

KÖNIGTUM, STAAT UND GESELLSCHAFT
FRÜHER HOCHKULTUREN

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5. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie /
5th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology

Palace and Temple

Edited by Rolf Gundlach
and Kate Spence

Harrassowitz Verlag

KÖNIGTUM, STAAT UND GESELLSCHAFT
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Herausgegeben von
Rolf Gundlach, Detlev Kreikenbom
und Mechthild Schade-Busch

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Beiträge zur altägyptischen Königsideologie

Herausgegeben von Horst Beinlich,
Rolf Gundlach und Ursula Rößler-Köhler

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Palace and Temple

Architecture – Decoration – Ritual

Cambridge, July, 16th-17th, 2007

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Vorwort

Drei Jahre nach dem 4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie (Britisches Museum London, 2004) fand in Cambridge die Folgeveranstaltung statt, und zwar auf Einladung des McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research der Universität Cambridge. Unsere Kollegin Kate Spence, unterstützt von Janine Bourriau, hatte die mühevollen Aufgabe übernommen, das 5. Symposium in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Institut für Ägyptologie und Altorientalistik der Universität Mainz auszurichten. Im Juli 2007 konnte der Kongress mit 14 Referaten und anschließenden Diskussionen durchgeführt werden. Für ihren Einsatz und das Rahmenprogramm sind wir unseren Kollegen in Cambridge zu großem Dank verpflichtet.

Die Sammlung der Aufsätze, die aus den Vorträgen entstanden, gestaltete sich sehr mühsam, da, wie so häufig, die Endtermine immer wieder hinausgeschoben werden mussten, um doch ein vollständiges Bild des Kongresses für die Veröffentlichung zu ermöglichen. Aber im Interesse der Autoren, die ihre Manuskripte rechtzeitig übersandten, haben wir uns schließlich dahingehend entschieden, diejenigen Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die auch die Deadline vom 15. September 2009 versäumt haben, zu unserem großen Bedauern aus der Kongresspublikation auszuschließen. Da die Thematik des 5. Symposiums aber weit gespannt war, spiegelt der vorliegende Band doch wichtige Aspekte unseres Kongresses wider.

Das Generalthema des Symposiums wurde in Fortsetzung des 4. Symposiums, angeregt durch die Interessenlage des einladenden Institutes, mehr durch archäologische Aspekte ägyptischer Residenzen bestimmt. Mit „Palace and Temple: Architecture – Decoration – Ritual“ haben wir uns (neben Königsgräbern) auf zwei der „primären“ Elemente königlicher Zentren konzentriert. Dabei sollte die Aufmerksamkeit aber auch auf den „Inhalt“ der Bauten, also die dekorative Ausstattung und den Kult, gelenkt werden.

Es war seit Initiierung des Symposiums nie beabsichtigt, die Thematik starr abzugrenzen: Ein Generalthema dient lediglich als Anregung. So waren wir über die Fülle der angemeldeten und gehaltenen Vorträge sehr glücklich und freuen uns, mit dem vorliegenden Band wichtige Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Residenzenforschung veröffentlichen zu können.

Die Drucklegung ist wiederum dem großzügigen Entgegenkommen des Verlages Harrassowitz und seiner Leiterin, Frau Dr. Barbara Krauss, zu danken. Die Herstellung der Druckvorlage und die damit verbundenen Redaktionsarbeiten wurden von unserer Kollegin Dr. Silke Roth mit bewährter Qualität übernommen. Diese Arbeit hat der „Freundeskreis Ägyptologie an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz“ mit einer beachtlichen Spende ermöglicht. Auch ihm gilt unser herzlicher Dank.

Preface

The Fifth Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology took as its theme 'Palace and Temple: Architecture – Decoration – Ritual'. The symposium was held at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at the University of Cambridge on the 16th and 17th July 2007. Fourteen scholars presented papers considering material dating from the Early Dynastic Period to the Ptolemaic and drawing on a broad range of textual, artistic and archaeological evidence. Some papers considered directly the physical relationships and parallels between temples, palaces and their respective decorative schemes and rituals. Others focused on the figure of the king or his courtiers as the main traceable links between these structures, whilst others discussed the archaeological remains of particular sites, buildings and smaller monuments within their relevant contexts. A selection of those papers is published here.

Irene Forstner-Müller's contribution discusses a ritual deposit found in the Hyksos palatial complex F/II at Tell el-Dab^{ca} and considers its cultural context. Florence Friedman examines the Menkaure triads within their spatial and ritual setting and, in particular, considers their link with the *heb-sed* ritual and the goddess Hathor. The papers by Rolf Gundlach and Katja Goebis address the king's role in ritual activities drawing in particular on textual sources: the former discussing the temple foundation ceremony which serves as the subject of the Berlin Leather Roll, while the latter addresses the relationship between 'divine kings' and 'royal gods' through consideration of royal rituals. Kirsten Konrad and Christine Raedler draw on evidence for the elite to discuss the relationship between the court and royal ritual activities: Konrad examines the ideological importance of sistrophorous statues, while Raedler examines the role of High Priests who functioned alongside the king in court settings as well as within the temples. David Warburton provides a broad synthesis of the role of monumental architecture, particularly temples, in developing royal ideologies and considers the historical implications of the changes made through close examination of Hatshepsut's ambitious architectural programme at Karnak. In the final paper, Katharina Zinn examines the role of libraries as places for the storage and circulation of written knowledge and discusses their relationships with temples, and perhaps also with palaces.

I would like to thank the Director of the McDonald Institute, Professor Graeme Barker, for permission to hold the event at the McDonald Institute, and the staff of the Institute for their assistance. Janine Bourriau provided particularly valuable advice and assistance throughout the organization of the conference. Finally, I would like to thank the Managers of the Thomas Mulvey Fund at Cambridge University for a grant which provided welcome sustenance for participants through the symposium, providing valuable opportunities for further discussion on matters Egyptological and beyond.

Reading the Menkaure Triads, Part I*

Florence Dunn Friedman

The premise of this paper is that the Fourth Dynasty triads from King Menkaure's valley temple can be "read", based on their iconography and inscriptions, and the attitudes of their figures (figs. 1–2).¹ This paper looks at a few of the ways in which the triads can be read and interpreted.²

Introduction

At Giza, in 1908, George Andrew Reisner began work at Menkaure's valley temple, a building begun in limestone but hastily finished off in mudbrick by the king's successor, Shepseskaf, who "somewhat" modified the temple's original design.³ One modification included facing the temple's open court with a combination of simple and compound niches (fig. 3), described by Reisner as "offering niches".⁴ The temple's hasty completion was presumably due to Menkaure's sudden death,⁵ at which time the valley temple still lacked

* My thanks to John Nolan and Hratch Papazian for sharing work with me that has helped shape parts of this paper. I alone, however, am responsible for all content and conclusions.

Abbreviations generally in accordance with W. HELCK/W. WESTENDORF (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (= LÄ), vol. VII, 1989, p. IX-XXXVIII.

- 1 Material, which is also symbolically important, is treated in a forthcoming article, which compares the meaning of Menkaure's greywacke and alabaster statuary.
- 2 Any study of the Menkaure triads builds on the work of W. WOOD, *A Reconstruction of the Triads of King Mycerinus*, in: *JEA* 60, 1974, 82–93, pls. 23–25; and M. SEIDEL, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen* 1, *HÄB* 42, 1996, 25–49, pls. 5–16.
- 3 REISNER, *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza*, Cambridge, 1931, 39 notes that unlike the pyramid temple, the valley temple at the time of Menkaure's death "was still in an early stage of its construction" so that "[p]ractically the whole temple had to be built." And that "... in all probability, the plan of the first crude-brick temple [i.e., the valley temple as it was completed by Shepseskaf] was *somewhat* like that of the intended stone temple." (My italics.) The valley temple went through yet another rebuilding in the late Sixth Dynasty under Pepi II (REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 54 on date), and see B. KEMP, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, London/New York, 2006, 207–209, fig. 74.
- 4 REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 40, pls. 31b, c, 33a, plan VIII. The "offering niches" were, "as at the pyramid temple – one compound niche and three simple niches in alteration" (REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 39).
- 5 After a reign as short as six or as long as 28 years: R. KRAUSS/D.A. WARBURTON, *Conclusions*, in: E. HORNUNG/R. KRAUSS/D.A. WARBURTON (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronologies*, Leiden/Boston, 2006, 485. Accounting for Menkaure's length of reign relative to the incomplete state of his complex – the smallest of the Giza complexes – is far from simple: P. JÁNOSI, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*. 1. Die

stone walls. Reliefs therefore were not possible. The cult for the king turned solely on statuary, including standing and seated figures, at least one dyad,⁶ and a group of triads with back slabs. But Menkaure's exclusive use of statuary may not have been due solely to a lack of stone walls for relief; statuary was probably the choice from the start. Khafre's decorative program, though very different in layout from his son's, had turned solely on statuary in a complex with stone walls, and Menkaure was likely following his father's lead, which, in turn, followed Djedefre's.⁷ Menkaure's adoption of his forebears' precedents is also seen in his choice of statue types, none of which was entirely his own innovation. Dyads with two standing figures appear before Menkaure,⁸ and even the triad form, which I had earlier thought to be Menkaure's invention, was in use by his father's reign, as telling fragments in Leipzig reveal the presence of at least one triad (though without back slab⁹) from Khafre's complex (fig. 7a).¹⁰ Menkaure was apparently using and expanding on known statue types, but it is still his triads – and dyad – that are our earliest intact examples.

Describing the Triads and Their Themes

The Menkaure triads consist of four intact, greywacke, under life-size group sculptures that show the king in company with Hathor and a nome personification. The nomes and their capitals are UE 4, Thebes; UE 7, Diospolis Parva; UE 15, Hermopolis; and UE 17, Cynopolis. The nomes are identified by the standards atop the heads of the personifications (figs. 1–2).¹¹ Each personification is male or female depending on the gender of its nome.¹² The

Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 24, Wien 2005, 73, esp. ns. 312, 315.

- 6 F.D. FRIEDMAN, The Menkaure Dyad(s), in: S.E. THOMPSON/P.D. MANUELIAN (eds.), *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University*, June 2005, Brown University, Providence 2008, 141–176. I had not known at this time about evidence for a Khafre dyad (R. KRAUSPE, *Statuen und Statuetten, Katalog ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig 1*, Mainz 1997, no. 30) that may parallel the Menkaure dyad (MFA, Boston 11.1738). See also KRAUSPE, *Statuen und Statuetten*, nos. 43 (p. 26, n. 27) and 79.
- 7 V. DOBREV, Une statue fragmentaire du roi Menkaourê, in: C. BERGER/B. MATHIEU (eds.), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra*, Montpellier 1997, 161 who notes that Shepseskaf also abandoned the use of relief decoration, used by Sneferu and Khufu.
- 8 For a proposed second Menkaure dyad, see FRIEDMAN, *Dyad(s)*, 115–116, 123–128.
- 9 The beginnings of arms of two figures are seen on back of the fragment with king: KRAUSPE, *Statuen und Statuetten*, no. 26: 21–22, with “Korrekturzusatz.”
- 10 KRAUSPE, *Statuen und Statuetten*, no. 26, 21–22, whose fragments, in “Korrekturzusatz”, 22, are shown to be from a triad.
- 11 Relative heights of the triads are slightly changed from FRIEDMAN, *Dyad(s)*, fig. 9.
- 12 The standard for Diospolis Parva, UE 7, is Bat, the face of Hathor (HELCK, *Gaue*, 88 ff.), and thus feminine; Hermopolis, UE 15, uses a hare, *Wnt* (HELCK, *Gaue*, 106 ff.), feminine; Cynopolis UE 17, uses a young female dog, *Jnpwt* (HELCK, *Gaue*, 112 ff.) and is thus feminine. The only exception to the rule is Thebes, UE 4 whose standard, *W3st*, is feminine (HELCK, *Gaue*, 78 ff.), while its personification is male, a mistake apparently acknowledged by the Egyptians themselves since later Theban nome personifications are feminine (R. STADELMANN, in: LÄ VI, 465, s.v. Theben).

triads appear in two formats: Type 1 shows the striding king in UE crown flanked by Hathor and a nome personification (fig. 2a-c); Type 2 shows a seated (enthroned) Hathor flanked by a standing king and nome personification (fig. 2d).¹³ The male nome walks; female nomes have feet together, except in Type 2. Hathor is the only deity shown, and, in a sign of status, always has her left leg slightly advanced. As divine mother (and wife) to the king,¹⁴ she was the state's most important Old Kingdom goddess. By the time of Menkaure, temple cults for Hathor are attested in LE in the Giza/Saqqara Memphite area of LE 1, and in UE, including at Tehne in UE 17, where a temple was endowed by Menkaure himself¹⁵ in the very Cynopolis nome found on triad JE 40679; and at Gebelein in UE 4, the very Theban nome found on triad JE 40678; and at Dendera in UE 6.¹⁶ We have no triads for LE, much less for Memphis, LE 1, nor for Dendera, UE 6.

In each triad Hathor embraces the king, holds his hand or stands close beside him, features that signal her divine legitimation. Legitimation is the first visible theme of the triads. The nome personifications – anthropomorphized provinces that serve as deputies of Hathor – present gestures comparable to Hathor's. Each nome, according to the inscription in front of that nome, provisions the king from UE, meaning from the nome shown on its standard. Provisioning is the triads' second theme. The one intact Type 2 triad (figs. 1d, 2d) reveals the third and most important theme, the heb sed, signaled by what the king holds in his left hand: not the standard abbreviated staff or "enigmatic object" of Type 1 (fig. 11a) but the sed's characteristic *mks*-leather document holder (fig. 11b) given by the gods.¹⁷ The appearance of sed iconography in Type 2, I believe, informs the whole triad series with Type 1 and 2 being variations on this one overarching sed festival theme. What I conclude in this and forthcoming articles is that both Type 1 and 2 share what I see as the sub-themes of the sed: legitimation, provisioning, and what I will later call "multi-directionality". The difference between Type 1 and 2 is a matter of emphasis. Type 1 emphasizes the sub-themes; Type 2 emphasizes Menkaure's heb-sed confirmation as king. Confirmation at the heb sed is communicated through Type 2's variations: the appearance of the *mks* in the hand of the king; Hathor's double embrace of the king; and the sole offering of ankh, understood to be for the king (by the sole instance of a walking female nome). Heb sed confirmation is not

13 Note how much smaller Type 2, MFA, Boston, 09.200 is than its reliably reconstructed pair, MFA, Boston, 12.1514 in fig. 5.

14 See Lana TROY, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and history*, Uppsala 1986.

15 Tehne, though often placed in UE 16, was probably during the Old Kingdom in UE 17: R. GUNDLACH, in: LÄ VI, 304, s.v. Tehne.

16 For the Memphite cult, see esp. M. GALVIN, *The Priestesses of Hathor in The Old Kingdom and the 1st Intermediate Period*, unpublished dissertation, University Microfilms, Brandeis University, 1981. For Tehne: Urk. I, 24–32; for Gebelein: E. LEOSPO, in: A.M.D. ROVERI (ed.), *Egyptian Civilization, Monumental Art*, Egyptian Museum of Turin, Milan 1989, 199, 201, pl. 299, with dating that follows W.S. Smith's dating to the late Second/Third Dynasty in SMITH, *Sculpture*, 137–138; and for Dendera by the end of the Fourth Dynasty when Hathor's "Denderite cult [was] one of the most influential in Upper Egypt" (H.G. FISCHER, *The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat*, in: JARCE 1, 1962, 7). The Dendera cult may even go back as early as Khufu, based on a Ptolemaic reference to Khufu in Dendera 6, 173. I thank Hratch Papazian for the Smith and Chassinat references. By the end of the OK, attested Hathor sites also included Kom el-Hisn, Atfih, Beni Hasan, Meir (FISCHER, *Dendera*, 40), and Cusae (ALLAM, *Hathorkult*, 23–24). Some of these later OK sites may have been operative in Menkaure's day, though evidence is currently lacking.

17 FRIEDMAN, *Dyad(s)*, esp. figs. 10a-b, 11.

shown as coming from multiple gods; it comes solely from Hathor, who is seated/enthroned and the central focus of Type 2 triad.

Reisner found two additional large triad fragments (fig. 5f, d) which, when added to the four intact ones, show that Menkaure had at least six triads (fig. 5). The triads differ in height, width and proportions, as well as in details of style.¹⁸ Overall they average about 95 cm (a little over 3 ft) in height. Intact examples show the broad back slab, plinth, and inscribed base that surely existed on the fragmentary examples as well.¹⁹ The series may not have been made entirely by Menkaure: the inscription on the Cynopolis triad (fig. 1c) lacks Menkaure's expected Horus name with serekh, though it includes the usual *nswt-bity* name, suggesting that the king was dead at the time of the statue's manufacture.²⁰ One can only imagine if some larger portion of Menkaure's sculptural program now lost or in fragments was produced under Shepseskaf after his father's death.

The four intact triads were found in a corridor in a western storeroom of the valley temple (fig. 3), where they were placed, probably by priests, for safekeeping, as the temple fell to vandalism.²¹ Reisner found the statues set in the north-south running corridor: two at almost right angles to the west wall and facing north (figs. 4a, 3), and two at almost right angles to the east wall and facing south (figs. 4b, 3).²² The Type 1 triads are too heavy to be readily portable.²³ Moving them required considerable effort, suggesting that their placement was not haphazard. But the positioning is curious; leaning the triads flat against the wall would have been easier and would presumably have better reflected their intended placement against a valley temple wall or other surface to allow the viewer to face the

18 Stylistic differences in facial features, for example, are well illustrated in photos in SEIDEL, *Statuengruppen*, esp. pls. 10–11. But a full study of stylistic differences is yet to be done.

19 MFA, Boston, 12.1514 is the most fragmentary, though it bears remains of a back slab. MFA, Boston, 11.3147 has remains of a back slab but no plinth. Inscriptions for both triads are missing.

20 For the conventional belief that *nswt* or the *nswt-bity* name alone means that the king is dead, see N.C. STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, Atlanta, 2005, 15 and J. von BECKERATH, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 20, 1984, 19, n. 25; A.M. ROTH, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom*, SAOC 48, 1991, 168–169 disputes it. Convincing evidence for the belief comes from John S. NOLAN, *Mud Sealings and Fourth Dynasty Administration at Giza*, PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago 2010, 32 who shows that: “From contemporary sources, it is clear that the Horus name inside a serekh exclusively referred to the living, reigning king from the Fourth Dynasty on.” The presence of the Horus name with serekh apparently signaled that the king was alive at the time of an object's manufacture, while its absence suggests he was dead. See NOLAN, *Mud Sealings*, esp. 25–40.

21 On plundering and neglect of the temple, see REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 32, 45ff; and also KEMP, *Ancient Egypt*, 207 on encroachment of houses.

22 I thank Diane Flores, Research Associate, Giza Archives Project, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, who, in a personal communication, corrects REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 35 on the orientation of the triads as found in corridor III, Rm. 4. On the basis of the excavation photos (esp. B265 in the Giza Archives Project, housed at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts) and the written records, she demonstrates that Reisner was confused in what he stated in his publication and that the orientations of the triads should read as follows: on the western wall, the Hermopolis triad stood in front of the Diospolis Parva triad, both facing north; and on the eastern wall, the Cynopolis triad stood in front of the Theban triad, both facing south.

23 Boston, MFA 11.3147, which is merely a fragment of one of the larger Type 1 triads, weighs 450 lbs. If we think of each worker as having the capacity to carry about 100 lbs., then more than four people would have been required for just a 450 lb fragment. Still, man-power was hardly in short supply so statuary could have been moved with more alacrity than first thought.

figures head on. The triads' position in the storeroom corridor with one triad in front of the other was thus probably intentional. Whether the triads, in part or in total, were ever installed in the temple proper is unknown since no emplacements survive.

Reconstructing New Triads

Of the two large triad fragments, one (fig. 5f) was found in a hole but in the same corridor as the intact examples,²⁴ and the other was found in the valley temple court (fig. 5d).²⁵ That a series existed beyond these four intact and two fragmentary triads, however, is clear from 35 small greywacke bits in Boston,²⁶ whose decoration and iconography conform to features found on the extant triads. The “shattered bits”²⁷ have almost no joins and, based on size, some should be assigned to statues taller than the known intact or fragmentary triads. While reconstructions must remain provisional, a minimum of three additional triads is suggested here (fig. 6): Triads A, B, and C. One torso piece with fragment of kilt tab and lower end of wig lappet is used to reconstruct Triad A. The piece must be from a triad with male nome, since the king never wears the kilt tab or wig. The wig striations are important. I found that hair striations appear to vary from one intact triad to another but are largely consistent on any single intact triad.²⁸ The carving of the striations on this bit of wig lappet is at variance with that on other shattered bits with hair, suggesting that this one piece goes to its own triad. On the same principle, I assigned Triad B's three wig fragments to their own triad:

24 REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 110 (14), pl. 64h.

25 REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 110 (13), pl. 46–47. Reisner suggested it was “broken up after the abandonment of the second temple” [second temple is reign of Pepi II] and “had probably been taken out of corridor (4), where the other triads were found” (p. 49). I doubt, however, that this triad fragment, which, when intact, was larger and heavier (450 lbs.) than any of the intact triads, was ever in the same corridor with the intact examples, since dragging it out of the corridor might have been considered more trouble than it was worth.

26 Thirty-five greywacke pieces are stored at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. More have not been located in Cairo, though Giza Archives photos at the MFA, Boston show fragments not in Boston. See FRIEDMAN, *Dyad(s)*, 131, n. 80. For help in researching this study, I thank: Dr. Rita E. Freed, John F. Cogan, Jr. and Mary L. Cornille, Chair of the Department of Art of the Ancient World at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Dr. Lawrence M. Berman, Norma Jean Calderwood, Senior Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art; Dr. Denise M. Doxey, Assistant Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art; Ms. Joyce Haynes, Research Fellow; interns, Dr. Jane Pavese and Ms. Rebecca Donahue; and Dr. Peter Der Manuelian, Giza Archives Project Director, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Dr. Diane Flores, Research Associate, who were extremely generous with their time; Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary General, the Supreme Council of Antiquities; Dr. Wafaa el Siddik, Director of the Egyptian Museum; Dr. Janice Kamrin, Director of Egyptian Museum Database and Registrar Training Projects; Dr. Yasmin El Shazly, Head of Documentation; Ms. Nareeman for gallery help, and Dr. Randa Baligh for facilitating Cairo photographic work; Michelle Pisa for graphics; and Michael Fredericks for photography.

27 The term used by Peter Lacovara who worked on the Boston fragments while Associate Curator in the Egyptian Department at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

28 I thank Dorothea Arnold for pointing me toward closer scrutiny of the hair striations.

two pieces with identically carved hair striations I give to one (male?) nome, and another with sufficiently similar hair striations, I give to a Hathor. Triad C's one wig fragment has striations that differ from those on B and C, and I thus assign it to a separate triad (going to a Hathor, as shown, though it could possibly go to a male or female nome). These three provisional reconstructions plus others will appear in detail in a future publication. What I hope to show at present is that Menkaure had a minimum of three additional triads, making a total of at least nine triads, and, given the number and types of shattered bits, there were more likely ten or twelve. I would posit, for now, ten Type 1s and two Type 2s. What is certain is that Menkaure had more triads than the six found by Reisner or the eight suggested by Wendy Wood.²⁹

Compositional Parallels

Two-dimensional parallels for the three-dimensional Type 1 triads appear in seal impressions since the reign of Khafre. A detail from one example shows a triadic group of king in UE crown holding hands with flanking gods (fig. 7b), one of whom (Horus) turns to look behind at the king.³⁰ Flanking figures look inward and the king faces the forward figure. The miniature motif of two striding figures flanking a central striding king with whom they clasp hands appears in a number of OK seals since Khafre and is read by Kaplony as the verb *ibs*, meaning "to introduce" the king.³¹ One wonders if the formal source for this 2D motif may derive from stone sculpture, namely from the Khafre-triad type, noted above (fig. 7a), though whether the flanking figures in the Khafre triad(s) were the same deities as those on the seals – or even on the Menkaure triads – cannot be known.³²

Triadic groups in large-scale 2D appear well before Khafre: e.g., on the pillar relief figures of Sneferu with fragmentary deities at his statue cult temple³³ (formerly called a valley temple)³⁴ at the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur. Here, the king is embraced around his left shoulder by a missing god, while a lion-headed goddess once embraced his right shoulder

29 WOOD, JEA 60, 1974, 82–93, esp. 85. Wood suggests there were eight triads, one for each of the eight "portico chapels" at the temple's entrance (85).

30 P. KAPLONY, Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reiches II B, MonAeg 3, 1981, pl. 26 (58), discussed in P. KAPLONY, Rollsiegel des Alten Reiches II A, MonAeg 3, 1981, 78.

31 P. KAPLONY, Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reiches I, MonAeg 2, 1977, 199–200, based on "later, more explicit texts" (see G. LEGRAIN, Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak, in: ASAE 4, 1903, 17–18), as cited by J.S. NOLAN, Mud Sealings, 197; on *ibs*, see 197–199; and on other sealings, 244–245. I thank Nolan for generously sharing his work with me. Cf. also KAPLONY, Rollsiegel II B, pl. 122 (47) and 143 (216) of unknown kings, the latter with Hathor as one of the flanking deities.

32 The fragmentary nature of the known Khafre triad prevents identification of the flanking figures: see KRAUSPE, Statuen und Stuetten, no. 26: 21–22 with "Korrekturzusatz". One wonders if there were more triads at Khafre's complex.

33 A. FAKHRY, The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II. The Valley Temple I, Cairo 1961, 126, fig. 141.

34 E.g., Do. ARNOLD, When the Pyramids were Built, New York 1999, 33.

(fig. 7d),³⁵ embraces being a standard expression of divine legitimation. In such three-figure relief compositions, two of the three figures always face one another. Triadic compositions showing a king linked to two inward facing figures by hand holding (as in the seals) or embrace (in the temple relief) were thus known in 2D at the time of Khafre's triad in 3D. What is interesting is that with the Menkaure triads we may be witnessing the process by which the artist made the transition from three-figure profile groups in 2D to three-figure frontal groups in 3D.

The chapel niches at Sneferu's temple also present three-figure compositions, but now with two inward facing 2D figures of the king in profile that flank a larger central figure of Sneferu in frontal high relief (fig. 8a) that borders on 3D.³⁶ This formal composition – now in large-scale – appears to bear on that of the Menkaure triads (fig. 8b). For Menkaure's flanking triad figures that would earlier have been conceived in relief are now turned almost fully forward into high relief forms that closely match that of the central Menkaure. Menkaure's frontal figure parallels that of Sneferu's chapel niche statues that were “cut in the same block which served as the chapel's inner rear wall.”³⁷ That inner wall on the Sneferu chapel niches is, I believe, the origin of Menkaure's back slab. But Menkaure's back slab has now been disengaged from any fixed wall architecture, so that the combination of profile and frontal figures engaged to a fixed wall, which we saw with Sneferu, now transforms into frontal figures engaged to a movable wall, with Menkaure. And like Sneferu's niche figures, the triads may have been intended to fit into niches, which would have concealed the back, the front of plinth, and the outer edges of the sculptures, while dramatically framing the figures.³⁸ A problem with this suggestion is that the only niches in Menkaure's court are those added by Shepseskaf and even these compound niches may be too small to accommodate the triads.³⁹ But I ask: could Shepseskaf's ten compound niches on the south and north sides of the valley temple court (fig. 3) allude to locations where Menkaure had originally intended to punctuate the walls with triads – triads that I think may, in fact, have totaled ten Type 1s?⁴⁰

35 FAKHRY, Sneferu II.1, frontispiece [fragment is incorrectly tilted] and 127, fig. 141 for properly oriented drawing.

36 Fakhry's reconstruction of the frontal statue of Sneferu flanked by two profile figures of the king is fully plausible though based on much reconstruction: FAKHRY, Sneferu II.1, 111, fig. 119; and 111 ff. with discussion.

37 FAKHRY, Sneferu II.1, 111, and fig. 119. Though this drawing is hypothetical (p. 113), enough of one statue survives (FAKHRY, Sneferu II.2, pl. XXXIII) to be sure that the figures are frontal and of a piece with the back wall. See also pls. XXXVI, XXXVII. Cf. Fourth Dynasty Giza tombs with rock-cut, high-relief frontal figures engaged to their wall, as in Mersyankh III's tomb (G7530–7540).

38 The backs of the triads seem generally to be finished, however, and the state of carving on the fronts of the plinths varies. E.g., JE 40678's plinth is rough and unfinished while that of JE 40679 is smooth. For another parallel use of niches for triads, see F.D. FRIEDMAN, Reading the Menkaure Triads, Pt. II, in: N. STRUDWICK/H. STRUDWICK (eds.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, Oxbow Book Ltd, forthcoming.

39 I thank Peter Der Manuelian and Diane Flores for their help in estimating niche dimensions.

40 Five LE triads for the north wall I tentatively ascribe to my nome-less reconstructions.

Important Features of the Menkaure Triads

As in the Sneferu relief with lion-headed goddess, or the triadic group on the Khafre seal impression, figures in the Menkaure triads relate through gesture and juxtaposition. Hathor and the nome personification wrap their hands around Menkaure's upper arms (fig. 2c), or Hathor holds the king's hand (fig. 2b), or she and the nome personification simply stand close beside him (fig. 2a); in one case, Hathor doubly embraces him (fig. 2d).⁴¹ Most interesting is the fact that flanking figures do not face absolutely forward. In Type 1, Hathor and the nome personification, male and female, glance slightly outward (fig. 9).⁴² Female nomes also turn their bodies outward,⁴³ but male nomes' bodies are frontal.⁴⁴ The outward glances of male and female flanking figures present a modification from the inward orientation of profile flanking figures on the seals or in the Sneferu chapel niches. In Type 2, the flanking figure of the nome goddess on the proper right glances outward (figs. 1d, 12; note how her right ear disappears slightly with the turn of the head), while the king and goddess look almost straight forward. In Type 1 Hathor stands and in Type 2 she sits, always to the king's right. Her prominence is underscored in the triads' inscriptions. In Type 1 the king is "Beloved of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine in all her *swt*-cult places"⁴⁵ (found on fig. 1c, b), or (in a variant without suffix pronoun) "Beloved of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine in all *swt*-cult places" (on fig. 1a, and see fig. 17). Type 2 references a separate Hathor cult where the king is "Beloved of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine" (on fig. 1d), which is the preeminent Giza/Saqqara cult of Hathor in the capital region (LE 1), and whose priestesses in the Old Kingdom were also found in UE.⁴⁶ "All" Hathor cult centers throughout the country are thus alluded to in Type 1's, as well as specific mention of the Memphite cult on the Type 2 triad with *sed* iconography. It is interesting that this LE 1 Memphite cult of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine appears on the Type 2 UE 15 (Hermopolis) triad, probably, I suggest, because of the importance of the Hermopolis nome to the crown in the Fourth Dynasty: the nome's town of Sheikh Said was a major industrial center founded by Khufu, or possibly Sneferu, and was the probable

41 It's possible that each gesture literally reads as a variant of the deities' statement of love for the king.

42 For detailed photos showing the outward glances, see FRIEDMAN, Dyad(s), 124–125, figs. 14a–d.

43 First noted by Do. Arnold for JE 46499 in ARNOLD, *When the Pyramids were Built*, 67.

44 MFA, Boston, 11.3147, a large fragment that is aesthetically the best of the triads, has a headless male nome's body that appears fully frontal though his face would surely have turned outward, like the male nome in the Theban triad, JE 40678, who has a front-facing body combined with outward glance.

45 D. JONES, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom I*, BAR International Series 866.1, Oxford 2000, 1637. A full discussion of the triads' inscriptions and their variants is forthcoming. For full text of inscriptions now, however, see SEIDEL, *Statuengruppen*, 49, fig. 14.

46 For the separate titles and cults of Hathor Mistress of the Sycamore [Shrine] and Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore [Shrine] in all her Places, see GALVIN, *Priestesses of Hathor*, 53–69, 70–73. Galvin notes that "The Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore served in one of the sanctuaries specifically dedicated to Hathor as the Mistress of the Sycamore. The Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore in all her places served in all of the sanctuaries dedicated to Hathor as the Mistress of the Sycamore" (80–81).

source of alabaster for Menkaure's building projects.⁴⁷ The town may also have been a royal cult center for Khufu that was functioning in Menkaure's day.⁴⁸ One wonders if the Boston Type 2 triad reveals a connection between the economic and cultic importance of Sheikh Said, and the Memphite cult of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine.⁴⁹

The nomes identified on the triads (figs. 1–2) extend from the 4th Upper Egyptian nome at Thebes, which included Gebelein, to the 7th at Diospolis Parva, the 15th at Hermopolis, and the 17th at Cynopolis.⁵⁰ There are no Lower Egyptian nomes on the intact triads nor do I find any greywacke bits that would identify LE, or even more UE, nomes.⁵¹ The absence of LE nomes is odd, since we know that royal mortuary complexes were often provisioned by Delta estates. Whether Menkaure's sculptors planned LE triads or whether some of these may be represented by my reconstructions which are missing their nome standards is unknown. As it is, the four intact triads all show UE nome insignia, and they present an interesting compositional feature: their nome standards shift orientation, from leftward on Type 1 to rightward on Type 2, with all nome personifications glancing in the direction opposite to their nome signs (fig. 10). The triads' presentation of opposing orientations for figures and glyphs recalls a feature implicit in the decoration of Sneferu's statue cult temple.

Features Relevant to the Triads from Sneferu's Statue Cult Temple

Sneferu's cult temple relief decoration shows a procession of offering bearers from estates in UE nomes that face rightward on the west wall of his entrance corridor, as LE ones once faced leftward on the east wall (fig. 13). The offering bearers are accompanied by the names of the estates, i.e., funerary domains, that they personify (fig. 14). The estate names document the provisioning of Sneferu's cult. The personifications on both sides of the corridor are oriented north toward the king, who, in the form of the high relief niche statues, is oriented south toward them and the exit of his temple (fig. 16a). Preceding each group of named estates is the name of a nome (e.g., on standard far right, figs. 14, 19a), recording the nome in which that group of estates lay.

Fakhry identified each nome according to its number. He posited a scenario (fig. 15a) in which LE nome numbers begin at the entrance hall and extend to the east wall of the pillared portico, running from LE 1 at the entrance to LE 13 (the only LE nome actually

47 H. WILLEMS et al., An Industrial Site at Al-Shaykh Sa'id/Wadi Zabayda, in: *Ä&L* 19, Wien 2009, 293–331; esp. 313–314; 322–326. I thank Marleen De Meyer for a pre-publication copy of this article. The significance of Sheikh Said to the triads will be expanded on in later research.

48 WILLEMS et al., in: *Ä&L* 19, 2009, 326.

49 See also ALLAM, *Hathorkult*, 3, 19 for OK reference to a priest (?) of this Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore cult at Sheikh Said in UE 15, the nome found on the Type 2 triad MFA 09.200.

50 The last is closest to the final UE nome, which is the 22nd, just south of Memphis, where the sequence for LE would begin.

51 I find no evidence of LE nomes in fragments of either greywacke or alabaster ("travertine") at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and none has been located in Cairo.

found in situ), to LE 14 or 16⁵² east of the portico.⁵³ Since the wall with LE nomes is almost entirely destroyed,⁵⁴ Fakhry's distribution is largely hypothetical. Yet enough fragments on the east (LE) wall remain to confirm the presence of personifications and to confirm that they faced in the same direction in which their nome numbers proceeded, which is north. On the opposite wall, we have considerable evidence that has survived in situ. It reveals a different arrangement, with UE nome numbers running in the opposite direction from LE ones and starting, not at the temple entrance, but on the wall west of the pillared portico. Fakhry suggested starting with UE 1 running to 8 (missing),⁵⁵ followed by nomes that were found: 9 and 10 through 16, followed by gaps, and then 18, ending at the temple's entrance with nome 22, the northernmost UE nome.⁵⁶ In fig. 15b I transfer Fakhry's format to a vertical one and circle the nomes found in situ. The arrows show the direction in which the nome numbers run on each side of the wall: LE nome numbers run north, UE nome numbers south, in effect, a circulation of offerings for the king. But the UE offering bearers, who personify the estates in those UE nomes, face north in the direction opposite to that in which their nome numbers proceed. Dual orientations are at work. UE nome numbers moving in one direction while their personified estates face another recalls the Menkaure UE nome standards that face one direction while their nome personifications face another.

To take the Sneferu example further: Sneferu, in the form of his high relief statues in the six back-wall chapel niches (fig. 8a), is oriented south and to be understood as moving toward and out his exit, which is our entrance (fig. 16a). But the south is not a site of resurrection; we would expect him to face east. What is remarkable is that the Egyptian designer has found a way to create dual orientation for the king. For when exiting the temple, Sneferu has the 22nd UE nome on his right and (probably) the 1st LE nome on his left. When we transfer a figure of the king to a map (fig. 16b), with LE 1 on his left and UE 22 on his right, he can only face east. He thus stands in the Memphite region, which on a political level puts him at the capital, and on a cosmic level, at the center of the world.⁵⁷

52 FAKHRY, Sneferu II.1, 49–58 shows that only one nome standard, LE 13 survives (p. 17), though multiple estate names were found (pl. XV B; XXVII C). Little of the LE procession remains because the east wall was largely destroyed (pl. XII B).

53 FAKHRY, Sneferu II.1, 18, fig. 8.

54 FAKHRY, Sneferu II.1, pl. XII B shows how the east wall is essentially demolished.

55 UE 1–8 seem to be assumed by Fakhry.

56 FAKHRY, Sneferu II.1, 19–49 on UE nomes; nome 17 is omitted but we have 18, and 17/18 together was probably to be understood for Cynopolis (p. 43); 19, 20 and 21 are missing but 22 ends the sequence (p. 43). Pls. XII A–XV A.

57 He thus spans the afterlife to the this-world spheres, in both of which he is meant to function for eternity. On the continuing role of the king in the life of the living as well as the dead, see R. GUNDLACH, *Der Pharao und sein Staat*, Darmstadt 1998; and D. STOCKFISCH, *Die Diesseitsrolle des toten Königs im Alten Reich*, in: R. GUNDLACH/W. SEIPEL (eds.), *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum, Akten des 2. Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Wien 24.–26.09.1997*, ÄUAT 36.1, 1999, 5–19. The cosmic connection is also made explicit in the Sneferu chapel niches where stars are shown above him and a *t3*-land sign below, thus setting him in the midst of the cosmos (G. ROBINS, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge/MA 1997, 48–49), where he is intermediary between the gods and mankind. The issue of implicit dual orientation will be discussed in FRIEDMAN, *Reading the Menkaure Triads*, Pt. II, forthcoming, where the multi-directionality will be connected to the celebration of the sed festival.

Provisioning and the Menkaure Triads

The themes of the Sneferu temple are relevant to the Menkaure triads. Provisioning: the triads' inscriptions show that the personifications give offerings to the king. The inscriptions on the four intact triads vary in interesting ways (the subject of a future article) with one inscription taken as an example (fig. 17). The right half reads: "I have given you (Menkaure) all things which are in the south, all sustenance, all offerings, when you appear as dual king forever." The unnamed speaker must be the nome personification, in front of whom the text appears (fig. 1a).⁵⁸ He (male in this case) offers provisions, just as Sneferu's personified estates offered provisions in his wall reliefs,⁵⁹ and just as a later personification of the Coptos nome in a dyad will do for Sahure.⁶⁰ What is not stated in the triad's inscription, but should be inferred, is that the provisions derive ultimately from the beneficence of Hathor, from whom they pass through the nomes (the vehicles through which she acts), who offer them to the king. What is missing on the triads is reference to the plots of lands in those nomes – the estates – that produced the food. The triads' inscriptions do not name or picture any such domains, so I looked for evidence elsewhere as to how Menkaure was provisioned.

Helck thought that Shepseskaf provisioned Menkaure's cult from his own *phr*-reversion of offerings,⁶¹ based on a reading of Shepseskaf's fragmentary stela set up in Menkaure's pyramid temple. Beyond that, the source of Menkaure's provisioning appeared uncertain to some.⁶² Yet a provisioned cult was clearly in operation, as mud sealings of officials stretching from Menkaure to Pepi I testify,⁶³ and as both the endowment decree of Shepseskaf⁶⁴ and the exemption decrees of Merenre⁶⁵ and Pepi II⁶⁶ show. Even in the late Sixth Dynasty, the valley temple offering room, behind the open court, was still installed with four alabaster seated statues of the king. These, along with a water-worn altar slab, libation basin and cult statues, testified to an active cult.⁶⁷ And at least part of that cult was provisioned from domains that Menkaure himself established, as evidenced by a group of

58 See FRIEDMAN, Dyad(s), 129, n. 73.

59 FAKHRY, Sneferu II.1, frontispiece [fragment is incorrectly tilted] and 127, fig. 141 for properly oriented drawing.

60 Metropolitan Museum of Art 18.2.4, in SEIDEL, Statuengruppen, pl. 17.

61 H.W. HELCK, Bemerkungen zu den Pyramidenstädten im Alten Reich, in: MDAIK 15, 1957, 108.

62 Following Helck, Zibelius says the provisioning of the pyramid complex was "nicht gesichert": K. ZIBELIUS, Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches, Beih. TAVO 19, 1978, 130.

63 Sealings from the reigns of Menkaure, Niuserre, Djedkare Isefi, Teti, and Pepi I were found in the pyramid temple: REISNER, Mycerinus, 19, 32.

64 Urk. I, 160. This decree may be a later, though authentic, copy: GOEDICKE, Königl. Dokumente, 18. See H. PAPAŽIAN, Domain of Pharaoh: The Structure and Components of the Economy of Old Kingdom Egypt, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago 2005, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor/Michigan 2005, 260–262. I thank John S. Nolan for bringing my attention to and providing a copy of this dissertation.

65 Urk. I, 274–276.

66 Urk. I, 277–278; translated in R. LEPROHON, CAA Museum of Fine Arts Boston 2, Stelae I, Mainz 1985, 156–157; STRUDWICK, Texts, 106–107 (23). Pepi II intended for Menkaure's cult to provision three private Sixth Dynasty cults, presumably one motivation for this protective decree.

67 REISNER, Mycerinus, 47, and installed, Reisner felt sure, in Menkaure's reign (45).

Menkaure-named domains in late Fourth to Fifth Dynasty private Giza tombs (Kanofer,⁶⁸ Netjerpunesut,⁶⁹ Rawer III,⁷⁰ Nimaatre,⁷¹ Penmeru,⁷² and Seshemnofer III).⁷³ So, while Shepseskaf may have added to his father's provisioning, Menkaure had domains of his own.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the full sources for provisioning his cult are more complex and involve, I believe, the triads. I will use comparisons with provisioning at Sneferu's temple to begin my discussion.

Provisioning in the Sneferu Statue Cult Temple

Sneferu's statue temple cult decoration presents the nomes via their standards, and the names of estates in those nomes from which provisions came to Sneferu (fig. 14). The word for estate is *hwt*, a form of royal domain⁷⁵ set up to satisfy the needs of the king's mortuary cult.⁷⁶ Sneferu's named estates are shown as personified women, following the feminine gender of the word *hwt*,⁷⁷ unlike the gender of the triads' personifications that, as noted above, follow the gender of their nome standards. Each woman's head bears a *hwt*-estate rectangle, which with adjacent text, reads as the name of a royal estate. Since the First Dynasty, *hwt* could be written with or without the corner building. A corner building appears on the Sneferu estate names. The name of the first estate (far right, fig. 14) reads: "The *hwt*-estate of Sneferu (named) The *w^cbt*-funerary workshop of Sneferu (which is in) the 18th UE nome." The king's name appears twice, once in the *hwt* rectangle and once in the cartouche. Repetition of a king's name was dropped after Sneferu's reign, presumably to

68 PM III².1, 77, which notes that Kanofer's wife was a Prophetess of Hathor; JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 242 (7). For a late Fourth Dynasty date, see M. BAUD, *Famille royale et pouvoir I*, BdE 126.1, 1999, 42 (B.2.d) based on Kaplony's suggestion.

69 PM III².1, 233–234; J. MALEK, *In the Shadows of the Pyramids*, London 1986, 76; from the early Fifth Dynasty (STRUDWICK, *Texts*, 78; PM III².1, 278 and cf. from same period and area in Giza central field, tomb of Sekhemkare).

70 PM III².1, 242; JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 267 (2).

71 PM III².1, 282–283; S. ROTH, *Die Königsmütter des Alten Ägypten von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende der 12. Dynastie*, ÄUAT 46, 2001, 481–482, and 536 for reconstruction drawing. JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 280 (2), but here the name of Menkaure is unreadable.

72 PM III².1, 82; W.K. SIMPSON, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, Pt. 1, Giza Mastabas 4, Boston 1980, 24 ff. Penmeru was even a *hm-ntr* priest of Menkaure (p. 24), proving that it was the cult of the king that he served. See n. 55 below. Text is also in STRUDWICK, *Texts*, 200 (112).

73 One domain has been suggested by J. Malek for Seshemnofer III (J. MALEK, *New Reliefs and Inscriptions from Five Old Tombs at Giza and Saqqara*, in: BSEG 6, 1982, 58 (3.2). I thank John S. Nolan for reference to and a copy of this article. PM III².1, 153 notes that Seshemnofer III's wife was a Prophetess of Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore, the very Hathor cited on the triads.

74 I thank Jaromir Malek (personal communication) for clarifying points about Menkaure's domains.

75 JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 3. And the amount of land for a *hwt* could range from about 2 auroras (very small) to 110.

76 JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 7.

77 JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 26.

save wall space.⁷⁸ Thus the king's name came to be written just once inside the *hwt* sign, but it was read twice, as in the Fourth Dynasty domain name in a private tomb (fig. 18a): "The *hwt*-estate of Khufu (named) The Gods love Khufu."⁷⁹ Including the corner building, however, was optional as seen in a slightly later private tomb, where the *hwt*-sign appears with and without it,⁸⁰ an omission that continues into the Fifth Dynasty, as in fig. 18b: "The *hwt*-estate of Niuserre (named) Hathor wishes that Niuserre live⁸¹ (which is in) the 14th UE nome."⁸²

Above the Sneferu temple wall with provisioning theme, and on adjacent pillars, are fragments of scenes related to the sed festival including king with *mks*,⁸³ probably the theme of the specific fragmentary scene above the personified UE estates in the corridor (fig. 13, at entrance on west). The latter (fig. 19a) shows the lower part of the standing king oriented left, in ceremonial tail, and preceded by his cartouche; he faces the lower portion of a standing god with scepter. Combined in two different Sneferu registers, therefore, are personified estates below, and king and god above, the lower tier clearly relating to provisioning and the upper tier (throughout the temple and probably here as well) related to the sed. Legitimation, as shown by gods embracing Sneferu (e.g., fig. 7d), provisioning, the sed festival – and even multi-directionality – are the major themes of the temple, the same themes found in the triads. Reading Sneferu's estate names in the tier below, in conjunction with the fragmentary register above may be useful in reading the Menkaure triads.

Reading the Menkaure Triads

The triads conflate and compress figures and themes from the two tiers on the Sneferu wall (fig. 19b). The figures include: king (Menkaure on triad, partial figure of Sneferu on wall); deity (Hathor with Menkaure, male deity with Sneferu); personification (male or female nomes with Menkaure, female estates with Sneferu); offerings (as text on triad, as images with Sneferu); and nomes (marked by emblems on the heads of triad nome personifications, as emblems preceding Sneferu's estate personifications). The only Sneferu element without parallel on the Menkaure triads is the name of the funerary domain, that is, the *hwt* estate. The back wall of the Menkaure triads, I suggest, reads as the *hwt* glyph without corner

78 JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 5.

79 JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 217 (1).

80 JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 225 (1, 2) in "The *hwt*-estate of Khafre (named) Horus loves Khafre" (without corner building) and "The *hwt*-estate of Khafre (named) a Protection of Plants (?) is Khafre" (with corner building).

81 This is a type of verbal phrase, more complex than that found in Fourth Dynasty examples, that appears in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty: JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 78.

82 JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 157 (25) from Niuserre's funerary temple. She notes that the nome's chief town was Kusai (el-Qusiya), an important Hathor cult center. Numerous other deities could also be named in royal domains (80 ff.).

83 Other relief fragments from the upper register on this and other walls point to the sed festival theme, in FAKHRY, *Sneferu II.1*, where Fakhry restores figures of Sneferu from pillar fragments that show him running with flail, *mks* and tail, e.g., 66, fig. 43 and throughout the section on pillar decoration.

building, so that the triads, in all of which Hathor embraces, holds, and stands close beside the king, read: “The *hwt*-estate of Menkaure (named) Hathor loves Menkaure (which is in) [in the case of fig. 19b] the 4th UE nome.”⁸⁴ Specifically, the triads are, I suggest, names of estates that provisioned Menkaure. More broadly, the triads in 3D combine the legitimation, provisioning and sed themes, including multi-directionality, that parallel the same themes in 2D on the two tiers of wall decoration (and pillars) at the Sneferu temple.

The Significance of Hathor

Unlike the Sneferu estates that name only the king, the triads’ estates name the king *and* Hathor, showing him in sole relationship with her. Recognizing the inscriptions’ emphasis on the king’s relationship to Hathor, Wood noted that “the possibility emerges that the triads are not representative of all the nomes but only those in which the cult of Hathor had been established with the support of royal patronage.”⁸⁵ Supporting her point are Menkaure’s land endowment for a cult of Hathor in Tehne;⁸⁶ his appellation as “beloved of Hathor” in contemporary seal impressions;⁸⁷ and in another epithet from an unpublished Giza seal from his reign,⁸⁸ along with another that names “Hathor, foremost of [a missing locality].”⁸⁹ Menkaure’s dedication to the goddess⁹⁰ followed that of his father Khafre who in his valley temple appeared in a now-lost dyad with Hathor, and who, like Menkaure, was called “Beloved of Hathor,”⁹¹ and whose Queen Mersyankh III gives us the earliest attestation of the title Priestess of Hathor.⁹²

84 Z. HAWASS, *The Funerary Establishments of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura During the Old Kingdom I*, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987, 530, 533 also suggests that the triads may relate to estates.

85 WOOD, *JEA* 60, 1974, 86. She would also add the nomes with Memphis [LE 1] and Dendera [UE 6].

86 Documented in Ni-ka-’ankh’s Fifth Dynasty will: Urk. I, 24–32; STRUDWICK, *Texts*, 195–199 (110); P.D. MANUELIAN, *An Essay in Document Transmission*, in: *JNES* 45, 1986, 1–18. GOEDICKE makes a case for Menkaure’s motivation being political rather than religious in H. GOEDICKE, *Cult-temple and ‘State’ in Egypt*, in: E. LIPINSKI (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East I*, Leuven 1979, 122–124.

87 KAPLONY, *Rollsiegel II A*, 97 ff.; *Rollsiegel II B*, pls. 13 ff.

88 Preliminary, unpublished reconstruction of Giza seal by John S. Nolan, from Area AA, “Hathor with Wa’ab I,” which Nolan kindly shared with me.

89 Preliminary, unpublished reconstruction of Giza seal by John S. Nolan, from Area AA, “Beater 1,” which Nolan kindly shared with me.

90 Which Shepseskaf continues: KAPLONY, *Rollsiegel II A*, 138–144; *Rollsiegel II B*, pl. 50 (2, 4): in the last seal Shepseskaf is also called “Beloved of Bastet”, as was Khafre, an epithet one might expect to find for Menkaure.

91 U. HÖLSCHER, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, Leipzig 1912, 17, Abb. 7. In the Menkaure triads, as SEIDEL, *Statuengruppen*, 47 notes, Hathor (*Hwt-Hr* – the house, i.e., bodily container, of kingship) surely functioned as the maternal vehicle for the king’s perpetual rebirth. The same principle was probably present in works in which Khafre appeared with the goddess.

92 FISCHER, *Dendera*, 23. See also GALVIN, *Priestesses*, e.g., 56. For the geographic range of Hathor priestesses, and priests, see GALVIN, *Priestesses*, Map A (4a), for 346 women (and 53 men) over the

Menkaure, through the use of the triads, amplifies his relationship with Hathor in a way not seen (or at least that has not survived) until now. For the *hwt*-estates named on the triads do not name agricultural estates established for Menkaure's cult; they name, I believe, estates from Hathor cult temples endowed by Menkaure or his forebears. Such estates in the Fourth Dynasty (like Tehne) were small, with too little land (e.g., just 2 arouras at Tehne)⁹³ to support anyone outside the temple itself. What Menkaure seems to be doing is assembling in his valley temple the geographically dispersed Hathor cults in the form of the triads, which visibly brings Hathor's cult into his own and makes it look like she is provisioning him. The triads are thus used to present a combination of reality and fiction. The reality is that Menkaure, and his forebears, endowed estates with real plots of land for temple cults for Hathor; the fiction is that such early temple estates would have been capable of provisioning the king's cult other than symbolically. Hratch Papazian has identified such "symbolic" provisioning from a divine cult to a royal one in the Fifth Dynasty.⁹⁴ Sharing with him my idea that the triads read as temple estate names, he notes that, if correct, the triads would in such a case "be made to appear as the official purveyor of the offerings [from the nomes]; but in reality, given that a cult of Hathor would not have a sufficient independent endowment in land to really generate that kind of surplus, it was the kings' resources that would have been used which were then 'presented' to Hathor, who in turn would 'supply' the king."⁹⁵ In other words, Menkaure supplies his own needs and makes it look like Hathor did it. Such a fictive practice, which Papazian finds textually attested in the Fifth Dynasty, I suggest is already present in nascent form under Menkaure. This reading of the triads, which allows Menkaure to appear the pious son who endows the cult of his divine mother from which she in turn feeds him, creates a *quid pro quo* circularity that is at the heart of the ancient relationship of reciprocity between king and god. And for all who entered Menkaure's valley temple, this relationship of reciprocity, involving privilege, power and patronage, would have been on view.

Fourth to Sixth Dynasties (3); Graphs IA, B and C, 43–45. Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore priestesses, however, were largely in the Giza-Saqqara area (72, 248 and passim).

93 Urk. I, 25. The small endowment of just 2 arouras was apparently the norm, found also for land endowments made by Userkaf and Sahure (PAPAZIAN, Domain of Pharaoh, 48).

94 H. Papazian describes the later model for this process of embedding a divine cult into a royal one and illustrates Fifth Dynasty examples in which royal cults appear to be provisioned by the cult of Re but in reality are provisioning themselves (H. PAPAZIAN, The Temple of Ptah and Economic Contacts Between Memphite Cult Centers in the Fifth Dynasty, in: H. BEINLICH/M. DOLIŃSKA (eds.), 8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples, KSG 3.3, 2010, 137–153). I thank Papazian for sharing his findings and prepublication article with me.

95 PAPAZIAN, personal communication.

The *ibs* Motif with possible Relevance to the Menkaure Triads

The varied gestures (embrace, hand holding, and combinations thereof) of the triads' figures may each have been "read" slightly differently, just as various seal motifs can be variously read.⁹⁶ And this brings us back to Old Kingdom seal impressions.

As noted above, one Khafre sealing shows the king in UE crown holding hands with Seth on his left and Horus on his right; the latter turns his head to look back at the king (fig. 7b).⁹⁷ This motif of king holding hands with two flanking deities also appears on several Giza seal impressions, one of which is shown here (fig. 7c), kindly provided by Mark Lehner and John S. Nolan. Nolan dates it to Menkaure, based on remains of the Horus name in several of the seal's serekhs.⁹⁸ Nolan reads the motif, based on Kaplony, as "[Horus: Bull-bodied] (whom) Horus and Seth (have introduced)."⁹⁹ The king is in UE crown with Seth on his left and Horus (?) on his right. The composition follows fig. 7b, from the reign of Khafre. The motif on OK seals of striding gods clasping hands with a centrally placed king reads, according to Kaplony, as the *ibs*-"Introduction of the King," a rite connected to the Union of the Two Lands,¹⁰⁰ which was performed at the coronation, an event allied to the heb sed with its re-crowning of the king. The clasped hands, like an embrace, signal legitimation. Textual uses of *ibs*¹⁰¹ in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom texts may be helpful in a further reading of the triads.

Tbs occurs in Palermo Stone entries in the context of accession/coronation rituals. An entry for the reign of Djoser (fig. 20a) shows "the appearance of the dual king" (in an accession/coronation ritual), followed by "introduction ([*i*]bs) of the king (into) the senut(i)-shrine,"¹⁰² a sacred building probably related to the sed festival.¹⁰³ Association of the senut-shrine with the heb sed may also be suggested by a Sneferu relief as reconstructed by Fakhry.¹⁰⁴ While we have no meaningful Palermo Stone entry for Menkaure, an entry for Shepseskaf (fig. 20b)¹⁰⁵ starts with standard accession/coronation ceremonies: the "appearance of the dual king", "uniting Upper and Lower Egypt," and "circuiting the wall", followed near the end with the "senut(i)-shrine."¹⁰⁶ Wilkinson suggests a missing *ibs* may have been intended before the shrine,¹⁰⁷ meaning that Shepseskaf, like Djoser, took part in a ceremony that led him into a shrine. *Tbs* is thus used to lead, or initiate, the king into a place thought to relate to the sed festival.

96 E.g., KAPLONY, Rollsiegel I, 197–201.

97 KAPLONY, Rollsiegel II B, pl. 26 (58), discussed in KAPLONY, Rollsiegel II A, 78.

98 Seal 8 from the Pottery Mound at Giza, in NOLAN, Mud Sealings, 194.

99 NOLAN, Mud Sealings, 195, line 7.

100 KAPLONY, Rollsiegel I, 197; 199–200.

101 The word by extension also means to initiate or dedicate; see *bs/hz* in: R. HANNIG, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I, Mainz 2003, 423. NOLAN, Mud Sealings, 197–199; 244–245, with refs.

102 T.A.H. WILKINSON, Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt, London/New York 2000, 136–138: PS r. V.9, see fig. 1 (at back of book).

103 WILKINSON, Royal Annals, 137–138.

104 Reconstructed with king holding *mks*, in FAKHRY, Sneferu II.1, 76 (fig. 55); and see 73, 77.

105 WILKINSON, Royal Annals, 149–151: PS v.1.2.

106 WILKINSON, Royal Annals, 149.

107 Though WILKINSON, Royal Annals, 151 thinks the reference to senut(i) "probably belongs at the end of an entry detailing the pious donations made by Shepseskaf to various royal foundations."

Two other uses of *ibs* appear in funerary literature. In a Pyramid Text, Unis, having emerged from the underworld Duat/burial chamber, begins his journey eastward to the Akhet/antechamber, on whose west gable is a text describing how Unis is *ibs*-led by the gods to become lord of all:¹⁰⁸ “Lift your face, you gods in the Duat: Unis has come that you might see him changed into the great god. *Ibs*-induct Unis shaking (for fear of him), array Unis as lord of you all. Unis will govern the people...” (Pyr. 272b-273a).¹⁰⁹ Unis is *ibs*-led by the gods into a transformed state of being that will maintain him as ruler on earth, as well as in the Beyond.

Ibs is also found in Pyramid Text food spells where the gods *ibs*-lead the king to provisions: The king says, “Those to whom extended offerings belong, the senior gods, shall *ibs*-introduce me to abundance and *ibs*-introduce me [to] nourishment... (Pyr. 1060).”¹¹⁰ *Ibs*, therefore, is found in three contexts: where gods lead the king to a place associated with the sed festival, to a state of transformation where he still rules the living, and to provisions. Legitimation, implicit in the act of the gods’ leading, provides an additional theme. All these themes – of the heb sed, with its implicit notion of continued rule, and provisioning and legitimation – we saw combined on the Sneferu wall reliefs and in the triads.

Ibs and its Possible Role in Reading the Triads

Menkaure’s triads, when complete, were too numerous to go anywhere in the valley temple except in the open court.¹¹¹ It would make sense to place the UE triads against the southern wall, where, given their under life-size, they would have been elevated on bases. The king in Type 1 would face forward, that is, north, while Hathor would look right, that is, east (fig. 21). If we apply the *ibs*-notion, she would be *ibs*-leading the king out his exit (our entrance) and to the east, thus providing Menkaure with the implicit dual-direction we saw operative with Sneferu. Hathor’s eastward movement would lead Menkaure toward rebirth and to the living whom he would continue to rule;¹¹² and to the Nile, the literal means by which provisions issued to his cult.

But the use of multi-directionality is made richer through the gestures of the nomes who amplify Hathor’s actions. For the king in Type 1 triads, besides striding forward and north toward Lower Egypt, is also directed toward the left/west with the left-facing nome personification, who leads or directs Menkaure to his provisions in the offering room (fig. 21). On the south wall of the court, therefore, the king strides north, but has the potential to also

108 See J.P. ALLEN, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Atlanta 2005, 9 for the movement of the king east and then north. My thanks to James Allen for confirming the architectural context for, and dual-directional movement in, this spell.

109 ALLEN, *Pyramid Texts*, 43 (W 163). My thanks to Lanny Bell (personal communication) for alerting me to this PT reference and to Allen’s translation.

110 Cf. ALLEN, *Pyramid Texts*, from PT 493, where the passage is translated three times: 143 (P 376), 287 (N 473), and 329 (Nt 253). My thanks to James Allen for these references.

111 See SEIDEL, *Statuengruppen*, 43–45, *Reconstruction*, 87 has a different understanding from mine.

112 A point stressed to me by Rolf Gundlach in conversation and for which I thank him.

move east and west. And on the north wall, Type 1 LE triads, if ever produced, would have shown Menkaure striding south, with the potential to go right/west and left/east. The Type 1s for the south wall would all represent Hathor cult centers attested by the end of the Fourth Dynasty, and should therefore include Dendera in a putative UE 6 triad, which we can add to the UE 17 triad for Cynopolis (JE 40679) with its cult town of Tehne; and the UE 4 triad for Thebes with its cult town of Gebelein (JE 40678). When these three are added to the UE 7 triad for Diospolis Parva, whose standard is Bat, the face of Hathor (JE 46499), we have a total of four Type 1 triads that could have lined the south side of the court (fig. 21), with an unknown fifth Type 1 posited. A symmetrically placed group of LE Type 1s including LE 1 for Memphis would have aligned the north wall. Type 2s with UE (fig. 5e, f) and unknown LE crowns may have flanked an entrance/exit in the temple on the west side of the court where Menkaure, holding the *mks*, presented with ankh, and facing east, would have stood in the embrace of Hathor at his heb sed confirmation.

While placement of the triads in the court cannot be securely determined at this point, I can, however, suggest a reason why the triads were stored in the valley temple corridor at right angles to the wall (figs. 3, 4a, b). It was imperative that the king in each triad face north or south, in order to replicate his intended position on the north and south walls of the court. Only by placing the triads at right angles to the north-south corridor wall was this orientation possible. And since there were no intact LE triads, the priests worked with what they had (only UE examples of Type 1 and Type 2), in order to carefully orient the king north and south, if only in a storeroom, and in order to ensure, through the outward glances of Hathor and nome, the king's potential to move fully in all directions.

Summary and Conclusions

The overarching theme of the triads is the heb sed festival, which included sub-themes of legitimation, provisioning and multi-directionality. Type 1 emphasizes sub-themes; Type 2, with *mks*, emphasizes heb-sed confirmation. The triads compress into 3D traditional sed themes shown in previous and contemporary work that was primarily in 2D. Menkaure's innovation is to use the triads to express something new: that is, how these themes function within his unique relationship to Hathor. Hathor is the key to understanding the triads. She provides the king, in the context of the heb sed, with legitimation, provisioning and sed confirmation, as well as with multi-directionality, a royal benefit that while not new,¹¹³ is for the first time shown to have Hathor as its source. The relationship of Menkaure to his divine mother is emphasized in each triad. He is the beloved of Hathor in her preeminent Memphite cult and in "all her cult places" – cult places that he and former kings endowed. And as he endows a cult place for her, she cares for him. He is not fed solely by a circulation of offerings from royal estates; he is fed in part (symbolically) by a circulation of offerings from Hathor temple estates in possibly 10 or 12 nomes throughout the country.

113 A Third Dynasty parallel will be explored, and the Fourth Dynasty Sneferu example will be expanded on, in FRIEDMAN, *Reading the Menkaure Triads*, Pt. II, forthcoming.

The triads literally read as estate names from those Hathor temple cults in the nomes listed on the triads. Hathor's temple cults, endowed with land and personnel by Menkaure and his forebears, are made to appear as if they provision Menkaure. While the given is that Menkaure supplied his own cult, we should not lose sight of the possibility that we are glimpsing in the triads the first nascent signs of a practice of a god's cult provisioning a king's that, though fictive now, will by the New Kingdom become an economic reality on a grand scale.

Future Work

Future work on the Menkaure triads includes: (1) an analysis of the differing meanings of the greywacke and alabaster statuary; (2) how the greywacke and alabaster statues were sequenced and "read" within the valley temple; (3) the meaning of the greywacke and alabaster statuary relative to the king's relationship with Hathor and Re; (4) a further discussion of parallels for the triads' implicit principle of multi-directionality; and (5) a discussion of my reconstructions of fragmentary and new triads. These studies will hopefully expand our understanding of the Menkaure statue program and its relationship to the king's eternal celebration of the heb sed.

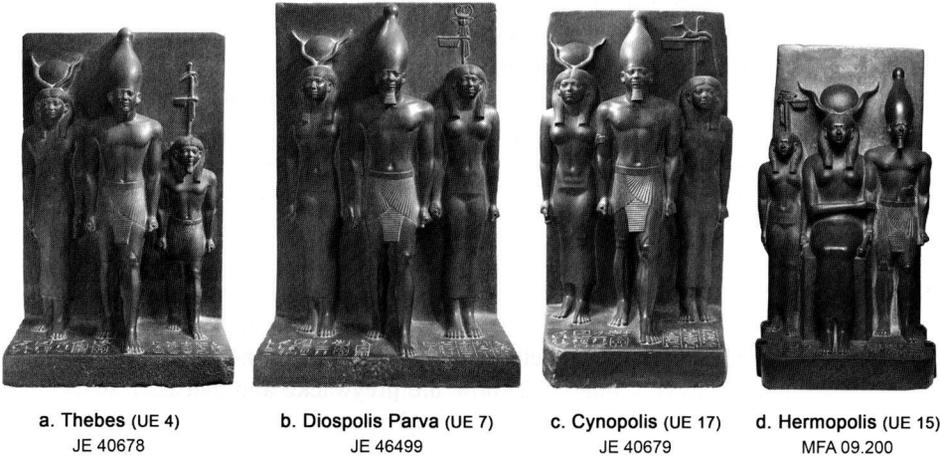


Fig. 1: The four intact triads, each with a different nome sign.

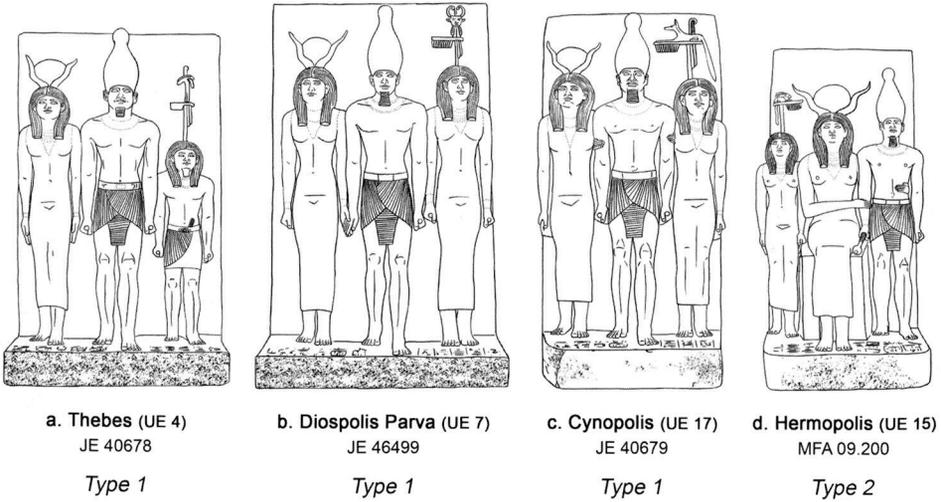


Fig. 2: The intact triads: Type 1 and Type 2.

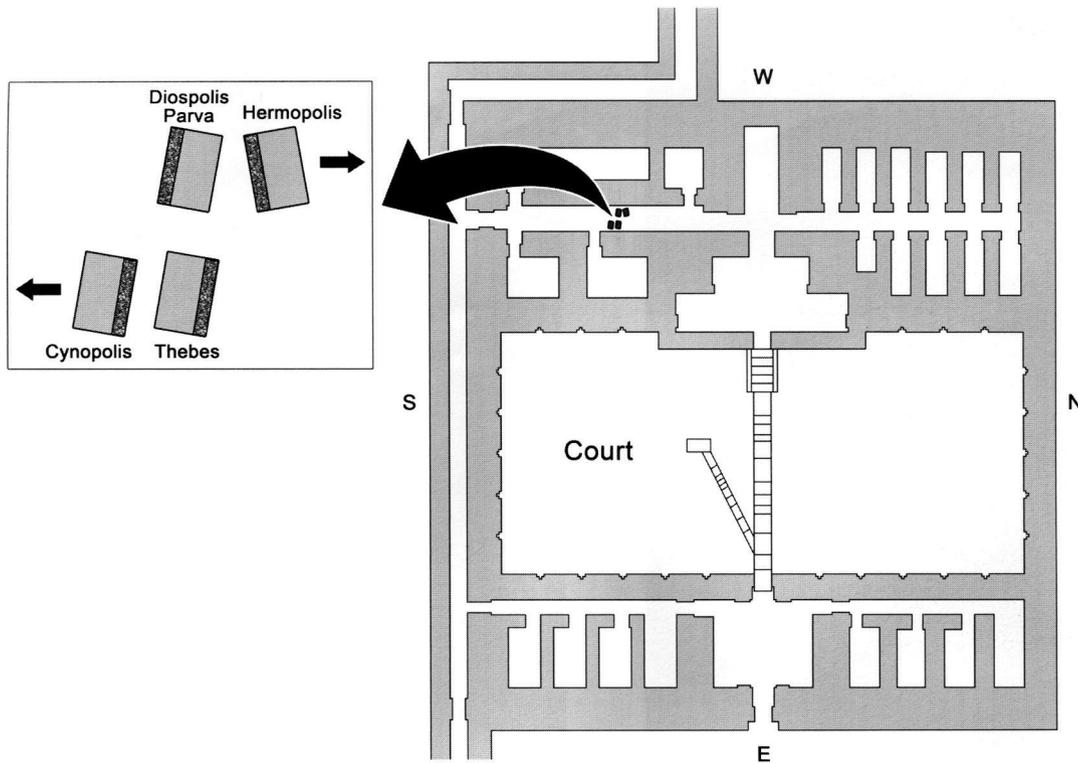


Fig. 3: Plan of Menkaure valley temple, showing Shepseskaf's addition of compound brick niching in court (simple niches omitted in drawing) brick niching in court, plus findspots of intact triads in corridor III, Rm 4. Magnified view with small arrows shows directions in which triads faced (north and south). Triad placements based on REISNER, Mycerinus, Plan VIII; Reisner's identification of triads is revised, based on communication from Diane Flores, Research Associate, Giza Archives Project, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See caption for Fig. 4 below. Valley temple plan modified from M. LEHNER, *The Complete Pyramids*, London 1997, 137.

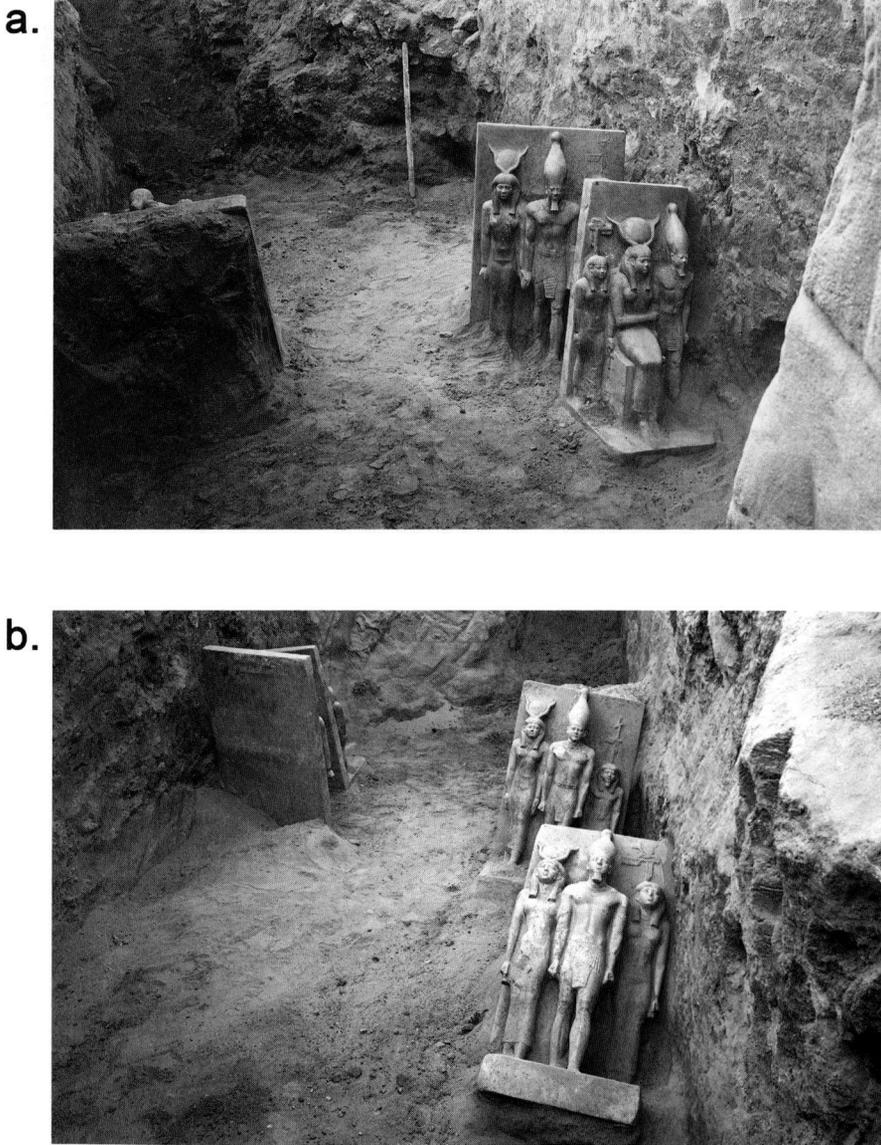
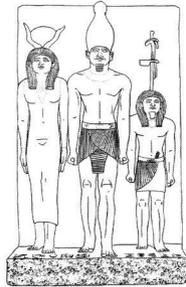


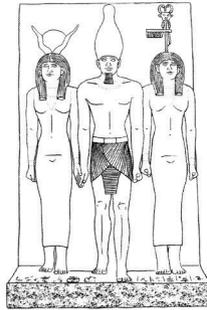
Fig. 4: The intact triads as found in valley temple, corridor III, Rm 4: (a) on western wall, Hermopolis triad in front of Diospolis Parva triad, both facing north; (b) on eastern wall, Cynopolis triad in front of Theban triad, both facing south. These orientations are a correction of REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 35, pl. 37a and b, by Diane Flores. See n. 22 *infra*. Photos courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



JE 40678

H: 88.5 cm

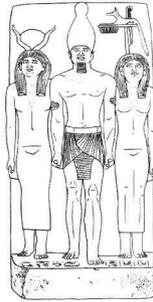
a.



JE 46499

H: 95.8 cm

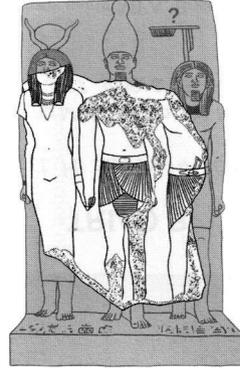
b.



JE 40679

H: 92.5 cm

c.



MFA 11.3147

Est. H: about 115 cm

Frag. H: 81.5 cm

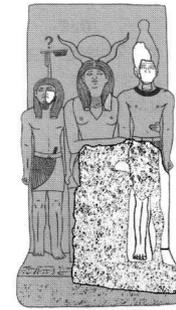
d.



MFA 09.200

H: 84.5 cm

e.



MFA 12.1514

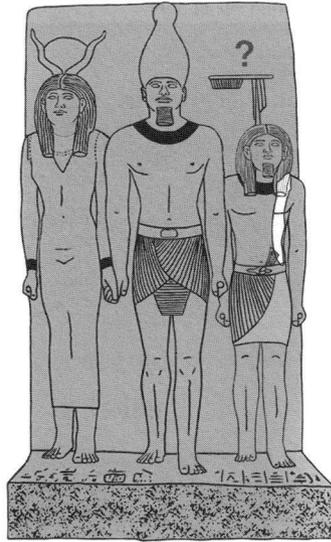
Est. H: about 95 cm

Frag. H: 45 cm

f.

*Reconstructed using
MFA, Boston, Eg. Inv.:
3686, 3698, 24-12-365,
11.699, & 3710*

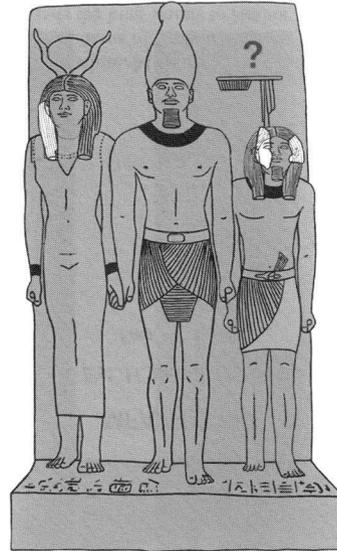
Fig. 5: The six known triads: four intact, plus two large fragments. Existing work is in white. MFA 12.1514, a fragmentary Type 2 (partially restored with MFA, Boston pieces), is larger than its pair to the left. The fragment is identified as Type 2 by the remains of Hathor's central protruding throne, and the male legs to her left that can only be the king's, since in all triads the king stands to Hathor's left.



TRIAD A

Est. H: 140 cm

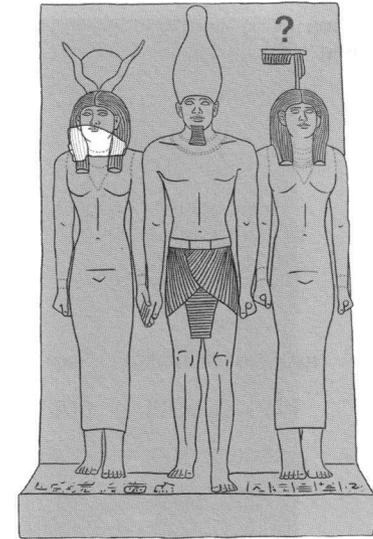
*Using MFA, Boston, Eg. Inv.:
3701*



TRIAD B

Est. H: about 142 cm

*Using MFA, Boston, Eg. Inv.:
3687, 3680, & 3681*



TRIAD C

Est. H: 140 cm

*Using MFA, Boston, Eg. Inv.:
3707*

Fig. 6: Three proposed reconstructions using MFA, Boston, fragments. Only white pieces exist. Differences in surface carving require attribution to separate reconstructions.

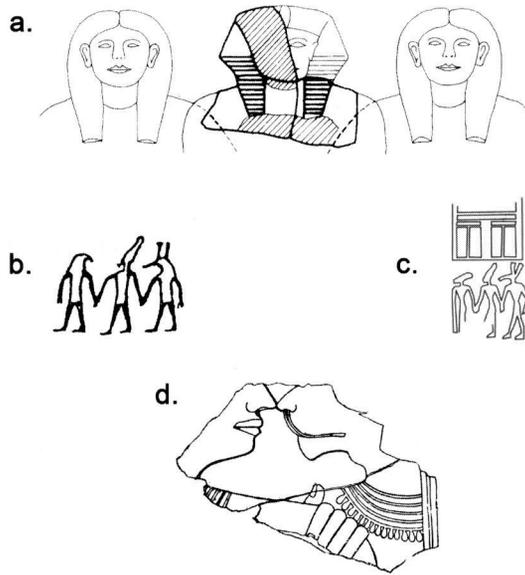


Fig. 7: (a) Partial reconstruction of a Khafre triad (no back slab), after KRAUSPE, *Statuen*, no. 26, 21–22; (b) Detail of seal, reign of Khafre, after KAPLONY, *Rollsiegel II B*, pl. 26 (58); (c) Detail of unpublished Seal 8 from Pottery Mound at Giza, kindly provided by Mark Lehner and John S. Nolan; seal datable to Menkaure; (d) Sneferu embraced by two deities, after FAKHRY, *Sneferu II.1*, 127, fig. 141.

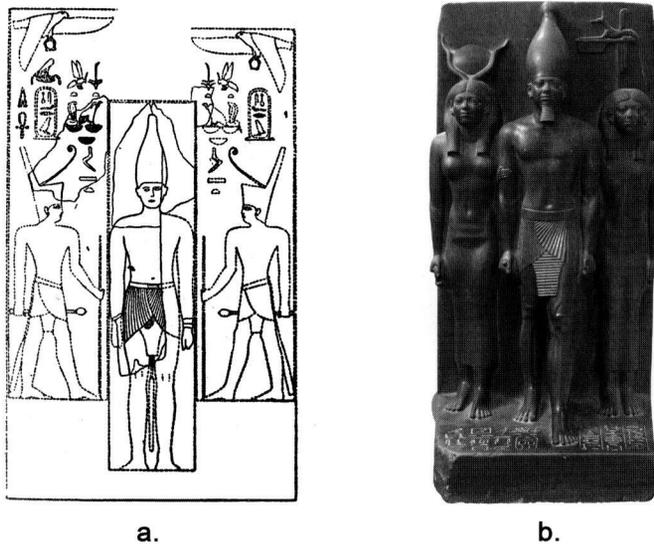


Fig. 8: (a) Fakhry's reconstruction drawing of high relief frontal image of Sneferu with flanking low reliefs, from a chapel niche in Sneferu's "valley temple", after FAKHRY, *Sneferu II.1*, 111, fig. 119; (b) JE 40679, Cynopolis triad. Images not to scale.

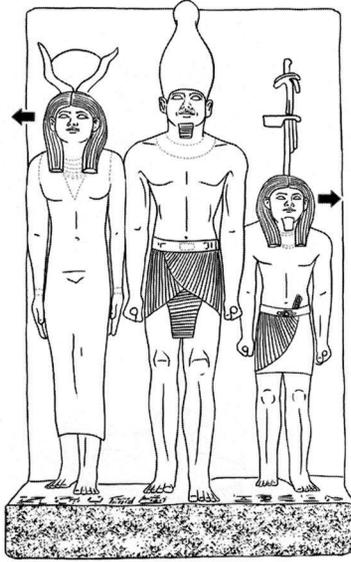


Fig. 9: Flanking figures in Type 1 triads glance outward.

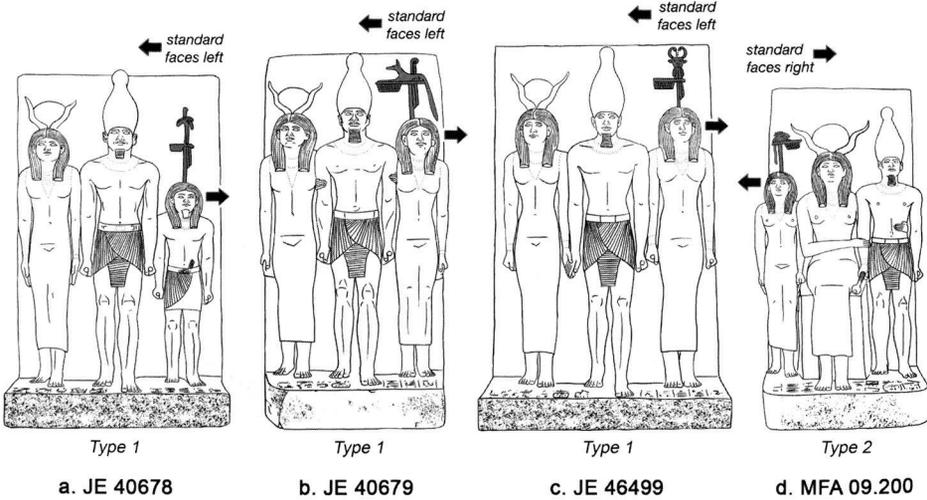


Fig. 10: Nome standards face in the opposite direction to the outward glance of their nome personifications.

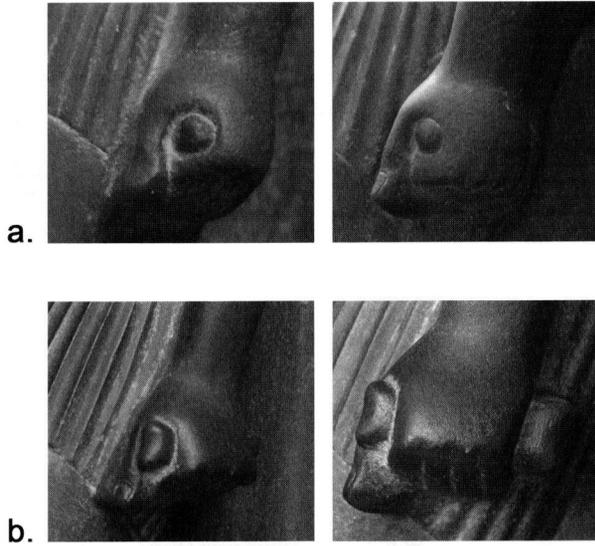


Fig. 11: (a) Menkaure holding standard “enigmatic object” in Type 1 triads (examples: JE 40678; 40679);
(b) Menkaure holding *mks*-document holder characteristic of sed festival, in Type 2 triad
(both from MFA 09.200).



Fig. 12: Nome goddess in Type 2 triad (MFA 09.200) glances to her right. Her right ear disappears slightly with turning of her head.

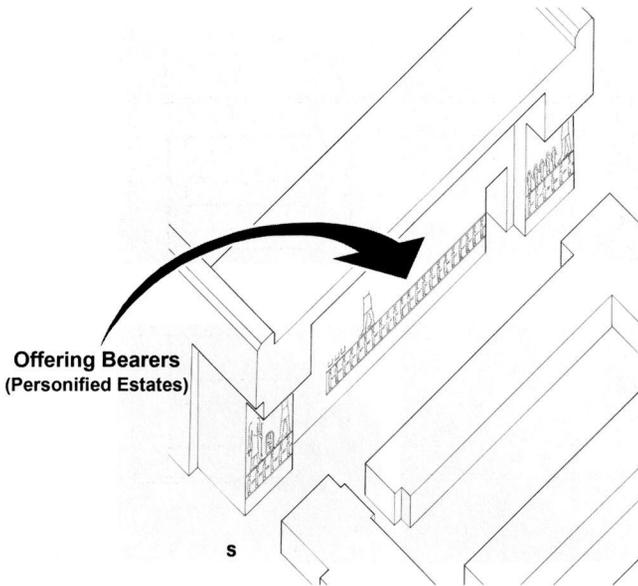


Fig. 13: Detail of Sneferu's state cult ("valley") temple entrance corridor, modified from drawing by D. ARNOLD, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York 1999, 85, fig. 49, after FAKHRY, *Sneferu II.1*, fig. 18. Offering bearers process north on west and east sides of entrance corridor.



Fig. 14: Personified estates from west wall of entrance corridor of Sneferu's temple, after FAKHRY, *Sneferu II.1*, fig. 18. Example of nome sign is on far right: falcon on standard.

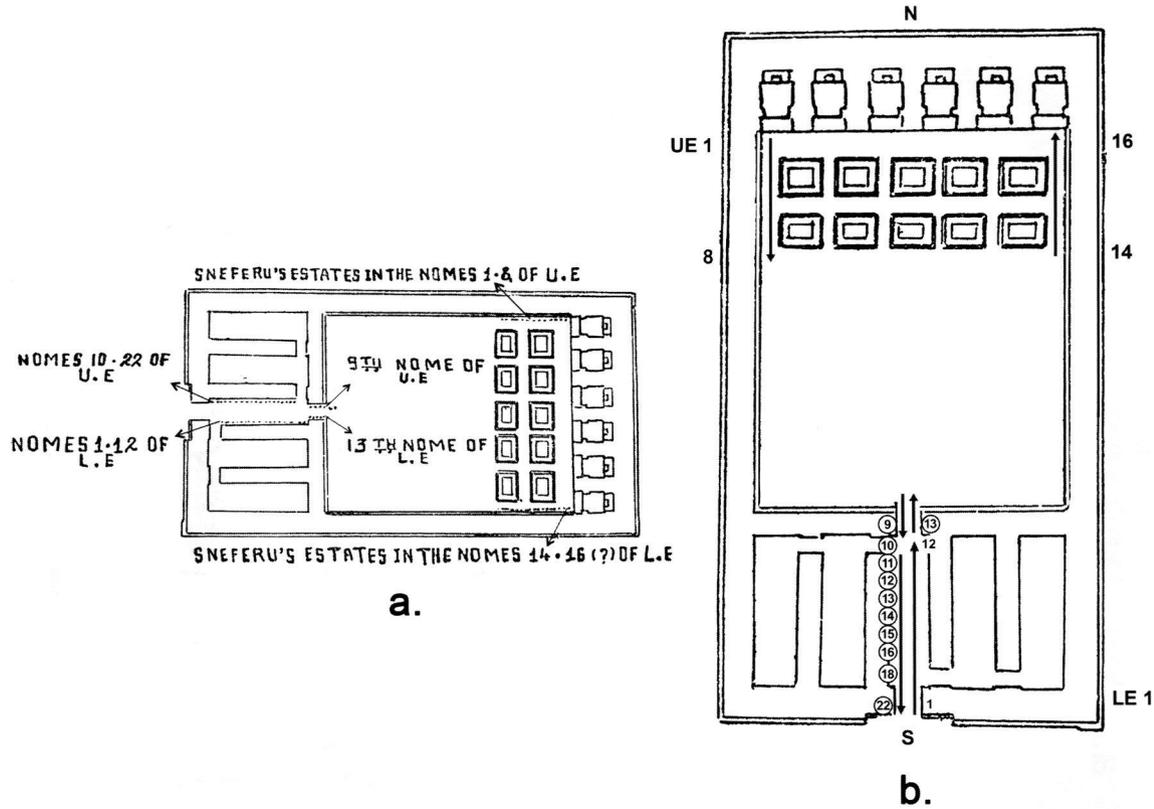


Fig. 15: (a) Fakhry's distribution of estates in the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt in Sneferu's "valley temple", after FAKHRY, Sneferu II.1, fig. 8; (b) Redrawing and enlargement of Fig. 15a. Only circled nomes were found in situ. Arrows show direction in which nome numbers run (N for LE nomes; S. for UE nomes).

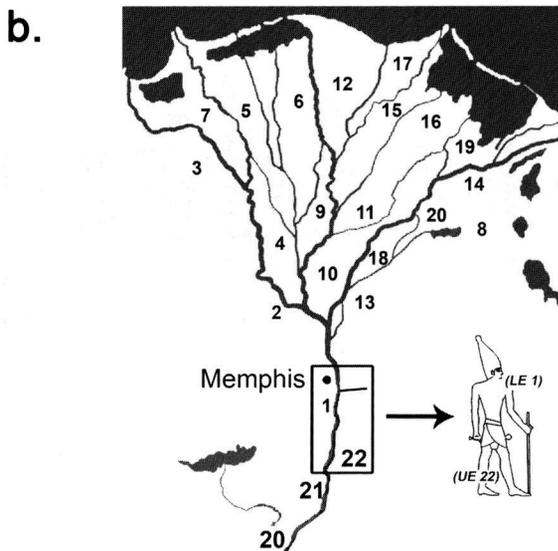
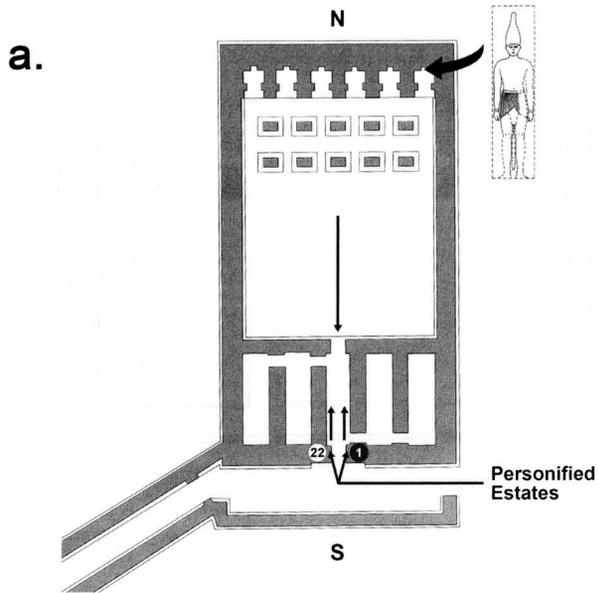


Fig. 16: (a) King approaches offerings and exits temple to south, with UE 22 to his right and (probably) LE 1 to his left. Wall reliefs on upper register in corridor also show him oriented south;
 (b) With UE 22 to his right and LE 1 to his left, Sneferu faces east and is in the Memphite area.

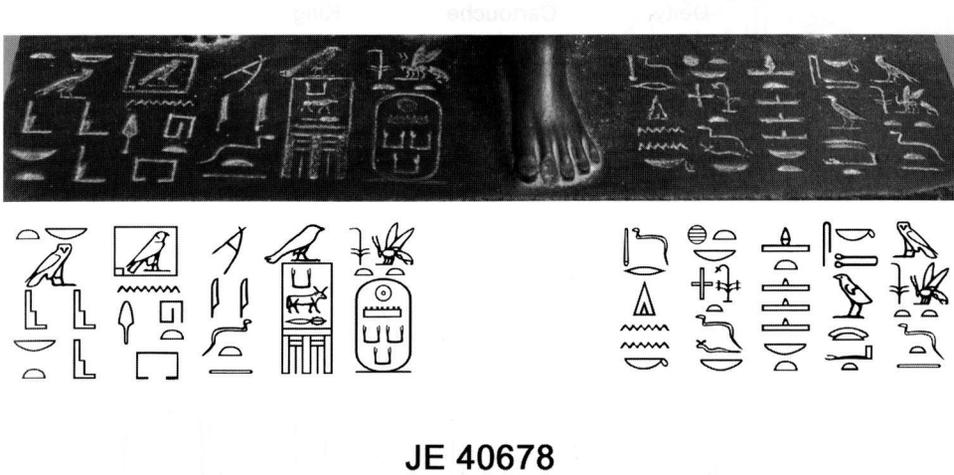


Fig. 17: Inscription on JE 40678, Theban triad.

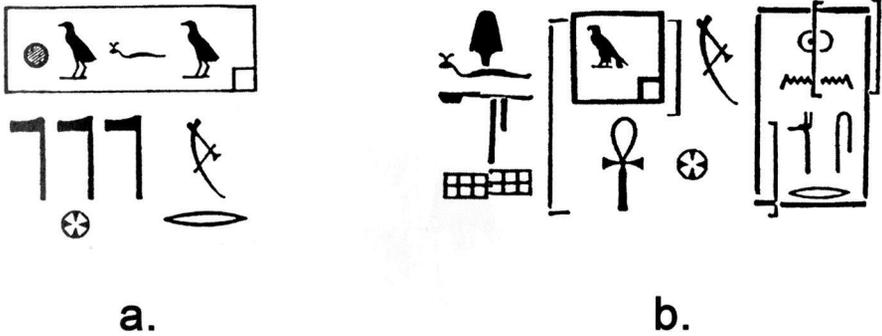


Fig. 18: (a) “The *hwt*-estate of Khufu (named) The Gods love Khufu”, after JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 217 (1); (b) “The *hwt*-estate of Niuserre (named) Hathor wishes that Niuserre live (which is in) the 14th UE nome”, after JACQUET-GORDON, *Domaines*, 157 (25).

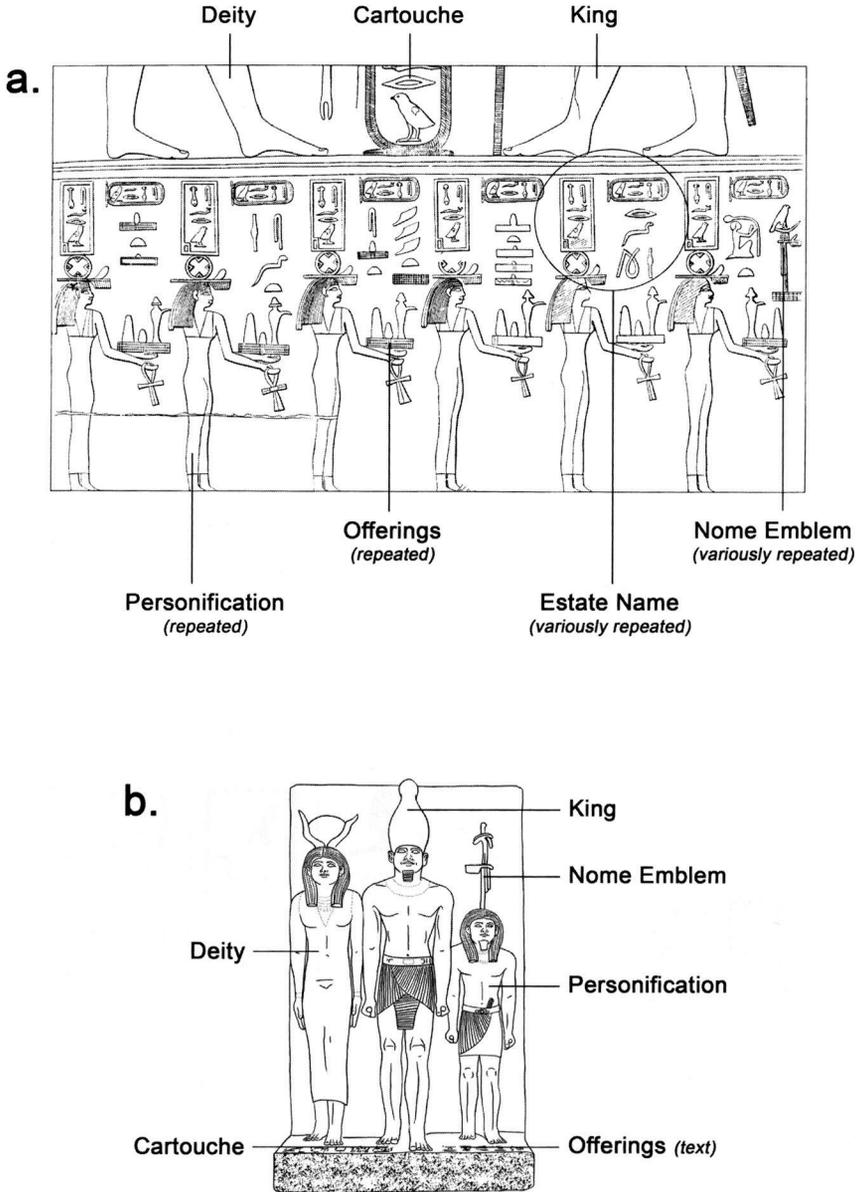


Fig. 19: (a) Personified estates on lower register, and remains of king facing a god on upper register, based on drawing by ARNOLD, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 85, fig. 49, after FAKHRY, *Sneferu II.1*, 45, fig. 18. (b) Type 1 triads conflate in 3D all the features from the separate Sneferu registers in 2D, except the names of the *hwt*-domains.

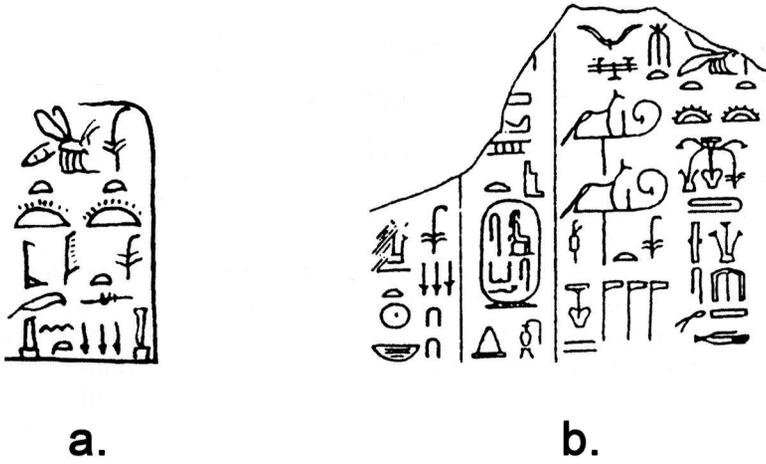


Fig. 20: (a) Palermo Stone entry for Djoser, PS r.V.9, after WILKINSON, Royal Annals, fig. 1 (text, 136);
 (b) Palermo Stone entry for Shepseskaf, PS v.I.2, after WILKINSON, Royal Annals, fig. 3 (text, 149).

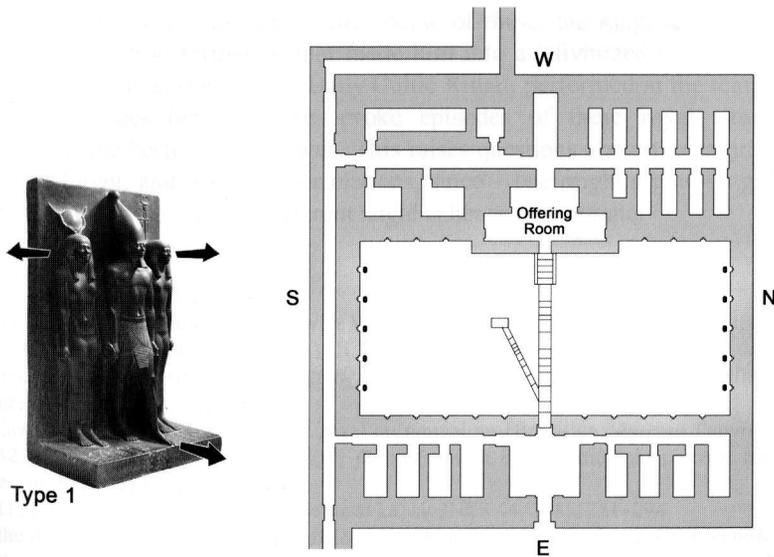


Fig. 21: Hypothetical placement for 10 Type 1 triads (on plinths) shown as dots along N and S walls where Shepseskaf later placed compound (and simple, not shown) niches. On S wall, king could move east with Hathor, west as led or directed by the nome; and forward/north to LE. Hypothetical LE triads on the N wall could allow movement east, west and south. Type 2 triads (not shown) may have flanked an entrance or exit.