat given the name or the crowns of Hathor. One of the anomalies of the Bat image labeled Hathor is in E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El Bahari III* (London, 1913), pl. 32. Note that this is a very small fragment of a stele which was reconstructed. There are few instances of Bat wearing Hathor’s crown of sun disk and horn: the box of Sit-Hathor-Iunet from Lahun, now at the MMA which was entirely reconstructed, see G. Brunton *Lahun I*, pl. 8; two sistrophorus statues, one in the Ägyptisches Museum, Leipzig, *Ägyptisches Museum der Karl Marx Universität* (Leipzig, 1987), no. 65; another in the Pelizaeus-Museum, *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* (Hildesheim, 1987), no. 176; an ivory clapper in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, *Ancient Egypt* (Berkeley, 1968), p. 68. The sistra are also occasionally worshipped in Dyn. 18 and 19; see D. Wildung “Zwei Stelen aus Hatshepsuts Frühzeit,” in *Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, (Berlin, 1974), pp. 255–68. Note that here the sistra are not called Hathor on the stele; when named they are called “the goddess,” or “the great goddess.” It would make sense that the commanding architectural elements of the sistrum-capitals would be revered and worshipped by the locals.

¹⁷ W.S. Smith suggests that the hairstyle of the two seated limestone figures from Hierakonpolis (pl. I) anticipates the Hathoric wig as the two front locks are large and marked by horizontal lines (*The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* [Middlesex, 1958], p. 27). However, a royal prototype seems unlikely. Research on hairstyles (J. Haynes, “The Development of Women’s Hairstyles in Dynasty XVIII,” *JSSEA* 8 [1977], p. 18ff.) has shown that in Dynasty 18, the women of lower social status are the first to be depicted with new hairstyles. For example, in tomb paintings and reliefs the women who were not of high social rank were the ones who wore the newest and most elaborate fashions. The wife of the deceased usually wears a more conservative style, especially early in Dynasty 18, and the mother of the deceased is almost invariably portrayed in the most traditional old-fashioned tripartite fashion. This has also been shown with the “Hathoric” hairstyle of the Middle Kingdom, where it first is shown on the non-royal women and later on the royal. This general trend would suggest that queens as well as goddesses would be the last to be depicted with a new fashion. Therefore, a royal prototype for this hairstyle would seem highly unlikely.

¹⁸ Similar hairstyles with upturned ends were worn by several Near Eastern goddesses from the late third millennium B.C. onwards. Some scholars have argued for a Mesopotamian origin, as J. Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known Through Literature* (New Haven, 1943), pp. 40–41, and E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder* (Wiesbaden, 1956), p. 27.

¹⁹ J. Vandier, *Manuel III* (Paris, 1958), p. 257, pls. 90–93.

²⁰ For other non-royal women wearing this hairstyle in Dynasty 12 see S. Wenig, *The Woman in Egyptian Art* (New York, 1969), pl. 27b; P. Newberry, *El Bersheh I* (London, 1892–3), pl. 26; Vandier, *Manuel III*, pls. 76–6, 81–7, 84–1, 84–3, 84–5, 85–2, 89–4, 90–6.

²¹ W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 67. Bourriau dates a bust of a queen with this hairstyle to the reign of Sesostris I or Sesostris II (*Pharaohs and Mortals*, p. 26). If it is the earlier date, it would be the earliest royal example of this hairstyle.

²² Vandier states that all queens except Berlin no. 14475 and MMA 08.202.7 wear the “Hathoric” style in Dynasty 12 (*Manuel III*, p. 254).

The column and capital together represent monumental stone sistra, the capital being a replica of the Bat-sistrum after the wig has been added to the sistrum. A correlation between the evolution of the sistrum and the capital can be traced.²³

Edouard Naville found two sets of four Bat capitals in the hypostyle hall of the great temple of Bastet in Bubastis.²⁴ The double-faced capital in the Museum of Fine Arts is one of the larger set of four, measuring over seven feet in height (see the site photograph in fig. 3). The other three of this group are in the Louvre, British Museum, and Egyptian Museum, Berlin.²⁵ The face has an elaborate upcurled hairstyle that has diagonal markings indicating braided locks, and hair bands at chin level on both front tresses.²⁶ The eyes are encircled by a thick rim with cosmetic lines extending back nearly to the ears. The ears are separated from the edge of the face by a thick ridge. Below the chin is a neckline, but no *wesekh* collar is indicated. Upon the head is a rectangular cornice arrangement around which is a frieze of uraei crowned by sun disks.²⁷

On the sides of the MFA capital, uraeus serpents are carved in raised relief. Below them are smooth rectangular spaces inscribed with Osorkon II's cartouches.²⁸ The capitals were originally painted, as Naville describes how the red color of the lips was still adhering when one of the capitals was first lifted from the ground. This group of four came in two sets of two capitals, one set representing the North and the other the South.²⁹ The MFA capital has the northern iconography, identified by the two uraei wearing red crowns that flank the face, peering behind the ears of the goddess. On the sides of the capital, centered between the tails of the uraei stands the papyrus plant in raised relief.

²³ Compare the sistrum in G. Jéquier, *Considerations*, fig. 85, with the capital from Deir el Bahri, in Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* III, pl. 68.

²⁴ E. Naville, *Bubastis* (London, 1891), p. 34. It is noteworthy that these capitals can be found at temples dedicated to a variety of goddesses including Bastet, Anukis and Nekhbet. Sistrophorous statues holding the Bat head are also dedicated to a variety of deities.

²⁵ Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 11.

²⁶ The same braiding style can be seen on the sidelock of youth worn by Rameses II as a child sun god; P. Montet, "Les Statues de Ramsès II à Tanis," in *Mélanges Maspero* I.2, MIFAO 66 (1938), pl. II.

²⁷ See Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. 15, for the statue of Ramesses II crowned with a frieze of uraei.

²⁸ To have the uraei in raised relief and a blank area beneath is a visually unappealing, and an illogical space for the Egyptian artist to leave blank. The uraeus as a decorative motif is known to expand or contract to fill any available space. Therefore, one would expect that if no cartouches were intended in the original design, then the uraei would have coiled in a large deep curve to accommodate the available space beneath them. For this concept see D. Wolfe Larkin, *The Broken Lintel Doorway of Ancient Egypt and its Decoration*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1994.

²⁹ The other set of four Bat-sistrum capitals is smaller and simpler than the first group, with no uraei on the cornice.



Fig. 3. Site view of the Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Bubastis, taken about 1887, showing the Bat capital at the left; after E. Naville, *Bubastis* (London, 1891), pl. 5.

These capitals have been dated by Naville,³⁰ Habachi,³¹ Jéquier,³² Badawy,³³ Smith,³⁴ and others to Dynasty 12, and some scholars narrow down the date to the reign of Sesostri III. This dating would make these by far the earliest monumental sistrum columns. It is noteworthy that even when the naos is not included on flat, cornice-topped capitals, such as these, clearly the naos-sistrum was intended.³⁵ Naville gave the first attribution to the Middle Kingdom, based on the proximity of an architrave and door jamb of Sesostri III, which he felt were architecturally

³⁰ Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 11–13.

³¹ L. Habachi, *Tell Basta*, ASAE Supplement 22 (1957), pp. 62, 110, 111.

³² G. Jéquier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Egyptienne* (Paris, 1924), p. 184.

³³ A. Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture II* (Giza, 1966), p. 88.

³⁴ W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 2nd Rev. ed. (Middlesex, 1981), p. 168.

³⁵ "Hathor masks with volutes should perhaps be interpreted as a naos sistra even if no naos is shown;" G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford, 1993), p. 155.

related.³⁶ His date was never challenged, although he made it clear that the archaeological context was not secure.³⁷

There are several iconographic features of the sistrum-capitals that do not belong in Dynasty 12. The iconography of the capital does not resemble that of the contemporary Dynasty 12 Bat-sistrum. For instance, as mentioned earlier, in the reign of Sesostris III, the sistrum had not yet appeared with a hairstyle. It is not until the reign of Amenemhet III that the Bat image on the sistrum is given a wig. Also, the elaborate diagonal crossed marks on the wig of the capital that denote braided or crossed tresses do not correspond to any of the numerous Dynasty 12 hairstyles. At this time, the markings are either horizontal or vertical lines, typified by those seen on Queen Nofret.³⁸

Another iconographical feature which is not in keeping with Dynasty 12 is the image of the lily on the sides of one of the capitals of the South.³⁹ It has a fairly unusual shape, with two drops hanging from each of the petals. This form of lily is not common before the New Kingdom.⁴⁰

The frieze of uraei wearing sun disks surrounding the cornice of the Bubastis capital is also not a Middle Kingdom feature. The earliest use of large groupings of uraei in this form is in Dynasty 18. This is clearly noticeable in the reign of Amenhotep III,⁴¹ but as an architectural feature it is not prominent until the Amarna Period.⁴²

The design of Bat's ears is another aspect of the Bubastis capitals that is out of keeping with a Dynasty 12 date. The inside of the ear on the

³⁶ E. Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 11–13.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13: "This attribution may be questionable particularly as regards the Hathor and palm-leaf columns."

³⁸ Considering the number of Hathoric styles that exist in Dynasty 12, it is significant that none matches the Bubastis capital style. The treatment of the tresses does correlate with that on a sidelock of the child sun god on a statue dating to the reign of Ramesses II from Tanis; P. Montet, "Les Statues de Ramsès II à Tanis," in *Mélanges Maspero* I.2, pl. II, pp. 497–508.

³⁹ L. Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pl. 20.

⁴⁰ This style of lily is shown on a capital of Ramesses III from Tell Horbet, in the Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim (H. Kayser, *Ägyptisches Kunsthandwerk* [Braunschweig, 1969], p. 115). It is also seen in the tomb of Ibi at Thebes dated to Psametik I (N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi I* [London, 1902], pl. 25 and pp. 36, 37). Davies discusses this flower and states "a lily with water drops hanging from it ... a type only known from a late date." He does not offer a specific date. Cf. K.P. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), pls. 30 and 105b.

⁴¹ K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egyptian Architecture, Sculpture and Painting in Three Thousand Years* (New York, 1968), pl. 154.

⁴² C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York, 1973), p. 214. Aldred states that "disk crowned cobras decorate the friezes of ... many architectural elements (at Amarna)." A column which is encircled by uraei adorned with sun disks, dates to the Amarna period. See W.M.F. Petrie, *Amarna* (London, 1894), pl. 17.

early Bat faces⁴³ and Bat capitals⁴⁴ is composed of a V-shaped design with rays of lines extending from it. However, beginning in the New Kingdom, likely the reign of Ramesses II, an additional element is added to this part of the ear. Just inside the V-shape a small globe or circle is added from which the lines emanate.⁴⁵ This can be clearly seen on the Bubastis capitals, and those dating to the reigns of Rameses II,⁴⁶ Achoris,⁴⁷ and Ptolemy.⁴⁸ In the Ramesside Period this becomes a standard addition to the design of the interior of the ear.⁴⁹ This feature dates the capitals to Dynasty 19 at the earliest.⁵⁰

Both stylistic and iconographic evidence points to a date no earlier than Dynasty 19 for the capitals. The capitals have more in common with the style of the sistra of this period and those of a later date than the sistra of an earlier date.⁵¹ This date range is more in keeping with the pharaohs who constructed and or rebuilt portions of this hall, namely: Rameses II, Osorkon I and Osorkon II.⁵² Dedication inscriptions of Osorkon I to Bastet are engraved on the bottom of some of the Bat-sistrum capitals where they abut the column, a hidden and unusual spot.⁵³ In addition, the cartouches of Osorkon II are etched into the side of the Boston capital.

⁴³ Sistrum and capitals dating from Dynasty 12 to 18.

⁴⁴ New Kingdom capitals at Deir el Bahri: Naville, *Deir el Bahari II* (London, 1913), pl. 66; at Serabit el Khadem: W.M.F. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (London, 1906), figs. 102–104; and at Elephantine: W. Kaiser, "Stadt und Temple von Elephantine," *MDAIK* 31 (1975), pl. 42.c.

⁴⁵ One example on a sistrophorous statue is earlier, inscribed with the cartouche of Thutmose IV (R. Krauspe *Ägyptisches Museum der Karl Marx Universität* [Leipzig, 1987], no. 65).

⁴⁶ H. Bakry, "A Family of High Priests of Alexandria and Memphis," *MDAIK* 28 (1972), pl. 22.

⁴⁷ A. Varille, *Karnak I* (Cairo, 1943), pl. 92.

⁴⁸ Jéquier, *Manuel*, p. 188, pl. 32. As further verification of the value of this feature as a dating mechanism, this trait can be followed in the ears of the Hathor cow as well. None of the numerous representations of the Hathor cow in Dynasty 18 shows the design which includes the globe. See E. Naville, *The Eleventh Dynasty Temple I* (London, 1907), pls. 25e, 31, 94.

⁴⁹ J. Vandier-D'Abbadie, "Deux tombs ramessides à Gournet-Mourrai," *MIFAO* 87 (1954), pls. 14, 26.

⁵⁰ Interestingly enough, it is seen on the Narmer palette, but goes out of fashion, then reappears in Dynasty 19.

⁵¹ M. Mogensen, *La Glyptothek ny Carlsberg* (Copenhagen, 1930), pls. 31, 72; H. Hickmann, *Instruments de Musique*, CCG Vol. 101 (Cairo, 1949), pl. 49, no. 69310.

⁵² Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pl. 20; Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 48–52.

⁵³ Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 47, 48: "engraved underneath the Hathor capitals, in places where they could not be seen, and where it was not possible to engrave them unless the monument was lying on the ground and had not yet been raised." They were dedicated to Bastet, Lady of Bubastis, who protects her father, Re.

The MFA's capital has many features in common with those dating to the time of Ramesses II.⁵⁴ However, the final reinstallation and inscription of the cartouches⁵⁵ was done by Osorkon II.⁵⁶ These capitals likely date to Ramesses II at the earliest, and Osorkon I at the latest, and they can no longer be considered Middle Kingdom creations.



⁵⁴ Bakry, *MDAIK* 28, pl. 22.

⁵⁵ As Naville notes, the cartouches of Ramesses II and Osorkon II are very similar. To make the cartouche of Ramesses II into Osorkon II the Re of *Weser-Maat-Re-Setep-en-Re* was changed into an Amen of *Weser-Maat-Re-Setep-en-Amen*. Under the *Weser* sign there was room for a reed leaf, and the disc of Re was made into a *men* sign. Unfortunately the area of the cartouches is badly worn on the MFA capital. While there does not appear to be evidence of reinscription of Ramesses' II name by Osorkon II, it is possible that the entire surface may have been cut down and recarved.

⁵⁶ According to Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 47, Osorkon I began the reconstruction of the temple, beginning with the eastern hall, but the temple was not completed until after Osorkon II.

Zum königlichen Jenseits



ERIK HORNING

DAS MITTLERE REICH IST VON EINER "DEMOKRATISIERUNG" DES Jenseitsglaubens geprägt, die Klaus Koch kürzlich wieder in seiner Religionsgeschichte hervorgehoben hat. Fast alles, was im Alten Reich den königlichen Jenseitsglauben geprägt hat, ist jetzt in die private Sphäre übernommen.¹ Es gibt keine spezifisch königlichen Jenseitstexte mehr, und allein die Bauform der Pyramide, mit ihren zugehörigen Kultanlagen, bleibt noch bis zum Beginn des Neuen Reiches der königlichen Sphäre vorbehalten. Erst die 18. Dynastie gibt einerseits die Pyramidenform zum "Allgemeingebrauch" frei, baut aber zugleich systematisch eine neue Hierarchie auf, die bestimmte Texte, Bauformen und Abmessungen exklusiv für Pharao reserviert.

Die Frage ist, ob diese erneuerte Hervorhebung von spezifisch königlichen Formen auch die Ausgrenzung einer rein königlichen Jenseitsregion aus dem allgemeinen Jenseits bedeutet. Aussagen darüber sollte man vor allem in den königlichen Jenseitstexten erwarten, findet sich aber durch die Unterweltbücher enttäuscht. Nur ein einziges Mal, in der sechsten Nachtstunde des Amduat, werden die "Könige von Ober- und Unterägypten" erwähnt und symbolisch dargestellt (mumienförmig mit Kronen); im Text wird ihnen vom Sonnengott Königtum und dauernde Versorgung in der Unterwelt verheißen. An dieser Stelle, direkt neben der Vereinigung von Ba und Körper in der tiefsten Unterwelt, geht es wohl um eine Begegnung mit den Vorfahren und Vorgängern des verstorbenen Königs, und mir scheint auch dieses Motiv dafür zu sprechen, daß es sich beim Amduat von Anfang an um einen königlichen Totentext handelt, nicht um eine sekundäre Übertragung auf Pharao. Bei allgemeinen Aufzählungen der Bewohner des Jenseits, wie sie sich z. B. im Buch von der Nacht mehrfach finden, erscheinen die Könige nicht; sie sind entweder unter den Göttern oder unter den *Ach*-Wesen einbegriffen.

¹ Klaus Koch, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Religion* (Stuttgart, 1993), S. 209ff. Zu ergänzen wäre im diesseitigen Bereich noch die plötzliche Beliebtheit von Personennamen, die ihren Träger als "Sohn" oder "Tochter" einer Gottheit bezeichnen, was im Alten Reich noch königliches Privileg war.

Der Sonnengott in seiner Barke wird von den Verstorbenen durch die Unterwelt gezogen; so zeigen es Amduat und Pfortenbuch, und in den Sargkammern von Haremhab, Ramses I. und Sethos I. werden die Ziehenden durch Gewänder und Bart deutlich als menschliche, nicht als göttliche Wesen gekennzeichnet. Der Wesir Useramun (TT 61) läßt sich in seiner Fassung des Amduat (4. und 8. Stunde) am Zugseil darstellen, angetan mit seiner Amtstracht. In späterer Zeit werden auch verschiedene Zugtiere (Schakale, Uräen, Paviane) vor der Sonnenbarke gezeigt. Einzig im Buch von der Nacht² aber erscheint Pharao als Ziehender, obwohl Ramses II. in der großen Weihinschrift von Abydos zu seinem Vater Sethos I. sagt: "deine Arme ziehen Atum im Himmel und in der Erde (= Unterwelt), wie die Unermüdlichen und Unvergänglichen (Sterne)," ihn also als ziehend voraussetzt.³

Gemeinsam ist dem königlichen wie dem nichtköniglichen Bereich der Wunsch des Verstorbenen, in der Barke des Sonnengottes mitzufahren und dadurch immer in seinem Gefolge zu sein. Seit Merenptah (im Kenotaph von Sethos I. in Abydos) läßt sich der König gerne anbetend in der Sonnenbarke darstellen, und im Totenbuch kommt dieser Wunsch in einer ganzen Anzahl von Sprüchen zum Ausdruck, vor allem in den Sprüchen 99 bis 102, 130/131, 134 und 136; auch hier ist Useramun bahnbrechend, wenn er sich in nahezu jeder Stunde des Amduat in der Barke, meistens sogar am Steuerruder, darstellen läßt; nur in der 2. Stunde vermeidet er dies, da Isis und Nephthys hier als gefährliche Schlangen in der Barke erscheinen.

Die Mitfahrt in der Barke bezieht den Verstorbenen in den täglichen Sonnenlauf mit ein und erfüllt damit eine der großen Jenseitshoffnungen; noch direkter geschieht dies in einem Bildmotiv, das den Namen des Königs in die Sonnenscheibe einschreibt und damit bildhaft das völlige Aufgehen des Königs in der Sonne zum Ausdruck bringt, wie es die alte Umschreibung für den Tod eines Pharaos in aller Kürze formuliert: "er wurde zum Himmel entrückt und vereinigte sich mit der Sonne." In der Sonnenlitanei vom Anfang der 18. Dynastie begegnet die deutliche Gleichsetzung "Ich bin du, und du bist ich, dein Ba ist mein Ba, dein Lauf ist mein Lauf durch die Unterwelt."⁴

L. Kákosy hat auf ein Stelen-Fragment aus Deir el-Medine aufmerksam gemacht, das den Thronnamen von Ramses II. neben dem Gott

² Eine neue Edition dieses Buches hat Gilles Roulin abgeschlossen (*Le Livre de la Nuit*, Dissertation Basel, 1995).

³ KRI II, 333, 12f.

⁴ Erik Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, I (Genf, 1975), S. 101f.; diese Stelle mit der Gleichsetzung übernimmt auch Useramun!

Amun in der Sonnenscheibe zeigt,⁵ doch gibt es bereits von Amenophis III. ein analoges Bild (ohne Amun),⁶ und in beiden Fällen ist die Scheibe mit dem Königsnamen in die Sonnenbarke hineingesetzt, so daß auch die Idee von der Mitfahrt in der Barke beschworen ist. Aber anders als Useramun und die Privatleute im Totenbuch fährt hier der König *als Re* dahin! In der Sargkammer von Ramses III. findet sich eine dritte, etwas anders gestaltete Fassung; dort umschließt ein doppelter Uroboros den Geburtsnamen des Königs (mit dem Element *mes* "geboren" genau in der Mitte!), der ja auch die Sonnenscheibe enthält,⁷ mit einer weiteren Sonnenscheibe und den zwölf Stundengöttinnen. Hier wird Pharaon nicht nur in das Wesen des Sonnengottes aufgenommen, sondern dazu in den größten denkbaren Zeit-Horizont eingeschlossen, den die Dualität von *Neheh* und *Djet* verkörpert. Seine Jahre, "Millionen" und "Hunderttausende," sind die Jahre des Re, seine Lebenszeit die der Sonne, wie es immer wieder in den Wünschen der Götter für Pharaon formuliert ist. Die gleiche Idee wird, "demokratisiert" und in anderer Form, auf Särgen der 21. Dynastie gestaltet, wenn man direkt hinter dem Kopf des Toten, auf der Innenseite des Kopfendes, eine Sonnenlauf-Szene anbringt und ihn so unmittelbar in den Lauf des Gestirns hinein-nimmt. Bei Sethos I. geschah das bereits auf seinem Alabastersarg, der an dieser Stelle das Schlußbild des Pfortenbuches aufweist.

Eine weitere Gemeinsamkeit beider Medien ist die Gliederung des Jenseits durch Tore. Diese werden im Amduat am Ende jeder Nachtstunde bereits vorausgesetzt, aber nicht dargestellt, während sie im Pfortenbuch sichtbar und gut bewacht erscheinen. Im Totenbuch sind die Sprüche 144 bis 147 den Jenseitstoren und ihren Wächtern gewidmet, und Nefertari nähert sich durch eine Auswahl aus diesen Sprüchen soweit als möglich der Dekoration der königlichen Grabkammer mit dem Pfortenbuch an, das selbst sie nicht verwenden darf. Dabei unterscheiden sich Unterweltsbücher (mit zwölf) und Totenbuch (mit sieben oder 21) in der Zahl der Pforten, die sichtlich von sekundärer Bedeutung ist.

Dagegen besteht ein wesentlicher Unterschied in der Situation des Verstorbenen vor den Toren. Im Totenbuch begehrt er als "Osiris NN" Einlaß, befindet sich "im Gefolge des Stiers des Westens" und betet in den Vignetten die Torwächter an. Der Spruch und "dieses Bild, das

⁵ ZÄS 100 (1973), S. 38f. mit Abb. 1.

⁶ W. Raymond Johnson, in: Lawrence Michael Berman, ed., *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Cleveland, 1990), S. 38f., Drawing 5 (Krugverschluß).

⁷ Erik Hornung, in: *Jahrbuch Eranos* 50 (1981), S. 466f. nach Jean-François Champollion, *Notices descriptives I* (Paris, 1835–1872), S. 422f.

gemalt ist" sollen verhindern, daß er an den Toren der Unterwelt abgewiesen und von den Torwächtern bedrängt wird. Der Tote legitimiert sich durch Kenntnis der Namen und durch Reinheit, dazu tritt er als Horus und getreuer Sohn des Osiris auf, denn die Tore sollen hier in erster Linie Osiris schützen.

Ganz anders im königlichen Pfortenbuch! Dort bedarf es nur einer kurzen Aufforderung durch Sia, um Tor nach Tor für den Sonnengott und seine Durchfahrt zu öffnen, und die Meinung ist natürlich, daß mit ihm auch der tote König jedes Tor durchzieht. Im Tor der fünften Stunde findet das Totengericht statt, wobei der thronende Osiris schon durch die ungewöhnliche Doppelkrone, die er dort trägt, auf seine Identität mit dem verstorbenen König hinweist. Das letzte Tor ist durch Isis und Nephthys als Uräus-Schlangen noch zusätzlich geschützt, um den Sonnenaufgang keinen Gefahren auszusetzen.

Eines der vordringlichen Themen der Jenseitshoffnung ist die materielle Versorgung, die der König ebenso erhofft wie alle anderen Menschen. Beliebte Garantin dafür ist die Baumgöttin, die nur ein einziges Mal im Königsgrab dargestellt wird (bei Thutmosis III.), während sie in den Beamtengräbern zu den beliebtesten Motiven gehört und auch in Totenbuch-Papyri erscheint. Signifikant ist wohl, daß Ramses III. in Medinet Habu Vignetten aus dem Totenbuch verwendet, die mit der jenseitigen Ernährung zu tun haben, dabei neben dem "Binsengefilde" von Spruch 110 die sieben Kühe und ihren Stier, "die den Verklärten Brot und Bier geben und die Westlichen speisen" (Totenbuch 148). Ein nahrungspendendes Kuhbild, die "Opferherrin, die über die Dat gebietet," zeigt auch das Amduat im mittleren Register der neunten Stunde (Nr. 669), und auf dem Sarkophag von Nektanebos II. im British Museum hat diese Szene einen Zusatz, der dem König Brot und Bier verheißt.

Bei der Nachtfahrt der Sonne vollzieht sich in den Unterweltsbüchern am tiefsten Punkt, in der sechsten Nachtstunde, die Vereinigung des Sonnen-Ba mit seinem Körper, der zugleich Osiris ist; beide sind überdies Ba und Körper des verstorbenen Pharaos. In der nicht-königlichen Sphäre entspricht diesem Motiv die Vereinigung von Ba und Körper in Spruch 89 des Totenbuches, der besondere Beliebtheit auf den Särgen der Spätzeit erlangt, aber bereits auf dem Alabastersarg Sethos' I. verwendet ist. Die älteste Darstellung des "vereinigten" Re/Osiris, offenbar für das Grab der Nefertari geschaffen und in einigen anderen Gräbern der 19. Dynastie verwendet, illustriert nicht die königliche Sonnenlitanei, sondern den Anfang des Totenbuch-Spruches 180, der aus der Sonnenlitanei adaptiert wurde.

Bannung von Gefahren und Überwindung von Feinden begegnen in vielen Sprüchen des Totenbuches, wobei die Sprüche 7, 39 und 108 speziell der Überwindung des Erzfeindes Apophis dienen, der in den Unterweltbüchern immer wieder von der Sonnenbarke abgewehrt wird. Neben ihm begegnen andere feindliche oder gefährliche Schlangen in den Unterweltbüchern wie im Totenbuch, also wiederum in beiden Bereichen.

Bisher haben sich das königliche und das nichtkönigliche Jenseits nur in Nuancen unterschieden. Der einzig signifikante Unterschied liegt in der Darstellung von Strafen. Zwar zeigt das Totenbuch den ominösen "Feuersee" in der Vignette zu Spruch 126 und nach der Amarnazeit das drohende Untier "Totenfresser" beim Totengericht, aber die Bestrafung von "Feinden" wird in keiner Vignette direkt dargestellt; überdies gehört die einzige Erwähnung der "Vernichtungsstätte" (*ḥtmyt*) im Totenbuch (127, Vers 26) eigentlich zur königlichen Sonnenlitanei. Dagegen bilden die Höllenbilder⁸ der Bestrafung, die gerne in der "Vernichtungsstätte" lokalisiert sind,⁸ seit dem Amduat einen festen Bestand der königlichen Unterweltbücher, ohne daß man daraus folgern darf, es gäbe Bestrafung nur im königlichen Jenseits. Vielmehr gilt wohl, daß nur Pharaos dieser destruktiven Realität des Bösen begegnen kann, die das Totenbuch der Privatleute sich scheut, im Bilde zu beschwören und damit zur Realität zu erheben.

Bei aller detaillierten Beschreibung des Jenseits in den Unterweltbüchern bleibt der Ort Pharaos eigenartig unbestimmt und vage. Es geht offensichtlich nicht darum, wo Pharaos sich befindet, sondern um seinen status. Er ist "vermischt" mit Sternen und Mond (Ramses II. über Sethos I.)⁹ und von den Göttern "nicht zu unterscheiden" (Tutanchamun);¹⁰ sonnenhaft leuchtet sein Ba "unter denen mit dunklem Gesicht" (Ramses II.)¹¹ und "er wird Verwandlungen machen wie Re"

⁸ Dazu Erik Hornung, "Schwarze Löcher von innen betrachtet: Die altägyptische Hölle," in: Erik Hornung und Tilo Schabert, Hrsg., *Strukturen des Chaos*, Eranos, Neue Folge 2 (München, 1994), S. 227–62; englische Fassung, übersetzt von David Warburton: "Black Holes Viewed from Within: Hell in Ancient Egyptian Thought," *Diogenes* No. 165 (1994), S. 133–56.

⁹ *KRI* II, 333, 11f.

¹⁰ Alexandre Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon* (Cairo, 1951), pl. II, rechts oben.

¹¹ Erik Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II* (Genf, 1976), S. 42 zu Nr. 62.

(Ramses VI.).¹² Es scheint, daß er die Unterwelt nur durchzieht, ohne dort zu verweilen, auch darin dem Sonnengott gleich.

Die Existenz von königlichen wie von nichtköniglichen Jenseitsbeschreibungen erlaubt es, für das Neue Reich die Frage nach einem spezifisch königlichen Jenseits zu stellen. Dabei zeigt es sich, daß die Hauptmotive des Jenseitsbildes in beiden Bereichen praktisch gleich sind, denn das erhoffte selige Fortleben gilt im Prinzip für alle Menschen—sogar, wie das Pfortenbuch in der 30. Szene vor Augen führt, für die Fremdvölker, die dort ägyptischen Schutzgottheiten unterstellt werden und jenseitige "Lebenszeit" zugeteilt erhalten.

Pharao betritt bei seinem Tod das gleiche Jenseits wie alle Wesen, aber sein status ist ein anderer. Wie er auf Erden die Rolle des Sonnengottes spielt, so handelt er auch im Jenseits als Re. Und was ihn von allen anderen Toten unterscheidet, ist die Ausübung von Herrschaft. Nur er erhält von den Göttern die Insignien von Szepter und Flagellum, erhält den "Thron seines Vaters Geb" und das Königtum des Horus, während selbst Königin Nefertari sich damit begnügen muß, einen "Platz" im Totenreich zu erhalten, in welchen sicher auch ihre soziale Stellung einbegriffen ist. Zu diesem erhöhten status gehört weiter, daß es allein dem König vergönnt ist, eine endlose Kette von Sedfesten zu feiern, die sich über den Tod hinaus in das Jenseits fortsetzt oder sogar erst dort ihren Anfang nimmt. Sein Fortleben vollzieht sich in anderen, kosmischen Dimensionen. Wohl deshalb hält man auch im Neuen Reich daran fest, nur in königlichen Grabbauten (mit Einschluß der Königin) die Decken als gestirnten Himmel auszugestalten, während sich die Beamten mit Ornamenten begnügen müssen

Für den Beamten, der seit jeher nach Königsnähe strebt, bedeutet der Jenseitsweg Pharaos die Hoffnung auf eine zyklische Wiederbegegnung im Reich der Toten. Mit dem nächtlichen Sonnengott darf er immer aufs neue seinen verstorbenen Herrscher wieder begrüßen und ihm wie zu Lebzeiten zurufen "Du bist Re." Als "Osiris NN" begegnet er in der Nachtsonne, die ihn zu neuem Leben weckt, auch seinem König wieder. Beide umschließt die gleiche Unterwelt, aber wie im Anfang der ägyptischen Geschichte scheint Pharao keine feste Residenz zu haben, sondern durchzieht unermüdlich seinen jenseitigen Herrschaftsbereich.



¹² Alexandre Piankoff und Nina Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York, 1954), pl. 132, Zusatz zur Szene D 13 im Buch von der Erde. Darstellungen und Namen des Königs beteiligen ihn in diesem Buch an allen wesentlichen Vorgängen, worauf Friedrich Abitz in einer noch ungedruckten Arbeit *Pharao als Gott in den Unterweltbüchern des Neuen Reiches* hinweist.

Howard Carter and Mrs. Kingsmill MARRS



T.G.H. JAMES

A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO THE SPARSE HISTORY OF HOWARD Carter, during the years just before and after he was engaged by the Earl of Carnarvon as his “learned man,” is made by a group of his letters preserved in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and recently published in part in the *Miscellany* of the Society.¹ The correspondence extends from October 1908 to June 1914, addressed to Mr. and Mrs. Kingsmill MARRS of Wayland, Massachusetts, a couple who devoted their time to travel, the collection of books, and, in the case of Mrs. MARRS most notably, European prints. Mr. MARRS died in Florence in 1912, and his widow survived him until 1926. The letters, seemingly part only of a larger exchange over several years, now form part of the Grenville Norcross Autograph Collection in the Massachusetts Historical Society (M.H.S.). Norcross was the brother of Mrs. MARRS.

It is clear from the earliest letters that the MARRS had got to know Howard Carter during a winter visit to Egypt, probably made in the early months of 1908. It is reasonable to assume that they, with a friend named Mr. Barker, made use of Carter as a professional guide to the monuments of Thebes, and were among those who purchased watercolors by him, some from stock, and some commissioned for later execution and dispatch to the U.S.A. The six MARRS watercolors in fact represent the largest identifiable group of paintings purchased from Carter by a single client (apart from archaeological commissions) during the years before his association with Lord Carnarvon.²

¹ *M.H.S. Miscellany*, no. 59 (Boston, fall, 1994), p. 3f.: Howard Carter to Mrs. Kingsmill MARRS, October 25, 1908; January 16, 1909; June 23, 1911; June 12, 1914, Grenville H. Norcross Autograph Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society. I am firstly indebted to Dr. Robert Brier, Chairman of the Philosophy Department of the C.W. Post Campus of Long Island University, who drew my attention to this notice of the letters. I am further grateful to Sharon DeLeskey, library assistant at the M.H.S., who made the initial identification of the letters, provided me with photocopies of the texts, and tracked down the six watercolors to the Worcester Art Museum. Mr. Louis L. Tucker, Director of the M.H.S., has generously given me permission to publish the letters here.

The first letter, dated 25 October 1908, was written from Medinet Habu, probably from the Antiquities Service house which had once been Castle Carter I, again made available to Carter by Maspero in 1908—apparently a cause for some annoyance with Arthur Weigall, at the time Chief Inspector at Luxor.³ It is chiefly a business letter, but includes a passage of colorful description of the kind Carter was inclined to write from time to time. It also contains a rapid pen-and-ink sketch of the head of Queen Nefertari, to remind Mr. and Mrs. Marrs of one of the subjects he was completing for them (figs. 1 and 6).

LETTER I

Dear Mr. Marrs

Just a line to say that the drawing of this Queen with her blue pots is finished & makes I think a good drawing[.]⁴ Now please let me know whether you would like me to send it or wait till I have finished the one of Seti I in his Tomb.⁵ If so the exact address you would like me to forward to? I shall await your instructions.

The Nile this Autumn is really magnificent^{sic}—still at a very high level—the whole country under water with only little patches of land appearing above the surface & carpeted in green, the villages standing clear as small islands under palms & mimosa trees—the latter covered covered^{sic} with thousands of yellow balls, they being full in flowers. In the calm of the eve, it is really lovely, the sun just dipped below the horizon, the after glow flooding the place with colour—one is often puzzled to tell where the heavens & earth meet, the whole being lost in dreamy atmospheric colour giving the appearance of an enormous opal, picked out only here & there by a distant hill looming out of mystery like an amethyst, the flood full & stretching far away, rippled & bespeckled by pelicans, storks & heron, making in all a wonderment beyond imagination. In Luxor and Karnak temples, where you walked, you now must

² These watercolors are now in the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts. I am grateful to David Acton, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Museum, for providing me with the photographs of the paintings which illustrate this article, with permission to publish, and also with detailed information on the individual paintings. It came as some surprise to me to find that in the published catalogue of the Worcester paintings, referred to below, the compiler of the entries for the Carter items credits myself with having provided the Egyptological identifications for five of the paintings. I retain no memory of having done so, but it would have taken place in the early 1970s, many years before I began an active interest in Howard Carter. I am gratified that in only one case have I been able to improve on my first identifications.

³ See James, *Howard Carter* (London, 1992), p. 157.

⁴ An almost full-length figure of Queen Nefertari from a scene on the east wall of the corridor descending to the sarcophagus chamber in her tomb, in which she is shown offering *nw*-pots to Hathor, Selkis and Maat. No. 1925.144 in the Worcester Art Museum; see listing below and fig. 6.

⁵ Probably the painting of Iunmutef, now in the Worcester Art Museum; no. 1925.141 in the listing below; fig. 3.

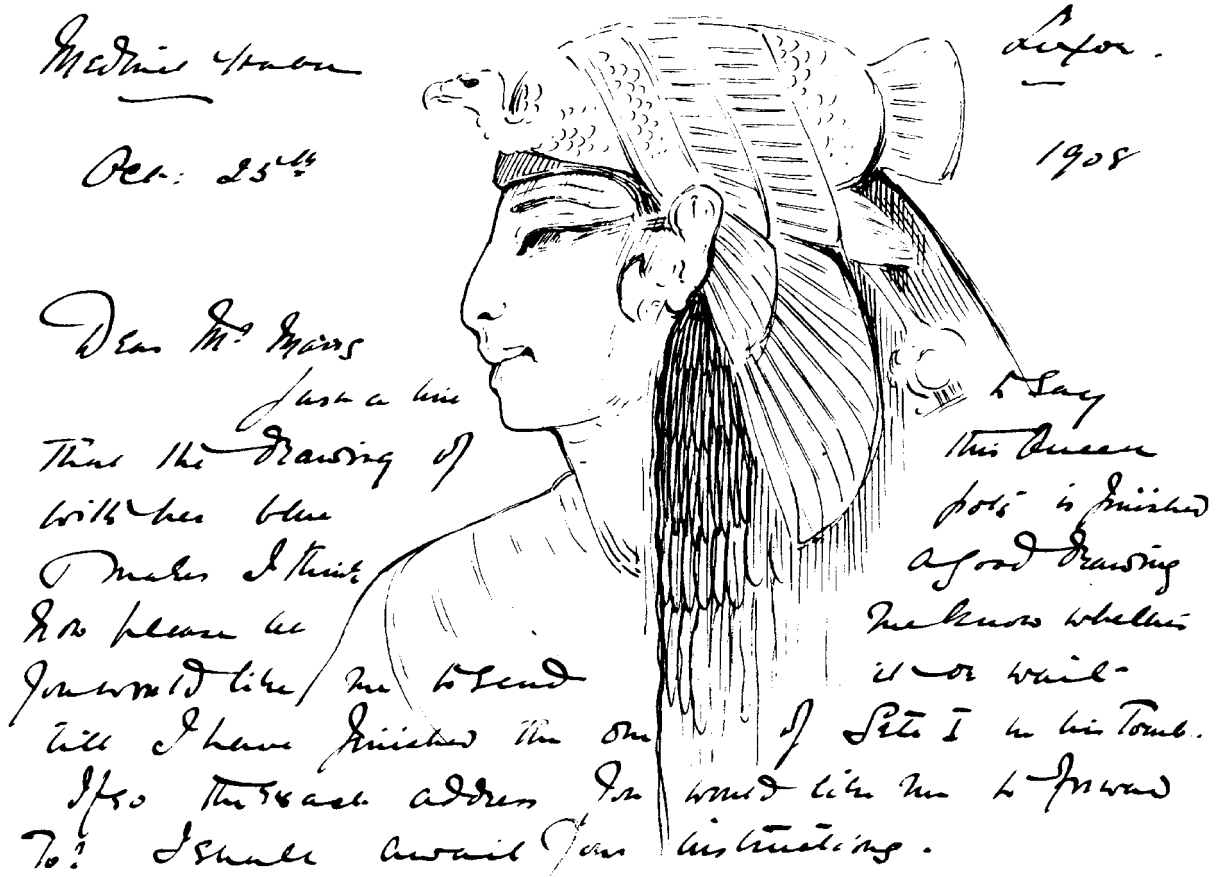


Fig. 1. Part of the first page of Letter 1, including Howard Carter's sketch of the head of Queen Nefertari. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

swim—the pavement now a mirror reflecting the columns, in fact making an ...(?)⁶ foundation.

Please tell Mrs. Marrs that I have received her nice letter & that I have not gone of late to Luxor—hard at work & cut off by the water—but will do so & write.

Nichol⁷ left me last week & is now at Karnak.

With every regard to all,
Yours very sincerely

⁶ Reading uncertain. The transcript in the *M.H.S. Miscellany*, p. 4, offers "aural" without confidence—palaeographically possible, but making poor sense. Carter occasionally misused words, especially when writing "for effect."

⁷ Probably Michael Nicholl (1880–1925), ornithologist and Assistant Director of the Giza Zoological Gardens, 1906–1924; also mentioned in Letter 2 below. He was the author of *Handlist of the Birds of Egypt* (Cairo, 1919), and his papers formed the basis of R. Meinertzhagen, *Nicholl's Birds of Egypt*, 2 vols. (London, 1930). A memoir of Nicholl by Meinertzhagen is included in vol. I, pp. v–x. Carter's interest in birds is well attested, as also are his visits to the Giza Zoo, where he observed and drew birds. Nicholl would have been an obvious friend and a welcome guest in Thebes, although he is not mentioned elsewhere in Carter's papers, as far as I have been able to check.

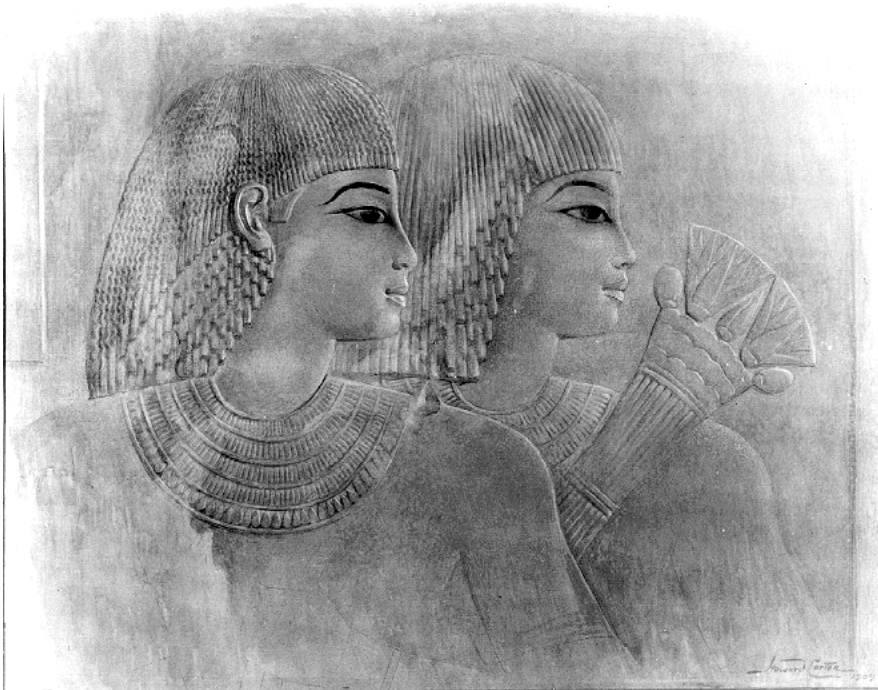


Fig. 2. Guests at a banquet; from the tomb of Ramose; courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum (1925.140).

Howard Carter

LETTER 2

Medinet Habu,
Luxor, Jan 16th 1909

Dear Mrs. Marrs

So very many thanks for the photocards & the most excellent stuffed prunes. They arrived here today in good condition & I am already beginning to ...⁸ Mr. Marrs' letter of the 22nd inst reached me also today—I do so hope you received my letter also & also do. (ditto) for Mr. Marrs enclosing two small sketches in reply to his good thoughts for me. What a wonderful place for vegetation & flowers yours must be—It makes me quite envious—the desert has its charms but I fear no flowers. Luxor goes on as usual just passed through a spell of cloudy weather, ending yesterday in a small shower of rain, a sharp gust of wind & today bright, cold, & sunny—everything looking the better & clean after the washing by the rain. At the Tombs of the Kings Mr. Davis found a small tomb pit but nothing of great interest in it beyond some gold foil.⁹ Prof Petrie is pegging away on the

⁸ A wavy line in the original—a device Carter sometimes used to indicate something slightly improper; here perhaps nothing more indelicate than “wolf them.” The British have always considered prunes to be helpful against constipation, a reference to which should possibly not be ruled out here, even though the condition is not one commonly suffered in Egypt.

Fig. 3. Iunmutef priest from the tomb of Sethos I, courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum (1925.141).



north end of the necropolis but as yet not fortunate.¹⁰ I have just been offered an enormous fee by Lord Carnarvon to undertake a months excavation (Feb-

⁹ Surely K.V. Tomb no. 58, found for Davis by E. Harold Jones on 10 January, 1909, and subsequently, but erroneously, identified as Tutankhamun's tomb, and published as such in T.M. Davis et al., *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Toutankhamanou* (London, 1912); see also C.N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings* (London, 1990), p. 72ff., p. 311. At the time of writing this letter—six days after the discovery—Carter presumably would not yet have had an opportunity to see what had been found.

ruary) at Drah abou'l Neggeh¹¹—a site no doubt you will remember, between Deir El Bahari & the mouth of the valley of the Tombs of the Kings—to try & find the Tombs of Amenhotep I & Aahmes Nefertari (the founders of the 18th Dynasty) which the Abbot^{sic} papyrus mentions to be in the neighbourhood¹²—the circumstances being so good & such an interesting rest for a short time from ones work I have accepted & shall try & do my best. There are certainly possibilities of finding those tombs—but I'll say nothing towards probabilities^{sic}—time will show. Can't you with your 3 spades come & assist—3 1/2 piastres per diem for all willing workers. I'll give 4 to Mr. Barker because he can photograph. I will let you know how things go.

Great preparations are being made for the Khedive & the Duke of Connaught who are coming up to open the Esneh Barrage just completed. Luxor is getting under bunting the natives shelling out with these splendours & discordant noises being made by band tuning accompanied by the donkies—Luxor is really happy as you will well imagine.

Before I forget Mr. Nicol¹³—who is staying here wishes all his salaams to be sent to you all.

My household has increased by six fluffy yellow goslings & I hear suspicious noises from under the other geese but I dare not count before hatching. Mr. Tyndale¹⁴ is going to Japan to do a similar book of this country like last. He is now at Deir el Bahari & sends his regards. I do so hope that this summer you will come to England where I hope to be for a few months.

With every regard to yourself & all
Believe me yours very sincerely
Howard Carter

¹⁰ For the results of this campaign, see W.M.F. Petrie et al., *Qurneh* (London, 1909); the later part of the season was more successful than the earlier.

¹¹ The first recorded precise mention of the beginning of Carter's association with the Earl of Carnarvon, although the date—early 1909—can be deduced from other evidence, see T.G.H. James, *Howard Carter. The Path to Tutankhamun* (London, 1992), p. 139ff. On the matter of the "enormous fee," it may be noted that in 1911 Carnarvon told P.E. Newberry "You must remember I pay Carter £200 per mensem," loc. cit., p. 163. Such a rate of pay, if it had been the same in 1909, would indeed have been considered "enormous."

¹² Carter's wish to discover this tomb went back to the years when he was Chief Inspector for Upper Egypt. He interested Lord Amherst in the project, but made little progress before being moved to the Inspectorate of Lower Egypt in late 1904; see James, op. cit., p. 93ff. It was not until early 1914 that he was able seriously to return to the search, the results then being published as "Report on the tomb of Zeser-ka-ra Amenhotep I, discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon in 1914," *JEA* 3 (1917), pp. 147–54. This article is referred to in Letter 4 below.

¹³ See note 7 to Letter 1 above.

¹⁴ Undoubtedly Walter Frederick Roefe Tyndale (1856–1943), RI (Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours, elected 1912), an artist, principally in watercolor, who wrote and illustrated a number of topographical-travel works, including *Below the Cataracts* (London and Philadelphia, 1907), *L'Égypte d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1910), *Japan and the Japanese* (London, 1910), and with Harriet Taylor, *Japanese Gardens* (1912). The first of these volumes, which is probably the one referred to by Carter, contains reproductions of sixty of Tyndale's paintings in color, including scenes of Cairo street life, views of standard monuments and of figure subjects from reliefs and paintings.

A gap of over two years separates Letters 2 and 3. There may have been no exchange between Carter and the Marris before he was sent the cuttings mentioned below.

LETTER 3

Swaffham – Norfolk
June 23rd 1911

My dear Mrs. Marris

It was so nice to hear once again from you & that Mr Marris' health is improving. I have often wondered how you all have been & only wished you were in Egypt last winter.

The cuttings you enclosed are most interesting & the first I had heard of the new theory regarding the poor old Sphinx.¹⁵ The dating & still more the naming of an unnamed monument such as the Sphinx must always be a matter of vague conjecture—a possible reason why Herodotus ignored it altogether. And the so called "Riddle of the Sphinx" seems as great an invention of modern times as the Sphinx itself invented by the ancients. Reisner's theory is very possibly a correct one, though one cannot help but think that the evidence for so emphatic a statement is small. Certainly it has great probabilities of being somewhere near the mark. For on that plateau we have nothing that is not purely mortuary & the mass of the stuff there pertaining to the Old Kingdom. Mr. Higgins contentions, who ever the man may be for I have not heard of him before & for the moment shall call him "Juggins",¹⁶ is as celestial as his starry hypothesis. However true his theory of the origin of the Sphinx formation may be, it gives no reason why any one king should not adopt the form when wishing to represent himself. The hundred and one monuments we have from the earliest to the very latest period of kings of Egypt representing themselves as human headed lions crushing their enemies—a common symbol of power used among the symbolical sculptures of the ancient Egyptians—is a fact Mr. Higgins seems either not to know or to have forgotten.

There can I think be little doubt that the Sphinx did represent some reigning monarch & most probably of the Old Kingdom. The topographical position is strongly in favour with Reisner's supposition but I think him most wrong in making his statement so emphatic.¹⁷

I am so glad that you liked Miss Rathbone. Your statement was correct, but you see her height enabled her to look over my head.

¹⁵ The newspaper debate on the Sphinx was apparently brought to a conclusion—as, no doubt, he would himself have claimed by Dr. George Reisner in an article "Solving the Riddle of the Sphinx," *Cosmopolitan Magazine* 53 (New York, 1912), pp. 4–13. I have not seen the various contributions to this controversy.

¹⁶ A late Victorian-Edwardian term for a simpleton, usually written without a capital J. as in "Yah! Wot a old juggins he is!" *Punch* (July 17, 1818).

¹⁷ An interesting comment by Carter. Reisner was much given to making dogmatic judgments, especially in his later years—well attested by his assistants and colleagues, Dows Dunham and William S. Smith.



Fig. 4. Queen Ahmose, mother of Hatshepsut; courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum (1925.142).



Fig. 5. Daughter of Menna, standing in the prow of a boat; courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum (1925.143).



Fig. 6. Queen Nefertari offering *nw*-pots; courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum (1925.144).

You ask whether we had finds this year. Yes we were certainly lucky & found a very large tomb of the Middle Empire, which had been reused as a hiding^{sic} place for later burials ranging between the Hyksos Period and the early Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁸ It was full of most interesting stuff having 64 separate & untouched burials in it, the cache being made by some pious officials of the necropolis for their safe keeping from the thieving workmen who disturbed them in making some alteration or when clearing the ground in constructing some new monuments. I am now occupied in getting out a publication of the three seasons results which will be fully illustrated & I hope in the course of the year to be able to send you a copy which will better describe to you the whole finds than I shall be able to do here.¹⁹ I think our pearls were a harp of the Hyksos time and a delightful little portrait figure of a boy in electrum of a period of Amenhetep Ist.²⁰

My chateau is built & awaiting you,²¹ and I am now home for a holiday of three months after a strenuous two years of painting, building and excavating. Please give my best wishes to all & with every kind regards to yourself

Yours most sincerely
Howard Carter

The Constitutional Club
Northumberland Avenue
will find me 'till Sept 15. Then the same old Luxor.
H.C.

The fourth letter, written not long before the outbreak of the Great War, is written on black-edged writing paper. It is not clear whom Carter may have been mourning in this way; not Mr. Marrs, surely, who had died in 1912; possibly one of his brothers, the dates of death of some of whom have not yet been established by the genealogists of the Carter family. The only matter of Egyptological interest touched on in this

¹⁸ Tomb 37 in the Carnarvon-Carter excavations, described in their *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (London, 1912), p. 64ff.

¹⁹ The volume, as published, covered not only the three years of Carter's work for Carnarvon (1909–1911), but also the results of the two preceding years when Carnarvon worked alone under the general supervision of Arthur Weigall, the Upper Egyptian Chief Inspector. The volume, subtitled *A Record of work done 1907–1911*, contains no specific mention of the change in direction of the Carnarvon excavations, which has led generally to the misconception that Carter began working for Carnarvon in 1907, and not in 1909 as the Marrs correspondence makes clear.

²⁰ The harp is described by Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 82f., and illustrated on pl. LXXI, bottom. It is now in the Cairo Museum, see H. Hickmann, *Instruments de musique* (Cairo, 1949), p. 168, pl. CVII (JdE no. 43161, *Catalogue Général*, no. 69424). The "electrum" statuette of Amenemheb, described and illustrated by Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 75, frontispiece and pl. LXVII, is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 26.7.1413. It is not of electrum but of copper, with the lotus bud in the left hand of silver, cf. W.C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt II* (New York, 1959), p. 61; N. Reeves and J.H. Taylor, *Howard Carter before Tutankhamun* (London, 1992), p. 99.

²¹ Castle Carter II on the hill Elwat el-Diban was completed and occupied by Howard Carter in January–February 1911; for contemporary comments and opinions on it, see James, *Howard Carter* (London, 1992), p. 159.

letter is Carter's work on the tomb of Amenophis I, see note 12 on Letter 2 above.

LETTER 4

June 12. 1914
Turf Club
Cairo

Dear Mrs. Kingsmill Marris

Thank you so much for your two very kind letters. I have been long in answering them, but I have been moving about Egypt, letters have followed me & I have had really little chance of answering them.

Your kind invite to stop at Florence was most inviting but I must get straight back to England—I hope by next week's mail.

It has been abnormally hot this May & June, in fact the hottest experienced for many years, which naturally makes one long to get away from it.

I hope soon to have another publication out of our latter work including the discovery of the royal tomb of Amenhetep I. The latter discovery has been of great interest owing to the ancient records of the King's tomb in legal papyrus recording the ancient robberies. In years we have tried to find its whereabouts from these early statements—but not until this last autumn were we successful.

With every kind wish & regards to both Mr. Barker & yourself

Yours most sincerely
Howard Carter

Mrs. Kingsmill Marris (Laura Norcross, 1845–1926) was undoubtedly one of the most discriminating of those who purchased watercolors from Howard Carter. Before her visit to Egypt with her husband in 1908—possibly a second visit—she had built up over many years an important collection of European prints, initially under the guidance of Sylvester Rosa Koehler, the first Curator of Prints in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Koehler had died in 1899, but Mrs. Marris continued collecting, and her print collection was ultimately bequeathed to the Worcester Art Museum at her death.²² Her switch of allegiance from Boston to Worcester had started not long after Koehler's death, and over the years she and her husband gave numerous items from their collections to Worcester. The six Howard Carter watercolors were donated in 1925, the year before her death. They had undoubtedly been well regarded by

²² See Timothy A. Riggs, "Mr. Koehler and Mrs. Marris: the formation of the Mrs. Kingsmill Marris Collection," *Journal of the Worcester Art Museum* I (1977–78), pp. 3–13. I owe this reference to David Acton.



Fig. 7. A view in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum (1925.145).

Mrs. Marrs, and not thought of as simple souvenirs of a visit to Egypt. The subjects are mostly taken directly from Theban monuments, one being a view, the others careful, but not slavish, copies of figures from tombs and temples. They represent a good collection of Howard Carter's work in this genre. All are watercolors on prepared board, apart from the view of Medinet Habu, which is watercolor on paper. In the list below they are described in the order of museum numbering, rather than chronologically.²³

1925.140 (fig. 2). Heads of two men at a banquet (38.2 cm x 49.3 cm); see N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London, 1941), pl. VIII (lower left). Signed and dated: Howard Carter 1909.

1925.141 (fig. 3). Iunmutef priest (53.3 cm x 37.8 cm); see E. Hornung, *The Tomb of Seti I. Das Grab des Sethos' I* (Zurich & Munich, 1991), p. 208, fig. 144 left. Signed and dated: Howard Carter 1909. Not fully identified in the Worcester catalogue.

1925.142 (fig. 4). Queen Ahmose, wife of Tuthmosis I and mother of Hatshepsut (57.8 cm x 40.5 cm); it seems to be an invention of Carter's, based on various representations of the queen in the temple of Deir el-Bahri, e.g., E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari II* (London, 1897), pl. XLIX; V (London, 1906), pl. CXLVII. Dated 1908, but not signed with Carter's usual signature; signed instead in careful capitals. The head of the queen, taken from the first of the two references above was a favorite subject of Carter's. His original painting, now in the offices of the Egypt Exploration Society, was reproduced in op. cit., III (London, 1898), pl. LXVII. He repeated it for clients on many occasions in later years.

1925.143 (fig. 5). Daughter of Menna, from a boating scene (56.2 cm x 39.5 cm). This well known detail from Theban Tomb no. 69 is much reproduced, e.g., in color, in A. Mekhitarian, *Egyptian Painting* (Geneva, Paris, New York, 1954), p. 93. Signed and dated: Howard Carter 1907.

1925.144 (fig. 6). Queen Nefertari offering *nw*-pots (70.5 cm x 47 cm). For a color photograph of the scene in the queen's tomb, see G. Thausing and H. Goedicke, *Nofretari* (Graz, 1971), fig. 53. Signed and dated: Howard Carter 1908.

²³ The non-Egyptological details given here are drawn from the entries of St. John Gore, responsible for the section on the British School in *European Paintings in the Collection of the Worcester Art Museum* (Worcester, 1974), pp. 8–10; also from museum records, copies of which were kindly supplied by David Acton.

1925.145 (fig. 7). A view in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (59.6 cm x 42.5 cm). The Worcester catalogue contains this comment, provided by Professor G.R. Hughes of the Oriental Institute, Chicago: "The artist was standing between and slightly behind the square pillars numbered 26 and 27 and was looking directly at the columns 20 and 21;" see the plan XLVII in Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography II*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972). Signed and dated: Howard Carter 1909.



SCHOLARS FROM AROUND THE WORLD HAVE GATHERED HERE to contribute sixty-eight articles in honor of their friend and colleague, William Kelly Simpson, one of the most distinguished Egyptologists of his generation. The topics include archaeological expedition reports, art-historical essays, philological treatises, and historical analyses. The focus is on Egypt during 3,000 years of ancient pharaonic history, but Nubian and Aegean studies are also well represented. The volume contains 232 photographs, numerous line drawings, and a comprehensive bibliography of W. K. Simpson's Egyptological writings through 1996.

