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'THE PERFECTION THAT ENDURES...'

STUDIES ON OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY



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EDITED BY
KAMIL O. KURASZKIEWICZ, EDYTA KOPP AND DANIEL TAKÁCS

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KAMIL O. KURASZKIEWICZ, EDYTA KOPP AND DÁNIEL TAKÁCS
(EDITORS)



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PLATES I–CIII

THE NAMES OF MENKAURE

Florence Dunn Friedman

Abstract

This paper focuses on an inscribed alabaster throne that formed the base of a now fragmentary seated statue of King Menkaure (MFA, Boston 09.202), found in the offering hall of his Fourth Dynasty valley temple at Giza. The figure of the king, when originally seated on the throne, was, I suggest, the incarnation of the young sun atop a microcosm of the world, a point explored through examination of the throne's titulary, epithets and iconography, contrasted with those on the king's greywacke triads, also from his valley temple.

The following study expands on a subject raised in a previous article that noted differences in titulary between Menkaure's alabaster¹ and greywacke statuary at his valley temple in Giza,² the differences in titulary – and epithets – yielding insight into how the different statue types in different media expressed different aspects of the king as he proceeded ritually through his complex. To expand on this comparison now, I use the titulary and related texts on a fragmentary alabaster throne from a seated figure of Menkaure (Pl. XIX.1), and the titulary and related texts on his greywacke triads (Pl. XIX.2). The alabaster throne was found *in situ* in the valley temple offering hall, while the triads, found mostly in a storeroom, were almost certainly intended for the temple's open court³ (Pl. XX.1). Since the triads have been discussed at length,⁴ it is the alabaster throne with extensive titulary that is the focus of this article.

¹ While geologically more accurate terms include 'travertine', 'calcite', or 'Egyptian alabaster', I have chosen 'alabaster', since it is commonly used in earlier publications on Old Kingdom statuary to which I refer and is a term understood by all. For access to the Menkaure alabaster material at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 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; and most especially, Dr. Denise Doxey, Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, who cheerfully gave so much of her time. My thanks also to Dr. Peter Der Manuelian, Philip J. King Professor of Egyptology, Harvard University, Director, Harvard Semitic Museum, and Founding Director, The Giza Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; and Diane Flores, former Research Associate, The Giza Archives, for their help and advice on many points of research. Responsibility for all conclusions, however, are my own.

² FRIEDMAN 2015b.

³ Four intact triads (JE 40678, 46499, 40679; MFA 09.200) were found in Corridor III, Rm 4, in the southwest of the valley temple, with one large fragment (MFA 12.1514) found in a pit with the dyad (MFA 11.1738), and another large fragment found in the court (MFA 11.3147). For correction of Reisner's findspots of the first four triads in Corridor III, Rm 4, as given in Reisner 1931, p. 35), see FRIEDMAN 2011a, fig. 3, based on communication from Diane Flores, then Research Associate, The Giza Archives Project, MFA, Boston.

⁴ FRIEDMAN 2008; FRIEDMAN 2011a; FRIEDMAN 2011b.

First, it's useful to look at Menkaure's overall use of alabaster: from the excavated remains it appears that the king used a great deal of alabaster in his complex.⁵ But, as in Khafre's program, his alabaster statues appear to have been easy prey for vandals due to the softness of the stone.⁶ The extent of the vandalism is suggested by over 400 alabaster fragments, large and small, excavated by G.A. Reisner on behalf of the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston expedition, which are now stored at the MFA, Boston.⁷ This number of alabaster fragments exceeds by more than tenfold that of the MFA greywacke fragments for Menkaure, with recorded findspots including Menkaure's pyramid and valley temples, the Queen's temple, the Western Cemetery, Eastern Cemetery and nearby mastabas, and possibly Khafre's complex. Some alabaster fragments are listed with no provenance other than 'Giza'.⁸ Remarkably, a few significant pieces fall into this last category, including a group of similarly scaled body and related parts⁹ that match those of the Boston alabaster colossus of Menkaure (MFA 09.204), an almost 8 ft. high seated statue comprised of fragments found in and near Menkaure's pyramid temple where it probably served as the temple's main cult statue.¹⁰ Since these colossus-scaled alabaster fragments are without exact findspots it's possible that they too went to a colossus – but in the valley temple, where one may speculate that it served as the major cult statue in the valley temple's inner sanctuary (Pl. XX.1). The fact that excavation of Menkaure's complex also yielded numerous body parts from smaller statues of the king, makes it all the more clear that alabaster comprised a major category of statuary in his monument. But in terms of titulary for all that statuary, little was found, and what there is – fragments of Horus, Two Ladies and Golden Names – comes from the king's pyramid temple;¹¹ even a fragment with a sedge plant

⁵ Given the number of fragments collected from the complex, Reisner suggested that Menkaure once had between 200 and 400 statuettes, mainly of alabaster and diorite (REISNER 1931, p. 126), and that doesn't even count the larger known statues.

⁶ HÖLSCHER 1912, p. 44 notes that by far the greatest number of statue fragments found in Khafre's valley temple were alabaster, with the lack of intact alabaster statues, as opposed to diorite, probable attributable to the fact that alabaster is softer and easier to smash. Vandalism clearly took its toll on Khafre's extensive statuary just as it did on Menkaure's.

⁷ As listed in TMS (The Museum System) at the MFA, Boston.

⁸ As given in The Giza Archives, MFA, Boston, or the Museum's TMS. It's clear that small fragments migrated over time throughout Menkaure's complex and across parts of the Giza plateau. So while it's very helpful to have Reisner's findspots of small fragments, those findspots are not always determinate as to where the fragments and the complete works they went to were originally installed. Adding to the problem is the fact that provenances given in Giza Archives and TMS sometimes contradict one another.

⁹ A pigtail MFA 47.2080, two uraei (MFA 47.2079, MFA 47.2081); a Big Toe (MFA 47.2078) that is even *larger* than the preserved right Big Toe on the colossus (MFA 09.204); and an eye and nose (MFA 13.5081), all with no findspots beyond 'Giza', as given in The Giza Archives. For Menkaure colossus (MFA 09.204), see REISNER 1931, pl. 12-16a; found in MPT (Mycerinus Pyramid Temple; see pp. 22-24).

¹⁰ LACOVARA AND REEVES 1987. For probable location of colossus, authors (in n. 29) refer to REISNER 1931, plan 1 (8).

¹¹ REISNER 1931, pl. 17 c. The fragments were found near remains of a seated Menkaure alabaster statue (REISNER 1931, p. 108 (2); pl. 16 b, c, d = MFA 11.3146), which Reisner assumed once contained the fragments. He suggested this statue (MFA 11.3146), along with the colossus (MFA 09.204), were originally set up in MPT, Rm. 20 (REISNER 1931, pp. 22-24), though most scholars do not today agree that was the original location of the colossus (see above, n. 10). But Reisner also suggested that "small fragments" [Did he mean the ones with titulary?] found in this MPT magazine may have come from "other statues and statuettes in debris" (A History of the Giza Necropolis II, unpublished 1942 manuscript, Chapter 9, p. 8: giza.fas.harvard.edu/unpublisheddocs/42100/intro/; accessed 9/20/18).

from a Throne Name is said only to be from 'Giza (provenance unknown)'.¹² Nonetheless, even if these fragments of titulary come from the pyramid temple, the size of most of them correlates to a large degree with the size of the titulary on the alabaster valley temple throne (Pl. XX.2), suggesting to me that a similarly inscribed statue, or statues, comparable to MFA 09.202 once existed in the pyramid temple.¹³ That at least some of the titulary came from another inscribed throne like that of MFA 09.202 seems secure.

The alabaster throne gives us a range of titulary for Menkaure that exceeds any found on his other statues. Excavated by George Andrew Reisner, the fragmentary seated statue was found *in situ* with three other fragmentary seated statues of the king in the offering room ('portico')¹⁴ of the valley temple (Pl. XXI.1), where it was designated by Reisner as number no. 19 and later accessioned by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts as MFA 09.202 (Pl. XIX.1). It is the only one of the four seated alabaster statues to be decorated on all sides, with the front of the throne displaying two columns of royal titulary, including a substantial lacuna on the right side (Pl. XX.2 center). In the context of looking at Menkaure's titulary in more detail, it is first helpful to look at the subject of titulary in general. For study of the titulary, I draw especially on the publications of Leprohon¹⁵ and Dobrev,¹⁶ who in turn build on the work of Kaplony¹⁷ and von Beckerath,¹⁸ among others. I especially cite Dobrev's research since it focuses exclusively on the titulary of the Fourth Dynasty, the period of Menkaure.¹⁹ By the Fourth Dynasty all five names that will form the standard titulary of the Middle Kingdom are known, though, as

¹² As listed in The Giza Archives for MFA 47.2075; same lack of provenance for an alabaster fragment with papyrus plant that probably comes from a *sm3-t3wy* motif (MFA 47.2076).

¹³ REISNER 1931 includes pl. 17 c (the titulary fragments) in an itemized list of plates, as noted above, related to the 'smaller alabaster statue' of the king (p. 108 [2]; MFA 11.3146) comprised of a fragmentary upper torso with remains of a nemes (pl. 16c-d) and a base on which I can see only the king's Throne Name (pl. 16 b). But Reisner's linkage of the titulary with this statue may be incorrect: the preserved vertical plane of the base beside the king's right leg – where more titulary could have gone (pl. 16b) – is blank, making it unlikely that this statue carried any more titulary than the Throne Name. Using only the Throne Name is just what we see on valley temple statues, nos. 18, 20 and 21 from the offering room, discussed later in this paper. Reisner's association of the titulary fragments in pl. 17 c with the 'smaller alabaster statue', which is now MFA 11.3146 (pl. 16b-d) may be an error, especially since the fragments do not appear in his description of finding the 'smaller alabaster statue' in MPT, Rooms (20 and 15), on p. 22-24. This statue was found, for the most part (p. 108), north of Room (20) of MPT (p. 22-24), along with some of the remains of the Boston seated colossus of Menkaure (MFA 09.204). Reisner believed these two statues had been the only statues in Room (20), since all the statue fragments found there, he surmised, fit these two statues (p. 23). But he never specifically mentions the titulary fragments shown in pl. 17 c. Since the titulary fragments do any seem to go to either the 'smaller alabaster statue' of the king (MFA 11.3146) or the colossus (MFA 09.204), the question remains as to exactly where the titulary fragments in pl. 17c were found in MPT and to what statues they actually belonged. That there was more than one statue is suggested by three Two Ladies titles in pl. 17c. Two, oriented in two different directions, could have gone to one statue (on either side of the legs), but it's unlikely there would have been yet another Two Ladies title on a single alabaster seated Menkaure statue.

¹⁴ Labeled 'Offering Hall' in REISNER 1931, plan VIII.

¹⁵ LEPROHON 2013.

¹⁶ DOBREV 1993.

¹⁷ Esp. KAPLONY 1977-81, vol. I, ch. 3 (*Die Königstitulaturen der Rollsiegel*), pp. 111-160.

¹⁸ VON BECKERATH 1984.

¹⁹ Also, the work of R. GUNDLACH (1998) more broadly looks at how the titulary reveals the relationship of the king to the state in many periods, including the Old Kingdom.

Dobrev notes, no single Fourth Dynasty monument appears to show all five names together.²⁰ I will suggest, however, that MFA 09.202 originally bore all five names.

The five names of the Egyptian titulary consist of constant and variable elements.²¹ The constants, referred to as titles, are the:

1. Horus Name
2. Two Ladies Name
3. Golden Horus/ Golden Name
4. Throne Name (prenomen)
5. Son of Re Name (nomen)


It is the first four Names that were taken by the king at coronation,²² at which time he also added his own individual names – the variables. Menkaure's titulary, composed of titles plus his own names, are as follows, beginning with Leprohon's transliterations and translations:²³

1. Horus: *k3 ht*, The bull of the (divine) Corporation²⁴
2. Two Ladies: *k3 <m> nbty*, The bull <by means of> the Two Ladies²⁵
3. Golden Horus: *ntri bik nbw*, The golden falcon is divine
4. Throne: *mn k3w R^c*, The established one of the kas of Re


Leprohon does not include Menkaure's fifth, *s3 R^c*, name, since it was the king's birth name preceding accession to the throne.

Dobrev's names and transliterations vary somewhat from Leprohon's but substantially agree.²⁶ I include his hieroglyphic renderings as well:



1. Horus Name: , *Hr + K3-h.t*: Horus (protects) the bull of the Corporation²⁷



2. Two Ladies Name: , *Nb.ty + K3*,²⁸ The bull [by means of] the Two Ladies²⁹

²⁰ DOBREV 1993, p. 179, n. 1.

²¹ KAPLONY 1980, col. 641 distinguishes between *konstante Elemente (Titel) und variable, individuelle Elemente (Namen)*; KAPLONY 1977-81, vol. I, p. 111.

²² LEPROHON 2013, p. 9; KAPLONY 1980, col. 643. When quoting other scholars' work, I repeat their form of transliteration, reverting to my own in the rest of the article.

²³ LEPROHON 2013, p. 36.

²⁴ NOLAN (2010) translates *k3 ht* as 'Bull-bodied', *passim*.



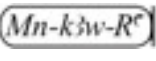


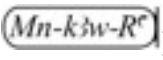


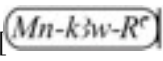
²⁵ Here LEPROHON (2013, p. 36, n. 40) notes: *For this interpretation of the name, which can be compared to other Two Ladies names from the same dynasty, see DOBREV 1993, p. 188.*

²⁶ I translate Dobrev from the French.

²⁷ My translation based on the discussion in DOBREV 1993, p. 184, which emphasizes the role of Horus as protector of the individual king.

²⁸ DOBREV 1993, p. 187.

²⁹ Following Leprohon, according to DOBREV 1993, p. 188, n. 34.

3. Golden Name (Name of Golden Falcon):   , *ntr(y) Bjk(Ntr)-nbw*
 ³⁰ Golden falcon (god) who is divine, Menkaure³¹
4. Name of King of Upper and Lower Egypt:   ,³² [*njswt-bjtj* ]
5. Son of Re Name:   ,³³ [ s3 R^c]

The titulary reflects the ideology of kingship,³⁴ in that it expresses the relationship of the gods to the king and the king to the entirety of Egypt. Notably, the role of the gods, to protect the king, legitimize his reign and confirm his power, are features that rightly appear in one or both of the translations above. Horus, falcon god of kingship, for example, stands atop the stylized image of an early mudbrick palace, the *serekh*,³⁵ from which he protects the king named *k3-Bull*, a name that alludes to Menkaure's potency. Nekhbet, the vulture emblematic of the south, and Wadjet, the cobra emblematic of the north, known as the Two Ladies, implicitly offer country-wide protection to the king,³⁶ while also, as the only female members of the cast, acting as agents through whom Menkaure demonstrates his sexual potency (*k3-phallus* can replace *k3-Bull* in writing Menkaure's name).³⁷

Of all the names, the Horus Name is the earliest and most frequently used in the titulary for the reigning king in the Old Kingdom.³⁸ Allen describes the graphic combination of falcon plus palace, plus king's name, as a single hieroglyph, meaning 'The divine power of kingship (Horus) is incarnated in the individual who resides in the palace'.³⁹ A missing *serekh* in a titulary would therefore be important, signaling that the king is not in the palace, and that he is not alive and not reigning. The presence of the Horus Name inside a *serekh* from the Fourth Dynasty on, Nolan shows from his study of Fourth Dynasty sealings, signals that the king was alive at the time of the manufacture of the monument it appears on,⁴⁰ and conversely, that the absence of the *serekh* – unless for technical reasons of not being able to carve it out horizontally (see below) – means that the king was dead at the time of the object's manufacture. The evidence that such differences were intentional is supported by a fragmentary gneiss (diorite)

³⁰ DOBREV 1993, p. 189.

³¹ DOBREV 1993, p. 191.

³² DOBREV 1993, p. 195. I add standard transliteration in brackets.

³³ DOBREV 1993, p. 197. I add standard transliteration in brackets.

³⁴ BAINES 1995b, p. 121.

³⁵ Though not in earliest times, where W. KAISER and G. DREYER (1982, p. 263) fig. 14 shows the development and various renderings of the earliest *serekhs* over half a millennium before Menkaure.

³⁶ LEPROHON 2013, p. 13.

³⁷ DOBREV 1993, p. 185 shows that the phallus can replace the bull, with *ht* retained, citing KAPLONY 1977-81, vol. III, pl. 34, no. 14; pl. 47, no. 51.

³⁸ LEPROHON 2013, p. 13. And cf. Cairo, CG 42 in BORCHARDT 1911, p. 39 with *k3* determined in his Horus name by a phallus as well as by a bull, and with *ht* omitted.

³⁹ ALLEN 2010, p. 66. See also, BAINES 1995b, pp. 122-123.

⁴⁰ Noted in FRIEDMAN 2011b, p. 95, n. 12, citing NOLAN 2010, pp. 25-40, esp. p. 32: *From contemporary sources, it is clear that the Hours name inside a serekh exclusively referred to the living, reigning king from the Fourth Dynasty on.*

statuette of Menkaure,⁴¹ found in the valley temple, which shows the king's Horus Name written in typical vertical format but without the serekh (Pl. XXI.2), strongly suggesting Menkaure was dead when the statuette was made.⁴² In this regard it's important to remember that there is one Menkaure triad that has only the *njswt-bjtj* – Throne Name with a missing Horus Name and serekh (JE 40679) where there was certainly room to include it,⁴³ and that the same lack of Horus Name and serekh applies to three of the four seated alabaster statues of Menkaure in the offering hall.⁴⁴ Issues of life and death are being communicated here through titulary. One last but important note on the Horus Name: the reigning king in his role as the falcon god Horus had celestial, and specifically solar, associations. The Horus Name designates the king as the very sun god on earth.⁴⁵ And solar associations of the Horus Name resonate therefore with those of the third name in the titulary, the Golden Name.

The most prominent feature of the Golden Name is its associations with light, made clear through the representation of a gold (*nbw*) necklace, whose color links it to that of the sun disk, and whose immutable material links it to the 'permanence of the institution of kingship'.⁴⁶ As Gundlach writes: *der Goldtitel überträgt ihm [the king] die Kräfte und Wirkungsmöglichkeiten der Sonnenscheibe*.⁴⁷ But unlike the Horus and Two Ladies Names, the Golden Name – in the Fourth Dynasty – can alter features in its hieroglyphic writing, including the number of falcons perched above the *nbw*-necklace, or the inclusion of *ntr*-signs, standards or a preceding adjective – alterations showing that each king projected a slightly different understanding of the Golden Name for himself.⁴⁸ Dobrev asserts that each falcon on the *nbw*-necklace denotes a king, with more than one falcon representing forebears, so that Radjedef's Golden Name written with three falcons alludes to Radjedef himself, and what are probably his grandfather, Sneferu, and his father, Khufu, each designated as a god atop a *ntr*-god sign.⁴⁹ Indeed, the Golden Name identified kings directly with divinity.⁵⁰ But it is the *transmission* of that royal – and divine – power that Dobrev seems to feel is being alluded to here,⁵¹ with Radjedef thus declared a god, like his predecessors, on the very day of his coronation when he takes his Golden Name.⁵² The Golden Names of Khafre, to whom Menkaure often looks for artistic and architectural precedents, and of Menkaure himself, however, show only one falcon, preceded by the glyph for *sh*m-powerful for Khafre, and *ntr*-divine for Menkaure. The Golden Name here is no longer about the transmission of power from forebears, Dobrev suggests, *puisque'elle*

⁴¹ REISNER 1931, p. 113 (39).

⁴² NOLAN 2010, p. 37 with specific reference to royal Old Kingdom statues, noting that the Horus names carved inside a serekh indicate *that the statues must have been made during that king's reign*.

⁴³ FRIEDMAN 2011b, p. 95.

⁴⁴ The appearance of the *njswt* or *njswt-bjtj* name alone signals that the king is dead, as noted by STRUDWICK (2005, p. 15) and VON BECKERATH (1984, p. 19, n. 25).

⁴⁵ GUNDLACH 1998, p. 20.

⁴⁶ LEPROHON 2013, p. 16. And see also the possible links to Seth.

⁴⁷ GUNDLACH 1998, p. 142.

⁴⁸ DOBREV 1993, p. 189.

⁴⁹ DOBREV 1993, pp. 190-191.

⁵⁰ KAPLONY 1977-81, vol. I, p. 113.

⁵¹ DOBREV 1993, p. 190.

⁵² DOBREV 1993, p. 191.

représente plutôt le roi-faucon-dieu qualifié de ‘puissant’ (pour Khafre) et de ‘divin (sacré)’ (pour Menkaoure).⁵³ Thus with the assumption of his Golden Name at coronation, Menkaure is deemed a god, like his predecessors, but, if Dobrev is right, without reference to his forebears as a conduit to that divinity.

At coronation kings also received their fourth name, the prenomen, or Throne Name, bearing the title *njswt-bjtj*, ‘He to whom the sedge and the bee belong’⁵⁴ (two symbols of the two lands of Egypt), with the title typically rendered ‘King of Upper and Lower Egypt’ or ‘Dual King’. Following the *njswt-bjtj* title is the name the king took on the day he ascended to the throne, which in our case is *Mn-k3w-R^c*, placed in a cartouche. The cartouche name is the king's personal name. Important for discussion of MFA 09.202 and the triads is the fact that *njswt-bjtj* can appear in inscriptions as a title without a following name, or it can be followed by the king's personal name in a cartouche. The two royal names that are most used to define a king are his Horus Name and *njswt-bjtj*-Throne Name, the Horus Name signaling his role as the falcon god and incarnation of the sun god on earth, and the *njswt-bjtj*-Throne Name signaling his more pragmatic role as political and administrative leader.⁵⁵

The fifth and final name in the titulary, which is not given at coronation, is the king's *s3 R^c*, or, son of Re Name, which was his birth name (nomen). *S3 R^c* first appears as an epithet in the Fourth Dynasty at the pyramid temple of Radjedef,⁵⁶ where it showcases the king's filial relationship with the sun god, at the same time that we see divinity being accorded Radjedef through his Golden Name.⁵⁷ When *s3 R^c* appears thereafter in the Fourth Dynasty it does not yet follow the *njswt-bjtj* model of title plus personal cartouche name. Rather, in the Fourth Dynasty *s3 R^c*, still acting like an epithet,⁵⁸ follows a serekh⁵⁹ or cartouche name, as seen in examples for Khafre and Menkaure, and possibly even earlier with Radjedef.⁶⁰ Menkaure's *s3 R^c* Name is the same as his Throne Name, *Mn-k3w-R^c*,⁶¹ with clear emphasis on Re. As with Radjedef and Khafre's theophoric names, Menkaure's ties him to the sun god, the effect being to project the myth that from birth to the throne the king is the son of the solar deity. This linkage to Re, along with, most notably, his Golden Name, confirms Menkaure's solar as well as divine status.

⁵³ DOBREV 1993, p. 194.

⁵⁴ ALLEN 2010, p. 67. Allen also notes that *the word nswt, more fully n(j)-swt, is also the general word for ‘king’, and the nisbe bjtj ‘he of the bee’ is a general term for ‘ancestral king’, so the title also identifies the king as the current incarnation of a line of royal ancestors* (p. 67). Allen's translation modifies Gardiner's translation, ‘he who belongs to the sedge and the bee’ in GARDINER 1957, p. 73.

⁵⁵ GUNDLACH 1998, pp. 137-138; GUNDLACH 2005, pp. 17-18.

⁵⁶ VON BECKERATH 1984, p. 32.

⁵⁷ DOBREV 1993, p. 191.


⁵⁸ VON BECKERATH 1984, p. 32.

⁵⁹ A new resource for the appearance of *s3 R^c* for Menkaure comes from a corpus of seals whose inscriptions have been reconstructed from mud sealings found at Pottery Mound in Giza southeast of Menkaure's valley temple and studied by John Nolan. Seal 4 shows Menkaure's Horus and Throne Names with *s3 R^c* (line 4) acting as an epithet beneath the Horus *k3-ht* name inside a serekh: NOLAN 2010, p. 170. (The Horus falcon in this instance did not survive nor does *ht* appear inside the serekh.) NOLAN translates the Horus Name plus *s3 R^c* as: [Horus:] Bull-[bodied], son of Re (p. 171); and, citing DOBREV (1993, pp. 197-198) says that *s3 R^c* was not yet the *the marker of a distinct royal name in this period as it was to become in succeeding dynasties* (p. 172).

⁶⁰ DOBREV 1993, p. 197.

⁶¹ See DOBREV 1993, p. 197, fig. 24.

Each element of this titulary reflects a different but overlapping theme about how the king's rule is legitimized through relationship with, and support of, divinity. And yet each name alone was enough to convey legitimacy, so that statues could be inscribed with one or more names, each one sufficient in itself and each one emphasizing different aspects of the king's nature. One example from Khafre's valley temple is the famous Cairo gneiss (diorite) statue of the king seated on a lion-legged throne whose back slab supports a falcon with wings that embrace the king's nemes (CG 14) (Pl. XXII.1).⁶² Only one name from the titulary appears: Khafre's Golden

Name, *sh̄m Bjk (ntr)-nbw* , the 'Golden falcon (god) who is Powerful, Khafre'⁶³ – plus the epithets, *ntr nfr* and *nb h̄w*, meaning 'the *ntr nfr*;⁶⁴ possessor of appearances'.⁶⁵ The statue of Khafre plus falcon acts as the determinative for the Golden Name. In other words we are looking at Khafre in the form of his Golden Name, the Powerful Golden Falcon, a name replete with solar radiance. An alabaster fragment with similar nemes and wings of embracing falcon is attributed to Khafre or Khufu,⁶⁶ and it would not be surprising if a comparable example appeared for Menkaure, as a related one will appear for Neferefre in the Fifth Dynasty, where the nemes is replaced by short cropped hair.⁶⁷ Reisner, in fact, suggested that alabaster fragments of two forepaws of a lion from Menkaure's valley temple were '[p]robably from the feet of a throne on which sat a statue like the famous Chephren [Khafre] statue',⁶⁸ meaning CG 14 (though a Menkaure sphinx may also be an option). Since statues of kings equipped with other names could identify other aspects of a king's nature, we should be able to glean information about the nature of Menkaure from looking at the expansive titulary plus epithets on his fragmentary alabaster throne, MFA 09.202.

The alabaster throne is without lion legs (Pl. XIX.1), much damaged and showing just the remains of Menkaure's lap, thighs, legs and feet. A section with both feet was missing at the time of the excavation photo, but later found and restored.⁶⁹ As noted above, the once complete seated statue with throne stood with three others, also of alabaster, in the valley temple offering hall (Pl. XXI.1), where the statues – incarnations of the king – were the recipients of an active offering cult whose remnants were found by Reisner.⁷⁰ While it's clear that the statues received offerings, it is interesting that no offering text appears on the statues, unlike the prominent offering text on the triads (Pl. XXII.2). Though all four seated statues of the king were severely damaged, all were clearly inscribed with the name of Menkaure. And while Reisner asserted them all to be 'undoubtedly the work of his reign',⁷¹ some were probably produced under

⁶² BORCHARDT 1911, pp. 14-16 (CG 14); inscription transcribed on p. 15.

⁶³ Following transliteration and translation of Khafre's Golden Name, in DOBREV 1993, p. 189.

⁶⁴ For *ntr nfr*, see discussion below.

⁶⁵ Drawing of inscription in BORCHARDT 1911, p. 15. *nb h̄w* as translated by LEPROHON 2013, p. 38.

⁶⁶ MFA 27.1466. See discussion by C. Roehrig in ARNOLD *ET AL.* 1999, p. 254, cat. no. 57; and BLUMENTHAL 2003, p. 3.

⁶⁷ JE 98171. See illustration in VERNER 2002, p. 112.

⁶⁸ REISNER 1931, p. 114 (47), discussing pl. 64 c. Lions' legs are also found on the bases of other seated figures of Khafre: CG 9, 13, 14, but not CG 10 and 15.

⁶⁹ Compare photos in REISNER 1931, pl. 47a and c. The feet of a comparable alabaster statue are in MFA, Boston, storage. See fig. 9 in this article.

⁷⁰ REISNER 1931, p. 47.

⁷¹ REISNER 1931, p. 45.

Menkaure's successor, Shepseskaf, who appears to have quickly finished off Menkaure's complex in mudbrick after Menkaure's death.⁷² There may also have been at least one more seated statue of the same type as MFA 09.202, as suggested by a large pedestal fragment with feet that was found in the valley temple and now stored in Boston (Pl. XXIII.1),⁷³ and which matches in material, size and style of carving the feet of Menkaure on MFA 09.202.

MFA 09.202 appears *in situ* as no. 19 in Reisner's excavation photo of the offering hall with the three other seated statues of the king (Pl. XXI.1). Moving from right to left (north to south) Reisner numbered the four statues 18, 19, 20, and 21. No. 18 and 19 stand to the north (right) of the doorway, and 20 and 21 to the south (left) of the doorway, 19 and 20 being the inner statues, and 18 and 21 the outer.⁷⁴ The inner statues flank the doorway that leads to the inner sanctuary, an especially sacred area, at the back of the temple (Pl. XX.1), where a major cult statue surely stood. There are expected symmetries and asymmetries among the statues. Symmetries consist of two statues on each side of the doorway, with the two inner ones being taller and more prominent than the flanking ones, as illustrated by Harvard Camp excavation photos which show that no. 19 (MFA 09.202) is clearly taller than 18 beside it (Pl. XXIII.2),⁷⁵ and that no. 20 is taller than 21 (Pl. XXIV.1). The similarity in size, position and importance of no. 19 and 20 (flanking the door to the sanctuary) further suggests that they were probably intended in their original design to look alike.

Reisner describes no. 18 on the far north as 'not quite finished',⁷⁶ while no. 20, flanking the doorway on the south, he says was 'hastily finished' and 'partly inscribed, leaving sawing marks still visible between the legs'.⁷⁷ The head to no. 18 survives (Pl. XXIV.2, XXVI.2 left), and shows the nemes,⁷⁸ the expected head covering for statues of seated kings,⁷⁹ just as it is for the recumbent colossal Sphinx, or for kings depicted as sphinxes, like the red quartzite head of Radjedef,⁸⁰ whose solar innovations have been noted. A head with an unusual form of nemes was also found at the south side of no. 19, a head that Reisner thought went to statue no. 19 (MFA 09.202) and which will be discussed in a moment. While no head can be assigned with certainty to 20 or 21, one would expect that, based on symmetry, the type of nemes found on no. 19 would appear on 20, and that the traditional nemes of no. 18 at the north would appear on 21

⁷² And possibly built adjacent Khentkawes Town (KKT), too: LEHNER 2015, p. 239. I thank the author for an advance copy of this article.

⁷³ From MVT, according to Giza Archives, which lists the full accessions numbers of the joined fragments as MFA 47.1784 + MFA 47.1786 + MFA 47.1787 + MFA 47.1788 + MFA 47.1789.

⁷⁴ REISNER 1931, pp. 110-111; on p. 36, July 13. However, Reisner mistakenly refers to no. 20 and 21 as 21 and 22. My correction to Reisner is confirmed by a 1-08-07 email from Diane Flores, then at the MFA, Boston (see n. 1 and 3 of this article), who found many such errors in Reisner's publication.

⁷⁵ REISNER 1931, pp. 110-111. While Reisner describes no. 18, 19 and 21 as 'life-size' and no. 20 as 'over life-size', the photos clarify the size relationships.

⁷⁶ REISNER 1931, p. 110.

⁷⁷ REISNER 1931, p. 111.

⁷⁸ REISNER 1931, pl. 48 a, c, d showing no. 18 (now JE 40703) reconstructed with head and torso; pl. 48 b and pl. 49 with views of the head for statue base no. 18. The head was found in front of no. 19 and the torso just east of no. 19 (p. 110 [18]). The head and torso fit no. 18, not 19, as the reconstruction shows.

⁷⁹ Seated figures of Khafre in many stone types show him in the nemes. E.g., BORCHARDT 1911, pl. 3: CG 9, 10, 12; pl. 4: CG 13 (?), 14, 15; pl. 5: CG 17.

⁸⁰ Musée du Louvre, Paris E 12626. For illustration and discussion, see C. Ziegler, in ARNOLD *ET AL.* 1999, pp. 248-250, cat. no. 54.

at the south. In regard to no. 21, Reisner uncovered an unusual head of a youthful Menkaure (Pl. XXV.1),⁸¹ with natural hair or a form-fitting wig or cap⁸² and uraeus that Reisner at first considered, but then wavered on, assigning to no. 21.⁸³ In fact, it may well go to no. 21, since, if Lacovara is right, the head originally displayed a nemes (what we would expect) but which, for unknown reasons, was recarved to produce this unusual hair-do akin to 'corn-rows'.⁸⁴ There is also the possibility that the head was originally equipped with a falcon at back, like Neferefre's Fifth Dynasty reinterpretation of Khafre's Cairo, CG 14, statue.⁸⁵ If assigning the head to no. 21 is correct,⁸⁶ then conscious alterations in statue design through different head cloths or hairstyles for different statues seems in process.

The condition of the three seated statues (no. 18, 20 and 21) and the extent of their titulary vary markedly from that of no. 19. Reisner describes the condition of no. 21 as being like that of no. 20 in its 'condition of completion',⁸⁷ i.e., 'hastily finished' and 'partly inscribed' with saw marks, etc. These three 'not quite finished' or 'hastily finished' alabaster statues (no. 18, 20 and 21), Reisner notes, are inscribed with the king's *njswt-bjtj*-Throne Name, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaure, on the footrest beside the king's right leg⁸⁸ (Pl. XXIV.2). The use of this one name from the titulary was sufficient to identify the king in what appears to have been a time of haste. But, as noted above, there is no Horus name with serekh on these three statues, suggesting that Menkaure was dead by the time they were finalized for inscription and decoration by Shepseskaf. We may be glimpsing moments in transition between the life and death of Menkaure as reflected in the changes or variations in his statue design and titulary.

No. 19, with the MFA alabaster throne, though only partially preserved, stands out from the other three statues in its state of extensive, finely carved titulary and decoration. Adding to the remarkable quality of this piece is the head with nemes found beside it⁸⁹ (Pl. XXV.2). Given the elaborate carving of its nemes, which is in accord with the superbly carved decoration of the throne, and given the proximity of the head's findspot to the throne, it is most likely that the head belongs to MFA 09.202, as illustrated in Pl. XXVI.1. What is especially noteworthy about the nemes is that it is not like the traditional nemes attributed to no. 18,⁹⁰ which has pleating only on the lappets (Pl. XXVI.2, left). The head suggested for no. 19/MFA 09.202 (Pl. XXVI.2, right; XXVI.1)⁹¹ displays a type of pleating that Reisner described as being *in groups of three*,

⁸¹ REISNER 1931, pl. 52-53.

⁸² J. L. Haynes in MARKOWITZ, HAYNES AND FREED 2002, cat. no. 6, p. 58.

⁸³ At first, Reisner, suggests the head might go to no. 21, but then wavers thinking the head too small (1931, p. 112 [23]; see also p. 36, July 16).

⁸⁴ LACOVARA 1995, cat. no. 39, p. 126.

⁸⁵ See summary of Roehrig's arguments in ARNOLD *ET AL.* 1999, cat. no. 70, p. 276. Lacovara, in fact, compares the corn-row-like hairstyle in MFA 09.203 to Neferefre's (LACOVARA 1995, p. 126).

⁸⁶ The head is less likely to fit the larger statue, no. 20, than the smaller statue no. 21.

⁸⁷ REISNER 1931, p. 111.

⁸⁸ REISNER 1931, pp. 110-111; 36.

⁸⁹ Reisner suggested that this head found to the proper right (south side) of the statue, perhaps belonged to it: REISNER 1931, p. 111 (22).

⁹⁰ REISNER 1931, pl. 48-49; JOHNSON 1990, p. 101.

⁹¹ REISNER 1931, pl. 50, 51 and 111 (22); 36. Head is now JE 40705.

one broad pleat between two narrow pleats, as in the Great Sphinx.⁹² Looking like a burst of sunrays, this form of nemes ties Menkaure to the nearby Sphinx, a solar symbol and major monument of his predecessor, Khafre.⁹³ This nemes for the head that probably went to no. 19/MFA 09.202, is a first in several ways, presenting not only *the earliest preserved examples of deep striping on a nemes* but also *a fringe of stylized curls under the frontlet extending to the sideburns*, and a uraeus tail that *for the first time, ends at the center back of the royal head, beyond its crown*.⁹⁴ One could reasonably speculate that, given the larger size and prominence of statues no. 19 and no. 20 that flank the doorway to the sanctuary, that the dramatic headdress of no. 19 was originally intended for no. 20 as well. But either because of the king's sudden death and pressure to quickly finish the statue program, or for some ritual reason, only no. 19 had this particular form of nemes, just as it, alone among the four seated figures of an enthroned Menkaure, has the only extensive titulary and decoration, which we will examine now.

Unlike its three companions in the offering hall, the alabaster throne base of no. 19/MFA 09.202 was finished and inscribed in sunk relief on all four sides.⁹⁵ Quality of carving varies, the front and proper right sides being the finest. The team of artists who worked on the statue varied the renderings of certain glyphs, as in the *ht* and *k3*-bull signs in the Horus Names, and in the treatment of tail feathers (Pl. XXVII.2, XXIX.2, XXX.1-2). Glyphs on the footrest retain some of the blue pigment meant to highlight the inscription (Pl. XXVIII.1). Reading the inscription begins with the front, since the statuary was meant to be seen from the front as priests faced it to make daily offerings. Here, the king's titulary and epithets are given in two columns (Pl. XXVII.2) flanking his legs and feet, and running down both sides of the front of the block-like throne and along the foot rest, reaching all the way to the end of the king's toes. His left foot is slightly forward of his right. Damage to the statue in antiquity resulted in a loss of inscription beside the left foot (Pl. XXVII.2, XXVI.1, XIX.1).

Both columns of titulary appear under the hieroglyph for sky, *pt*, making clear that the nature of the king as described below in his names and epithets is to be understood within a cosmic context, an idea harkening back to the First Dynasty Djed comb where the celestial realm, with the solar god, is depicted above the name of the king, shown in a serekh below (Pl. XXVIII.2). This same overarching *pt* on the front of throne also appears on the statue's two lateral sides above a more limited titulary, but not on the throne's back that faced the wall. Reading the inscription on the front of the throne should start with what is referred to here as Side A (Pl. XXVII.2), the proper right (our left) that gives priority to the normative direction of reading glyphs from right to left. Thus the king's Horus name is read first, emphasizing the most important name of the king found in writing in this period,⁹⁶ and the name that normally begins a royal titulary.⁹⁷ The falcon on the serekh has no crown, though the meaning of its absence is

⁹² REISNER 1931, p. 111 (22).

⁹³ On the pleating pattern in this nemes and its connection to the Sphinx, see REISNER 1912, pp. 11-12. Controversy remains over who build the Sphinx, though most attribute it to Khafre.

⁹⁴ JOHNSON 1990, p. 105.

⁹⁵ Full description in REISNER 1931, p. 111.

⁹⁶ LEPROHON 2013, p. 13.

⁹⁷ DOBREV 1993, p. 180, n. 3.

unclear.⁹⁸ (It may just have been a question of space.) On Side B, the proper left (our right), the column begins with the *njswt-bjtj*, without accompanying cartouche name. The Horus and *njswt-bjtj* names, by the way, are the only two parts of the titulary that also appear on the triads (Pl. XXII.2).⁹⁹ Beneath the serekh on Side A there follows the Two Ladies name, *K3* (bull), and the Golden Name, *Mn-k3w-R^c*, followed by *dj ʕnh dt*, ‘given life forever’, and then the *njswt-bjtj* – Throne Name with the king's cartouche, inscribed with *Mn-k3w-R^c*. Critical to the meaning of the titulary and the statue as a whole is a final solar epithet, *stwt r ntr nfr*, that concludes the text, and which is discussed below.

On Side B, still under celestial realm of *pt*, the titulary runs in the same order as the text on the proper right, except Side B omits the initial Horus Name with serekh and begins with the *njswt-bjtj* title, that is, the king's administrative role that took second place on the proper right. In both instances, *nsjw-bjtj* does not have a name attached in a cartouche but stands as a bare title. Following *nsjw-bjtj* on Side B are the Two Ladies Name, *K3*-bull, and the Golden Name, *Mn-k3w-R^c*, plus *dj ʕnh dt*, ‘given life forever’. Damage to the statue, surely through one of several campaigns of vandalism that befell the Menkaure statuary, resulted in lost text below *dj ʕnh dt*. But that lost text should logically follow in the order of text on Side A (minus the initial Horus Name). To restore the text it's worth remembering that unlike the Horus, Two Ladies or Golden Names, the title *njswt-bjtj* can appear with or without a following name. For example, *njswt-bjtj* on Side A, under the serekh, appears without the king's cartouche name, but toward the end of Side A it appears with it. Thus on Side B, we would logically expect that the second time *njswt-bjtj* appears it would include the cartouche name – which is how I have restored it (Pl. XXVII.2). Beneath the restored cartouche name, however, space remains for more text. The space is too small for the Horus Name and serekh, which would not logically follow in any event. So the Horus Name and serekh that begins Side A remains unique. We might similarly expect a unique part of the titulary to appear on Side B. And I think it does – since the space following the cartouche name perfectly accommodates the fifth name in the titulary, *s3 R^c*.¹⁰⁰

In the Fourth Dynasty, *s3 R^c*, like *njswt-bjtj*, can appear by itself or accompanied by the king's cartouche name, but *s3 R^c* and *njswt-bjtj*, as noted above, deal differently with that cartouche: *s3 R^c* at this time follows the cartouche,¹⁰¹ while *njswt-bjtj* precedes it. In my restoration of the lacuna on the throne base, therefore, the cartouche name of Menkaure follows *njswt-bjtj* and precedes *s3 R^c*. The result is a cartouche nestled between the two, where, I suggest, it performs double duty, providing the name of *Mn-k3w-R^c* for both the preceding *njswt-bjtj* and the following *s3 R^c*. Such an economic use of space has precedence. Writing the cartouche name once but reading it twice is a practice found in Fourth Dynasty estate names where the cartouche name of the king is written once but read twice, probably to save on wall space.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Cf. Khafre's CG 10 (BORCHARDT 1911, p. 11), CG 15 (p. 17), and Menkaure's CG 42 (p. 39, but without clear provenance) where the falcons on serekhs on the front of the seated statues have double crowns.

⁹⁹ Though the triads always combine the *njswt-bjtj* title with the king's cartouche name.

¹⁰⁰ I thank James P. Allen who in conversation suggested *s3 R3* would be somewhere in this lacuna, as noted in FRIEDMAN 2015b.

¹⁰¹ DOBREV 1993, p. 197 shows Fourth Dynasty examples for Radjedef, Khafre and Menkaure; no known example for Shepseskaf.

¹⁰² JACQUET-GORDON 1962, p. 5.

Following the restoration on the throne of *s3 R^c* are the clearly discernible remains of the phrase that also appears on Side A: *stwt r ntr nfr*, ‘made into the likeness of the *ntr nfr*’. This is a phrase known since the reign of Radjedef,¹⁰³ the first king to call himself *s3 R^c*. It is also found on a number of Khafre works. An inscription on an alabaster statue base that calls the now-lost sitter *s3 R^c stwt r ntr* (Pl. XXIX.1)¹⁰⁴ was found close to Khafre's valley temple and is thus reasonably attributed to Khafre, from whom Menkaure borrowed many practices, including use of the triad and dyad statue forms¹⁰⁵ and a marked devotion to Hathor.¹⁰⁶ *Stwt r ntr nfr* also survives on a number of gneiss (diorite) fragments in Leipzig that appear to have been parts of seated statues of Khafre,¹⁰⁷ who calls himself *s3 R^c* on the back of another seated statue where the footrest shows *stwt r ntr ntr* (CG 17).¹⁰⁸ And yet another seated statue of him uses *s3 R^c* with the epithet, *nb h^cw*, followed by remains across the footrest of *stwt r ntr nfr* (CG 15).¹⁰⁹ It appears that Menkaure adopted from Khafre both the use of *stwt r ntr nfr* and its link to *s3 R^c*, though they could both, of course, have been borrowing from an earlier source.

In fact, *s3 R^c* and *ntr nfr* are two terms that derive from about the same time period, *s3 R^c* appearing under Radjedef, as noted, and *ntr nfr* appearing even earlier, under Khufu.¹¹⁰ Oleg Berlev shows that these two terms are virtually synonymous.¹¹¹ But what exactly does *ntr nfr* mean? Berlev's analysis of the term, including a review of earlier studies,¹¹² is the most thorough. He looks specifically at the meaning of *nfr*, which he examines in context with its opposite, *3*, as two terms that he shows, in origin, relate to age. Given his analysis, which I find particularly insightful, *ntr nfr* denotes the king as the younger form of the sun, and *ntr 3*, the elder form of the sun.¹¹³ At the heart of kingship, he shows, is this notion of two suns, two kings, but of one solar nature. Thus the *ntr nfr* is the younger sun god who is the living king on the throne, ruling the land of Egypt.¹¹⁴ This means, I suggest, that Menkaure, as *s3 R^c*, son of the

¹⁰³ DOBREV 1993, p. 200, n. 78 cites Louvre E 11552 f, a quartzite fragment probably from a seated statue of Radjedef, as well as further examples, most of which are cited below.

¹⁰⁴ HASSAN 1960, p. 39, pl. XIV. The fragment was found in the filling of the passage running north-south, to the east of the Valley Temple, meaning Khafre's valley temple.

¹⁰⁵ FRIEDMAN 2011b, p. 99, n. 23, citing KRAUSPE 1997, pp. 21-22, no. 26 for evidence of a triad. See also pp. 22-23, no. 30 for evidence of a dyad.

¹⁰⁶ FRIEDMAN 2011a, p. 36.

¹⁰⁷ KRAUSPE 1997, pp. 31-32, no. 63, pl. 22, 1-22, 3, that show three fragments with traces of *stwt r ntr nfr*. See the *Inschriften* documentation on p. 32 with the drawing of a, b, and c with traces of *stwt r ntr nfr*; from different sized seated statues. See also pp. 32-33, no. 65, with fragment from another seated statue, bearing just the *ntr nfr* part of the inscription: pl. 21, 4; HÖLSCHER 1912, pp. 101-2, no. 52, fig. 134-136.

¹⁰⁸ BORCHARDT 1911, CG 17, p. 18.

¹⁰⁹ BORCHARDT 1911, CG 15, p. 17. But before *s3 R^c* is *ntr 3*, an epithet that can also be applied to kings. See BERLEV 2003, p. 32. My thanks to James Allen for this reference.

¹¹⁰ BERLEV 2003, pp. 23, 29.

¹¹¹ BERLEV 2003, p. 30. And cf., e.g., KAPLONY 1977-81, vol. III, p. 101, no. 7, line e with *Mn-k3w-R^c s3 R^c* and p. 103, no. 11, line a (and maybe c) with *Mn-k3w-R^c ntr nfr*.

¹¹² BERLEV 2003, pp. 19-24. See esp. STOCK 1951, pp. 3-15.

¹¹³ BERLEV 2003, p. 29.

¹¹⁴ BERLEV 2003, p. 32.

sun god, likened to the *ntr nfr*, was understood atop the alabaster throne as alive and reigning as the young sun on earth.¹¹⁵

Looking now at the two side panels of the throne, they are referred to here as Side C, the proper right, southern side (Pl. XXIX.2), and Side D, the proper left, northern side (Pl. XXX.1). The sunk relief on the two sides differs, southern Side C showing a crisper outline of forms than seen on Side D (or Side E, the back). The uppermost edge of the two side panels is not horizontal but slopes to follow the line of the seat above, on which the figure of the king is still partially preserved. Almost exactly paralleling that slope is the long narrow hieroglyph for *pt*, the sky, or cosmos. *Pt* surmounts both side panels of the throne, just as it surmounts the two columns of titulary on the front. The *pt* sign on the two sides is also used as the top of a framing device whose vertical supports mark off a field of decoration on each side of the throne (but not the back). The upper third of the field on both Sides C and D shows two falcons with *šn* in their talons, below which are the king's two most commonly used names, the Horus and Throne Names, which face one another. The names are separated by a goddess, Nekhbet on Side C and Wadjet on Side D, each placed along the central axis of the composition. These goddesses, who together comprise Menkaure's Two Ladies Name, extend *w3s* only to the Horus falcon plus cobra on the serekh, and not to the king's *njswt-hjtj* – Throne Name, thus visibly privileging the king's Horus name.¹¹⁶ On Side C *w3s* is directed to the Horus falcon, which has a white crown and rearing cobra,¹¹⁷ while on Side D the Horus falcon with the same cobra has *w3s* directed before it, but now wears no crown at all. The figure of the king, who originally sat on the throne served as the determinative for these names, as well as for the rest of the titulary elsewhere on the throne.

In the lower third of both Sides C and D is a new motif, the *sm3-t3wy*, Union of the Two Lands, shown with kneeling Nile gods with rolls of fat connoting fertility, holding in union the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. Menkaure seems here to once again be adopting, and expanding on, a motif from Khafre, in whose valley temple was found a fragmentary dyad that originally showed the king seated beside Bastet (CG 11);¹¹⁸ the back of the dyad preserves one standing Nile god on the left, clothed and reaching out to, but not grasping, plant stalks.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ One further note: there are no lions' legs on the alabaster Boston throne, a feature seen on some thrones of seated figures of Khafre: CG 9, 13, and 14 (BORCHARDT 1911, CG 9, pp. 9-10; CG 13, pp. 13-14; CG 14, pp. 14-16). These, with further Khafre examples of CG 10, 15 and 17 without lion legs (BORCHARDT 1911, CG 10, pp. 10-11; CG 15, pp. 16-17; CG 17, pp. 18-19) have the *sm3-t3wy*, union of the two lands, on the two lateral sides – the same motif found on the Menkaure alabaster throne base. Is there any significance to fact that of the three Khafre statues in Cairo without lion's legs, two (CG 15 and 17), like the Boston throne, show *stwt* [*r ntr nfr*]?) Menkaure, also like Khafre in CG 14 and 15 (and probably to be restored on CG 9, 10, 13, and 17) wears the nemes. But some Khafre statues of the seated king show him with a shoulder high back slab (CG 9, 13, and the famous CG 14 with falcon wrapped about the king's nemes). CG 9 shows Khafre's serekh on the rear of the back slab, which, with the now-lost falcon perched atop, formed not the statue type of CG 14 but that of Pepy I in the Brooklyn Museum (BLUMENTHAL 2003).

¹¹⁶ As seen in later times, as well: cf. Pepy II fragments from Saqqara in JOHNSON 1990, p. 179, no. 106.

¹¹⁷ DOBREV 1993, p. 186, on Horus with rearing cobra, and see pl. IV, fig. 9 and pl. IX, fig. 26 with Khafre titulary in which Horus falcons present the same erect cobra. In fig. 26, from a granite reused block from Lisht, the Horus falcon, presumably atop a now-lost serekh, wears the double crown.

¹¹⁸ BORCHARDT 1911, CG 11, pp. 11-12. Both Khafre and Menkaure, however, may have been drawing on a now lost prototype that preceded them both.

¹¹⁹ BORCHARDT 1911, CG 11, p. 12; SEIDEL 1996, p. 18, pl. 3b.

Directly below the overarching *pt*-sign on both Sides C and D of the Menkaure throne are two hovering falcons whose outstretched wings with overlapping wingtips encompass the celestial realm, creating a protective canopy above the king's names. The birds' talons hold out *šn* to Menkaure's names, meaning to the king himself. The motif of a falcon extending *šn* to the king's person or his names was earlier seen on the six underground Djoser panels in each of which a single falcon, once clearly labeled the Behedite,¹²⁰ extends *šn*, or, on two occasions, *ḥnh*, toward the figure of the standing or running king.¹²¹ When Djoser is completing his Heb Sed run, the Behedite extends *ḥnh* toward the king's double crowned Horus on the serekh. On the Menkaure alabaster throne, these double falcons extending *šn* to the king are surely also to be identified as Behdety,¹²² the origin of whose name is *bḥdt*, probably meaning 'He of the throne place',¹²³ and thus an appropriate god to take such prominence on a throne.

Behdety is a form of the sun god who can also appear as the winged sun disk,¹²⁴ labeled later in the Old Kingdom as *bḥdtj ntr ʿ3 nb pt*, defined by Berlev as 'the sun, lord of heaven, and *ntr ʿ3*, more or less constantly in opposition to the king, lord of earth ('of the two lands') and *ntr nfr*.¹²⁵ The alabaster throne is thus showing us the elder sun god, Behdety, who rules the sky, and the younger sun god, Menkaure, who rules Egypt. The entire political-religious world of heaven and earth is present in this model that Berlev presents as two kings who are two suns, of one, indivisible nature, but of different ages, with the elder sun (*ntr ʿ3*), the father, ruling the heavens (the cosmos), and the younger sun (*ntr nfr*), the son and reigning king, ruling the earth.¹²⁶ Thus the dualities of Upper and Lower Egypt that pervade this model, include not just the two lands of Upper and Lower Egypt governed by the king but also the two skies of Upper and Lower Egypt governed by the sun.¹²⁷ The concept of two skies is, in fact, graphically presented as early as the Djoser panels where half of *pt*-hieroglyphs are paired behind the standing or running king;¹²⁸ the same glyphs that appear in the Niuserre reliefs where, at the Heb Sed, figures typically carry two of these abbreviated sky glyphs¹²⁹ that Spencer has shown stand for the limits of heaven (*mdnbw*).¹³⁰ These truncated glyphs, if combined and expanded, depict the full range of the limits of the heavens as seen in the *pt* signs at the top of all sides of the Menkaure alabaster throne, except the wall-facing back.

On Side C (the proper right, southern side) of the throne, the Horus Name with serekh is on the viewer's left and his *njswt-bjtj*-Throne Name, at the viewer's right. The Horus falcon atop the serekh is naturally also at the viewer's left, which means that it is facing east, the same forward direction as is the seated Menkaure. And conversely, on Side D (the proper left,

¹²⁰ FRIEDMAN 1995, fig. 17, fig. 2b.

¹²¹ FRIEDMAN 1995, fig. 2a and b.

¹²² BLUMENTHAL 2003, p. 11 comes to the same conclusion.

¹²³ OTTO 1975, col. 683.

¹²⁴ See GARDINER 1944, esp. pp. 46-52.

¹²⁵ BERLEV 2003, p. 25.

¹²⁶ BERLEV 2003, esp. pp. 29, 30-31, and *passim*.

¹²⁷ BERLEV 2003, esp. p. 26.

¹²⁸ FRIEDMAN 1995, p. 22; see fig. 2a and b.

¹²⁹ VON BISSING AND KEES 1923, with many examples; pl. 16, 39; 18, 44 a, c, d; 19, 45 b; 21, 50 b; 22, 54; maybe 17, 42.

¹³⁰ SPENCER 1978, pp. 54-55.

northern side of the statue), the Horus falcon atop serekh is at the viewer's right, also facing east, the same direction as the seated Menkaure. Because of their orientation toward the king, both Horus Names on both sides of the throne – and both with rearing cobras – appear to take precedence over the Throne Name, in part, perhaps, because the Horus Name with serekh denoted the living, reigning king, a critical message here. Upper Egyptian iconography also seems to take precedence over Lower Egyptian iconography. First, the solar Behdety, who Gardiner suggested was a god of the Delta prior to the Third Dynasty,¹³¹ was by Djoser's day, and thus long before Menkaure, understood as an Upper Egyptian deity,¹³² as he should be viewed here on Menkaure's throne. And the only crown shown here is Upper Egyptian, with Side C showing the Horus falcon on serekh in the white crown, while the Horus falcon on serekh on the northern Side D where we might expect the Lower Egyptian crown, has no crown at all. Indeed, the red crown seems underrepresented in Old Kingdom relief and statuary in general, though our corpus of material is sparse. On the five (out of six) virtually intact Djoser panels, for example, three Horus falcons on serekhs wear no crown at all, one wears the double crown and one the white. None wears just the red crown.¹³³ The figure of Djoser himself wears the red crown only once in five of six intact panels,¹³⁴ but Sanakht, before him, appears in it on a stela.¹³⁵ Sneferu wears the red crown in relief¹³⁶ in his Heb Sed temple,¹³⁷ though not in the round, and Khufu appears in it in his Abydos ivory statuette¹³⁸ (of debated date), as does Khafre in several statuettes.¹³⁹ But the lack of a Lower Egyptian crown anywhere on the Menkaure alabaster throne seems puzzling. Geography may balance out a bit, however, through the erect cobras before the serekh falcons and on the king's nemes, which allude to the northern deity, the cobra goddess of the Delta, Wadjet.¹⁴⁰ Still, one might wonder if the red crown was originally intended to appear on the northern side of statue no. 20 that stood opposite no. 19/MFA 09.202 on the other side of the doorway in the offering hall.

Also lacking on the throne's northern Side D are the benefits accorded Menkaure on Side C, where two columns of hieroglyphs, flanking the flower and stalk on which Nekhbet's basket rests, read: *dj ṛnh dd w3s*, 'given life, stability and dominion'. The northern side of the throne

¹³¹ GARDINER 1944. See summary of conflicting positions on this in SCHENKEL 1980, col. 15-19.

¹³² See FRIEDMAN 1995, fig. 12.

¹³³ FRIEDMAN 1995, fig. 2a and b.

¹³⁴ Djoser wears the red crown in middle panel under south tomb: FRIEDMAN 1995, fig. 2b, and 23.

¹³⁵ C. Ziegler, in ARNOLD *ET AL.* 1999, pp. 176-177, cat. no. 8.

¹³⁶ Examples of Sneferu in red crown in relief in FAKHRY 1961, fig. 35 (?), 72 (?), 111, 120, 124, 125, 127 (?), 146. But note the use of the Upper Egyptian crown in fig. 48 where the king is reliably restored with the white crown while said to be standing in both the *pr-wr* shrine of southern Egypt and the *pr-nsr* shrine of northern Egypt.

¹³⁷ Confirmed as Sneferu's Heb Sed temple, by STADELMANN 2011. And see FRIEDMAN 2011b, pp. 105-107.

¹³⁸ Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 36143.

¹³⁹ For reconstructed statuettes of Khafre in red crown set fully or in part against a back slab, see KRAUSPE 1997, pp. 34-35, no. 69, 70, pl. 23, 4; pl. 23, 3; and for Khafre statuette with red crown, p. 14, no. 3, pl. 3, 1-3, 4; pp. 15-16, no. 4, pl. 4, 1-4, 4; regarding no. 3, see entry by C. Ziegler, in ARNOLD *ET AL.* 1999, p. 260, cat. no. 62.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. a Khafre sealing in JOHNSON 1990, p. 100; p. 5 for meaning of the uraeus; and see KAPLONY 1977-81, vol. I, p. 188.

instead shows stalks of papyrus beneath Wadjet's basket that flare into the space that would have accommodated the text. Why it is missing on the northern side is a mystery to me, but it points up once again that southern, Upper Egypt is privileged throughout.

The back panel of the throne, Side E (Pl. XXX.2), which faced the wall in the offering room, is dominated by the *sm3-t3wy* motif but without the kneeling Nile Gods. The back also lacks the overarching *pt*-hieroglyph, but, as on Sides C and D, still uses a lightly incised line to frame the rectangular field of decoration. A horizontal band of text above is separated by two incised lines below that separate the text from the *sm3-t3wy* motif. The titulary in the band of text gives only the Horus Name that has already been given priority on the sides. But now there is no serekh. Its absence, however, does not signal that the king is dead, since its omission is surely due to practical reasons: inscribing a tall, vertical serekh in a horizontal line of text was aesthetically awkward and typically not done,¹⁴¹ the difficulties in spacing evident from the hieroglyphic rendering of the serekh in the titulary given above (p. 114 of this article). Following the Horus name on Side E is *ḥnh dt*, 'living forever', an epithet that parallels *dj ḥnh dt* in both columns of text on the front of the throne and partially on its south side, but not the north. The *sm3 t3wy* motif shows the papyrus on the right and the lily (or other flower) on the left, the same arrangement found on Side C, the south side, yet again giving precedence to Upper Egypt. It is interesting that this same Upper Egyptian precedence seems to hold for the triads, too, where the intact examples show only the white crown, though I suggest that at least one Lower Egyptian nome – LE 1 that held the capital and a major Giza-Saqqara cult of Hathor – might be restored on the fragmentary Type 2 triad (Pl. XIX.2 f).¹⁴² And more Lower Egyptian triads may have been planned, or perhaps even executed, but are without clear remains.

In its totality, the throne with its titulary, epithets and iconography describes the nature of Menkaure as king. He is the king who dwells in his palace (serekh) under heaven (*pt*), who rules over a united Egypt (*sm3-t3wy*), sanctioned by the divine benediction of the elder sun god Behdety and the emblematic deities of Upper and Lower Egypt. Enthroned, he radiates the light of the sun through his Horus, Golden, Throne and Son of Re Names, his *stwt r ntr nfr* epithet, and, most visibly, his dazzling nemes. The sides of his throne encapsulate a worldview known since the ancient Djet comb (Pl. XXVIII.2),¹⁴³ where heaven and earth, framed in a rectangular format, are divided into the sky above, with the sun god, winged and sailing, and the earth below, with the king in the form of his Horus Name and serekh. The basic features of this First Dynasty worldview and its interconnection of sun and king show, as Berlev notes, that *[t]he world is as if a dwelling place inhabited by two suns, a terrestrial one ruling over the two halves of Egypt, and a celestial sun, ruling over both halves of the sky... That constitutes the world.*¹⁴⁴ And given that the fragments of titulary referred to at the beginning of this paper (Pl. XX.2) came from the pyramid temple, there may have been more alabaster statues in the pyramid temple that also evoked this same worldview.

¹⁴¹ DOBREV 1993, p. 185.

¹⁴² FRIEDMAN 2015a.

¹⁴³ See BERLEV 2003, p. 30 and GARDINER 1944, pl. VI, fig. 4; pp. 47-49, referring to SCHÄFER 1928.

¹⁴⁴ BERLEV 2003, p. 30, who does not, however, specifically reference the Menkaure throne.





Object Number	Nome Number	Type	King's Position	King's Name	King's Tail
MFA 09.200	15th UE, Hermopolis	2	King standing proper left		Tail
JE 40678	4th UE, Thebes	1	King standing center		Tail
JE 46499	7th UE, Diospolis Parva	1	King standing center		Tail
JE 40679	17th UE, Cynopolis	1	King standing center		No Tail

Fig. 1. Chart showing triad type, titular, presence or absence of Horus name and serekh, and presence of royal tail as discerned by author.

The greywacke triads carry related meanings (like provisioning) but also different ones.¹⁴⁵ The triads focus not on the abstract worldview of the throne but, as I argue elsewhere, on the ritual of the Heb Sed. The essential nature of the two types of statuary is different. Unlike the alabaster seated figures of Menkaure, which are static, single-figure recipients of cult, the figures in the greywacke triads (esp. Type 1 with the king at center) are to various degrees moving.¹⁴⁶ Even the nome sign on triad MFA 09.200 switches orientation from the others (Pl. XIX.2e), and titular shifts position, too (Fig. 1, above). Implicit in the design of the Type 1 triads is, as I have discussed elsewhere, the expression of movement forward, left or right, reflecting a dynamism with prototypes that go back to the Heb Sed monuments of Djoser and Sneferu.¹⁴⁷

Titulary on the triads is reduced to just the Horus and Throne Names, perhaps because the king's Heb Sed renewal was primarily in these two capacities of governance, namely, as the living incarnation of Horus on earth and the one who administers the state. The solar features that dominate the alabaster throne (and probably statue no. 20 in original conception) are less visibly emphasized on the triads, which omit the Two Ladies, Golden and *s3 R* Names, and the *stwt r ntr nfr* epithet. But solar features still appear on the triads, primarily through Hathor, who for the first time in Egyptian art is shown with the sun disk between her cow horns; she is Re's daughter in the form of his eye.¹⁴⁸ As the daughter – and also mother and consort – of Re, and

¹⁴⁵ Since the triads, as noted above, have been discussed at length elsewhere, they will be referred to in abbreviated form here, with references only occasionally repeated. See n. 2 and 4 above.

¹⁴⁶ In Type 2 Hathor is enthroned and the king stands, as opposed to runs.

¹⁴⁷ FRIEDMAN 2011b. See esp. fig. 11, 20-28.

¹⁴⁸ TROY 1986, p. 23.

mother and wife of Horus the king, Hathor is 'the medium of renewal',¹⁴⁹ a function which on the alabaster throne is implicitly given to the sun. On the triads, Hathor's solar nature is what links Menkaure to Re. Hathor is the generative link between the king and Re – and, as Menkaure's mythological mother and wife, between the king and his offspring. Unlike Re, Hathor is shown as a maternal human deity who holds the king's hand and embraces him. The king is 'beloved of Hathor' in two different manifestations of her cult¹⁵⁰ (Pl. XXII.2), as she feeds him and his Heb Sed through the triads' nomes – nomes that I suggest held (unnamed) estates with Hathor cults that were real or symbolic suppliers of his Heb Sed.¹⁵¹ It is Hathor who protects, legitimizes and feeds her son from the fertility of the land that she is implicitly linked to through the nomes and their Hathor-related cults. As Re is central to the meaning of the alabaster statue of the enthroned Menkaure, Hathor is central to the meaning of his greywacke triads.¹⁵²

Re and Hathor may be the determining factors in the orientation of both types of statuary. The alabaster enthroned Menkaure and the three other offering room statues, as well as both (?) colossi, are on an E-W axis, facing the rising sun. The greywacke triads, each with a different nome, were probably meant to be installed (I believe) on a N-S axis in the court, paralleling the distribution of nomes along the Nile. Together these two bodies of sculpture would have spanned the four cardinal points, the E-W of the celestial realm, linked to Re, and the N-S of the earthly realm along the Nile, linked to Hathor.

On a practical level, signaling devices seem to be used on both types of statuary. The triads, I have suggested in earlier work, show what are in effect 'stage directions' for use at the Heb Sed, indicating where the king is to move, with precedents for ensuring movement and proper direction at the Heb Sed that I suggest go back to Djoser.¹⁵³ The broader category of signaling also includes the changes in titulary and iconography in both the alabaster and greywacke statues. The appearance of just the Throne Name on one triad and on three of the seated alabaster statues, which signals that the king was dead at the time the statues were made, is a cue not about the king's movement but his state of being. In this regard, I believe that a tail can be discerned on three of the four intact triads, but not on JE 40679, the very triad that lacks the Horus Name and serekh (Fig. 1; Pl. XIX.2c). It may be that when the Horus Name is missing and the king is dead, the tail may also be omitted. If so, we are seeing a redundancy of signaling (no Horus name, no tail) of a type that I see in the Djoser Heb Sed panels, too.¹⁵⁴ (I see no tail on the seated figure of the living Menkaure on the alabaster throne, though it is always possible it was painted on and has disappeared.) While variations in head covering, hairstyle, and titulary on the seated alabaster statues in the offering hall may be the result of redesign in order to finish off the statue program quickly in the period between Menkaure's life and sudden death, these changes may also be cueing the viewer as to information whose full ritual meaning eludes us

¹⁴⁹ TROY 1986, pp. 53, 56.

¹⁵⁰ FRIEDMAN 2015b.

¹⁵¹ FRIEDMAN 2015a, 2015b and n. 4 above.

¹⁵² This trio of Horus the king, Re and Hathor is already found in Pyramid Texts (TROY 1986, p. 55 referring to PT 546 a-b); while Hawass maintains that the purpose of all the Giza complexes was the worship of these three (HAWASS 1995, pp. 236-237. He also suggests (pp. 235-236), as do I, that the triads represent estates (see my n. 2 and 4 above).

¹⁵³ FRIEDMAN 2011b, p. 108; see also pp. 99-114.

¹⁵⁴ FRIEDMAN 2011b, p. 108.

now. After Menkaure's death, Shepseskaf, in a few brief years completed Menkaure's complex in mudbrick, and, I believe, continued work on Menkaure's statue program, but he also, as Lehner suggests, may have been responsible for the completion of Khentkawes Town next door.¹⁵⁵ If there is a close ritual and governance connection between the Khentkawes Town and Menkaure's valley temple, as Lehner suggests,¹⁵⁶ then Shepseskaf may have been keen to clarify when Menkaure was alive or dead relative to Khentkawes, since that moment of transition may have been a time when Shepseskaf took over the ritual functioning of both memorial cults.

What seems clear is that the two major types of statuary in Menkaure's complex, alabaster and greywacke, interact to give meaning to the king's progression through his afterlife home, as he moved from his burial chamber east through the pyramid temple with its alabaster colossus, to the valley temple with possibly its own alabaster colossus, to the offering hall where, in the form of the seated alabaster statues, he received offerings, to the open court, where he was provisioned through his greywacke triads in the celebration of the Heb Sed. The statuary, one type static (king enthroned), one with movement (the triads), are the vehicles through which Menkaure played out a cosmic drama on the cosmic stage of his temples. Through the alabaster throne, he was taken eternally into the solar sphere with Re and became the *ntr nfr*, and through the greywacke triads he was made eternal king in Heb Seds through Hathor. In terms of how the statue's specific type of stone is connected to these concepts, one might suggest that if the alabaster is solar in meaning, the greywacke is chthonic. Hathor may again be the link, since she is associated since the Old Kingdom with the realm of the dead.¹⁵⁷ And as a goddess 'at the center of the ideological complex of the kingship' – as mother, daughter and wife of Re and mother and wife of Horus¹⁵⁸ – it is she who bridges the celestial and terrestrial, the solar and chthonic, thus enabling the king to celebrate Heb Seds in this world and the next. The close connection of Re and Hathor as a *Götterpaar*,¹⁵⁹ evidenced in Fifth Dynasty solar temples and especially Coffin Texts,¹⁶⁰ is already present under Menkaure.¹⁶¹

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¹⁵⁵ See n. 72 above.

¹⁵⁶ LEHNER, 2015, esp. pp. 243-246; p. 267.

¹⁵⁷ BLEEKER 1973, p. 42.

¹⁵⁸ TROY 1986, p. 53.

¹⁵⁹ ALLAM 1963, p. 113.

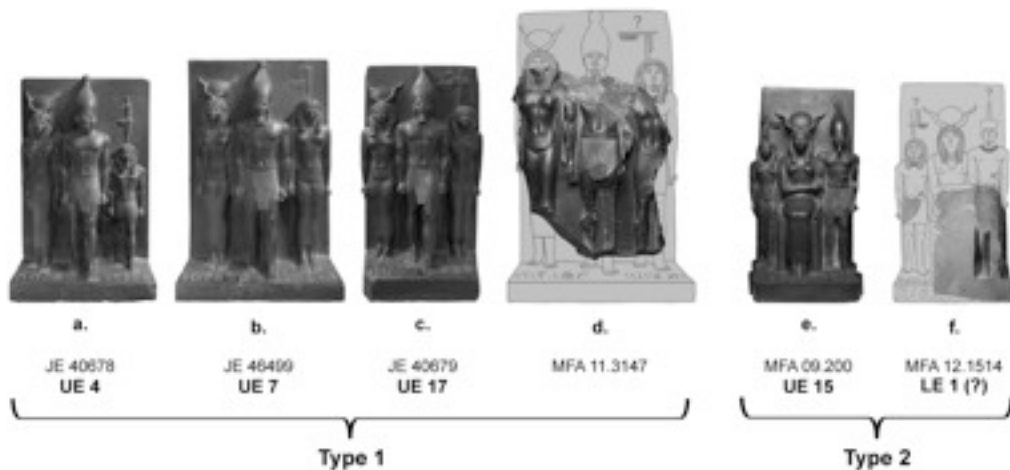
¹⁶⁰ ALLAM 1963, pp. 113-116.

¹⁶¹ I come to the same conclusion about the link between Re and Hathor in FRIEDMAN 2015b.

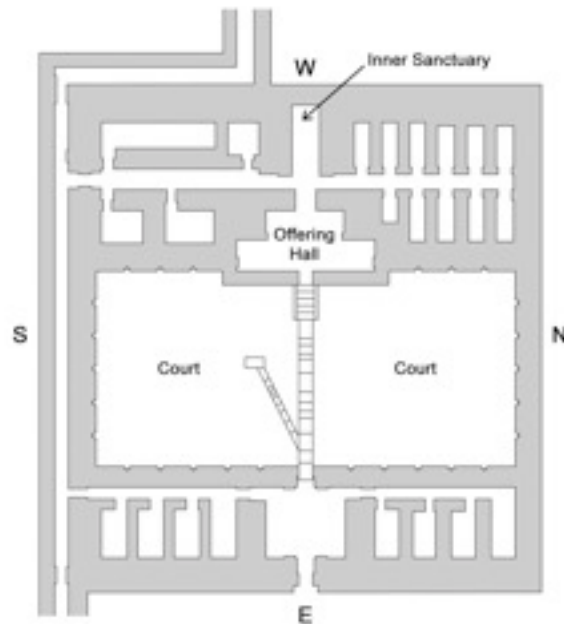


MFA 09.202

1. *Lower portion of alabaster seated statue of Menkaure, enthroned, MFA 09.202.*
(Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

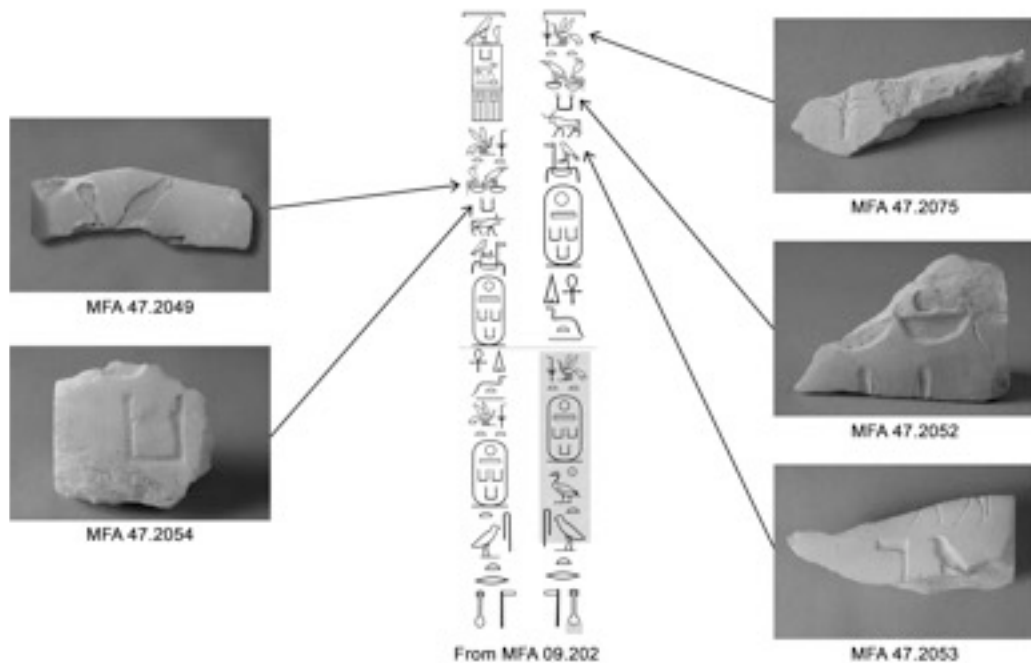


2. *Four intact (a, b, c, e) and two fragmentary (d, f) greywacke triads.*
(Photography by Michael Fredericks; d, e and f: Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Grey areas are reconstruction by author, drawn by Michelle Pisa. New hypothetical reconstruction for MFA 12.1514 by author. See FRIEDMAN 2015a and b.)

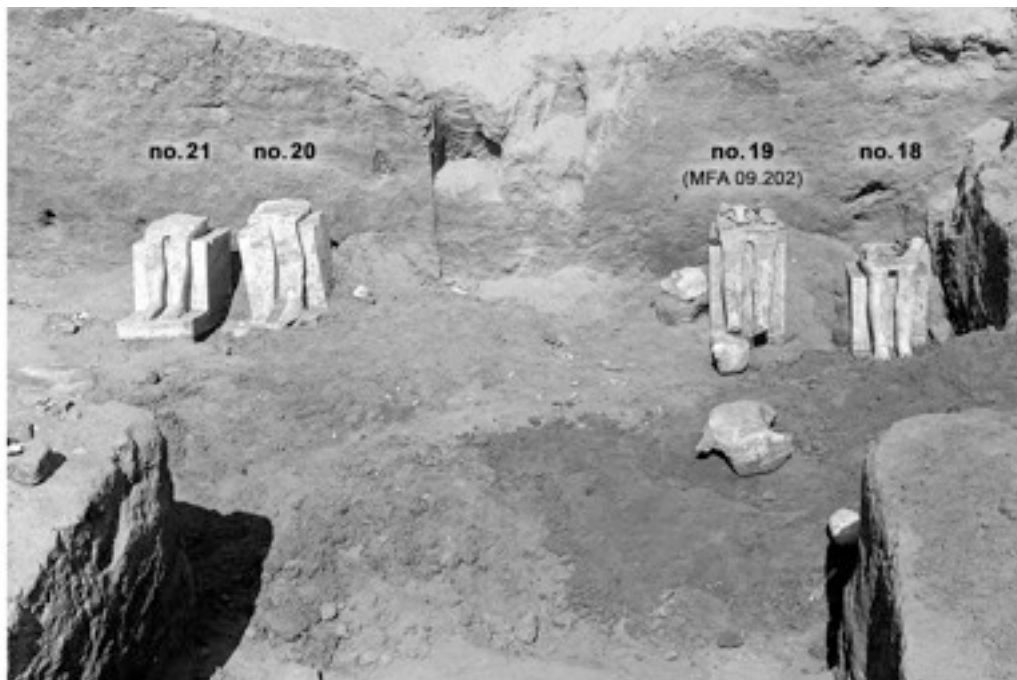


1. *Map of Menkaure's Valley Temple.*

(Drawing by Michelle Pisa, based on LEHNER 1997, p. 137.)



2. *Alabaster fragments of titles from Menkaure pyramid temple that match those on alabaster throne, MFA 09.202: MFA 47.2049, 47.2054, 47.2052, 47.2053. Two serekh fragments not shown here. All from REISNER 1931, pl. 17 c. MFA 47.2075 is 'from Giza' and not on pl. 17 c. (Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Inscription from alabaster throne base, MFA 09.202, drawn by Michelle Pisa. Restoration of text by author.)*



1. Offering hall ('portico') in Menkaure valley temple. Moving from right to left: statues no. 18 and 19 to right of doorway; statues no. 20 and 21 to left of doorway. MFA 09.202 is no. 19. Numbers for the four statues added by author; numbering corrects Reisner's numbering: see n. 74 above.

(REISNER 1931, pl. 47a; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



2. Fragmentary gneiss (diorite) statuette of Menkaure, MFA 11.727, right, with detail, left, of Horus name without serekh.

(Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



1. Gneiss (diorite) statue of Khafre, Cairo, CG 14, with transcribed inscription.
(After BORCHARDT 1911, vol. 1, pl. 4 – statue; p. 15 – inscription.)



2. Inscriptions on the base of each intact triad: JE 40678, JE 46499, JE 40679, MFA 09.200*.
(Photography by Michael Fredericks; *Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Inscriptions drawn by Michelle Pisa.)



1. Fragment of alabaster pedestal and feet (MFA 47.1786) from Menkaure Valley Temple that matches those on alabaster MFA 09.202.

(Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



2. Menkaure statue no. 19, left, is taller than no. 18, right.

(Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



1. *Menkaure statue no. 20, right, is taller than no. 21, left.*
(Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



2. *Menkaure statue no. 18, right, with detail of inscription.*
(Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



1. *Two views of alabaster head of Menkaure, MFA 09.203.*
(Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



2. *Alabaster head of Menkaure (JE 40705) with nemes, as found on the south side of no. 19 (MFA 09.202).*
(Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



1. *Reconstruction drawing of MFA 09.202 with head (JE 40705).*

(Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photo ID number: A280_NS with reconstruction by author, drawn by Michelle Pisa.)



2. *Alabaster head of Menkaure from no. 18 in traditional nemes, left; alabaster head of Menkaure (JE 40705), right, assigned to no. 19 (MFA 09.202) in what author calls a 'baroque' nemes. See REISNER 1931, pl. 48-51.*

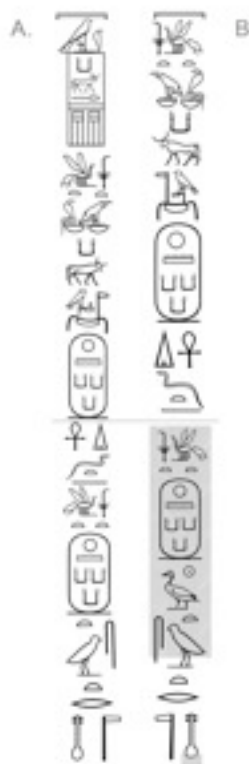
(Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



1. Two views of alabaster head of Menkaure (JE 40705), assigned to no. 19 (MFA 09.202). See REISNER 1931, pl. 50-51.
(Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



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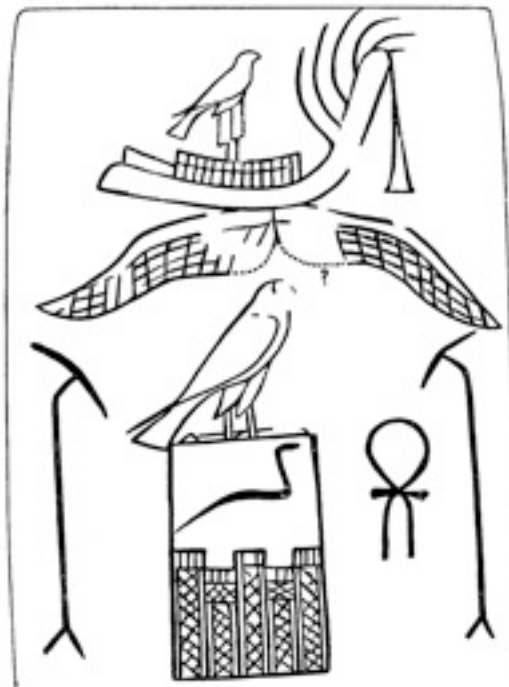


2. Alabaster throne base, MFA 09.202.

(Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Side A of inscription is on proper right; Side B on proper left. Inscription drawn by Michelle Pisa. Restoration of text by author.)



1. *Alabaster throne base, MFA 09.202 showing remains of stwt r nṯr nfr beside feet.*
 (Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



2. *Drawing of Djed comb.*
 (After GARDINER 1944, pl. VI, 4.)



1. Pedestal of an alabaster statue, probably of Khafre.
(After HASSAN 1960, pl. XIV.)



2. Side C: proper right (southern) side of alabaster throne base, MFA 09.202.
(Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Inscription drawn by Michelle Pisa.)



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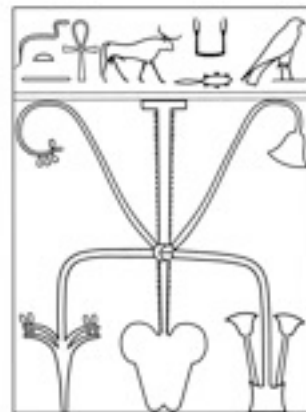


1. Side D: proper left (northern) side of alabaster throne base, MFA 09.202.

(Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Inscription drawn by Michelle Pisa.)



MFA 09.202



2. Side E: back of alabaster throne base, MFA 09.202.

(Photography by Michael Fredericks; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Inscription drawn by Michelle Pisa.)