

ÄGYPTEN UND ALTES TESTAMENT

Band 37

Andrey O. Bolshakov

Man and his Double

in Egyptian Ideology
of the Old Kingdom

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG
in Kommission

Ägypten und Altes Testament

Band 37

ÄGYPTEN UND ALTES TESTAMENT

Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens
und des Alten Testaments

Herausgegeben von
Manfred Görg

Band 37

1997

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG · WIESBADEN
in Kommission

Andrey O. Bolshakov

Man and his Double

in Egyptian Ideology
of the Old Kingdom

1997

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG · WIESBADEN
in Kommission

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Bolshakov, Andrej O.:

Man and his Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom /

Andrey O. Bolshakov. – Rev. transl. of the Russ. ed. –

Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 1997

(Ägypten und Altes Testament ; Bd. 37)

ISBN 3-447-03892-6

Ne: GT

© 1997 MANFRED GÖRG, MÜNCHEN

Als Manuskript gedruckt. Alle Rechte vorbehalten, insbesondere die des Nachdrucks und der Übersetzung. Ohne schriftliche Genehmigung des Herausgebers ist es auch nicht gestattet, dieses urheberrechtlich geschützte Werk oder Teile daraus in einem photomechanischen, audiovisuellen oder sonstigen Verfahren zu vervielfältigen und zu verbreiten. Diese Genehmigungspflicht gilt ausdrücklich auch für die Verarbeitung, Vervielfältigung oder Verbreitung mittels Datenverarbeitungsanlagen.

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

Druck und Verarbeitung: MZ-Verlagsdruckerei GmbH, Memmingen

ISSN 0720-9061

ISBN 3-447-03892-6

In memory of my Teacher
YURI YAKOVLEVITCH PEREPELKIN



[This page is intentionally blank.]




CONTENTS

Contents	7
Preface	11
Introduction	15

PART I. OLD KINGDOM TOMB AS A SYSTEM

Chapter 1. Brief Review of the Tomb Evolution down to the Middle Fourth Dynasty ..	24
§ 1. Components of Old Kingdom Tomb	24
§ 2. Origins of the Mastaba Tomb and its Orientation	26
§ 3. Tomb as a House of the Deceased	28
§ 4. Appearance and Initial Stage of Development of Tomb Murals	30
§ 5. Appearance and Initial Stage of Development of Cult Chambers	33
§ 6. Tomb Representations of the Third – Early Fourth Dynasty	34
§ 7. «Style of <i>Hw(j)·f-w(j)</i> » at Giza	37
Chapter 2. Method of Investigation	40
Chapter 3. Pictorial Decoration in the Chapels of Giza and Saqqara	50
§ 1. False door	50
§ 2. Representations in the Chapels of Giza	54
§ 3. Representations in the Chapels of Saqqara	66
§ 4. Conclusions	81
Chapter 4. Representations in the Superstructure of Multiple-Roomed Tombs	86
§ 1. Sources Used	86
§ 2. Procession of Offering-Bringers Heading to the Chapel	89
§ 3. Representations Related to the Storerooms	90
§ 4. Representations of the Tomb Owner Receiving Offerings	91
§ 5. Representations of the Tomb Owner not Related to the Delivery of Offerings	93
§ 6. Decoration of the Entrance to the Tomb	93
§ 7. Representations of the Funeral Procession	95
Chapter 5. Statues and the Serdab	106
Chapter 6. Burial Chamber and its Decoration	111
§ 1. Arrangement and Orientation of the Burial Chamber	111
§ 2. Pictorial Decoration of the Burial Chamber	112
§ 3. Burial Chamber and the Serdab	120
§ 4. Burial Chamber as a Part of the Tomb Complex	121

PART II. THE DOUBLE AND ITS WORLD

Chapter 7.	150 years of Studying the <i>k3</i> Problem	123
Chapter 8.	Psychology of Apprehension and the <i>k3</i>	133
§ 1.	Approach to the Problem	133
§ 2.	Mechanism of Origin of the <i>k3</i> Category	135
§ 3.	<i>K3</i> and Statues	152
§ 4.	<i>K3</i> = «Double»	152
§ 5.	<i>K3</i> and <i>rn</i>	154
§ 6.	Hieroglyph  and Root * <i>k3</i>	157
Chapter 9.	Egyptian Notions of Sight and Light	166
§ 1.	Methods of Feeding of the Double	166
§ 2.	Sight as a Condition of Life	169
§ 3.	Egyptian Notion of Eyes	170
§ 4.	Opening of the Mouth and Eyes	172
§ 5.	Egyptian Notion of Light	175
§ 6.	Sight and the Notion of the <i>3h</i>	178
§ 7.	Sight and the Formula of Ushabti	178
§ 8.	Notion of the Cartouche	179
§ 9.	<i>Jz-t-jr-t</i> and Sight	182
Chapter 10.	Egyptian Interpretation of the Double	187
§ 1.	Ancient Interpretation of the Emergence of the Double	187
§ 2.	The Moment of the Establishment of the Tomb Cult	194
§ 3.	Temporal Characteristics of the Double	210
Chapter 11.	The manner of Representing Human Being in Old Kingdom Art and the Double	214
§ 1.	The Starting Point	214
§ 2.	Attempts of Conveying Individual Features in Murals	218
§ 3.	Conveying Individual Features in Statuary	234
Chapter 12.	The Doubleworld of the Old Kingdom Tomb	261
§ 1.	Spatial Characteristics of the Doubleworld: the Issue Stated	262
§ 2.	Distortions of reality in the Doubleworld	267
§ 3.	Spatial Characteristics of the Doubleworld: Conclusions	275
§ 4.	Egyptian Designation of the Doubleworld	278
§ 5.	Doubleworld and the Earthly World	279
§ 7.	Temporal Characteristics of the Doubleworld	280
Chapter 13.	The Place of the Double in the Egyptian Ontology and Axiology	282
Conclusion		291
Bibliography		298
Abbreviations		332

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Tbl. 1.	Arrangement of representations in the chapels of Giza	64
Tbl. 2.	Arrangement of representations in the chapels of Saqqara	76
Tbl. 3.	Main features of representations of the funeral procession	99
Tbl. 4.	Main features of individualized mural representations of the tomb owner	231
Tbl. 5.	Main features of statues «according to life» and their conventional counterparts ...	253
Fig. 1.	Hypogean chambers under mastaba QS 2302	29
Fig. 2.	Arrangement of representations on the false door	51
Fig. 3.	Mastaba of <i>Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)</i>	136
Fig. 4.	Mastaba of queens <i>Hnw-t</i> and <i>Nb-t</i>	137
Fig. 5.	Mastaba of <i>Hnt(j)-k3(j)/Jhhj</i>	137
Fig. 6.	Rock tomb of <i>Ttj-nh(w)</i> , Sheikh Said, No 25	138
Fig. 7.	Rock tombs of <i>Špss-k3-w(j)</i> and <i>---whm/Whmj</i> , Zawiyet el-Mayitin, Nos 8 and 9	138
Fig. 7.	Mechanism of the origin of the <i>k3</i> category	146
Fig. 8.	Stages of life of a man and his <i>k3</i>	211



[This page is intentionally blank.]





PREFACE

This book is devoted to the *k3*, one of the most significant categories applied by ancient Egyptians to describe the world and man in the world. Although the *k3* problem is of great importance for Egyptology, from the very beginning I did not intend to address my work solely to Egyptologists, but also to the historians of antiquity, archaeologists and anthropologists in general. There are two principle reasons for this. First of all, due to the specificity of the materials Egyptologists deal with, they approach the reconstruction of the *Weltanschauung* under study much nearer than any other historian studying ancient cultures can; thus an Egyptologist can give them a key to analogous reconstructions or, at least, provide them with comparative information of great importance. Assuming this task is a debt to be paid by Egyptology (that is still a highly self-isolated discipline) to other branches of history. I hope that this book could pay off some part of this debt, however little this part might be. Second, it should not be disregarded that the book was primarily aimed at Russian readers. Russia seems to be the last country where the process of specialization in humanitarian disciplines has not verged upon absurdity and where rather special works have a lot of readers among wide circles of intellectuals. When preparing the English edition, I did not want to revise the text radically, since it would have meant affecting the unity of special and more or less popular aspects reached with so much labor. Hence the peculiarities of the book, where many problems are exposed with more details than would be required for experts. I believe it will help any person who has no Egyptological education to read it without consulting specialist literature. I also tried to do my best disclosing the actual procedure of investigation thus enabling any reader to familiarize himself with the method of working with rather specific Egyptian monuments. On the other hand, some problems are discussed in less detail than Egyptologists would have liked (especially in Chapters 1 and 9).

It should be noted that the problem of the *k3* is very complicated and requires analysis of different kinds of monuments in various aspects. Therefore most conclusions made in each separate chapter are not definitive and are complemented and defined more exactly in the subsequent chapters. Thus, the author's attitude becomes clear only upon reading the book entirely, the last pages included.

Spellings of Egyptian proper names used in the book must be considered here as well. Since it is quite impossible to vocalize Old Egyptian and there is no fixed tradition of spelling names of private persons, transliteration seems to be the only reliable method. The names whose meaning is clear or at least can be suggested, are given with their grammatical structure shown and with weak consonants reconstructed in brackets; in the cases when various reconstructions of weak consonants are possible, thus allowing us to interpret the name in question either as a phrase or as a word-combination, preference is given to the first of the two options (e. g., *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)*, «My-Double-Loves-Me», rather than *Mrr-w-k3*,

«Beloved-by-the-Double»). Names of uncertain meaning or those I cannot interpret for sure, as well as abbreviated forms and diminutives are transliterated without bringing out their structures (e.g., *J3zn* – meaning uncertain; *Mrw* – not clear if *Mr·w*, «Beloved», or *Mr(j)·w(j)*, «Loves-Me/a certain god/») should be read; *Ššj*, *Mmj* – diminutives). Names constructed after the pattern  are read *Pth-htp(·w)*, etc. according to much later *Jmn-htp(·w)* confirmed by the Greek transcription Ἀμενωθης; however, the absence of the feminine ending of the Old Perfective compels us to interpret the seemingly analogous name  as *Htp-sš3-t*, not **Sš3-t-htp(·tj)*.

The following symbols are used in transliterations and translations:

- () weak consonants;
- [] reconstructions of passages lost in the original texts;
- / / words absent in the original text, but included in the translation to make it more comprehensive;
- ... passages omitted in text quotations;
- lost passages that cannot be reconstructed.

Abbreviations adopted to designate museum inventory numbers and numbers of tombs are adduced in the list of abbreviations.

When we refer to monuments' reproductions, only the most important publications or those complementing them in some way are usually cited. The following signs are used in quotations:

- + reproductions in different publications complement one another to some extent;
- = different publications offer the same or practically the same reproduction;
- ; reproductions are different, but have no details distinguishing them greatly from one another.

When discussing the datings of the monuments, the following symbols are used:

- ↗ after the date starting from (inclusive);
- ↘ after the date and/or somewhat later;
- ↖ before the date earlier than;
- ↙ after the date later than;
- ≡ approximately synchronous.

For example:

- Dyn. V ↗ Dyn. V and/or later;
- N(j)·wsr-r'(w)* ↘ reign of *N(j)·wsr-r'(w)* or somewhat later;
- ↖ *Pjpj I* before the reign of *Pjpj I*;
- Ttj* ↙ after the reign of *Ttj*;
- ≡ No. 16 approximately synchronous to monument No. 16 in the respective list.

* * *

I began my work on Old Kingdom monuments in ideological terms when I was still a student and then post-graduate under the guidance of Prof. Yu. Ya. Perepelkin. Although I did not study with him for a long time and the work on the book was begun after the death of my teacher, it could never have been written without his great interest in my first steps. I am also sincerely grateful to Prof. O. D. Berlev who generously shared his knowledge with me; many theses of the book were conceived and put to the test in talks with him. The late Prof. E. S. Bogoslovski read the manuscript shortly before his untimely decease and suggested a number of comments and corrections generally related to New Kingdom monuments. A. G. Soushevski kindly allowed me to use some of his felicitous remarks made in the course of our long discussions. A. S. Chetverukhin advised me on Afro-Asiatic linguistics which does not fall within the scope of my interests and competence. Dr. N. K. Kachalova was the best possible consultant on the problems of the Bronze Age of Eurasia.

I would also like to thank my foreign colleagues for their many kindnesses rendered to me. In those cases when their particular opinions are used, respective references are given in the text. More important were, however, other contributions: offering a possibility to work with the museum collections, making available photographs of the monuments and literature absent in Russia, and – last but not least – friendly contacts. I would notably thank H. Goedicke (John Hopkins University, Baltimore), K.-H. Priese, D. Wildung (Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin), J. Settgast, B. Fay (Berlin), Ed. Brovanski, R. Freed, T. Kendall, P. Lacovara, P. Der Manuelian (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), M. Baud (IFAO, Cairo), L. Berman, A. Kozloff (Cleveland Museum of Art), R. Drenkhahn (Kestner-Museum, Hannover), A. Eggebrecht, B. Schmidt (Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim), J.-L. Chappaz (Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva), K. Donker van Heel (Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden), E. Blumental, R. Krauspe (Ägyptisches Museum, Universität Leipzig), G. T. Martin (University College London), A. Grimm, S. Schoske (Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich), the late B. V. Bothmer (Institute of Fine Arts, University of New York), Dorothea Arnold, C. Roehrig (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), R. Fazzini, J. Romano, D. Spanel (Brooklyn Museum, New York), R. Bianchi, E. Russmann (New York), J. Leclant (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris), Ch. Ziegler (Louvre, Paris), D. O'Connor (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), B. Peterson (Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm). Numerous books were granted to the Hermitage Museum and to my private library by F. Rutzen and U. de Reyes (Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz), by Th. Halkeddis (New York) and by G. Ortiz (Geneva). The Cleveland Museum of Arts and the Brooklyn Museum co-sponsored my visit to America, while owing to financial support of R. Homberg (Freising) and of Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation (Lausanne) I had an opportunity to work in several museums and libraries of Germany and France. Hieroglyphic and transliteration font *Glyph for Windows* was placed at my disposal by Prof. D. Van Der Plas (Centre for Computer-Aided Egyptological Research, Utrecht University). I owe a great debt of thanks to R. Anderson (London), D. Woodhams (Woodhams Associates, London), S. Quirke and R. Hobbs (British Museum, London) for reading the manuscript and correcting my English.

Expressing my sincere gratitude to all of them, I also do not forget all those who in different ways contributed with their concern to the completion of this work.

* * *

The Russian version of this book was sent to press in December 1989. At the same time an idea of publishing the English version appeared. I did my best to supplement it with references to works that had appeared or became accessible to me more recently, but only when it was highly imperative and when it did not affect the original text greatly. However, I seek consolation in the fact that in any case it is impossible to provide a complete bibliography, since the subject of the book can involve practically any Egyptian monument.

Publication of the English edition was possible due to the grant provided by Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation and owing to kind encouragement of its President Prof. J. Leclant who displayed a keen interest in this project. It is also a great pleasure to express my deep appreciation to Prof. M. Görg for accepting the book for the series «*Ägypten und Altes Testament*».





INTRODUCTION

1

One of the vital problems that the disciplines concerned with the Ancient Orient – Egyptology in particular – are facing nowadays, is that of formation, evolution and functioning of the earliest *Weltanschauungen*. Since Egyptian and Near Eastern monuments are the earliest ones enabling us to interpret sophisticated ideological notions with any assurance, they prove to be priceless for studying historical and social psychology as well as history of social institutions, etc. However, in spite of certain significant achievements, the general state of things characteristic of this domain is still unsatisfactory. While material culture and socio-economical history of the Ancient Orient are already outlined, ideological phenomena have not been properly interpreted as yet.

This situation reflects a serious problem. Ideology is a field where scholars come across manifestations of consciousness that was created by completely different life conditions and historical experience, thus inevitably being very different from our mentality. Generally, it is in the habit to ignore this fact, tacitly supposing misrepresentations arising from such an approach to be negligible. However, they can be very grave, although often not too evident. Twenty years ago, M. I. Steblin-Kamenski pointed out a typical error occurring in myth studies (and, in fact, in any study treating any aspect of ancient *Weltanschauungen*): «It holds true that whoever is studying myth, he does not believe in it. He cannot therefore help comprehending myth but as fiction. However, in this manner his own consciousness that considers myth a mere fiction, replaces the consciousness regarding the subject of the myth as reality. In other words, whoever is studying myth always deals with no myth, i. e., with no fiction realized as reality..., but merely with something, that once upon a time has been myth, but, as a result of replacing the mythic consciousness by the modern one, turned into something quite different from the myth and, moreover, contrary to it – that is to say, into fiction perceived as fiction» [Steblyn-Kamenski, 1976, 5].

This approach which may be called «hypothesis of identity» of modern and ancient consciousness [Steblyn-Kamenski, 1984, 4–10], prevents us from coming to a complete and comprehensive interpretation of ancient *Weltanschauungen* and leads to poor and in the highest degree distorted schemes. Certainly, these schemes have a right to exist as any other scholarly abstraction does; moreover, they can be useful (we should not disregard the fact that most of the achievements were made just within their frames), but their domain is limited, so that outside this sphere they prove to be ineffective. It is safe to say that just because of constant modernizations the advancements in reconstructions of ancient *Weltanschauungen* still leave much to be desired.

For this reason, another way should be preferred instead, more difficult, but promising radically new opportunities. It is based upon a hypothesis qualified by Steblin-Kamenski [1984, 4–10] as that of «unidentity» of ancient and modern mentality. Running contrary to the tradition that has taken a deep root, this hypothesis annoys advocates of the «identity hypothesis» who arm themselves against it with the Occam's razor, for «unidentity», as compared with «identity», is an extra condition which is to be first introduced and the demand for which should yet be substantiated. We believe that numerous studies of the last two decades concerning primarily the Middle Ages have already proved «unidentity» to be inherent even in that epoch, so that there is no need to bring forward special evidence related to more ancient times. As to the «identity hypothesis», it remains unproven and representing a fine example of how much persistent in the modern historical science are traditions sanctified by the authority of the past, but lacking any other substantiation.

Still, if consciousness of ancient man is radically different from ours, how can we investigate it? Here, in the very beginning of our study, it should be defined precisely what this «unidentity» is. The most radical theory of «unidentity» is put forward by J. Jaynes [1976]. He attempts to prove that the mind of ancient man was functionally split in two, each part functioning independently and neither each nor both being consciousness proper. That «bicameral mind» allegedly prevented him from rational acting and engendered his mentality with the main part played by hallucinations, internal voices and visions created by interaction of the two components. However, ancient man was most rational in his everyday life (how could he otherwise manage to construct pyramids or enormous irrigation systems?), while Jaynes' theory is based foremost on oversimplified interpretation of literary texts.¹ The present writer has no doubt that the man of the epoch under study did not qualitatively differ from the modern one either anatomically or physiologically; therefore extremist theories of «unidentity» appear misleading and dangerous.

If so, the basic psychological processes of both ancient and modern man are similar, whereas what is different are their mentalities arising from this common basis. A very important difference between the ancient and modern mentalities resides in integrity of the emotional and logical spheres: «The world appears to primitive man neither inanimate nor empty, but redundant with life; and life has individuality, in man and beast and plant, and in every phenomenon which confronts man... Any phenomenon may at time confront him, not as 'It', but as 'Thou'. In this confrontation 'Thou' reveals its individuality, its quality, its will. 'Thou' is not contemplated with intellectual detachment; it is experienced as life confronting life, involving every faculty of man in a reciprocal relationship. Thought, no less than acts and feelings, are subordinate to this experience... The whole man confronts living 'Thou' in nature; and the whole man – emotional and imaginative as well as intellectual – gives expression to the experience» [Frankfort et al., 1946, 6 = 1951, 14].

Thus, unidentical proves to be only the logical aspect of consciousness which never existed in its pure state in antiquity, while emotions are a manifestation of psychical

¹ For detailed criticism of the bicameral theory see [Ivanov, 1979; Tobin, 1990].

processes being less than anything else intermediated by historical experience or life conditions. It is in the emotional sphere where we are close to people who lived several thousand years ago, and it is emotions that make it possible to draw nearer to their inward life and to penetrate into it. In the final analysis, this is the only way to understand, at least partly, the basis of ancient *Weltanschauungen*.

2

It is much easier to postulate this approach than to sustain it consistently in research. Ancient monuments reveal to us (to the extent we know the respective languages) only some outward manifestations of the notions fixed by them, whereas the very nature of these concepts remains uncertain, for it does not exist but within a system of categories that are alien to us, and vanishes when we try to convert them into the respective system of ours: we see merely a smile hanging in the air and do not know what the Cheshire cat itself looks like, or if it is a cat at all. Therefore, turning to a lengthy, cautious and thorough study of the most important categories of ancient *Weltanschauungen* is the only way out; otherwise we take the risk of being an ignoramus in a society of experts discussing specific problems of theirs in a foreign language – some words seem to be clear, but the whole meaning of the conversation fails to be captured.

When studying categories of the past, we face a serious problem consisting in the fact that cultures of the Ancient Orient do not even try to explain themselves. Under conditions of a more or less pronounced isolation characteristic of these cultures (that of Egypt in particular), the monuments created were supposed to serve only the bearers of these cultures having a definite cultural thesaurus that is quite different from ours and that was being acquired to a considerable degree through the non-written tradition. Therefore monuments do not expose in detail the notions we are interested in, often confining to allusions to some ideas which were quite clear to everybody then, but not to ourselves now. Christianity, like other derivative religions, had a need in proving its effectiveness and superiority over the rest of religions among which it had originated and with which it was confronted, thus having produced vast theological literature devoted to commenting and systemizing its dogmas.² The oldest religions never made it their aim; they never had to formulate dogmatically their *credo*, and this circumstance nonplusses those scholars who try to describe them by involving, purposely or unintentionally, categories of Christianity. A very typical example of such an approach is the compromised long ago but still strong desire for treating numerous ancient categories describing human nature as different «souls». All kinds of modernization generally ap-

² Of course, changes in the level of consciousness, which manifest themselves in appearance of scientific and philosophical knowledge tending to systematization, did play an important role by giving rise to theology, treating religious problems with the scientific approach proper of that time, that had been impossible in the earlier epochs. When copying ancient texts, Egyptians explained at times some passages that had become incomprehensible (in the Book of the Dead); still their explanations were not religious commentaries but brief notes reflecting the attitude of people who already did not always realize their ancient legacy.

pear as one of the most serious reasons preventing us from making progress in understanding the early consciousness.

Mediaevalists who were the first to begin studying the history of categories and still are setting the fashion in this domain, are much luckier, for they deal with manifestations of the cultures that are incomparably closer to ours than those of the Ancient Orient. Accordingly, there are many brilliant works on mediaeval psychology that can and must be models of a methodological approach to such investigations (e. g. [Gurevich, 1972; Steblin-Kamenski, 1971; 1976; 1984]). We cannot boast of any similar achievements concerning materials of chronologically and typologically earlier cultures and the progress made here is appreciably less significant (e. g. [Klochkov, 1983]). Nevertheless, if we want to understand ancient cultures in a proper way, we have no alternative but a long and painful study of categories.

3

The state of affairs concerning investigation of Egyptian *Weltanschauung* is still the same as in other disciplines studying the Ancient Orient. Notwithstanding that studies of religion and *Weltanschauung* are one of the most important integral parts of Egyptology and that the number of such works is enormous, these are usually very traditional, their general features having been shaped as long ago as the nineteenth century. These investigations are usually aimed at revealing mythological subjects and their reminiscences, at analyzing theological conceptions, at reconstructing and interpreting ritual actions, at establishing chronological and local peculiarities of the cult as well as at revealing their mutual influences, and so on. All these problems are no doubt of great importance, and no progress could be possible unless they are resolved.

Thanks to excellent textological techniques, vast erudition and great experience gained by these research schools, significant results are often attained; however, quite evident limitations of this approach are coming in time to be a serious hindrance. Traditional methods are but poorly oriented toward revealing the ontological basis of the notions under study which usually remains disregarded. In the final analysis, this tradition goes back to the luminaries of the nineteenth century who were convinced that Egyptian culture had no qualitatively specific features and that even if it could not be interpreted proceeding from our modern common sense, it certainly could be apprehended at best from the point of view of a Greek or Roman philosopher. Of course, most of our contemporaries would indignantly reject such a reproach, but a certain continuity, although subconscious, is evident, for methodological roots of the present lack of interest in Egyptian ontology are the same as those of the hundred-year-old opinion that it had no specificity. If formerly this might have been justified by insufficient level of awareness with ancient sources and by poor state of development of general problems concerning Egyptian *Weltanschauung*, such arguments do not work anymore.

Thus, the problem of the categories is of greatest importance for modern Egyptology, but it is far from a solution as yet. Very typical are, for instance, the books devoted to categories *b3*, *šw·t/h3jb·t* and *3h* [Žabkar, 1968; George, 1970; Englund, 1978], but not bearing upon ontological problems that should lie in the very centre of such stud-

ies.³ Meanwhile, when studying *Weltanschauung*, Egyptologists hold a much better position than scholars dealing with any other ancient culture and can make conclusions whose importance lies far outside the scope of Egyptology itself. This can be explained by the two following reasons.

First, due to the peculiarity of its earliest development, Egyptian spiritual culture preserved its pristine substratum longer than other cultures did – than, for instance, that of Mesopotamia. Therefore, Egyptologists can research into the most archaic layers of notions that are most important for comprehending the subsequent processes, whereas elsewhere these layers are concealed under later strata. Accordingly, we are able to study *Weltanschauung* not as an already shaped system, but in its dynamics.

Second, the Egyptians, unlike other ancient peoples, left innumerable monuments reflecting very different aspects of their *Weltanschauung* and covering all periods of their history, the earliest ones included. Among these are the Pyramid Texts, the oldest great written monument of ideological nature in history. All this enables us to distinguish different chronological layers of notions and to interpret them adequately at all their stages.

Thus, Egyptian monuments give us a rare opportunity to trace in detail and step by step the evolution of *Weltanschauung* during three millennia, from the earliest stage to the end of the Pharaonic history,⁴ the great interest the Egyptians took in these problems and their concern for creating monuments to embody abstract ideas allowing us to make reconstructions whose reliability is inconceivable in studies of any other ancient culture.

4

It holds true for any *Weltanschauung* and ideology that they are focused on the notions concerning human personality and man's place in the world, closely connected with those treating the basic nature of the universe and determining them to a great extent. As we confront for the first time the Egyptian categories describing man (as well as king and god), we cannot help noting their essential difference from everything that fall within European culture. The sense attributed by the Egyptians to such basic terms concerning human nature as *k3* and *b3*, still remains unrevealed, while the terms *rn*, *jb*, *šw-t/h3jb-t* partly correspond to «name», «heart» and «shadow», yet these refer only to outward manifestations of the above categories without concerning their very nature. The *k3* category is the most important among them, especially in the Old Kingdom, when it was determining the essence of Egyptian culture. Therefore it is of tremendous importance to study that category, and the present book is dedicated to this very aim.

³ An exemplary analysis of the *d-t* category describing property and of the categories used in the so-called Amarna «solar names» was made by Yu. Ya. Perepelkin [1966=1986; 1979, 258–294]. It must be a model for studies in Egyptian *Weltanschauung*, but it is very difficult to find works carried out at a similarly high level.

⁴ Strictly speaking, this time boundary is also conventional, its definition being excused to a great measure by modern scientific specialization. Now, if we take into account the influence that Pharaonic culture exerted upon the early Christianity and Gnosticism, the line of continuity can be traced out much further than it used to be in Egyptology.

The study of the *k3*, as well as of other similar categories, is rather specific. Due to the fact that during the whole history of Egypt ideas of posthumous existence took the central place in *Weltanschauung*,⁵ the categories describing the nature of the man were fixed mainly by funeral monuments.⁶ Therefore, in order to understand Egyptian notions concerning the man and the world, the ideas on death and afterlife should be studied. Let us define the scope of sources that are most comprehensive and useful for such a study of the *k3*.

Since revealing the origins of one or another notion is of special importance, preference should be given to the earliest materials. However, the Predynastic period provides us only with archaeological monuments, so any interpretation of these is insecure. Monuments of the Early Dynasties are more explicit although they also present a lot of difficulties related primarily to specificity of the most ancient hieroglyphic script fraught with numerous riddles. For this reason, we have to proceed from somewhat later, but still archaic enough Old Kingdom materials. This option is the most promising since Old Kingdom monuments do fix rather ancient notions and, on the other hand, are free of reinterpretations and fantasies characteristic of the later epochs. It is exactly the *Weltanschauung* of the Old Kingdom that is obviously the most harmonious in the whole history of Egypt.⁷ Furthermore, Old Kingdom monuments are very numerous and quite sufficient to solve our problem; at the same time, they can be well surveyed and are easy for systematization. In conclusion, they form an independent group that can be interpreted without involving contradictory materials of the later epochs.

The legacy of various periods of the Old Kingdom is far from having equal worth; whereas monuments are rather scarce in Dyn. III, VII and VIII, those of Dyn. IV, V and VI can be qualified as abundant. The ideological content of the monuments was not invariable as well – the *Weltanschauung* had been evolving continuously, so that by late Dyn. VI it was different from that of early Dyn. IV. Nevertheless, this development had an evolutionary character and it never experienced such radical breaks as that of the First Intermediate Period. Therefore, Old Kingdom *Weltanschauung* may be considered a whole massif, where stability of the ontological basis prevails over mutability. Of course, changes should be discussed as well afterwards. Thus, Old Kingdom materials, especially those of Dyn. IV–VI, are the most valuable for us; however, when our sources are insufficient while the monuments of the later periods enable us to trace the original traditions, some recourse to the subsequent epochs will be required.

Next, the group of monuments most suitable for our work should be defined. Options are unlimited here, but all scholars have so far proceeded in their *k3* studies mainly from the most important and informative royal monuments. As applied to the Old Kingdom, these are the Pyramid Texts which can answer practically any question concerning ideology and *Weltanschauung* of the epoch preceding the First Intermediate

⁵ Of more importance was only the group of notions related to the king and to his role in the universe.

⁶ As a result there is a trend to regard the above categories mostly or even exclusively as describing no man in general, including the dead one, but merely the deceased, thereby causing grave errors. This problem is examined in detail below (Chapter 10, § 2).

⁷ Of course, it is not harmony as we see it today, with only one explanation of any phenomenon.

Period. However, such an abundance of information encoded has its problematic side, because of the manifold possibilities of interpretation. The language and composition of the Pyramid Texts, as well as chronological order of their utterances and even their purpose remain enigmatic to a great degree, while all these aspects are so important that, without studying them properly and well, any usage of the Pyramid Texts as the main source might be compared with attempts to solve problems of higher mathematics without having learned arithmetic beforehand.

Moreover, any analysis of the Pyramid Texts proves to be even more difficult due to our complete unawareness of the relation between the categories used and ancient Egyptian reality, for the above categories are applied as some entity given beforehand. Pyramid Texts are a thing in themselves, a whole world existing according to the laws of their own, and if we begin our studies without elucidating these, we shall be obliged to confine ourselves within an alien world, with no access to reality where the ancient Egyptians lived and where we can hold on to something known to us in order to use it as a starting-point. In other words, we should in some way link the ideological categories to some practical activities of the Egyptians. Since anyway we have to deal with monuments of funeral or commemorative nature, this practice does bear a ritualistic character. In her time M. E. Matthieu [1947-1; 1958-2] who had always emphasized the relation of the Pyramid Texts to rites, had shown a possible way for making such a study, but for many years her idea failed to gain further development. In the last decades the way paved by Matthieu was used by many scholars knowing nothing about her priority (see, for instance, the latest work on the subject [Allen, 1994]), but the decisive successes are still far off. It is obvious, therefore, that the analysis of the Pyramid Texts should be declined at this stage, and the monuments having a more evident relation to the cult practice must be taken into account, i. e., arithmetic should be studied prior to turning to higher mathematics.

There is a great deal of such monuments; these are the tombs of dignitaries both surrounding royal pyramids and forming a number of necropoleis in the provinces. Coherent texts are scarce in them, mostly coming to offering formulae and (auto)biographical inscriptions. But, on the other hand, walls of their cult chambers are entirely covered with murals (mainly carved in low relief) depicting everyday life of the country insofar as it was supposed to be projected onto eternity. These murals are an important source for studying economic, social and everyday aspects of life in the Old Kingdom, but, unfortunately, they have not yet become an independent source on *Weltanschauung*, being involved in investigations relative to this field merely as subsidiary material. Nonetheless, since contents of the tomb murals are exclusively realistic, their meaning and purpose can be revealed in a quite clear way, the more so, as the ideas on the next world of the nobility were much simpler than those concerning the king. Therefore, the *k3* category appears here in a clearer context.

Old Kingdom tombs are suitable for such treatment, for each of them contains vast information and scholars can dispose of it directly, without collecting it as odd fragments (that is in contrast to Middle Kingdom monuments). Of greatest importance are the necropoleis of the capital region, mainly Saqqara and Giza, where most of the Old

Andrey O. Bolshakov

Man and his Double

in Egyptian Ideology
of the Old Kingdom

1997

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG · WIESBADEN
in Kommission



PART I

OLD KINGDOM TOMB AS A SYSTEM

Construction of a tomb was the main task undertaken by every Egyptian of some wealth during his life. As a result, enormous necropoleis were being erected during millennia all along the Nile valley, thus making Egypt a country having the highest concentration in the world of ancient monuments per area unit. We still wonder why it was exactly in Egypt where the notions concerning the next world were so hypertrophically developed,¹ but, anyway, they produced the decisive effect on the whole of the Egyptian culture.

In compliance with the principles of investigation postulated in the Introduction we are turning now to examining tombs of Old Kingdom officials located in the capital region near the present-day city of Cairo. The first part of the book will be devoted to an analysis of their structure and decoration as a complex and rationally organised system. Only upon the system analysis of the tombs will it be possible to proceed to the notions embodied in these material remains of ancient culture.

¹ The most convincing explanation was brought forward by I. M. Diakonoff [1977, 49–50; 1994, 37]. In contrast to the rest of the world where the heaven was treated as a male deity and the earth as a female one, in Egypt the former was regarded as goddess *Nwt*, whereas the latter was considered god *Gbb*. In this phenomenon the specific natural conditions of Egypt are involved: while the earth fertility is usually a result of rainfall, that was interpreted as the heaven fertilizing the earth, in the Nile valley rains play but a very insignificant role, so that the source of fertility was supposed to reside in the earth itself. Since it is into the earth where the dead come down, the crops it yields depend entirely upon them – hence the cult of the dead. This hypothesis may be a good starting-point for investigating the most ancient layers of Egyptian *Weltanschauung* that have not been properly studied yet.



CHAPTER I

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE TOMB EVOLUTION DOWN TO THE MIDDLE FOURTH DYNASTY

Before starting our analysis, it is necessary to trace the evolution of the Egyptian tomb in the earlier periods, for otherwise many features characteristic of Old Kingdom burial edifices would remain incomprehensible. Of course, materials related to the period from Dyn. I to early Dyn. IV require a special investigation and by no means could be scrutinized within the confines of this book. However, thanks to the availability of a monumental work by G. A. Reisner [1936-1] devoted to early tombs we are not confined to just a brief review. Although Reisner's book is sixty years old now, it is still of utter significance as an important guide which no scholar dealing with the first three dynasties can ignore.

Reisner thoroughly systemized all data available for him,¹ but he did it following a formal approach, without even trying to relate changes in typology to evolution of *Weltanschauung*. It was a reasonable way for his purpose and time, but it is not sufficient anymore, and then we have to outline some points to help us in our further work. Moreover, Chapter 1 is supposed to acquaint non-Egyptologists who might resort to this book, with the structure and main features of the monuments treated below.

§ 1. Components of Old Kingdom Tomb

As any other funeral structure, the Egyptian tomb has two principal functions: it is a burial place for the dead body and, at the same time, a place where priestly services are carried out and sacrifices are made.² In accordance with this functional dualism, the tomb is divided into two basic parts, i. e., the burial chamber usually hewn deep in rock (substructure), and ground cult chambers represented in the simplest case by one room, hereinafter referred to as a chapel³ (superstructure).

The burial chamber where the mummy and funeral goods were being kept was to be protected against robbers, its shaft and entrance tightly closed, so that penetration

¹ Since then, materials have considerably grown in number, but radically new ones come mainly from excavations of W. Emery at Northern Saqqara [Emery, 1949; 1954; 1958] and of Z. Y. Saad at Ezbet el-Walda by Helwan [Saad, 1947; 1951; 1957; 1969].

² In degenerated form it manifests itself nowadays at our cemeteries in food left at the grave at religious holidays (a relic of offerings) and in the relatives' eating food at the grave (relic of a funeral repast).

³ Cf. *Opferkammer*, *Kultkammer*, *chapelle*, *часовня*, *каплица*, etc.

into it was possible only by violence requiring huge effort. Attitude toward cult chambers was quite the opposite, for they were opened to the priests officiating there everyday and festive services. As far as we can judge by the appeals appearing in the late Old Kingdom and calling passers-by to offer or to read out an offering-formula, everybody was allowed to enter cult chambers, no matter who these visitors might be – relatives of the buried person or strangers. Cult chambers were protected by morals; however, in order to prevent them from penetration by undesirable visitors, bolted doors were used and, probably, doorkeepers might have been engaged.⁴

This dualism is manifested with utter clearness in the main type of Old Kingdom tomb, the so-called mastaba, which is a rectangular in plan brick or stone superstructure with slightly inclined facades, over a subterranean burial chamber. We use the word «mastaba» in two different senses: the narrowest one to denote the ground structure (it was just this tumulus that was called so by the Arabs) and the broadest one to designate the entire tomb with such superstructure. Primarily, during Dyn. I and II, chapels either did not exist yet or were very small and primitive; as to the greater part of the superstructure, it housed magazines representing compartments which, upon being filled up with food stuffs and burial goods, were to be closed without any entrance left. Under Dyn. III they gradually disappeared, while the cult chambers began to make rapid progress.

The chapel – a room with one or several false doors arranged in the west wall – was the most important of these chambers. Being the main place of the tomb cult, the false door was a more or less volumetric counterfeit of a door made of stone blocks or carved in one slab. In front of the false door an offering-stone was placed, on which food was laid and in which libations were poured during priestly services.

Apart from the chapel, in the developed Old Kingdom the superstructure could have a series of other chambers, the record number of which amounts to thirty-two (in the early Dyn. VI mastaba of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*). These are storerooms, broad pillared halls, serdabs, corridors to connect them with one another, and so on. Storerooms of the classical Old Kingdom were intended for keeping equipment and victuals priests made use of for officiating their services; thus, they were functionally quite different from the earlier magazines filled with items supposed to be used by the deceased himself, mainly food. The purpose of pillared halls that are the largest tomb chambers, has not been explained for certain yet; relatives of the deceased could assemble there for festive ritual meals. Serdab is an utmost specific chamber, the only one out of reach for visitors in the superstructure. It was intended to protect statue(s) of the deceased and, according to its protective function, would be walled up; it was connected (although not always) with the next chamber only by a narrow aperture in front of the eyes of the statue(s). Due to this peculiarity, serdab may be qualified as the third integral part of the tomb. There was usually one serdab in a tomb, but sometimes it comprised several (the unique tomb of *R'(w)-wr(w)* at Giza has twenty-five serdabs [Hassan, 1932, General plan]).

⁴ Chamber A 2 in the mastaba of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* [Duell, 1938, plan facing pl. 1] may be regarded as a room of a doorkeeper.

As for the burial chamber, it would be disposed as deep as possible for safety reasons. In wealthy mastabas of the Old Kingdom, it often appears deepened up to 10 m, although it is not the maximum deepness yet recorded (the burial vault of queen *Htp-hr-s I* is 27 m deep [Reisner, Smith, 1955, 14]). Access to the burial chamber was gained in the early mastabas by means of stairs; later vertical shafts and much less frequently sloping passages appeared. Upon burial, the stairs, shaft or passage would be closed with masonry or blocked with crushed stone and sand. The mouth of the shaft opened generally to the mastaba roof or, sometimes, to the chapel, while the sloping passage began in one of the cult chambers or in front of the mastaba facade. Most commonly, each mastaba had one or two burial chambers (for the owner and his wife), and it is not till the late Old Kingdom that family mastabas came into existence; they are literally dotted with shafts whose number may amount to more than half a score.

Mastabas are predominant in the capital region, although some of them are also encountered in Upper Egypt. Yet in the South, where the valley is bounded by steep cliffs, there was usually no place for mastabas, and rock tombs prevail there. Giza has a certain number of such tombs; some of them are hewn at Saqqara as well. From the functional point of view, rock tombs are also divided into two parts. Their cult chambers are not numerous because of technical difficulties of hewing, their number not exceeding one or two, rarely three. Burial chambers are generally similar to those lying under the mastabas, whereas shafts or sloping passages open into one of the cult chambers.

§ 2. Origins of the Mastaba Tomb and its Orientation

When constructing tombs, the Egyptians followed a number of rules, those of orientation being among the most important ones. They define to a great extent the evolution of tomb pictorial decorations and have very deep historical roots that should be revealed here; otherwise we shall not understand properly many features of that evolution. Predynastic mound reinforced with stones is probably a prototype of the mastaba [Reisner, 1936-1, 1-5]. Elongated in form, this mound superposed a rectangular or oval grave and thus reproduced orientation of the buried body. Predynastic funeral customs had local variants, so the dead lying in a flexed position might be turned head southwards or northwards and face westwards or eastwards [Kees, 1956-2, 21-23], but in any case orientation along the north-south axis (with more or less evident deviations) was universal all over Egypt. The earliest tomb superstructures survived at Tarkhan and Naga ed-Der exactly reproduce orientation of the body [Reisner, 1936-1, 11]. The problem is in the meaning of that orientation.

It can be solved convincingly. Comparison of orientation of both predynastic burials and dynastic mastabas located in different regions of the country proves that deviations from the north-south axis are rather variable. In the Memphite region deviations usually do not exceed more than a few degrees (Giza is especially precise in this respect), whereas in some cemeteries of Upper Egypt it may attain 45°. This is but natural: due to specific geographical conditions in Egypt, its inhabitants often managed without astronomical orientation. In a country limited by the narrow valley of the Nile

following practically the same meridional direction with small number of bends, the river inevitably came to be the basis of space apprehension. It was exactly the Nile that the early burials and tombs were oriented along; this is most evident in the necropoleis where deviations from the true north are considerable. For example, royal tombs at Abydos and early dynastic mastabas at Naga ed-Der are oriented along the north-west – south-east axis [Reisner, 1936-1, pl. 2; 1908, pl. 76–79; Mace, 1909, pl. 58], and it is in this very region that the Nile flows approximately to the north-west, so that the tomb axes coincide with this direction to a high accuracy.

It is well-known that even modern Egyptian fellaheen define cardinal points in accordance with the direction of the Nile, a fact doubtless far more applicable to their ancient ancestors. This fact is well reflected in the verbs *hntj* and *hdj*, initially meaning «to sail upstream» and «to fare downstream», but in fact used to denote any motion respectively south- or northwards [Wb. III, 309, 354]. Thus, we can be sure that all the tombs oriented along the Nile were regarded by the Egyptians as having the north – south orientation, and they should be considered in accordance with that ancient understanding, leaving deviations from the true North out of account. In the Memphite region where the Nile flows in the meridional direction, the «Nile North» almost coincides with the true North, and this could be the reason why it was just this region where the astronomical orientation was first applied. Most probably it became important in the early Old Kingdom owing to construction of pyramids.

We can hardly say whether the special significance of the north – south axis was initially purely a consequence of the country's extension in this direction, or if it had as early as the Predynastic Period a more sophisticated interpretation. Anyway, Pyramid Texts do mention that the dead king abides among non-setting (=immortal) circumpolar stars (Pyr. 939–940) and architecture of dynastic tombs is no doubt influenced by this idea. When in Dyn. I stairs leading to burial chambers appeared (primarily only in the royal tombs and then in those of private persons as well), these were oriented northwards, thus enabling the deceased to go forth directly toward the immortal stars. This custom took the deepest root in the Memphite region, perhaps because the conventional «Nile North» and the astronomical one had coincided there; in the provinces the rule was kept less strictly.

Side by side with this, tomb orientation had another trend that manifested itself rather early and was related to the east – west axis. The buried person, lying on one of his sides, in compliance with local traditions could be faced either eastwards or westwards. Usually we cannot catch the meaning of these traditions, but in a number of necropoleis the deceased looks toward the side the living ones would come from to bring offerings [Reisner, 1936-1, 12]. Since nearly all of the most important necropoleis of the Early Dynastic Period, especially those of the capital region, are located on the west bank, eastward orientation of the deceased's face became traditional.⁵ By that time astral notions started losing their original significance, while the solar ones, attaching ut-

⁵ The right bank necropolis at Ezbet el-Walda that had a great importance for the capital, is an exception to this statement. Unfortunately, the relevant materials having not been properly published yet, they still cannot be used for practical purposes.

most importance to the east – west axis, began to prevail. As a result, eastward orientation was reinterpreted as securing a possibility to see sunrise. The place of flexed lateral position was taken in Old Kingdom tombs by extended supine position, but the Egyptians did not give up the idea of the deceased looking eastwards. It remained latent for some time, but in Dyn. VI it manifested itself quite clearly – eyes began to be represented on the eastern side of coffins.⁶ When sepulchres with stairs disappear by the end of Dyn. III, a new tradition initiated in orientation of the entrance to the burial chamber, for now it was practically always arranged in the east wall.

Opposition of the East, the land of life, to the West, the world of death where the Sun dies, is absolutely natural for solar notions. In Egypt this idea acquires a special importance, the West (*Jmn-t*) becoming a general term for the abode of the dead. It is probable that, besides the semantic relation between the West and death, the very cultic practice also exerted its influence here, for most of the necropoleis being located on the left bank, the motion toward them meant moving westwards, thereby supporting the idea of the West as the other world.

East – west opposition plays therefore a very important role in the arrangement of the superstructure. People bringing offerings move toward it from the east; the final aim of their movement – the false door – is disposed in the most distant chamber, being the extreme western point which people could reach in the tomb. On the contrary, the tomb owner is supposed to go forth to receive offerings exactly from the false door in the opposite direction, i. e., he moves eastwards. So the system of interior ground rooms proves to be extended between the extreme western and the extreme eastern points, that is, between the false door (the owner's exit) and the street door of the tomb (the entrance for the living ones). This opposition greatly affected pictorial decorations of the ground chambers.

Thus, there is a historically motivated duality of tomb orientation throughout the Old Kingdom: on the one hand, the old north – south axis persists in orientation of the superstructure and of the corpse, while, on the other hand, the new east – west axis appears to define the arrangement of the ground rooms along with the burial chamber.

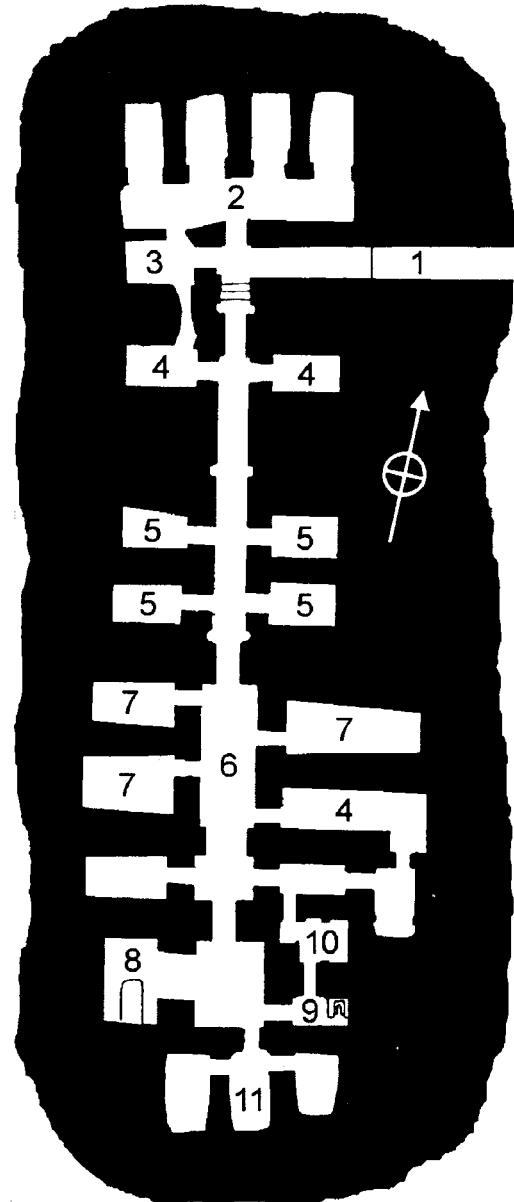
§ 3. Tomb as a House of the Deceased

The Early Dynasties inherited from the Predynastic Period an ancient idea of the deceased living in the grave in his corporal form. It suggests that he should be provided with purely material food offerings, drinks, garments, tools, etc. Hence interpretation of the tomb as his home, which we constantly come across in our research into archaic monuments [Scharff, 1947]. Among its manifestations are early dynastic «palace facade» decoration of mastabas and the even more ancient custom placing a house model in the grave [Kees, 1956-2, 21]. However, most evidently this notion is reflected in several mastabas of Dyn. II and III.

⁶ True, these are not human, but *w3d-tj* eyes; nevertheless, their location just opposite the face of the deceased proves that they were used for ensuring vision, and not as a sacred emblem.

Instead of a traditional burial chamber, large systems of subterranean rooms are hewn under these mastabas, the most extensive one (QS 2302) consisting of twenty-three chambers of total area amounting to 123 m² (fig. 1). Unfortunately, J. E. Quibell, who had discovered the greater part of these tombs at Saqqara, published plans of only eight such systems (QS 2405 [Quibell, 1913, pl. 1], QS 2121, 2302, 2307, 2337, 2406, 2407-F, 2429 [Quibell, 1923, pl. 30]), while others (QS 2309, 2313, 2315, 2452) still remain out of reach for scholars [Quibell, 1923, 31, 32, 33, 41–42; Reisner, 1936-1, 143, 160]. Later C. M. Firth found several more tombs of a similar type at Saqqara (FS 3030, 3031, 3042, 3043 [Reisner, 1936-1, 145, 160]) and Z. Y. Saad – at Ezbet el-Walda [Saad, 1951, pl. 1], but only two of them were published (FS 3042 [Reisner, 1936-1, fig. 67]; 505 H.4 [Saad, 1951, pl. 11]). For this reason, only some of Quibell's material may be used with confidence.

As noted by Quibell [1923, 12], these substructures imitate the plan of Egyptian houses known from excavations at Amarna. Particularly, he distinguished servants' rooms (QS 2302), storerooms (QS 2171, 2302), unmarried men's quarters (QS 2171, 2302, 2307, 2337, 2406, 2407F, 2429); the burial chamber was quite naturally identified as the master's bedroom. The latter, in one case (QS 2407F) having a balcony (?),⁷ is connected with women's quarters of the house (QS 2171, 2302, 2307, 2337, 2407F), bathroom (QS 2302, 2307, 2337, 2406, 2429) and lavatory (QS 2302, 2307, 2337). There are also chambers probably imitat-



1. Entrance passage.
2. Stalls.
3. Doorkeeper's room.
4. Storerooms.
5. Servants' rooms.
6. Central room.
7. Unmarried men's quarters.
8. Burial chamber = master's bedroom.
9. Lavatory
10. Bathroom

Fig. 1
Hypogean chambers under mastaba
QS 2302 (after Quibell [1923, pl. 30])

⁷ Imitated by a passage round the chamber.

ing stalls for cattle (QS 2171, 2302, 2337, 2429).

Some identifications and details may be wrong,⁸ but there is no doubt that in general dwellings were imitated by these substructures with a great measure of accuracy. Thus, the deceased had spacious apartments in no way inferior to those in his earthly house. This is a fine example of both the hopes cherished by the Egyptians with respect to their future life and the way they secured it.

In Dyn. III similar mastabas appeared at Giza (Petrie's mastaba T) [Petrie, 1907, pl. 7] and in the provinces [Garstang, 1904, pl. 7, 18, 25], but they never became widespread, perhaps because of the difficulties of hewing numerous underground chambers. Moreover, a new epoch was approaching with much more refined and abstract ideological ideas beginning to play the decisive part, representations coming to be the main element of the tomb decoration. This turning point is marked by the mastaba of *Hzzj-r(w)* (QS 2405) still keeping a system of underground chambers, but for the first time having the walls of its chapel entirely covered with paintings.

§ 4. Appearance and Initial Stage of Development of Tomb Murals

The classical system of tomb representations took its definite shape only by middle Dyn. IV, but some components of pictorial decoration go back to the Early Dynastic Period and even to predynastic times.

The most ancient tomb with murals was found in 1898–1899 by F. Green at Kom el-Aḥmar (Hierakonpolis) [Quibell, 1902-1, pl. 67]. The fate of this unique monument is sad, though unfortunately very common. Only a few years before excavation the tomb was robbed and remains disappeared, as well as most of the burial goods. Misadventures did not finish with that, for, being deprived of museum documentation, the objects found were lost among other predynastic materials. As a result, this complex of key importance for the early history of Egypt had no firm dating for a long time [Case, Payne, 1962, 5]. Only modern museum and archive studies made it possible to reconstruct the set of objects discovered in the tomb and to identify it with that characteristic of the burials from the middle Naqada II period [Case, Payne, 1962; Payne, 1973; Kemp, 1973; Brooklyn, 1984, 27]. It is likely that this tomb pertained to one of the predynastic Hierakonpolitan rulers of Upper Egypt.

The superstructure of the tomb has vanished in full, so that it is impossible to reconstruct its original appearance now. Only the subterranean part has survived, being a rectangular chamber with plastered walls. Two of them were painted, thus distinguishing this monument from a vast group of similar edifices.

Hierakonpolitan murals depicting certain military scenes and cult activities [Saleh J. M., 1987] are very close in their contents and style to synchronous paintings on pottery; on the other hand, some motifs are those directly surviving into dynastic times [Case,

⁸ For instance, Quibell's suggestion that bathrooms could have had curtains, would rather reflect his own ideas of comfort than a real archaeological fact.

Payne, 1962, 11–15]. It should be emphasized that representations are placed in the burial chamber, next to the body, as opposed to the later custom.

Our awareness of pictorial decoration in predynastic tombs amounts to nothing more than the Hierakonpolitan murals. In Dyn. I stelae first appeared at Abydos. Some of these rectangular or round-topped slabs bear the owner's name only, others comprise also his representation as a determinative to the name, its size not differing much from the rest of the hieroglyphs. As a rule, the owner is shown sitting, sometimes standing [Petrie, 1900-1, pl. 31–36; 1901-1, pl. 26–30; 1901-2, pl. 29-*ab*, 30-*a*; 1902, pl. 13; 1904, pl. 1-15]. It should be noted that representation primarily appears in close relation to the name of the person to be immortalized, this circumstance being of much importance for our subsequent study.

The Abydos stelae are no doubt an element of decoration of the superstructure, but their exact original position remains uncertain. A disagreement flared up apropos of their arrangement, but it did not clear up the matter – the available materials were too contradictory. The state of things has not changed radically for the better since then. The dispute arose because by the time of Petrie's work at Abydos, the necropolis had already been badly damaged by time, robbers and amateur archaeologists, whereas his excavations and publications left much to be desired. Therefore very little is known about the superstructures of Abydos tombs, all reconstructions being unreliable. Petrie himself believed that the stelae were free standing [Petrie, 1900-1, 6:6; 23:20, 27:25, 1901-1, 33:30]. The excavator's assumption would have been decisive if we had known the way he had substantiated it; unfortunately, Petrie did not comment on it at all. A. Scharff [1932, 356–357] also suggested that the stelae were not set in the mastaba facades, but stood near them. G. A. Reisner [1932-2, 330–331] voiced a similar suggestion proceeding from two stelae found *in situ* near Old Kingdom mastaba of *Špss-k3-f-ḥh(-w)* at Giza. H. Junker [1929, 25–27; 1934, 12–14] was of another opinion: he tried to prove (and convincingly) that the stelae had been walled into the mastabas. Several stelae found *in situ* incorporated into facades of mastabas at Naga ed-Deir [Reisner, 1932-1, pl. 45] seem to be very serious evidence in favor of this statement. Later, when the principal polemics had already subsided, material from excavations of P. Montet at Abu-Roash carried out in 1913 were published. Among them were three stelae (two with representations and one bearing only a name) and two more fragments [Montet, 1946, fig. on pp. 180, 182, pl. 6]. The very fact they were found in a necropolis of the capital region is of tremendous importance, for it confirms that the tradition of setting up such monuments was not a characteristic only of Upper Egypt. However, since no description of the circumstances of discovery is published, information is considerably depreciated.

Thus, the location of archaic stelae cannot be established with absolute precision. It is probable, however, that they were never arranged in a universal manner. Rectangular stelae could be set in the facade of the mastaba, while those with rounded tops might be free standing. In any case, the stelae were no doubt marking the offering place [Junker, 1934, 14–15], that is, the east facade or somewhere in the vicinity.

In spite of the importance of the Abydos stelae that gave rise to pictorial decoration of the tomb, the further evolution was unlikely to be initiated by them. The point is that the essentially important table scene characteristic of all funeral and commemorative

monuments of the later epoch was never placed on the earliest stelae and for the first time it emerged in another place.

It seems to be the time of Dyn. II [Quibell, 1923, 10; Junker, 1934, 4–6] when rectangular slabs bearing representation of the owner sitting at a single-legged table appeared at Saqqara. This scene was not invented in Lower Egypt, for it appeared on cylinder seals from Abydos dating back to the time not later than middle Dyn. I [Kaplony, 1963, 353], but on funeral monuments it was first transferred at Saqqara.⁹

Influence allegedly exerted by the Upper Egyptian seals on the Saqqara «slab-stelae» may (and should) be discussed [Scharff, 1932, 356–357], but this problem is too vague and can hardly be solved bearing in mind the actual state of our sources (cf. [Junker, 1934, 17]). In any case, A. Scharff [1932, 356–357] was quite right in asserting that despite all this, the Saqqara and Abydos monuments were initially two independent groups.

Saqqara slab-stelae were discovered by Quibell in mastabas with two niches in the east facade being the prototype of the false door. The only slab found *in situ* had been set in the upper part of the southern niche of QS 2331 [Quibell, 1923, 10, pl. 28-2], while another was unearthed near the southern niche of QS 2346 [Quibell, 1923, pl. 28-1]. Proceeding from this, Junker [1934, 9] came to a convincing conclusion assuming all Saqqara slabs to have been originally accommodated in the southern niches. This may seem to be still more plausible if we take into account that in the tombs of the developed Old Kingdom, preference was also given to southern false doors.

Along with this, there was another tradition of niche decoration with the striding owner depicted on its back wall. It holds true, however, that all the earliest samples are not older than Dyn. III. Especially well known and artistically perfect are carved wooden panels set into the niches in the chapel of *Hꜣꜣꜣ-r(w)* [Quibell, 1913, pl. 29–32; Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 25–27; bibliography: *PM* III², 438–439]. The panel of *Šꜣꜣꜣ-n(j)-sw-t* dates back to about the same time [Garstang, 1904, pl. 21; Weill, 1908, fig. on p. 213] as well as a part of the niche of *Z3(.j)-mrꜣꜣ* [Garstang, 1904, pl. 28; Weill, 1908, fig. on p. 211], both from Raqaqna by Hermonthis. It was a combination of the striding tomb owner's representation on the back wall of the niche and the table scene on the slab disposed above that had led to the appearance of the false door to be in use during the millennia to come. This combination may be an argument in favor of the Upper Egyptian origin of the table scene – it seems that the initial type of Lower Egyptian monuments was that representing the striding tomb owner in the niche, whereas the table scene was combined with it in an artificial way and could even replace the latter as in one of the panels of *Hꜣꜣꜣ-r(w)* (CG 1426). There is another monument that could elucidate the significant processes occurring in the domain under study – the stela in Bankfield Museum, Halifax (Yorkshire). This had the traditional rounded top and combined it – perhaps for the first time – with the table scene [Gardiner, 1917-1, pl. 55]. Unfortunately, nothing is reported concerning the provenance of this stela, while its dating is controversial; thus, it should itself be subject to individual scrutiny.

⁹ We intentionally do not touch upon the problem of the so-called «ceiling stelae» from Ezbet el-Walda dating back to about the same time – it will be discussed in Chapter 6.

§ 5. Appearance and Initial Stage of Development of Cult Chambers

The false door was originally set in the east facade of the mastaba, but the desire to isolate it in some way was quite natural, for the offering place was sacred due to its very function, the world of the living being in touch there with the other world the tomb owner lived in. Moreover, rituals performed in front of the false door had to be concealed from strangers. As a result, the custom sprang up to isolate some area around the false door, thus giving rise to a chapel prototype.¹⁰

Practical reasons of safety were also responsible for the appearance of the chapel. As the climate was much more humid in the third millennium B.C., rains fell rather frequently, meaning that the false door had to be protected from water with a roof over the niche [Reisner, 1936-1, 256]. Much more difficult was protecting it against the worst enemy of the Egyptian monuments – sand carried by wind and easily weathering soft limestone; then a closed protective structure was required. Appearance of vulnerable representations on the false door made the need in its protection still more imperative, thereby additionally stimulating the chapel development. And, finally, it should not be ignored that the valuable false door was to be protected against vandals, its arrangement in a closed chamber being the best means to achieve this. These simultaneously effecting reasons of an ideological and practical nature gave rise to the tradition of constructing cult chambers.

The resulting chapels are very varied, but their detailed typology is not of great interest for us now, for we are concerned not with the early tombs as such, but only with the process leading to formation of the classical chapel types. It was Reisner who systemized the early and Old Kingdom chapels thoroughly and in detail [Reisner, 1936-1, 1942], but his typology, based mainly on architectural peculiarities, is too elaborate for our purposes. It would be sufficient therefore to point out only the main directions in chapel evolution.

1. A wall was constructed parallel to the east facade of the mastaba bearing the false door(s), to shape a narrow corridor which might be roofed. This type of exterior corridor chapel is quite widespread (see list [Reisner, 1936-1, 259–262]).
2. A small court was surrounded with a wall in front of the false door; sometimes it might be roofed, thus turning into a real chapel. This type is also frequent (see list [Reisner, 1936-1, 262–263]).
3. A corridor chapel was deepened into the very body of the mastaba. One chapel of this type is recorded, that of *Hzzj-r(w)* [Quibell, 1913, pl. 1].¹¹

¹⁰ The suggestion that the offering place and the false door were originally open-air can be substantiated only by the ruins of monumental edifices. However, even in the most ancient times some reed structures might have been erected in front of the mastabas to vanish without any trace. Such combination of different materials would not be surprising at all; for example, well known are numerous Old Kingdom stone mastabas with brick exterior chapels.

¹¹ For the reasons that brought forth different chapel types see the respective paragraphs by Reisner.

In *Hzzj-r'(w)* a great number of murals appear for the first time (see § 6 below), but the corridor chapel was not appropriate to house them. First of all, it did not provide an adequate field of vision; second, it was too narrow, visitors inevitably touching the walls with their shoulders and damaging unstable paintings. Therefore, representations involved the development of the chapels of other types, shaped as a result of the deepening of the niche in which the false door was located. This process led to the formation of a whole room in front of the false door. The following main types of such chapels can be distinguished in the Old Kingdom.

1. True cruciform and modified cruciform chapels (according to Reisner's terminology) which arose due to the setting back of the false door into the tumulus.
2. North – south chapels with two false doors, which seem to have originated from the cruciform ones. Unlike the cruciform chapels especially common at Saqqara, this type is mainly characteristic of Giza.
3. Narrow east – west chapels with one false door appeared as a result of elongation of the cruciform type.
4. L-shaped chapels must have originated from the early corridor chapels due to a considerable deepening of the southern false door; however, it is not quite unlikely that L-shaped chapels could derive from those having two false doors.

§ 6. Tomb Representations of the Third – Early Fourth Dynasty

The first tomb whose chapel is entirely decorated with representations is that of *Hzzj-r'(w)*. The niches in the west wall of the corridor chapel bear carved wooden panels representing the tomb owner, whereas the east wall is completely covered with paintings depicting furniture, tools, vessels, desk games, etc. in front of *Hzzj-r'(w)* [Quibell, 1913, pl. 8–22]. Apart from the tomb owner, other people do not appear in these decorations. Thus, paintings in *Hzzj-r'(w)* represent the same goods that were kept in tomb magazines. It should be stressed that the mastaba of *Hzzj-r'(w)* already had no magazines and then, the real equipment was substituted with representations. The further progress could have been made toward expansion of the set of the articles represented, but the Egyptians took another route. From pictorial enumeration of the goods they proceeded to pictorial narratives, i. e., they turned to representing production and delivery of these articles. This way evidently promised much more comfort in the future life, and so it became the only way possible in the Old Kingdom.

Dyn. III is still very poor in terms of pictorial decorations. Only marvellous false doors of *H3(j)-b3-w-zkr/Hts* and of his wife *Nfr-htp-h(w)-t-hr(w)/Tps* (Saqqara A 2) can be mentioned in this regard [Murray, 1905, pl. 1–2; Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 10–11]. The mastaba of *Hzzj-r'(w)* is dated to early Dyn. III [*PMIII*², 437], mainly due to the discovery of a sealing with the Horus name of *Dsr* in the burial chamber [*ibid.*, 439], but this criterion is not reliable enough. Chronology of *H3(j)-b3-w-zkr* and *Nfr-htp-h(w)-t-hr(w)* is rather indefinite as well – they are traditionally dated to the second half of Dyn. III,

but J. Málek prefers to place them in early Dyn. IV [*PM III*², 449]. Thus, we are unable to establish for sure the time when the Old Kingdom decorative tradition began as contrary to the archaic one. However, it no doubt occurred under Dyn. III.¹²

By late Dyn. III – early Dyn. IV tomb representations began to make rapid progress. A number of chapels with their walls partly or completely covered with reliefs have survived from that time.¹³

1. *3h-t(j)*, Saqqara, location unknown, late Dyn. III – early Dyn. IV [*PM III*², 500].

Tomb owner's representations have survived on both entrance thicknesses [Weill, 1908, pl. 6], thus suggesting that there were some representations on inner walls of the chapel as well.

2. FS 3078, late Dyn. III – early Dyn. IV [*PM III*², 443].

Representations of offering-bringers [Smith, 1949, pl. 34-c] and the estates [Jacquet-Gordon, 1962, 331–332] have survived on an entrance thickness.

3. *3ht(j)-htp(w)*, Saqqara A 1 = FS 3076 (?), early Dyn. IV [*PM III*², 453].

Representations of priestly service in front of the tomb owner have survived on an entrance thickness [München, 1976, Abb. an S. 43] and those of the owner and the estates inside the chapel [*PM III*², 453].

4. *Mtn*, LS 6, early Dyn. IV [*PM III*², 493].

Besides representations on the false door [*LD II*, Bl. 3], all the walls of the chapel are covered with reliefs. *Mtn* is depicted standing [ibid., Bl. 4, 5] and sitting [ibid., Bl. 6], animals being slaughtered and priests conducting service for him [ibid., Bl. 4]; servants are carrying his personal things [ibid., Bl. 4, 6], and personified estates are coming with tribute [ibid., Bl. 7-bc]. In addition there are several representations of hunting in a desert [ibid., Bl. 6].

5. *Ph(j)-r-nfr*, Saqqara, no number, reigns of *Snfr-w(j)* – *Hw(j)-f-w(j)* [*PM III*², 502]; cf. [Reisner, 1936-1, 364] – early reign of *Hw(j)-f-w(j)*.

Besides representations on the false door [*PM III*², 502], the tomb owner and the estates are shown [ibid., 502].

¹² The high quality of the panels of *Hzzj-r(w)* and of the false doors of *Hr(j)-bz-w-zkr* and *Nfr-htp-h(w)-t-hr(w)* may seem surprising, for we do not know any private monuments similar to them at that time, these objects looking as if they appeared out of nowhere. That is how the tendency to date them back to a later epoch has arisen. Surely, such masterpieces could not have appeared without a rich artistic tradition. Junker [1934, 20–21] believed this tradition to have taken shape during decoration of some tombs that did not survive. However, another interpretation is preferable. Quality and stylistic similarity of the panels in *Hzzj-r(w)* to stelae in subterranean Chamber III of the Step Pyramid [Firth et al. 1935-1, pl. 15–17], as well as certain facts known from the later practice, allow us to suppose these panels to have been created by royal craftsmen and the tradition to have been formed not only in tomb decorations, but also in those of palaces remaining unknown to us. With this, several unique tombs could appear on the background of non-pictorial monuments, and there is no need to re-date them to later times.

¹³ Besides false doors, such as those of *Jj-nfr* at Dahshur or of *Nfr-t* at Meidum.

While the above tombs are dated rather arbitrarily, the three following chapels in two Meidum mastabas have much more exact chronological references.

6. *Nfr-m3^c.t*, Meidum 16, southern chapel, second half of the reign of *Snfr-w(j)* [Bolshakov, 1991-2].

In this chapel all the walls are covered with murals. The tomb owner is shown standing [Petrie, 1892, pl. 17–19] and in palanquin [ibid., pl. 21]; processions of offering-bringers [ibid., pl. 19] and of estates [ibid., pl. 19, 21] are approaching him. Representations of slaughtering [ibid., pl. 18], agricultural works [ibid., pl. 18], fishing, bird catching [ibid., pl. 18] and hunting [ibid., pl. 17] are present as well.

7. *Jt.t*, wife of *Nfr-m3^c.t*, Meidum 16, northern chapel, synchronous to No. 6.

Nfr-m3^c.t who is depicted standing [Smith, 1937, pl. 4, 7; Petrie, 1892, pl. 22, 23, 25] and hunting [Petrie, 1892, pl. 27] is the main personage of representations in this chapel. There are also many household scenes: ploughing [Smith, 1937, pl. 4, 7], cattle tending [Petrie, 1892, pl. 23], driving herds [ibid., pl. 27], bird catching [ibid., pl. 24; Smith, 1937, pl. 4, 7]; marsh works [Petrie, 1892, pl. 23, 25] and hunting [Smith, 1937, pl. 5, 6].

8. *R^c(w)-htp(-w)*, Meidum 6, late reign of *Snfr-w(j)*, later than Nos. 6–7 [Bolshakov, 1991-2].

The tomb owner is represented four times standing [Petrie, 1892, pl. 9, 10, 12, 14], with people catching birds, returning from marsh works [ibid., pl. 10] and driving herds [ibid., pl. 9] in front of him; there are also representations of offering-bringers and of the estates [ibid., pl. 12, 14].

This list of early murals demonstrates that they laid down the foundations of the later tomb decorations. Practically all groups of scenes in use in the Old Kingdom are already present in these chapels, whereas later only extra scenes were introduced. Nevertheless, differences from classical Old Kingdom tombs that allow us to regard these materials as a transitory group are also significant, for the above representations do not form a system yet. In the first place it means absence of any strict rules of murals' arrangement in the chapel and, second, lack of thematically ordered groups of scenes. Comparing these chapels with one another, we find only a few common features in the arrangement of murals (except those on the false doors which already had a longer evolution by that time). It seems that there is no pronounced intention to regulate organization of pictures at this stage: the very fact of their presence in the chapel is so important that it overshadows all other problems. As a result, scenes of quite different contents can be placed side by side, e. g., a ritual one, representing slaughtering and one of a household nature, such as ploughing [Petrie, 1892, pl. 17]. At the same time, obvious is an intention to create larger units of such separate scenes, thus giving rise to the decorative pattern characteristic of later epochs, i. e., an integration of all representations on the wall. It is provided by joining together a large representation of the tomb owner and certain scenes he looks at [Petrie, 1892, pl. 9, 10, 19, 21, 25, 27; Smith, 1937, pl. 4–7].

§ 7. «Style of $Hw(j) \cdot f \cdot w(j)$ » at Giza

Tombs of early Dyn. IV at Saqqara and Meidum mark the first stage of Old Kingdom decorative pattern in the chapel. The main subjects of representations had been selected by that time, so that the basic scenes had acquired their refined appearance which later became classical, and relief techniques had been developed enabling artists to cover entire walls of rather spacious rooms with marvellous pictures. However, half a century of an almost complete renouncement of the use of pictorial decorations lies between that period and the golden age of Old Kingdom murals.

Upon his ascending the throne, $Hw(j) \cdot f \cdot w(j)$ transfers the main necropolis to Giza where a completely new artistic style springs up which may be called the «style of $Hw(j) \cdot f \cdot w(j)$ », for it prevailed only during his reign and that of $H^c(j) \cdot f \cdot r^c(w)$.¹⁴

$Hm(w) \cdot jwn(w)$, the Overseer of king's works under $Hw(j) \cdot f \cdot w(j)$, planned the complex of the Great Pyramid, thus creating the greatest architectural project of the Old Kingdom. Not only the pyramid itself with its temples, but also the whole necropolis of the king's relatives and courtiers arose according to one general plan. There is nothing similar to this complex both in the earlier centuries or in the millennia to come.

Mastabas are arranged in regular rows eastwards, westwards and southwards of the pyramid; with some exceptions they have regular dimensions, and the streets between them are also of regular width [Junker, 1929, 82–85]. As for the exterior of the mastabas, this also changed and became more strict and laconic. Instead of the earlier niches decorating facades, flat unbroken wall planes appeared, faced with large stone blocks which stressed the solidity and strength of the superstructures. Chapels were now brick structures built against the southern part of the east facade, whereas interior chapels were almost absent, especially at the early stage. Generally, all this looks rather monotonous, but actually is most imposing. The word «might» conforms best to render the impression produced by the necropolis of the Great Pyramid.

Thus, the «style of $Hw(j) \cdot f \cdot w(j)$ » does not continue the earlier development but interrupts it [Junker, 1927-2, 13]. At one time it bewildered scholars to the extent that an evidently absurd attempt was made to relate the appearance of the new style to a certain Lower Egyptian component allegedly promoted to the foreground in the ruling kin (contrary to Dyn. III and V) [Pflüger, 1937]. The reasons for these changes were adequately explained by H. Junker [1927-1, 4–6; 1929, 74–80], his conception being as follows.

Architectural forms of step pyramids of Dyn. III were substituted at Giza by the huge, smooth and shining planes of the Great Pyramid. The appearance of mastabas was to be brought into line with that of the king's tomb. The absolute artistic intuition of the ancient architect, that made it possible to choose the only adequate new form, is astonishing. Giza mastabas differ from the previous ones in the same measure as the Great Pyramid does from the Step Pyramid of Dsr . Neither chapels decoration could have avoided radical changes, for numerous and vivid representations of the Meidum

¹⁴ Since residence was transferred to Abu-Roash by $Dd \cdot f \cdot r^c(w)$, no significant building activities were carried out during his reign at Giza (or at least they are untraceable).

type could not correspond to the laconic architecture of the mastabas anymore. It became imperative to reject them, and pictorial decorations disappeared almost entirely.¹⁵

Only a single detail should be adduced to complete these conclusions by Junker. The emergence of the new style was predetermined, in the first place, by the fact that the pyramid and necropolis of *Hw(j).f-w(j)* were erected at a vacant spot without any previous artistic traditions (some earlier tombs [Petrie, 1907, 2–8, pl. 2–7; Kromer, 1991, 16–18] not counted), and, thus, the architect had freedom he was deprived of at Saqqara with its rich inheritance from Dyn. I, II and III, with its pyramid complex of *Dsr* being one of the most impressive edifices in the whole history of Egypt. Radically new forms could have been created only when leaving Saqqara and getting rid of its influence.

Aspiration for simplicity characteristic of Giza led to the renouncement of the false door in most of the tombs. However, the table scene placed on the false door panel was too important to be rejected, and so it was transferred to the so-called slab-stela («Opferplatte»), built into the eastern facade of the mastaba.

Some tombs of the «style of *Hw(j).f-w(j)*» have another peculiar feature – «reserve-heads». These stone heads, some of them conveying features of the persons represented with utmost exactness, are likely to be walled into masonry blocking the passage leading from the shaft to the burial chamber [Junker, 1929, 57–65, Taf. 10].¹⁶ They must have appeared due to absence of murals and statues in the chapel as an attempt to compensate it – necessary representation was made, but it remained hidden from view and, thus, invisible, almost non-existent.

At the same time, the «style of *Hw(j).f-w(j)*» should not be considered a break with any former tradition. Although rather specific, slab-stelae are typologically very similar to Dyn. II and III slab-stelae from Saqqara. Slab-stela built into the facade of the mastaba have proven to be placed in a niche formed by the walls of a brick exterior chapel erected around it (see, e.g. [Reisner, 1942, pl. 13-*cde*, 14-*a*, 16-*f*; Junker, 1929, Abb. 44], Thus a simplified counterfeit of the false door appeared, reminiscent of the arrangement of the Saqqara stelae. As to real false doors, they were not always set aside, for they did appear in several chapels, although bearing no representations (e.g., *Hm(w)-jwn(w)* [Junker, 1929, Taf. 16]; G 4660 [ibid., Abb. 49], *3hj* [ibid., Taf. 38-*b*], etc.). And finally, the desire not to use representations cannot be regarded as absolute, since reliefs did exist in some chapels (e.g., *Hm(w)-jwn(w)* [Junker, 1929, Taf. 17, Abb. 23]), but,

¹⁵ One more phenomenon which Junker failed to note should be considered here. Since neither representations in chapel can be seen from outside, nor the facade can be observed from the chapel, the need to bring the interior decoration of the mastaba into line with its exterior might have arisen, only provided that from the very beginning the Egyptians did appreciate the tomb as an integral whole with all its components interacting. This problem of critical importance will be treated in detail in Chapter 2, and the results obtained will confirm the above assumption.

¹⁶ Several works appeared during the last decades which brought forward some alternative interpretations and disposition reconstructions of the «reserve heads» [Kelley, 1974; Millet, 1981; Brovarski, 1988-1; Tefnin, 1991-1, 1991-2; Schmidt, 1991], but not a single one of these theories can be considered satisfactory and able to disprove Junker's opinion, though R. Tefnin might have made progress. The present writer has stated his understanding of the «reserve heads» in the paper read at the Cambridge International Congress of Egyptologists [Bolshakov, 1995-1] and hopes to scrutinize it elsewhere.

unfortunately, they are too fragmentary to say how numerous they were and what was the importance attributed to them.

Thus, there is no doubt that the «style of $Hw(j) \cdot f \cdot w(j)$ » was a mere artistic phenomenon having no ontological roots. When this style leads to phenomena that never took place before or after it, this does not mean that new ideas sprang up, but rather that attempts were made to express old ideas in new forms in order to meet changing style. Therefore, the «style of $Hw(j) \cdot f \cdot w(j)$ » had a local character and was not to be found anywhere but around the Great Pyramid; it was not kept in the cemetery of the pyramid of $H'(j) \cdot f \cdot r'(w)$ («Central Field») which was not so regularly organized and included a number of rock tombs, not to mention Saqqara with its continuous and uninterrupted evolution. The «style of $Hw(j) \cdot f \cdot w(j)$ » disappears under $Mn-k3 \cdot w \cdot r'(w)$ to never emerge again, but although vanished, it had a pronounced effect (both direct and intermediate) on the further development of pictorial decoration in Giza tombs.

When representations came into use again, influence of the «style of $Hw(j) \cdot f \cdot w(j)$ » manifested itself in much more strict selection of topics than at Saqqara. Selected repertory of representations grew traditional for Giza, and when new tombs with large cult chambers began to be built, this tradition influenced their decoration that remained much more laconic than at Saqqara – auxiliary scenes never became numerous, while the basic ones usually were not supplemented with unnecessary details. It was also compactness of the Giza necropolis that contributed to the tradition being preserved: the artists always had ancient examples to follow before their eyes, so that not only representations were archaized now, but epigraphy as well.

Accordingly, decoration of Giza tombs built in the second half of Dyn. IV and under Dyn. V and VI had no insignificant details diverting attention from general regularities, whereas evolution of the decorative system and its typology can be traced back easily. For this reason, we are starting our study of tomb representations proceeding not from Saqqara which is more plentiful and interesting in all respects, but from Giza whose materials are more suitable for the initial stages of such work. However, main methodological principles should be discussed first.





CHAPTER 2

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION ¹

The first feeling we encounter when proceeding to Old Kingdom tomb representations is astonishment at the sight of the huge amount of material, which, in spite of its diversity, is very often paradoxically featureless and seeming to be but an enormous amorphous mass. Every scholar tries to systematize this material to meet specific tasks of his study, but as far as one can judge by works published all over the world, few are those taking into consideration the fact that murals are strictly ordered and thus representing an integral whole in any tomb; apart from the organization we introduce for purely practical research purposes, a natural organization proves to exist as well and is an important feature of pictorial decorations.

Systematizers of tomb representations [Klebs, 1915; Montet, 1925; Vandier, 1964; 1969] were following the way of distinguishing certain semantic units (separate scenes, groups of scenes, and so on) from the aggregate of the material. Although this approach allows all monuments to be taken into account, it has critical shortcomings. First, the study of all representations devoted to the same topic as a group, without examining the specificity of each tomb they came from, results in the fact that instead of working with whole complexes of representations, we have to deal with their heterogeneous medley inevitably having an averaged nature. Conclusions made in such a way are no doubt averaged as well. Second, since the topics are studied in isolation from one another, while in reality they are somehow interrelated within the tomb, only very particular questions of limited importance can be raised, answers to these questions being also inevitably specific.

Due to this dominating approach, most of the scenes have been studied and systematized quite adequately; their typology is generally elucidated and their evolution is traced back, but it holds true only for separate topics taken *per se*. Meanwhile, tomb representations can answer most diverse questions, including the utmost sophisticated and abstract ones – one should only know the right way of putting these questions. In order to succeed in it, one should realize what tomb representations are as a whole, how different scenes are interconnected, how the decorative system functions within the entire tomb, and so on. In other words, a systems study is required.

All the representations in every tomb undoubtedly function as a *system*; this word is used here not in order to follow a modern scientific fashion requiring us today to search for «systems» and «structures» here, there and everywhere. The term «system» used for describ-

¹ Cf. [Bolshakov, 1985-3; 1986-1].

ing all representations in a tomb and the tomb as a whole, is fairly substantiated and necessary, even though it has never been attributed to these materials in a consecutive way.

As a system we recognize *a multitude of elements with relations and interconnections existing between them, forming a certain whole* [Sadovski, Yudin, 1970, 18; Sadovski, Yudin, 1969, 12; Sadovski, 1976, 463]. The basic attributes of a system are *integrity* (irreducibleness of the system's properties to the sum of properties of its elements and the impossibility to deduce the properties of the whole from these latter; dependence of each element, property and relation of the system on its place, function, etc. within the whole), *structurability* (possibility to describe the system by establishing its structure, i.e., the network of ties and relations within the system), and *hierarchism* (possibility of considering each system's component a system in its turn and that of regarding the system under study as a component of a wider system) [Sadovski, 1976, 464]. The facts adduced below make it sure that these main system principles do manifest themselves in the organization of the Old Kingdom tomb.

System approach allows us to solve many otherwise hidden significant problems, for its methodological peculiarity consists in directing the study toward establishing the integrity of an object, revealing the diverse types of relations within a complex object, and representing them as a single theoretical picture [Blauberg, Yudin, 1976, 476]. In this book an attempt is made to carry out a complex study of all representations in Old Kingdom tomb including also an investigation of their arrangement, orientation and correlations with the tomb planning, and so on. Only such a method would enable us to regard murals as interrelated with the whole of the tomb complex.

The first Egyptologist to come close to system approach was H. Junker who used its components in his study of Old Kingdom tombs at Giza [Junker, 1929; 1934; 1938; 1940-1; 1941-1; 1943; 1944; 1947; 1950; 1951-1; 1953; 1955].² His excavations discovered a number of mastabas, though not very remarkable by themselves, but displaying instead almost the whole history of tomb development in Dyn. IV–VI. Most of these mastabas followed a standard both in their construction and decoration, thus facilitating their comparison to a considerable extent. For the first time Egyptologists received an opportunity to study not only a separate monument (even the most important one), but an entire series of comparable and locally confined funeral edifices with their evolution easy to trace over a long period.

Junker was a scholar paying much attention to minor details most important for any study of Old Kingdom monuments where the so-called «trifles» often play the decisive part. The decorative pattern of Old Kingdom tombs, including those of Giza, is standardized; the greater part of scenes appears already in late Dyn. IV – early Dyn. V³ suffering later but minimal changes. It had been well known before Junker, and his predecessors were convinced that the system of tomb representations remained practically unchanged during the Old Kingdom (this position was never expressed directly, but the very silence witnesses to the existence of a certain shared opinion). Junker was the first one to see that there had been very serious changes over the course of time, but they had involved not the topics, but the arrangement of representations over the chapel walls. In

² On Junker's contribution to Old Kingdom tomb studies see [Bolshakov, 1985-4].

³ As for the groups of scenes, their traditional set appeared even earlier, see Chapter 1, § 6.

other words, he turned from studying the system of merely pictorial elements to analyzing a system higher in order, including some spatial characteristics of these elements as well. Thus, it became clear that *the whole chapel* was an integral system, with important correlations of its elements never noticed before.

This approach resulted in a new reliable criterion for tomb dating – the arrangement of mural reliefs. Junker's skills in using this method combined with other dating factors enabled him to create the most precise chronological scheme for the Giza necropolis. Dates established by Junker for a number of tombs support, to a great extent, our modern relative chronology of the Old Kingdom, concerning not only Giza, but all the necropoleis of the capital region and sometimes even of the provinces. Moreover, he came close to some important conclusions of an ideological nature, but his achievements were much less impressive in this respect.

The most valuable of Junker's observations were made on the chapels, although he contributed much to the interpretation of other tomb chambers as well. From his understanding of the chapel as a whole he managed to approach a similar rendering of the entire tomb, but his inconsistency prevented him from explaining the way in which the tomb functioned in its integrity. Having no interest in methodological problems – that was by no means his fault, but rather a result of general problems of science theory being still undeveloped, – Junker could not turn from his progressive *approach* to a shaped *method*. He offered no consequent exposition of his research principles, having scattered brilliant ideas throughout all twelve volumes of «*Giza*». Thus, it should be taken into account that the largest part of methodological ideas rendered below can be found in Junker's works, but they are presented there in an embryo form, whereas they are shaped as a system only by the present writer. Terminology of the systems theory as applied to Old Kingdom monuments is also used here for the first time.

Thus, employing elements of a system approach made Junker the most outstanding scholar among Old Kingdom oriented Egyptologists, but these components having been never brought together, often led to serious deficiencies. That was why Junker's approach remained unnoticed by his contemporaries,⁴ and Egyptology remained deprived of a mighty instrument of investigation.

This situation is still leaving much to be desired.⁵ Only the last decade witnessed some works aimed at studying the tomb as a whole. N. Strudwick [1984] reviewed some regularities of the inscriptions arrangement in the chapel; the present author de-

⁴ Cf. reviews following the publication of «*Giza*». For instance, such an outstanding scholar as R. O. Faulkner [1941] paid much attention to minor problems when discussing «*Giza II*» and «*Giza III*» without even mentioning the elements of system approach employed in a full scale in these volumes.

⁵ The system of tomb representations has been repeatedly mentioned (*Bildprogramm*, etc.), but it concerns only murals applied to separate walls, thus representing a step backwards as compared to Junker (see, for instance, [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977]). Besides, no theoretical substantiation of such approach has ever been given, which might (and did) lead to serious errors. So, e. g., W. Wood [1978] made an attempt to explain decoration of the chapel of *H_zjj-r'(w)* as a whole, but due to absence of any theoretical starting point, a serious methodological mistake was made in trying to comprehend this unique monument regardless of the regularities traceable in other tombs. It resulted in a most fantastic reconstruction of a king's representation quite impossible in Old Kingdom private tombs.

voted several articles to distribution of tomb murals [Bolshakov, 1982; 1985-3; 1986-1]; finally, an extensive volume by Y. Harpur [1987] dedicated to the same theme appeared, being the most detailed study of the problem.⁶ The aims of Harpur are different as compared with mine (ideological problems do not concern her at all), therefore it is quite natural that sometimes our conclusions are different as well, the two independently carried out studies complementing one another.

Thus, we are taking the way of working out an integral method proceeding from the elements of system approach applied by Junker and some modern authors.

If we consider an Old Kingdom tomb a wholeness, several hierarchical organization levels of its structural components can be distinguished.⁷ Within the system of each level certain interrelations exist between its components, transition to higher levels allowing us to reveal more interrelations, since «for each subsequent level characteristic are new emergent properties that... cannot be directly reduced to properties of its components» [Takhtajan, 1971, 271]. Researching at higher levels yields the best results if based on studying systems of the lower levels. Since the bulk of information fixed by Old Kingdom tombs is embodied in mural pictures, it is reasonable to start with establishing and studying their inner systems and only then to switch to wider systems including non-pictorial components.

As has been stated above, the study of separate scenes isolated from the whole system of representations is traditional.⁸ Since there is nothing fantastic in Old Kingdom tomb murals with everyday reality being their only subject, their interpretation based on common sense is quite possible. One can easily understand that the scene depicts a herdsman milking a cow, a carpenter at work, or a priest with a papyrus scroll. Moreover, we can read cues for every personage written besides as a legend. At the same time, it still remains obscure what the functions of a certain scene were, why it had to be disposed in a definite chamber, in which way it was supposed to serve the tomb owner in his future life, etc.

The system approach can be applied to the study of both tomb representations and cemeteries as a whole, but methodically it can be employed only through combining several interrelated research levels, every subsequent level complementing the previous one. In this book «scene» is interpreted as the smallest fraction of pictorial material in which its sense is still not lost. We refer to such scenes as an element,⁹ while the sim-

⁶ Her methodological principles are used also in a number of papers devoted to reconstruction of destroyed tombs [Harpur, 1985; 1986-1; 1986-2].

⁷ «Dividing the studied scientific reality into a number of horizontally and/or vertically interconnected system spheres» [Sadovski, Yudin, 1969, 17] is one of the principal methods of system research. These spheres may be called «system orders» [ibid., 1969, 12] or «structural levels» [ibid., 17], the latter term being more frequent (for detailed treatment see [Kremyanski, 1969, 195; Takhtajan, 1971, 271]).

⁸ Representation of a separate action or process is considered here to be a scene, whether it shows one or several persons. For instance, even a procession of offering-bringers that may be extended between the entrance to the tomb and the false door, is just one scene, for all the persons depicted are engaged in the same action.

⁹ In its turn, a scene is also complex and so it can be considered a merely conventional matter of isolation. Further subdivision cannot result in the appearance of meaningless details; these details would be but less informative than required for the present study and so it is quite useless to distinguish them here.

plest system, *the system of the 1st level, appears to be a group of scenes with a common meaning*. So the above mentioned scenes belong to agricultural, handicraft and ritual groups respectively. The most important property of the groups is the neighboring location of their scenes (it is very seldom that a group of scenes continues from one wall to another).¹⁰ It should be taken into consideration that the principal tomb owner's representations that are not included in any group due to their size being larger than the rest of the figures, are functionally equal to systems of the 1st level, while the offering-list functions at the level of a separate scene (there is no real difference between the representation of a priest reading out the names of offerings, and registration of these names in the form of a list).

The following main groups of scenes can be distinguished.

I. Principal representations of the tomb owner:

1. Tomb owner at a table (table scene);
2. Tomb owner standing;
3. Tomb owner sitting.

II. Ritual scenes:

4. Offering-list;
5. Handing over / reading out the offering-list to the tomb owner;
6. Handing over a lotus flower to the tomb owner;
7. Priestly service;
8. Slaughtering cattle;
9. Ritual sailing;
10. Statue transport to the tomb.

III. Agricultural scenes and representations of food:

11. Field works (ploughing, sowing, reaping, threshing, etc.);
12. Cattle tending;
13. Marsh scenes (fishing, netting birds (clapnet scene), papyrus harvesting, etc.);
14. Cooking (baking, brewing, roasting meat, drying fish, etc.);
15. Food in storerooms and heaps of food.

IV. Handicraft scenes:

16. Manufacturing household articles and burial goods.

V. Household administration:

17. Scribes at work;
18. Punishing negligent chiefs of courts.

¹⁰ A compact scenes arrangement within the 1st level system reflecting their semantic unity is very important for a scholar. Should a system include a scene going out of its context, it will be imperative to reconsider the interpretation of the scene so that it could be included into this context. For example, boatmen jousting are always depicted among agricultural scenes and representations of food delivery; together with some other facts it leads to reinterpretation of the scene formerly regarded as that of purely entertainment character, and makes us include it in the group of delivery scenes [Bolshakov, 1983-1; 1993-2].

VI. Delivery scenes:

- 19. Procession of offering-bringers;
- 20. Procession of personified estates;
- 21. Cattle, animals and/or poultry being driven.

VII. Everyday (complementary) scenes from the tomb owner's life:

- 22. Palanquin scene;
- 23. Fowling and/or spearing;
- 24. Entertainments (music, dances,¹¹ games, etc.).

VIII. Others:

- 26. This section comprises uncommon scenes not forming self-dependent systems.

Since in the system of the 1st level any scene is included in a certain context, its meaning is made more precise by this latter, but the sense of scenes and their groups can be ultimately revealed only within the frames of the 2^d level system.

The system of the 2^d level is a combination of all scenes and their groups on a separate wall. The wall as a system of the 2^d level is not an artificial unit as it may seem at first glance. Each wall usually comprises a thematically complete combination of representations, exceptions being infrequent. The 2^d level system includes, as a rule, ① a large principal representation of the tomb owner (at a table, standing or sitting) being the system-forming factor for this level, because it amalgamates the scenes of people working for the owner, and ② pictures showing the process of producing various articles and delivering them to the observing owner. So the groups of scenes given above as examples are intended to supply the tomb owner with food stuffs and drinks, with articles for everyday life, and must ensure him with eternal priestly services. Thus, representations forming the 2^d level system secure either several needs of the deceased or, at least, one single but obligatory need, that of food and drink.

The order in which groups of scenes have been listed above, corresponds in general to their relative significance in the tomb. A complete set of representations is available only in the richest chapels; people of more modest condition had to do without some groups, to say nothing of separate scenes. The most easily omitted were everyday life scenes not related directly to securing eternal existence, but only making it less monotonous; they were followed by household scenes whose importance could be transferred to those dealing with delivery of offerings and to ritual scenes. Those short of means could omit even the latter topics, but not the table scene which was absent only in the tombs having no representations at all. On the other hand, there is no tomb lacking the table scene and at the same time having some other murals.

The false door is another specific component of the 2^d level system. Being a representation of a door, it is an element that can be equalled by its level to a separate scene. However, since a number of scenes is arranged on its surfaces, it should be regarded as

¹¹ Festive dances no doubt had a certain ritual meaning as well, for any festival was of a ritual nature, but, nevertheless, dances were usually depicted in an everyday context. It should not surprise us anyway, for the whole life of an ancient Egyptian was ritualized, everyday activities included.

a system of the 1st level. Representations on the west wall are oriented to the false door, which is, thus, another system-forming factor of the 2^d level.

Almost no scholars went further than the 2^d level systems.¹² Systematizers of tomb representations dealt only with scenes and their groups (Klebs) or, occasionally, with their integrity on a wall (Montet and Vandier). Only Junker and in more recent years Harpur and the present author managed to proceed to an investigation of pictorial decoration of a whole chamber, which is considered here a system of the 3^d level.

As a system of the 3^d level we understand the whole complex of representations in a single chamber, first of all in the chapel. Now, not only surface positioning of representations is taken into account, as in the 1st and 2^d level systems, but also their spatial placing: the lower level systems are two-dimensional, the systems of the 3^d and higher levels have three dimensions.

In the chapel the false door is a system-forming factor not only of the 2^d, but also of the 3^d level, for besides representations on the west wall, those on other walls are oriented toward it as well.

Each scene offered an artist a great number of ways to present it, even if varying only in details. In gradual accumulation of these minor changes consisted development of separate scenes. Besides, it was possible to introduce some new scenes not previously employed, that also followed the main trend of evolution. Changes were being accumulated also in the systems of the 1st and 2^d levels, but the main line of evolution was determined by another factor, for the number of groups was limited and, unlike separate scenes, it could not grow. On the other hand, there was a huge possibility to combine components in this case, which was the main development tendency of these systems. The same holds true for the 3^d level systems, but here one must take into account their *spatial* arrangement, since both separate scenes and their groups used to wander in the course of time from one wall to another, to change their orientation, and so on. These processes that are, of course, much less evident, remained unnoticed before Junker.

Our methodological approach as applied to the first three levels is visually demonstrated by Tables 1 and 2 (see pp. 64–65, 76–77). Tombs richest in representations and most securely dated are set out vertically in their chronological order. Scenes and groups of scenes placed on each wall and on the entrance thicknesses are listed horizontally. We denote with the term *feature* the presence of a specific scene (a group of scenes) on a particular wall; it is indicated in these tables by blacking out the respective box.

From analysis of Tables 1 and 2 it emerges that they can be read horizontally, vertically and diagonally.

The number of features in each horizontal line reflects (if judged by the best preserved tombs) the development degree of the decorative system on a separate wall or in a chapel as a whole at a certain given moment. Insignificant under Dyn. IV, it increases during Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI, and diminishes again starting with middle Dyn. VI.

¹² Since the term «system» has never been applied to these materials, this statement means that the above scholars dealt with complexes of representations corresponding to our 2^d level system, but did not distinguish these complexes specifically.

Comparison of the number of scenes (group of scenes) on various walls offers some ground for conclusions concerning the role played by decorations of certain walls at certain moments. For instance, as early as middle Dyn. VI most of the representations were accommodated on the west wall. The tables allow us a qualitative analysis as well as a quantitative one: a scene (group of scenes) present or absent on a particular wall, characterizes the function of this wall in the chapel. And finally, the tables enable us to reveal scenes that are interrelated and almost inevitably appear together, i. e., the *linked features*.

Reviewing a horizontal line, we deal with a single tomb, i. e., with a certain moment in the history of tomb development, while vertical columns trace out the dynamics of both separate features and of the whole wall decoration. When the column is entirely or almost entirely blacked out, the feature in question is a constant characteristic of the respective wall (*stable feature*), but it cannot contribute anything of value for dating. On the other hand, if the blackening out starts or breaks at a certain moment, it means that the feature has strict chronological frames, and then the tables can help in tracing its dynamics, determine its chronological range and allow for the tomb dating.

Regarding the distribution of the features under study within the lines and columns of our tables, we obtain a way of dating other tombs and reconstructing the arrangement of reliefs in destroyed but well-dated tombs. Let us illustrate the method of using our tables taking as example the two following reliefs from the Hermitage Museum.

Dating. Relief Hermitage □18123 from the tomb of a certain $N(j)-m3^c\cdot t-[r^c(w)]$ most probably erected at Giza [Bolshakov, 1985-5, 8] comprises the table scene and representations of priestly service as well as slaughtering and delivering of food offerings [Lourie, Matthieu, 1952, pl. 2; Matthieu, Pavlov, 1958, fig. 11; Bolshakov, 1985-5, fig. 1]. Having one of the false door jambs preserved [Perepelkin, 1936, 11–12], this relief no doubt was arranged on the west wall of a chapel. For the first time the table scene appears at Giza on the west wall in early Dyn. V (in the chapel of $Whm-k3(\cdot j)$ ¹³), while the priestly service – in middle Dyn. V (in $K3(\cdot j)-n(j)-n(j)-sw\cdot t II$). On the other hand, the relief of $N(j)-m3^c\cdot t-[r^c(w)]$ lacks an offering-list that can be found on the west wall for the first time under $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)$ (?) (in $Nfr-b3\cdot w\cdot pth$). Thus, the tomb of $N(j)-m3^c\cdot t-[r^c(w)]$ can be dated to middle Dyn. V, but before the reign of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)$ (?), that is in full conformity with some other dating criteria of non-pictorial nature and also with the fact that the relief was copied in the chapel of $R^c(w)-wr(\cdot w)II$ under $Jzzj$ [Bolshakov, 1985-5, 9]. The dating proves to be strict enough, even though we do not know anything about the tomb of $N(j)-m3^c\cdot t-[r^c(w)]$.

Arrangement reconstruction. Relief fragment Hermitage □18233 from the unknown and most probably destroyed tomb of $Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(\cdot w)/K3r$ constructed at Giza [Bolshakov, 1983-2, 39] comprises an offering-list and a small part of the tomb owner's representation [ibid., fig. on pp. 37, 38]. The relief should be dated to early Dyn. VI [ibid., 39]. Tbl. 1 clearly indicates that neither entrance thicknesses nor the east

¹³ $3h\cdot t(j)-htp(\cdot w)$ is the only earlier exception.

or south walls could bear an offering-list at that time at Giza. The possibility of the list being on the north wall was also negligible (there is only one single case in the very specific tomb of *N(j)-htp-pth*), while the west wall offers an almost uninterrupted column of this feature starting from middle Dyn. V. Thus, it is most likely that the relief of *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(·w)/K3r* was placed on the west wall of the chapel.

These dating and arrangement reconstructions may seem unreliable, for the groups of monuments serving as models are rather small. Indeed, statistical methods usually require involvement of larger groups as compared with ours, but, on the other hand, it should be borne in mind that, primarily, each of our monuments offers numerous features and, secondly, that besides pictorial features included in our tables we can use also a few of the non-pictorial elements traditional for dating purposes, thus solidifying significantly the research basis. These reasons make it possible to treat relatively small groups of monuments using the method of processing of greater amounts of data. Moreover, in certain cases our method can provide an accuracy higher than any other. For instance, dating based on epigraphic criteria is often hampered by deliberate archaization of spellings, which is especially characteristic of Giza. Datings based on the scenes' arrangement prove to be reliable under the circumstances, for it was never archaized. For example, the above mentioned relief of *N(j)-m3^c-t-[r^c(w)]* was copied for the second time more than a century later in the chapel of *K3(·j)-m-^cnh(·w)* [Junker, 1940-1, Abb. 7], but it was placed there on the south wall, since the very type of the chapel had been changed together with its decorative pattern [Bolshakov, 1985-5, 10].

Whereas the horizontal lines of the tables characterize the decoration of a certain chapel and the vertical columns show the development of separate features, the diagonals trace the dynamics of the chapel decoration as a whole. Reading the tables diagonally reveals the transference of scenes and their groups from one wall to another in the course of time, i. e., it brings to light functioning of the 3^d level system. So, for example, the table scene with the linked offering-list and representation of priestly service disappear at Giza from the entrance thicknesses in the first half of Dyn. V, emerging instead on the west wall of the chapel where they had never been placed before. Earlier, the same scenes had been located on the south wall of the chapel, but their transition to the west made it unnecessary to repeat them in the original place; as a result, the south wall became free of offering-lists and representations of the priestly service, and thus, festive scenes with musicians, dancers, etc. appeared on it.

It turns out that all the scenes in the chapel were interconnected and that their relations were subject to chronological changes, thereby giving us an extra possibility to date and reconstruct those chapels that cannot be properly dated in any other way or that are badly fragmented.

Let us turn to the systems of higher levels now. *The 4th level system is the totality of all representations in the superstructure.* It had been paid attention to but only when a certain tomb had to be described (e. g. [Duell, 1938, 18]), but nobody has ever investigated how this system functioned in general. One of the reasons for this was the lack of two identically planned multiple-roomed tombs, their common features to be searched for among prevailing particularities. The system approach proves to be advantageous in

this case as well: distinguishing two 4th level system-forming factors, namely, the principal representations of the tomb owner and the procession of offering-bringers, allows us to understand how this system functioned as a whole. This problem is studied at length in Chapter 4, but we cannot envisage it in this work of rather limited scope as accurately as the 3^d level systems due to greater variety of the material to be studied. Therefore, we have to confine ourselves to the most important, decisive problems.

The 5th level system comprises decoration of both the superstructure and the burial chamber. Discussing the system of this level makes it possible to realize the functioning of the tomb as an integral whole. This comprehension has almost been achieved by Junker [1940-1, 50] as a result of his study of decorated Dyn. VI burial chambers in the context of the whole tomb; however, even he did not offer a complete picture. As far as I know, the only work researching into materials of the Early Dynastic Period and of the Old Kingdom at the 5th level is a short paper by the present author tracing some correlations of the chapel and the burial chamber decorations [Bolshakov, 1982]. This problem is examined in more detail in Chapter 6.

Thus, at the 5th level we can see the tomb as a wholeness, which means that now we have exhausted its materials as a separate monument. However, it should not be disregarded that the tomb itself is a subsystem, a component of some systems of higher levels.

An entire necropolis in its whole, including all of its tombs, may be regarded as a system of the 6th level, while a group comprising several necropoleis should be considered then a system of the 7th level (e.g., the group of the Memphite necropoleis). At last, *the total amount of all necropoleis over the territory of Egypt is a system of the 8th level.* Of course, systems of the highest levels can be distinguished also in some other, more fractional ways, depending on the needs of a particular study (for instance, groups of tombs lying within the same necropolis may be detached), but all these problems are already beyond the tasks of this work that is generally concerned with the systems from the 2^d to the 5th levels.





CHAPTER 3

PICTORIAL DECORATION IN THE CHAPELS OF GIZA AND SAQQARA

§ 1. False Door ¹

Being the most important place in the tomb, the false door is a more or less spatial imitation of a door; this is stressed by denoting it as *rw.t*, the word generally designating real doors [*Wb.* II, 404:1–10]. It was usually disposed in the west wall of the chapel; exceptions to this rule are rare in Memphite tombs, and all of them can be explained by architectural peculiarities of the chapels [Junker, 1950, Abb. 34, 35, 55; 1951-1, 154 (?), Abb. 50].

Originally the false door had neither inscriptions nor representations, but as early as Dyn. IV (sometimes even Dyn. III) they were already covering it from top to bottom. Without touching upon the contents of the inscriptions which should be subject of a special study, let us turn to the most important representations which could have been disposed at six following places (fig. 2).

A. Upper lintel. A representation of a standing or sitting tomb owner is usually arranged at the left end of the upper lintel, being an enlarged determinative to his name terminating the inscription.

B. «Panel». The tomb owner is usually depicted at a table; this is the earliest representation appearing on the false door. The «panel» is likely to be interpreted as a window with its shutters open [Firth, Gunn, 1926-1, 179; Kees, 1956-2, 121]. Such an interpretation is supported by the false door of *Nfr-sšm-pth/Ššj* having a niche (= window) instead of the «panel» with the tomb owner's sculptured «bust» looking out [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 94–96; Maspero, 1912, fig. 62; Capart, 1930, fig. 307; bibliography: *PM* III² 516:14]. Representations on the «panel» are generally oriented to the right, i. e., northwards; I know only two exceptions in the Memphite necropoleis – on the false doors of an unknown person from the pyramid town of queen *Hnt(j)-k3.w.s* at Giza [Hassan 1943, pl. 17-*h*] and of a certain *K3(j)-pr(.w)* from Saqqara (?) (Archäologische Sammlung, Universität Zürich, L 959) [Geschenk

¹ A good number of works are devoted to the false door, starting with an article by A. Rusch [1923], essentially supplemented by S. Hassan [1944]. Among recent works a book by N. Strudwick [1985] should be mentioned as some important dating criteria of Old Kingdom false doors are offered in it, and the first monograph entirely devoted to the false doors of the Old Kingdom [Wiebach, 1984] (unfortunately, it is too superficial and evidently inferior to the treatment by Strudwick). As for the monuments of the epochs to follow, G. Haeny [1984] has briefly traced their evolution down to the Late Period.

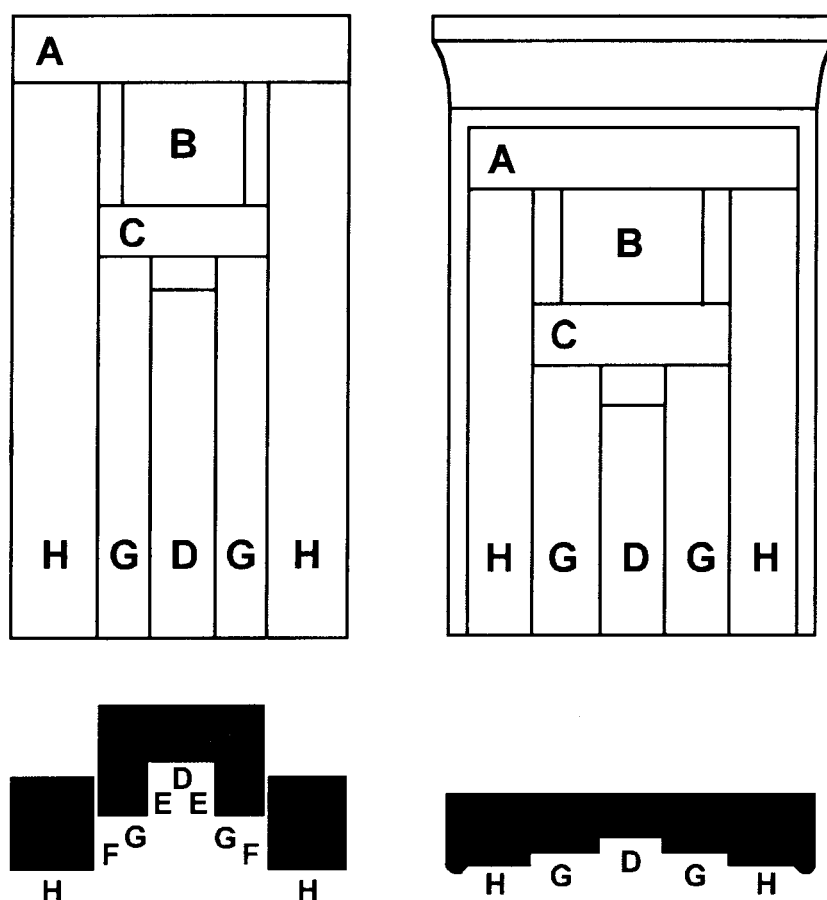


Fig. 2. Arrangement of representations on the false door

des Nils, 1978, Kat. Nr. 121] where the tomb owners are staring to the left.² The advantage of the north orientation is stressed by the fact that the wife of the tomb owner, who is a secondary personage here, either sits by her husband looking northwards (e.g., *Kd(j)-nfr(w)*, G 1151 [Reisner, 1942, 335]; G 7521 [ibid., 335]; *H(j)-fr(w)-nh(w)*, G 7948 [LD II, Bl. 10-a, 11] and others) or faces him (i.e., looks southwards, e.g., *K3(j)-hr-jz-tf*, Saqqara

² In provincial tombs we can find two more exceptions – in *Dw* at Deir el-Gebrawi [Davies, 1902-2] and in *N(j)-k3(j)-nh* at Tehne [Fraeser, 1902, pl. 3]. As a matter of fact, the first case is not a real exception: the false door of *Dw* is placed in the east wall and therefore the left-oriented representations are looking northwards. The second case is more intricate, but, nevertheless, still explicable: the representations in question are arranged on the false door of *Hd-t-hknw*, the wife of the tomb owner, and, most probably, they are oriented toward his (southern) false door. Mention should also be made of a later unpublished stela belonging to a certain *Mr(j)-nh-f* and dating back to the I Intermediate Period (Philadelphia, University Museum 29.209.1, provenance unknown).

[Borchardt, 1964, Bl. 66]; *Nfrj*, Giza [ibid., Bl. 87]; *D3tj*, G 7810 [Reisner, 1942, 335], *Htp-s33-t*, G 5150 [*LD* II, Bl. 23; Junker, 1934, Abb. 28, Taf. 15, 16-*b*]; *N(j)-sw-t-nfr(w)*, G 4970 [Junker, 1938, Abb. 27]; *Snn-w(j)-k3(j)/Kkj*, G 2041 [Reisner, 1942, 335]; *Tntj*, G 4920 [*LD* II, Bl. 30]; *Hw(j)-f-w(j)-nh(w)*, G 4520 [Reisner, 1942, pl. 65-*b*]; *K3(j)-nfr(w)*, G 2184 [Smith, 1949, 335] and others), but never *vice versa*. The same occurs when a father and his son are represented (e. g., *Pth-w33(w)*, Saqqara D 38 [Mariette, 1889, 268–271] and others). Such an orientation no doubt must be explained by a very archaic idea of the non-setting circumpolar stars as a realm of the dead. This idea was embodied in the orientation of the mastabas and entrances to the burial chambers (see Chapter 1, § 2), so that its influence on the murals' orientation formed during Dyn. I–III is quite natural.³

C. Lower lintel. Representations are identical to A.

D. Back wall of the niche. The back wall of the niche usually had no representations, but sometimes a closed folding door with bolts was depicted there (e. g., *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*, Saqqara [Duell, 1938, pl. 107]; *Ddj-pjpj*, in the mastaba of *Hnt(j)-k(j)/Jhhj*, Saqqara [James, 1953, pl. 42]; *T3jtj*, Saqqara [Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 24]; *Snj*, Saqqara [Firth, Gunn, 1926–2, pl. 23–2] and others). The architectural design of the false door reflected the appearance of the entrance to archaic structures where the doorway would be veiled with a mat. Rolled upwards, this mat is represented in stone as a cylindrical drum above the niche. Thus, the false door originally imitated an opened door. The closed folds pictured in the niche evidently appeared as a reinterpretation, and quite a reasonable one – if the false door had been considered opened, it would be necessary to show whatever was behind it. It is probable that the false door itself could have been closed with a wooden screen to be opened when priestly services took place [Kees, 1956–2, 129]. More rarely the niche could bear a representation of a striding owner (e. g., *Hm(w)-r(w)*, Saqqara C 15 [Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 9]; *N(j)-k3-w-r(w)* and *Jh-t*, Saqqara [ibid., Bl. 19]; *Šrjj*, Saqqara B 3) [Maspero, 1912, fig. 50]; *Jjj* and *Nfr-t*, LS 20 [*LD* II, Bl. 100-*b*] and others). This tradition is as old as Dyn. III (*Špss-n(j)-sw-t*, Raqaqna by Hermonthis [Garstang, 1904, pl. 28; Weill, 1908, fig. on p. 211]). All these representations are also oriented northwards; only on the false door of *Tjj* (Saqqara D 22) and on that of his wife *Nfr-htp-s* they appear on both door folds, facing one another [Steindorff, 1913, Taf. 136, 140, 50; bibliography: *PM* III², 471:21, 475:40, 42].

³ Line drawings of eight Saqqara false doors with representations A, B and C oriented southwards, are published by A. Mariette: *Hr(j)-nrr-ptj*, C 4, CG 57126) [Mariette, 1889, 118]; *K3j*, C 21, JE 15045) [ibid., 154–155]; *Pth-w33(w)*, D 38, Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet 5129 + BM 1278) [ibid., 268–271]; *K3(j)-r(w)-pw*, D 39 [ibid., 278–279]; *nh(j)-m-r(w)*, D 40) [ibid., 283–284]; *Nn-hft(j)-k3(j)*, D 47, CG 1484) [ibid., 307–309]; *Šd-3bd*, D 69) [ibid., 368–369]; *S3bw/Jbbj*, E 1, 2, CG 1565) [ibid., 412–415]. So many exceptions concentrated in the same very inaccurate book make us doubt the reliability of these reproductions. In fact, when it is possible to verify them using some other publications, it turns out that Mariette (or rather G. Maspero, the editor of his posthumous book) has erroneously reproduced these false doors as mirror images: *Pth-w33(w)* [Mogensen, 1918, pl. 10, 11 + British Museum, 1961, pl. 21–2]; *Nn-hft(j)-k3(j)* [Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 40; Maspero, 1912, fig. 64]; *Šd-3bd* [Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 34–4]; *S3bw/Jbbj* [Borchardt, 1964, Bl. 65]. The same error is very likely to be made as concerns the rest of the monuments.

A statue of the tomb owner could be arranged in the niche as well,⁴ but this practice was rather infrequent (e. g., *B^cttj*, BM 1165 [British Museum, 1961, pl. 4-1]; *Jttj/Jr(j)-s(w)-nh(w)*, Saqqara D 63 [Murray, 1905, pl. 18–19; Maspero, 1910, fig. 61; Vilímková, 1977, fig. 206; cf. *PM* III², 598]; *Ntr-nfr(w)*, Saqqara or Giza [Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 33]; *Hw(j)-w(j)-wr*, LG 95] [*LD* II, Bl. 44]). The false door in the tomb of *Jdw* (G 7202) is especially remarkable: in its lower portion a deep recess was cut to house a half-length statue of the tomb owner emerging from the floor to waist height, with its hands extended to an offering-stone in front of the false door [Reisner, 1925-1, fig. on p. 13; Reisner, 1942, fig. 214; Smith, 1949, pl. 57-*a*; Simpson, 1976-1, pl. 29–30, fig. 40; Boston, 1988, frontisp.; Bolshakov, 1991-1, fig. 3]. Full-length statues of the tomb owner may appear in the niches disposed on either side of the false door (e. g., *H^c(j)-f-r(w)-nh(w)*, LG 75 [*LD* II, Bl. 11]; *Nfr-sšm-pth/ššj*, Saqqara [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 94–96; Maspero, 1912, fig. 62; Capart, 1930, fig. 307; cf. *PM* III², 516:14]); moreover, they could even substitute the false door (*Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*, Saqqara [Duell, 1938, pl. 1, 123, 147–148; bibliography: *PM* III², 533]).

In some exceptional cases the back wall of the niche bears the offering-list (all samples from Saqqara (bibliography: [Fischer, 1976, 3, note 3]).

E, F. Side faces of the niche. False doors with deep niches, having space enough to house representations on the side surfaces, disappear by late Dyn. IV, therefore the data adduced here refer only to the earlier period.

The most common subject is the tomb owner striding outwards. Sometimes, representations of offering-bringers and processions of the estates making their way inside are also encountered. Offering-lists and representations of vessels on stands may be found as well (see list [Reisner, 1942, 339–340, 342–344]).

G, H. Jambs. Representations of the tomb owner facing the niche are usually present here. One single exception to this rule is reported – *Ntr-wsr(w)* (Saqqara D 1) is shown sitting with his back turned to the door [Murray, 1905, pl. 24].⁵ Moreover, relatives of the owner are often represented facing the niche, as well as offering-bringers moving in the same direction (see the list of the Giza monuments [Reisner, 1942, 340–342]).

Thus, taking into account the contents of representations in the niche and on the jambs, the false door was intended to enable its owner to «go forth» and to «come back» [Kees, 1956-2, 121]. This function of the false door is emphasized also by its main designation *r3-pr(w)*, «mouth of the house» (= of the tomb) – it is the place where the tomb «opens» to let its owner «go forth». The essence of this «going forth» is still uncertain, whereas its aim is quite clear – the receipt of offerings. The above mentioned false door of *Jdw* provides the most convincing evidence in favor of this assumption.⁶ Representations of people with offerings whose function is to feed the owner provide another evidence testifying to it.

⁴ As a matter of fact, it was not a statue but a pronounced, almost rounded, relief.

⁵ Cf. also unpublished fragment of the false door of *Ttj-hr-mnh-t* (?) in Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Gl. 118.

⁶ Cf. also [Bolshakov, 1994-1].

§ 2. Representations in the Chapels of Giza

In our study we proceed from the material of the chapels with decorative systems preserved more or less completely. This material is presented as a table (Tbl. 1) described in Chapter 2. The following chapels are considered.^{7 8}

1. *Hnt(j)-k3(.j)*, G 2130.

Dating: *Hw(j).f-w(j)* [Reisner, 1942, 307; Harpur, 1987, 269:194].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 74–75].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: no representations survived on the northern thickness, the southern one bears a fragment of the lower portion of a sitting tomb owner's representation (not at the table).

West wall: false door survived only in part.

East wall: only some fragments of the lower register survived; the standing tomb owner might be shown.

Other walls: representations are entirely destroyed if they ever existed at all.

2. *Nfr*, G 2116.

Dating: late *Hw(j).f-w(j)* – *H^c(j).f-r^c(w)* [Reisner, 1942, 307]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 267:124].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 72–74].

State of preservation

North wall: never bore murals [Reisner, 1942, 423].

Other walls: somewhat damaged, but no single representation is completely destroyed.

3. *H^c(j).f-hw(j).f-w(j)*, G 7130 + 7140.

Dating: late *Hw(j).f-w(j)* – *H^c(j).f-r^c(w)* [Reisner, 1942, 115], cf. [Harpur, 1987, 269:183]; according to J. Málek – late Dyn. IV [*PM III*², 188].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 188–190].

State of preservation: Somewhat damaged, but no single representation is completely destroyed.

⁷ In order to save space, here and in all the lists to follow we refer only to the «*Topographical Bibliography*» by B. Porter and R. Moss. References are given only to some new publications which have not been included in [*PM III*²].

⁸ Our datings quite often differ from those offered by Y. Harpur [1987]. Although it would be highly desirable, these discrepancies cannot be avoided at the present stage. However, such a divergency, sometimes evoking serious doubts concerning the interpretation of a certain tomb, is not too significant when revealing the general evolutionary trends which interest us in the first place. Another detailed chronological study of the Old Kingdom tombs was recently published by N. Cherpion [1989]. Regrettably, the basic criterion used by the author, namely the presence of royal cartouches in the inscriptions, is good only for establishing *termini ante quos non*, therefore this work by Cherpion should be considered unfinished and not of great interest for our purposes.

4. *3h-t(j)-htp(-w)*, G 7650.

Dating: *H^c(j)·f-r^c(w)* [Reisner, 1942, 308]; cf. somewhat less definite datings by Málek [*PM III*², 200] and Harpur [1987 265:10].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 188–190].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: partly destroyed.

West wall: the only description does not elucidate the state of preservation; it is also uncertain if other scenes could be present there [Reisner, 1942, 328:1].

East and north walls: only several fragments survived.

South wall: neither the degree of preservation nor the possibility of other scenes to be originally present are reported [*PM III*², 201].

5. *Nfr-m3^c·t*, G 7060 = LG 57.

Dating: *Hw(j)·f-w(j) – Mn-k3·w-r^c(w)* [Reisner, 1942, 309]; cf. [*PM III*², 183; Harpur, 1987, 267:131].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 183].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses and north wall: uncertain if there were originally some murals or if they are completely destroyed.

West and east walls: slightly damaged.

South wall: the lower quarter of representations is destroyed (the table scene is reconstructed in Tbl. 1, but the sitting owner could be shown as well).

6. *Dd-f-mn(w)*, G 7760 = LG 60.

Dating: *Hw(j)·f-w(j) – Mn-k3·w-r^c(w)* [Reisner, 1942, 309]; cf. [*PM III*², 203; Harpur, 1987, 266:87].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 203–204].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: representations on the northern thickness damaged, those on the southern one practically destroyed.

West wall: upper portion destroyed.

Other walls: completely destroyed [*LD Text I*, 85].

7. *Dw3-n(j)-hr(w)*, G 7550 = LG 58.

Dating: *Hw(j)·f-w(j) – Mn-k3·w-r^c(w)* [Reisner, 1942, 309]; cf. [*PM III*², 200].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 200].

State of preservation

West and south walls: only the lower portion of murals preserved.

Other walls: completely destroyed.

8. *H^c(j)·f-snfr-w(j)*, G 7070 = LG 56.

Dating: late *Hw(j)·f-w(j) – H^c(j)·f-r^c(w)* ⇓ [Reisner, 1942, 115–116]; Málek is inclined to date the tomb more vaguely: middle Dyn. IV – early Dyn. V

[*PM III*², 183]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 269:215].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 183–184].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: slightly damaged.

Other walls: uncertain if there were any representations besides those on the false door.

9. *Dw3-n(.j)-r^c(w)*, G 5110 = LG 44.

Dating: *Hw(j).f-w(j) – Mn-k3-w-r^c(w)* [Reisner, 1942, 218]; cf. [*PM III*², 148].

Harpur [1987, 271:294] dates the tomb to *Špss-k3.f*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 148].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: partly destroyed.

West and east walls: representations never completed.

North wall: destroyed.

South wall: uncertain from the description [Junker, 1938, 36].

10. G 7560.

Dating: middle to late Dyn. IV [*PM III*², 200]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 271:311].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 200].

State of preservation

West and north walls: two lower registers incomplete.

Other walls: no data.

11. *K3(.j)-m-shm*, G 7660.

Dating: late *Hw(j).f-w(j) – H^c(j).f-r^c(w) ♀* [Reisner, 1942, 115–116]; according to Málek the tomb should be dated to late Dyn. IV [*PM III*², 201], according to Harpur [1987, 270:262] – to *H^c(j).f-r^c(w) – Mn-k3-w-r^c(w)*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 201–202].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: representations badly weathered.

West and north walls: upper portions of representations destroyed.

Other walls: no data.

12. *Mrjj-jb(.j)*, G 2100-1 = LG 24 (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1107).

Dating: late Dyn. IV – early Dyn. V [Harpur, 1987, 267:93] or early Dyn. V [Junker, 1934, 35]; Reisner [1942, 214, 216] was inclined to date the tomb to *Mn-k3-w-r^c(w) – Špss-k3.f*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 71–72]. Now see also: entrance thicknesses [Priese, 1984, Abb. an S. 43, 46]; west wall [ibid., Umschlag]; east wall [ibid., Abb. an S. 32].

State of preservation: complete.

13. *K3(.j)-nfr(.w)*, G 2150.

Dating: early Dyn. V [*PM III*², 77]; according to Reisner [1942, 311] ♀ *Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r^c(w)*; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 270:268].

Bibliography: [PM III², 77–78].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: one of the thicknesses partly destroyed.

West wall: the northern false door destroyed to a great extent.

Other walls: slightly damaged.

NB East wall: uncommon representation of coffins above the door.

14. *Tntj*, G 4920 = LG 47.

Dating: early Dyn. V (☒ No. 15) [Junker, 1934, 173]; Harpur's dating is wider:

Wsr-k3.f – Nfr.f-r^c(w) [Harpur, 1987, 271:287].

Bibliography: [PM III², 141–142].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses and north wall: slightly damaged.

West wall: preserved almost completely.

East and south walls: upper portions destroyed.

15. *Htp-sš3-t*, G 5150 = LG 36.

Dating: early Dyn. V (No. 14 ☒) [Junker, 1934, 173]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 270:230].

Bibliography: [PM III², 149–150].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: the northern thickness survived almost completely, the southern one has only its lower portion preserved.

West and east walls: upper register destroyed.

North wall: upper portion destroyed.

South wall: completely preserved.

6. *K3(.j)-n(j)-sw-t-pw/K3j*, G 4651.

Dating: early to middle Dyn. V [PM III², 135]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 270:277].

Bibliography: [PM III², 135].

State of preservation: complete except the destroyed east wall.

17. *N(j)-sw-t-nfr(.w)*, G 4970.

Dating: early to middle Dyn. V (No. 15 ☒) [PM III², 143]; according to Harpur [1987, 268:145] *Wsr-k3.f – S^ch-w(j)-r^c(w)*.

Bibliography: [PM III², 143].

State of preservation: complete.

NB Entrance thicknesses: (1) representations are copied from those in *Htp-sš3-t* (No. 15); (2) representations on the northern thickness are only drawn, but not carved; (3) the scene of priestly service is reconstructed after No. 15.

South wall: representations are copied from those in *Htp-sš3-t* (No. 15).

18. *K3(.j)-n(j)-n(j)-sw-t I*, G 2155.

Dating: early Dyn. V [Junker, 1934, 136–137; 1938, 15], according to Reisner [1942, 311] ☒ *Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r^c(w)*; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 270:265].

Bibliography: [PM III², 78–79].

State of preservation

South wall: lower portion destroyed (a representation of slaughter might have been placed there – cf. Nos. 15, 17, 19).

Other walls: slightly damaged.

19. *Whm-k3(.j)*, D.117.

Dating: early Dyn. V (\cong No. 18) [*PM III*², 114].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 114].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: representations are only drawn, but not carved.

Other walls: completely preserved.

NB West wall: an uncommon representation of parents and relatives of the tomb owner.

East wall: an uncommon representation of the punishment of the negligent overseers of the courts.

20. *Pr(j)-sn*, LG 20.

Dating: early Dyn. V [*PM III*², 48], \blacktriangleright *Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r^c(w)* [Reisner 1942, 311; Harpur, 1987, 266:72].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 48–49].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses and north wall: no data.

West, east and south walls: slightly damaged.

21. *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w) I*, G 4940 = LG 45.

Dating: early Dyn. V [Junker, 1938, 14], *Sšh-w(j)-r^c(w)* – *Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r^c(w)* [*PM III*², 142]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 270:232].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 142–143].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: upper portion of representations incomplete [Reisner, 1942, 321:29].

West wall: central part and false door partly destroyed.

East wall: slightly damaged.

North and south walls: completely preserved.

22. *Nfr-b3-w-pth*, G 6010 = LG 15.

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* (?) [Reisner, 1942, 217; Harpur, 1987, 267:130]; Málek widens the dating: middle to late Dyn. V [*PM III*², 169].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 169–170]. Now see also: entrance thicknesses [Weeks, 1994, fig. 16–17]; west wall [ibid., pl. 10-*ab*, fig. 21–23]; east wall [ibid., fig. 20]; north wall [ibid., pl. 11-*a*, fig. 24]; south wall [ibid., fig. 20].

State of preservation

West wall: list of titles destroyed.

Other walls and entrance thicknesses: practically complete.

23. *Jj-mrjj*, G 6020 = LG 16.

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* (?) (No. 22) [Reisner, 1942, 314]; Málek widens the dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* [PM III², 170]. Contrary to traditional understanding, Harpur [1987, 289:22] considers *Jj-mrjj* not the son, but the father of *Nfr-b3-w-pth* and, respectively, changes the dating [ibid., 265:14].

Bibliography: [PM III², 170–174]. Now see also: west wall [Weeks, 1994, pl. 30–31, fig. 44–45]; east wall [ibid., pl. 26, 27-*ab*, fig. 39, 41–42]; north wall [ibid., pl. 31-*b*, fig. 40, 46]; south wall [ibid., pl. 29, fig. 43].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: no data.

Other walls: completely preserved.

24. *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w)* II, G 5080.

Dating: middle Dyn. V [Junker, 1938, 14]; Málek [PM III², 146] and Harpur [1987, 270:233] narrow the dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)*.

Bibliography: [PM III², 146].

State of preservation: the tomb being generally known by descriptions, preservation remains uncertain.

NB Entrance thickness: uncommon representation of an oared boat.

West wall: uncommon representation of the mother and children of the tomb owner.

25. *R^c(w)-wr(.w)* I, G 5270.

Dating: middle Dyn. V [Junker, 1938, 14]; probably, *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* [Harpur, 1987, 268:152].

Bibliography: [PM III², 158].

State of preservation: all representations, except those on entrance thicknesses, are completely destroyed.

26. *K3(.j)-n(j)-n(j)-sw-t* II, G 2156.

Dating: middle Dyn. V [Junker, 1938, 15], probably *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* [Harpur, 1987, 270:266].

Bibliography: [PM III², 79].

State of preservation: complete; only entrance thicknesses and west wall are decorated.

27. *K3(.j)-swd3*, G 5340 = LG 37.

Dating: middle Dyn. V [PM III², 159]; Junker [1944, 162] attempted to prove that *K3(.j)-swd3* was a grandson of *K3(.j)-nfr(.w)* (No. 13) and that his mastaba was later than Nos. 24 and 26. Harpur [1987, 286:3] regards *K3(.j)-swd3* as a son (?) of *K3(.j)-nfr(.w)* and dates the tomb back to *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* [ibid., 270:270].

Bibliography: [PM III², 159].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses and east wall: completely destroyed.

West and south walls: completely preserved.
North wall: upper portion slightly damaged.

28. *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w) III*, G 5150.

Dating: late Dyn. V [Junker, 1938, 14], reign of *Jzzj* [*PM III*², 153], cf. [Harpur, 1987, 270:234]; Brunner-Traut [1977, 15] dates the tomb back to middle Dyn. V.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 153–154]. Now see also: west wall [Brunner-Traut, 1977, Farbtaf. V–VI, Taf. 13–23, Beilage 3]; east wall [ibid., Farbtaf. II–III, Taf. 1–6, Beilage 1]; north wall [ibid., Farbtaf. IV, Taf. 7–12, Beilage 2]; south wall [ibid., Umschlag = Farbtaf. I, Taf. 24–27, Beilage 4].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: lost.

Other walls: complete.

NB West wall: uncommon representation of the mother and relatives of the tomb owner.

29. *R^c(w)-wr(.w) II*, G 5470 = LG 32.

Dating: late Dyn. V [Junker, 1938, 15]; according to Harpur [1987, 268:153] reigns of *Wnjs* – *Ttj*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 162–163].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses and north wall: completely destroyed.

West wall: upper portion slightly damaged.

East wall: upper portion destroyed.

South wall: the whole surface damaged.

30. *N(j)-htp-ptj*, G 2430 = LG 25.

Dating: early Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 94]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 267: 111]. Altenmüller [1981] dates the tomb back to *Wnjs*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 94–95]; now see also: entrance thicknesses [Badawy, 1978, pl. 2, fig. 4]; west wall [ibid., pl. 3, fig. 2, 3, 5, 6]; north wall [ibid., pl. 7]; south wall [ibid., pl. 8].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: representations survived only on the southern thickness.

West wall: upper portion of the northern half destroyed; some fragments of the southern half survived, allowing us to reconstruct a palanquin scene [Badawy, 1978, 3].

East wall: destroyed.

North and south walls: at the time of Lepsius only the upper portion was lost; nowadays decorations are entirely destroyed.

31. *Nfr*, G 4761.

Dating: late Dyn. V – first half of Dyn. VI [Junker, 1943, 26–29], most proba-

bly *Wnjs – Ttj* [Harpur, 1987, 267: 126]; Málek widens the dating: late Dyn. V – Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 137].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 137].

State of preservation

North wall: completely destroyed.

Other walls and entrance thicknesses: completely preserved.

32. *Njw-ttj*, G 4611 = LG 50.

Dating: late Dyn. V – Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 133]; according to Harpur [1987, 267: 108] *Wnjs – Ttj* (?).

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 133].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: no representations.

West and east walls: well preserved.

North and south walls: seem to never have had any decorations.

33. *K3(.j)-hj.f*, G 2136.

Dating: second half of Dyn. VI [Junker, 1943, 94–95]; according to Málek the tomb should be dated back to middle Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 76], according to Harpur [1987, 271: 278] – to middle reign of *Pjpi II*; Reisner's dating is more vague: late Dyn. V – Dyn. VI [Reisner, 1942, 313].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 76].

State of preservation: slightly damaged.

NB South wall: uncommon representation of the family of *K3(.j)-hj.f* dining.

34. *(J)s-t-k3(.j)*, no number.

Dating: middle Dyn. VI. Harpur [1987, 270: 240] prefers an earlier dating: *Ttj – Pjpi I*; Málek widens the dating: Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 160].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 160–161].

State of preservation: representations appear only on the west wall, its upper portion being damaged.

35. *Snfr-w(j)-htp(.w)*, G 3008.

Dating: middle Dyn. VI, cf. [Harpur, 1987, 269: 214]; Málek dates the tomb rather ambiguously: Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 96].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 96].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses and north wall: no murals.

Other walls: practically complete.

36. ---w(j)-snb(.w)/*Snb.*, no number.

Dating: late Old Kingdom [Junker, 1941-1, 3], most probably second half of Dyn. VI or still later, cf. [Vandier, 1958, 137; Terrace, Fischer, 1970, 68; *PM III*², 101; Baines, Málek, 1980, 163; Harpur, 1987, 269: 212; Fischer,

1990, 90–91, footnote 1; Bolshakov, 1994-1, 10, footnote 1].⁹

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 101–103].

State of preservation: upper portion lost.

NB All representations in the chapel are concentrated on the false door.

Uncommon representations: (1) ritual sailing of the tomb owner; (2) tomb owner in papyrus thicket; (3) palanquin scene; (4) the owner awarding female weavers.¹⁰

A. Representations on the entrance thicknesses. The table scene is one of the most important decorative components of the entrance in the tombs of Dyn. IV – early Dyn. V [*ChG 2, 8, 9, 11, 13–15, 17–18*]. The tomb owner is depicted sitting at a table on one or on both thicknesses, always facing outwards. The table scene can be accompanied by the offering-list [*ChG 13, 18*] or by the scene of the handing over (reading out) of the list [*ChG 13, 18*] as well as by priestly service [*ChG 2, 15, 17(?), 18*] and representations of food [*ChG 17–18*]. Less frequent figures of the tomb owner standing [*ChG 2, 4, 12*] or sitting [*ChG 1, 3, 6, 13, 15–16*] are oriented like the table scene. Although the offering-list is generally linked to the table scene, it can also be combined with these two kinds of the owner's representations [*ChG 3, 12*] and with the scene of the handing over (reading out) of the offering-list [*ChG 3, 12–13*]. All these facts prove that originally the entrance decorations had in the first instance a ritual nature.

In early Dyn. V the table scene disappears forever from the chapel entrance (probably, starting from [*ChG 19*]). Accordingly, the offering-lists vanish (no case reported) together with the scene of the handing over (reading out) of the list (only in [*ChG 31*]), priestly service (no case) and slaughter (only [*ChG 21*]); the owner being given a lotus flower (characteristic of festive scenes) is represented only once [*ChG 26*], this innovation having no further development. With this, murals on the entrance thicknesses had a general tendency to decrease in number. Representations of the tomb owner, standing [*ChG 19, 25, 30, 33*] or sitting [*ChG 22, 26, 31*], prevailed, but often pictures were absent completely. So after the disappearance of the table scene, i. e., after the moment when the entrance decoration had lost its ritual character, it began to be neglected, thus reducing significantly its share in the tomb decoration (cf. Dyn. IV and VI).

As early as middle Dyn. V when the entrance representations are the most abundant, a scene of cattle driving appears [*ChG 12–13, 18, 21, 24–25*], but later on it vanishes as well, although it is a part of the scene arranged all over the chapel walls. Uncommon representations in *Sšm(·j)-nfr(·w) II* [*ChG 24*] do not affect the general state of affairs.

⁹ Attempts were also made to date *Snb* back to Dyn. V [Smith, 1949, 57; Russmann, 1989, 39–41, 214–215], and even to Dyn. IV [Abou-Ghazi, 1980, 29; Aldred, 1980, 77; Cherpion, 1984, 1989, 89]. Nevertheless, the late dating seems to be much more substantiated, and the fact that the very decoration of the false door in *Snb* follows the trend of decoration development of Giza chapels (see below) makes us more certain of our suggestion.

¹⁰ Hereafter we shall refer only to the tombs' numbers according to this list preceded by the *ChG* index («Chapels of Giza»).

B. Representations on the west wall. Before Dyn. V the main topic of the west wall was the standing tomb owner [*ChG* 3, 5–6, 9, 11–18]; as for the table scene [*ChG* 4] and the sitting owner [*ChG* 2], each of them is found only once. Handing over of the offering-list appears once [*ChG* 14]. Slaughter [*ChG* 2, 4, 6–7, 11], processions of offering-bringers [*ChG* 2–3, 6, 12–14, 18], estates [*ChG* 3, 6, 11, 15, 17] and cattle driving [*ChG* 6, 9–10, 12, 14–15, 17] are shown in front of the owner.

In early Dyn. V, a radical change occurs in the decoration of the west wall: the table scene appears [*ChG* 19, 22–24, 26, 28–29, 31–34, 36] accompanied by the linked offering-list [*ChG* 22–23, 26, 28, 31–34, 36] and by the scenes of the handing over (reading out) of this list [*ChG* 32–33, 36], of the owner being given a lotus flower [*ChG* 32], priestly service [*ChG* 22–23, 26, 29, 32, 34] and slaughter [*ChG* 20, 23–24, 28–29, 31–35]. Representations of offering-bringers which originated under Dyn. IV, are still in use [*ChG* 19–20, 22–23, 29–30, 32–36] along with those of the estates [*ChG* 36] and cattle driving [*ChG* 20, 31–32, 34, 36]. Representations of scribes at work come to be frequent as well [*ChG* 12, 14–15, 17–18, 20, 36] (prior to early Dyn. V only [*ChG* 3]). Figures of the tomb owner standing [*ChG* 19–21, 26, 29–30, 32] and sitting [*ChG* 33] also persist, but usually together with the table scene (the only exception [*ChG* 30]), so that by early Dyn. IV the ritual nature of the west wall murals is beyond any doubt (cf. the number of food representations: under Dyn. IV these appear only in [*ChG* 9], whereas later they can be found in [*ChG* 22, 29, 31, 33–35, 36(?)]).

Apart from the fact that the west wall starts to bear the most important scenes – that of the meal and the linked ones – another tendency can be traced there: as early as middle Dyn. V and especially under Dyn. VI, the number of scenes on the west wall increases, it begins attracting representations typical of other walls, namely the palanquin scene showing the tomb owner inspecting the way how his estate is kept [*ChG* 30(?), 36] the ritual sailing of the owner [*ChG* 36], the pleasure boating of the owner in the papyrus thicket [*ChG* 36], and the awarding of female weavers [*ChG* 36] (three latter topics are included in Tbl. 1 under the heading «uncommon scenes»). Under Dyn. VI it occurs against the background of a significant reduction of the murals on other walls and results in the emergence of the chapels in which all or nearly all representations are concentrated on the west wall. The chapel of the dwarf ---w(j)-snb(-w)/Snb [*ChG* 36] is especially noteworthy in this regard, all of its murals being transferred not only to the west wall, but to the false door itself. Thus, in the second half of the Old Kingdom the west wall grows more important – primarily because the table scene appears on it, and then due to some other topics transferring to it and, partly or entirely, disappearing elsewhere.

C. Representations on the east wall. Comparing the east wall decoration with that of the west wall proves that these are antipodes. In the first place, the former never has either the table scene or representation of the priestly service, whereas the offering-list [*ChG* 13, 21] and the scene of the handing over (reading out) of this list [*ChG* 19, 24] are very rare. Thus, the wall decoration has no ritual character; neither can some slaughtering scenes [*ChG* 12–13, 15, 18, 35] attribute a ritualistic nature to it, since

14–15, 17, 27, 30] are linked only to the table scene and to the sitting owner, but never to him standing. Representations of offering-bringers [ChG 4, 11, 15, 17, 23–24] and of cattle and poultry being driven are met practically over the whole period of Dyn. IV–VI [ChG 4, 10, 16, 19, 22, 33]; processions of the estates are not in use until middle Dyn. V when they vanish from the east and west walls [ChG 24, 28]. A certain number of representations of slaughter [ChG 11–12, 14, 30], marsh activities [ChG 10], scribes [ChG 18] and festive dances to music [ChG 27], i. e., of the scenes belonging to quite different scene groups, demonstrate the range of thematic variety of decoration. Overall, the north wall seems to be the most neglected in the chapel, and the number of representations that was considerable only in the first half of Dyn. V, is substantially reduced in Dyn. VI.

E. Representations on the south wall. Before early Dyn. VI, the table scene [ChG 3, 7, 13, 15–19] and the standing tomb owner [ChG 2, 4, 9, 12, 14, 20] were the most important representations on the south wall; however, in later times they were both replaced by figures of the sitting master [ChG 21–24, 28–31] (cf. under Dyn. IV only [ChG 5]). Accordingly the whole wall decoration changed: offering-lists [ChG 3, 15–19], priestly service [ChG 3, 15, 17–18] and slaughter [ChG 9, 15, 17, 18(?), 19] almost disappeared (see, however, [ChG 27, 29]).

Instead of it representations of a sitting dignitary are in the center of the festive scenes: he is given a lotus [ChG 22–24, 28, 31], musicians are playing and women are dancing before him [ChG 23–24, 28–29, 31, 33] (earlier only [ChG 5]); at the same time, there are representations of food [ChG 22–23, 28–29, 31, 33] reminding us that festive scenes are nothing else but a solemn occasion of the feeding of the owner (cf. earlier [ChG 5, 9, 13, 19]). To prove this once again are processions of offering-bringers heading toward the owner [ChG 22–24, 28–29, 35] (cf. earlier [ChG 14]) as well as those of the estates [ChG 30]. An uncommon table scene showing family members on the south wall of *K3(j)-h3.f* [ChG 33] is in full conformity with this context. What seems to be unexpected is a representation of field works in *N(j)-htp-pth* [ChG 30], but this can be explained by the fact that scenes belonging to the same group appear nearby on the east wall; besides, the chapel of *N(j)-htp-pth* is rather peculiar, rules of representations' arrangement being far from always observed there. Although during Dyn. VI the trend to transfer representations onto the west wall concerns also those of the east wall, at that time the number of scenes arranged on the latter is still not reduced to any considerable extent.

§ 3. Representations in the Chapels of Saqqara

The number of Saqqara chapels that can be subject of our study is much larger as compared to Giza. Unfortunately, many of them are published poorly, if at all, and the whole of the necropolis is studied insufficiently. However, given the present-day availability of sources, the resulting picture, although incomplete, is still of great interest.

The following chapels are considered:

1. *Ph(.j)-r-nfr*, no number.

Dating: *Snfr-w(j) – Hw(j)-f-w(j)* [*PM III*², 502; Harpur, 1987, 273:394].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 502].

State of preservation: rather complete.

2. *3h-t(j)-htp(.w)*, A 1.

Dating: early Dyn. IV [*PM III*², 453]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 272:337].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 453].

State of preservation: only fragments survive.

3. *Hnm(w)-htp(.w)*, D 49.

Dating: *Wsr-k3-f* [Smith, 1949, 186]; according to Málek the tomb should be dated less definitely – Dyn. V [*PM III*², 578]; cf. also a very late dating by Harpur [1987, 275:481]: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w) – Jzzj*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 578–579].

State of preservation: only fragments survive.

NB South wall: uncommon representation of ships.

4. *D3d3(.j)-m-^cnh II* (or *Tp(.j)-m-^cnh II*), D 11.

Dating: *S3h-w(j)-r^c(w)* [Smith, 1949, 186]; according to Málek the tomb should be dated back to middle Dyn. V [*PM III*², 483]; cf. Harpur [1987, 277:541]: *Nfr-f-r^c(w) – N(j)-wsr-r^c(w) (?)*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 483–484].

State of preservation: rather complete.

NB East wall: uncommon market scenes.

5. *Pr(j)-sn*, D 45.

Dating: *S3h-w(j)-r^c(w)* [*PM III*², 577] or *S3h-w(j)-r^c(w) – Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r^c(w)* [Harpur, 1987, 273:391].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 577–578].

State of preservation: quite good.

NB North wall: uncommon representation of the tomb owner's relatives.

6. *K3(.j)-^cpr(.w)*, no number.

Dating: early Dyn. V [*PM III*², 501]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 276:521].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 501].

State of preservation: only fragments survive.

7. *Nn-hft(j)-k3(.j)*, D 47.

Dating: early Dyn. V [Smith, 1949, 54]; Harpur [1987, 275:447] dates the tomb to *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w) (?)*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 580–581].

State of preservation: quite good.

NB North wall: uncommon representation of an oared vessel.

8. *Nfr-jr-t-nf*, D 55 (Brussels, MRAH E.2465).

Dating: *Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r^c(w) ⇓* [Smith, 1949, 187]; Harpur [1987, 274:440] dates

the tomb to *Jzzj – Wnjs*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 583–584].

State of preservation: somewhat damaged, but the set of scenes is clear.

NB North wall: representations of garden works are included in Tbl. 2 under the heading «field works».

9. *Wr-jr(-t)-n(j)-pth*, no number.

Dating: *Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r^c(w)* ∩ [Smith, 1949, 188]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 273:379].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 699–700].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: decoration lost or never existed.

West wall: practically complete.

East wall: damaged, but the set of scenes is clear.

North wall: representations are completely destroyed now; the old publication shows some traces of them.

South wall: practically ruined, but no scenes are completely lost.

10. *Tjj*, D 22.

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* ∩ [*PM III*², 468]; according to Harpur [1987, 277:543] *Jzzj – Wnjs*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 472–477].

State of preservation: practically complete.

11. Family chapel of *Nfr*, no number.

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w) – Jzzj* [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1971, 18]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:439].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 639–641].

State of preservation: complete except badly damaged representations on the north wall.

NB West wall: uncommon representations of the tomb owner's relatives dining (repeated thrice).

12. *N(j)-^cnh-hnm(w)* and *Hnm(w)-h_{tp}(·w)*, no number.

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w) – Mn-k3-w-hr(w)* [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977, 44–45; Harpur, 1987, 274:431].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 643–644].

State of preservation: complete.

13. *K3(·j)-m-nfr-t*, D 23 (Boston, MFA 04.1761 + 07.1005).

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* ∩ [Smith, 1949, 194]; according to Harpur [1987, 276:522] *Jzzj – Wnjs*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 467–468]. Now see also: west wall [Simpson, 1992, fig. B, C, D, pl. 7–15]; east wall [ibid., fig. F, G, pl. 19–23]; north wall [ibid., fig. A, pl. 3–6]; south wall [ibid., fig. E, pl. 16–18].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: decoration lost or never existed.

West and north walls: complete.

East wall: two upper registers destroyed.

South wall: lower portion badly damaged.

14. *Htp-hr-3h-t(j)*, D 60 (Leyden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F.1904/3.1).

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* ∇ [Smith, 1949, 193]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 275:467].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 593–595].

State of preservation: practically complete.

NB Entrance thicknesses: uncommon representations of (1) a funeral procession and (2) cattle and food being delivered by ships.

15. *Dw3(j)-hp*, D 59.

Dating: ≅ No. 14 [Smith, 1949, 194]; according to Málek [*PM III*², 595] and Harpur [1987, 277:557] the tomb should be dated to Dyn. VI.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 595].

State of preservation: only fragments survive.

16. *Ntr-wsr(·w)*, D 1 = QS 901.

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w) – Jzzj* [*PM III*², 485; Harpur, 1987, 275:451].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 485].

State of preservation: practically complete.

17. *Shm-^cnh-pt_h*, D 41 (Boston, MFA 04.1760 + 1971.296).

Dating: middle Dyn. V ∇ [Smith, 1949, 192]; Harpur [1987, 276:504] dates the tomb to *Jzzj – Wnjs*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 454–455].

State of preservation: practically complete.

18. *Pth-htp(·w)*, D 62.

Dating: *Jzzj* [*PM III*², 596; Harpur, 1987, 273:398].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 597].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: decorations drawn.

West wall: upper portion of the false door lost.

East wall: upper right portion destroyed.

North and south walls: only two lower registers survive (reconstructed on the basis of the closest analogies).

19. *3h-t(j)-htp(·w)*, D 64.

Dating: *Jzzj – Wnjs* (No. 18☛) [*PM III*², 599; Harpur, 1987, 272:338].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 599–600].

State of preservation

North and south walls: upper portions considerably destroyed.

Other walls: practically complete.

20. *Pth-htp(·w)/Tff*, D 64 (chapel in the mastaba of his father *3h-t(j)-htp(·w)*, No. 19).

Dating: *Jzzj – Wnjs* (No. 19☛) [*PM III*², 600] or *Jzzj* [Harpur, 1987, 274:400].

Bibliography: [PM III², 600–604].

State of preservation: practically complete.

NB East wall: uncommon representation of hunting in the desert.

North wall: uncommon representations of (1) the tomb owner's toilet and of (2) dwarf jewellers at work.

21. *K3(j)-r(w)-pw*, D 39 (Philadelphia, University Museum E 15729).

Dating: *Jzzj* ∩ [PM III², 455]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 276:533].

Bibliography: [PM III², 455–456].

State of preservation: practically complete.

NB Entrance thicknesses: uncommon representations of big and small ships, oared and under sail.

22. *N(j)-k3.w-hr(w)*, QS 915.

Dating: late Dyn. V [PM III², 498]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:435].

Bibliography: [PM III², 498].

State of preservation: upper portions of all the walls lost.

NB West wall: uncommon representation of playing «draughts» (among festive scenes).

North wall: uncommon representation of mat making.

23. Queen *Nb.t*, wife of *Wnjs*, no number.

Dating: *Wnjs* [PM III², 624; Harpur, 1987, 274:438].

Bibliography: [PM III², 624–625]. Now see also: entrance thicknesses [Munro, 1993, Taf. 25-a]; west wall [ibid., Taf. 39]; east wall [ibid., Taf. 28]; north wall [ibid., Taf. 27]; south wall [ibid., Taf. 26].

State of preservation: badly destroyed.

24. *3h.t(j)-h(p(·w)/Hmj*, usurped by a certain *Nb(w)-k3.w-hr(w)/Jdw*, no number.

Dating: *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; Harpur, 1987, 274:437].

Bibliography: [PM III², 628–629].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses and east wall: only two lower registers survive.

West wall: small fragments of the false door preserved.

North and south walls: badly fragmented.

25. *Jhjj*, usurped by princess *Zšzš.t/Jdw.t*, no number.

Dating: *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; Harpur, 1987, 275:487]; according to Málek the tomb should be dated to Dyn. VI [PM III², 617].

Bibliography: [PM III², 618–619].

State of preservation: almost complete.

26. *Jj-nfr.t*, no number.

Dating: *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; Harpur, 1987, 272:435]; according to Málek the tomb should be dated to Dyn. VI [PM III², 616].

Bibliography: [PM III², 616].

State of preservation: uncertain from the available description.

27. *R^c(w)-m-k3(.j)*, D 3 = QS 903 (New York, MMA 08.201.1).

Dating: late Dyn. V [*PM III*², 487]; Harpur [1987, 275:453] prefers somewhat earlier dating – *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* (?).

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 487–488].

State of preservation: practically complete.

NB Entrance thicknesses: uncommon representation of a moving boat.

West wall: uncommon clapnet scene.

South wall: uncommon representations of (1) hunting in the desert and (2) of an oared boat.

28. *K3(.j)-m-rh-w*, D 2 = QS 905 (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ. I. N. 1271).

Dating: late Dyn. V [*PM III*², 485], probably *Jzzj* [Harpur, 1987, 276:523].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 485–487].

State of preservation: practically complete.

NB West wall: uncommon representations of (1) boats, oared and under sail, and (2) of music and dances.

29. *Pr(j)-nb(w.j)*, QS 919 (New York, MMA 13.183.3).

Dating: late Dyn. V [*PM III*², 497]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 273:390].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 497–498].

State of preservation: practically complete.

30. *3h.t(j)-htp(.w)*, no number (Paris, Louvre E.10958).

Dating: late Dyn. V [*PM III*², 634], *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* – *Jzzj* [Harpur, 1987, 272:340].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 634–537]. Now see also: entrance thicknesses [Ziegler, 1993, 106–119]; west wall [ibid., 64–65]; east wall [ibid., 126–143]; north wall [ibid., 156–161]; south wall [ibid., 164–169].

State of preservation: practically complete.

NB Entrance thickness: uncommon representation of the awarding of weavers.

31. *Pth-htp(.w)/Jj-n(.j)-nh(.w)*, no number.

Dating: late Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 606]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:399].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 607].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: northern thickness lost; the southern one damaged.

West wall: well preserved.

East wall: some representations damaged, but their set is clear.

North wall: upper portion badly destroyed.

South wall: badly damaged.

NB East wall: uncommon representations of (1) a servant making up a bed and (2) of a naoform structure.

32. *M3(3-j)-nfr(·w)*, LS 17 = H 2 (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1108).

Dating: late Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 575]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:406].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 575–577].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: some representations on the east thickness are lost.

Other walls: completely preserved.

33. *D3d3(·j)-m-ḥnh I* (or *Tp(·j)-m-ḥnh I*), D 10.

Dating: late Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI; Málek dates less definitely: late Dyn. V – Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 483]. Harpur's dating is much later: middle to late *Pjpi II* [Harpur, 1987, 277:540].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 483–484].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses and north wall: no data (most probably completely lost).

West wall: only the lower register survives.

East and south walls: two lower registers survive.

34. *N(j)-s(w)-kd*, E 10.

Dating: late Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI, cf. [Harpur, 1987, 276:519]; Málek's dating is less definite: late Dyn. V – Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 585].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 585].

State of preservation

North wall: no data.

Other walls: rather complete.

35. *Htp-k3(·j)*, FS 3509.

Dating: late Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI [Harpur, 1987, 275:469]; Málek's dating is less definite: late Dyn. V – Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 447].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 447–448]. Now see also: west wall [Martin, 1979, pl. 14]; east wall [ibid., pl. 12]; north wall [ibid., pl. 15]; south wall [ibid., pl. 13].

State of preservation: only fragments survive.

36. *K3(·j)-gm(·w)-n(·j)/Mmj*, LS 10.

Dating: *Tij* [Kanawati, 1980–2, 24–25]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 276:534].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 524].

State of preservation: upper portions of all walls destroyed.

37. *Mrr-w(j)-k3(·j)/Mrj*, chapel A 8, no number.

Dating: *Tij* (No. 36) [Kanawati, 1980–2, 24–26]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:420].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 529–530].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: two lower registers preserved.

West wall: upper portion of the false door lost.

East wall: one small fragment survive.

North and south walls: fragments only.

38. *nh(.j)-m-^c-hr(w)/Zzj*, chapel 7, no number.

Dating: *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24-27] or late *Ttj* – early *Pjpj I* [Harpur, 1987, 273:374].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 513-514].

State of preservation: upper halves of all walls completely lost (reconstructed on the basis of the closest analogies).

39. *Hnt(j)-k3(.j)/Jhhj*, chapel 7, no tomb number.

Dating: *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24-27]; according to Harpur [1987, 275:479] the tomb dates to middle reign of *Pjpj I*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 513-514].

State of preservation: upper portions of all the walls practically destroyed.

40. *Nfr-sšm-pth/Ššj*, no number.

Dating: late *Ttj* – early *Pjpj I*; according to Málek the dating should be wider: early Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 515]; Harpur [1987, 274:443] prefers an earlier dating: *Wnjs* – *Ttj*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 515-516].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: completely preserved.

Other walls: upper portions completely lost (reconstructed on the basis of the closest analogies).

41. *S3bw/Jbbj*, E 1, 2 + H 3.

Dating: *Ttj* [*PM III*², 460]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 276:491].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 460-461].

State of preservation

South wall: never decorated.

Other walls: practically complete.

NB North wall: uncommon palanquin scene.

42. *Špss-pth*, E 1, 2 + H 3.

Dating: *Ttj* ↓ [*PM III*², 460]; Harpur [1987, 274:404] dates the tomb to *Mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)* – early *Pjpj II*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 461].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: left thickness badly destroyed.

East wall: never decorated.

Other walls: practically complete.

43. *Mhw*, no number.

Dating: *Pjpj I* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 34]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:424].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 621:19-23].

State of preservation: rather complete.

44. *Mrjj-r^c(w)-^cnh(·w)*, (chapel in the mastaba of *Mḥw*, No. 43 of our list), no number.
Dating: *Pjpi I* ∪ [*PM III*², 621]; Harpur [1987, 274:412] dates the tomb to *Pjpi II*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 621–622, 24–28].
State of preservation: rather complete.
45. *N(j)-^cnh-ptḥ*, no number.
Dating: *Pjpi I* ∪; Málek [*PM III*², 627] and Harpur [1987, 274:428] widen the dating: Dyn. VI.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 627].
State of preservation: uncertain.
46. *Mrw/Ttj-snb(·w)*, no number.
Dating: *Pjpi I* ∪ [*PM III*², 520]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:417].
Brief description: [*PM III*², 520].
State of preservation: uncertain.
47. *Mrrj*, no number.
Dating: middle Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 518]; Harpur [1987, 274:418] prefers another dating: early reign of *Pjpi I*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 518]; now see also: west wall [Davies W. et al., 1984, pl. 11]; east wall [ibid., pl. 15]; north wall [ibid., pl. 12–13]; south wall [ibid., pl. 14].
State of preservation
Entrance thicknesses: decorations lost or never existed.
West and north walls: practically complete.
East wall: unfinished fragments only.
South wall: partly damaged, but reconstruction is reliable enough.
48. *Špss-ptḥ*, no number.
Dating: middle Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 518]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:402].
Brief description: [*PM III*², 518].
State of preservation: uncertain.
49. *Wr-nw*, no number.
Dating: middle Dyn. VI ∪ [*PM III*², 519]; according to Harpur [1987, 273:380] *Mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)* – early *Pjpi II* (?).
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 519]; now see also: entrance thicknesses [Davies W., et al., 1984, pl. 24]; west wall [ibid., pl. 26–29, 39]; east wall [ibid., pl. 25].
State of preservation
Entrance thicknesses and west wall: preserved rather completely.
East wall: only the lower portion preserved.
Other walls: completely destroyed.
NB West wall: uncommon representation of two statues in naoses.
East wall: uncommon representation of offerings transport by boats.

50. *R^c(w)-wr(-w)*, no number.

Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 588]; El-Fikey [1980, 44] and Harpur [1987, 275:452] are inclined to date the tomb back to *Pjpi I*, but cf. [Bolshakov, 1984, 157].

Brief description: [*PM III*², 588]; now see also: entrance thicknesses [El-Fikey, 1980, pl. 1, 19-*ab*]; west wall [ibid., pl. 4-9, 21-22]; east wall [ibid., pl. 11-14, 20-*b*]; north wall [ibid., pl. 10]; south wall [ibid., pl. 3, 20-*a*].

State of preservation

Entrance thicknesses: practically complete.

Other walls: upper portions lost.

51. *3h-t(j)-htp(-w)*, E 17.

Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 633], middle reign of *Pjpi II* [Harpur, 1987, 272:339].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 633-634].

State of preservation: rather complete.

52. *Ttw*, no number.

Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 537]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 277: 554].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 537].

State of preservation

Entrance and east wall: the chapel being but a deep recess in the mastaba facade, has neither entrance thicknesses nor east wall.

West wall: well preserved.

North wall: badly damaged.

South wall: one single fragment survives.¹¹

A. Representations on the entrance thicknesses. The number of representations on the entrance thicknesses is very scarce at Saqqara. The first thing to catch one's eye is the insignificant role the pictures of the tomb owner play. As a rule, he is shown standing (most frequently under Dyn. VI [*ChS 40-43, 49-50*] (earlier [*ChS 2, 10, 25, 30*]), and only once sitting [*ChS 30*]. However, the latter chapel, belonging to *3h-t(j)-htp(-w)* (now in the Louvre), is remarkable for having the largest set of murals on the entrance thicknesses, involving nearly all possible scenes.

Among the scenes, directly related to rituals, there are those of the handing over of the offering-list [*ChS 30(!)*], slaughter [*ChS 24, 27-28, 30(!)*] and transport of the statues to the tomb [*ChS 8, 14, 27, 30(!)*]. Representations of food [*ChS 14, 30(!)*] and cooking [*ChS 14*] are extremely rare.

Scenes of proffering, such as offering-bringers [*ChS 2, 16, 18, 20, 23-24, 27, 30(!)-33, 36-40, 42-43*] and cattle driving [*ChS 12, 14, 20, 26, 31, 44, 51*] are the most important in decoration of the entrance (both being stable features), the estates (till the end of Dyn. V) are also of key importance, but they are not in use after Dyn. V [*ChS 8, 29*].

¹¹ Hereafter we shall refer only to the tombs' numbers according to this list preceded by the *ChS* index («Chapels of Saqqara»).

Some uncommon representations appear in late Dyn. V: marsh scenes [*ChS* 31], the ferrying of cattle and food [*ChS* 14], funeral processions [*ChS* 14], ships sailing [*ChS* 21, 27], the awarding of female weavers [*ChS* 30(?)]. Later on, all these topics disappear forever. Thus, as distinct from Giza, the purpose of the entrance decoration is determined at Saqqara, first and foremost by the proffering scenes – not by the tomb owner's representations.

B. Representations on the west wall. Characteristic of Saqqara as contrary to Giza is the type of the chapel with the false door occupying the whole of the west wall, primarily the East – West chapels (30 out of 52 chapels recorded here, i. e., 58%) – a fact that cannot fail to leave its print upon the decoration as a whole.

When the west wall bears decorations alongside the false door, the table scene, which is in use since early Dyn. V, proves to be the most important [*ChS* 8, 11, 20–21, 25, 28, 34, 46, 50]. Representations of the tomb owner standing [*ChS* 4, 6, 11–12, 19, 49] and sitting [*ChS* 9, 27] are less frequent. It should be noted that all of these scenes do not appear in the same chapel except those in *Nfr* [*ChS* 11] whose tomb is unique in many respects because of its character of a family cult place. Among the major representations are offering-lists, both linked to the table scene [*ChS* 20–21, 46] and independent [*ChS* 13], as well as priestly service [*ChS* 20, 25, 28] and slaughter [*ChS* 9–10, 21–22, 25, 27, 33].

More widespread are representations of food [*ChS* 8–11, 13, 20–21, 25, 27, 50] (the subject is once replaced and once extended by cooking [*ChS* 4, 27]) and proffering scenes: offering-bringers [*ChS* 9–11, 20–22, 25, 27–28, 46, 49–50], estates [*ChS* 4], cattle driving [*ChS* 4, 19, 28, 49]. Dyn. V also provides a series of uncommon scenes: music and dances [*ChS* 8–9, 22, 28], relatives of the tomb owner at a ritual meal [*ChS* 11 (represented thrice)], playing «draughts» [*ChS* 22], netting fowl (from the repertory of marsh scenes) [*ChS* 27], ships [*ChS* 28], and statues in naoses [*ChS* 49]. At other times these scenes are absent. Thus, decoration of the west wall is intended to provide the owner with food (table scene, offering-list, priestly service, slaughter, food stuffs, the proffering of food). Material of Dyn. IV is very insignificant, but, nevertheless, the table scene does not seem to have been brought onto the west wall before early Dyn. V; the offering-list was introduced still later – in the middle or in the second half of Dyn. V, while the priestly service representations appeared in late Dyn. V.

C. Representations on the east wall. Representation of the standing owner [*ChS* 1–2, 4, 8–9, 11–13, 20–22, 25, 27, 30, 34, 46] is the system-forming factor for the east wall; murals showing him sitting are very rare and appear only before the end of Dyn. V [*ChS* 6, 10, 19]. The table scene is met only once [*ChS* 40]. However, in most of the chapels the east wall has no figures of the owner at all [*ChS* 3, 5, 7, 14–18, 23–24, 26, 28–29, 31–33, 35–39, 41–45, 47–52] (a total of 32 chapels out of 52 recorded, i. e., 62%), this phenomenon being typical mostly of the narrow East – West chapels having no space to accommodate them. Accordingly, since late Dyn. V the number of the chapels without the tomb owner represented on the east wall is increasing (29 out of 39 recorded chapels of that time, i. e., 72%). Other scenes which are usually looked at by the owner, are available even in the cases when his representations are absent.

Slaughter (since the reign of *N(j)-wsr-r'(w)* [*ChS* 13, 17–18, 21, 23–26, 29, 32, 35–40, 43–45, 47–51]), food (since the reigns of *N(j)-wsr-r'(w)* – *Jzzj* [*ChS* 11, 16, 23–25, 29, 36, 39–40, 43–44, 48, 50]) and cooking (since the reigns of *N(j)-wsr-r'(w)* – *Jzzj* till the early Dyn. VI [*ChS* 11, 20, 28, 31–32]) are very frequent. Proffering scenes are also of great importance: offering-bringers (since early Dyn. V [*ChS* 7, 14, 18, 21, 25–26, 32–33, 35–36, 37(?), 39, 43–44, 50]), estates (since the early Dyn. V [*ChS* 7, 19, 21, 27, 45, 51]) and cattle driving (since the reign of *N(j)-wsr-r'(w)* [*ChS* 13, 16–17, 20–22, 25, 27, 29, 33]).

In early Dyn. V, household scenes appear on the east wall; they are particularly numerous under late Dyn. V, but in the beginning of Dyn. VI their quantity sharply falls. These are field works [*ChS* 8–11, 13, 18, 20, 22(?), 27–28, 30, 34] (after the turn of the dynasties only [*ChS* 46]), cattle tending [*ChS* 11, 13–14, 17, 19–20] (at the turn of the dynasties only [*ChS* 32]), various marsh activities [*ChS* 4–6, 8, 10(?)–11, 13, 18–20, 22, 30] (after the turn of the dynasties only [*ChS* 46, 49]), and handicraft works [*ChS* 4, 9–11, 28] (absent under Dyn. VI). Related to household supervision are scribes at work [*ChS* 9, 13, 28] (not in use after late Dyn. V) and the punishment of negligent overseers of the «courts» [*ChS* 13(?), 28].

Thus, manufacture and proffering of material goods are mostly represented on the east wall. As stated above, representations of manufacture were omitted more readily than scenes of proffering. In fact, the former are frequent on the east wall only during Dyn. V, while the latter appear in a number of cases as stable features. As a result of the household character of the east wall decoration, the owner is shown here standing and supervising the production and proffering of goods, but not at a meal. All these scenes run mostly under the open sky, and thus, it is logical to situate here some other scenes in the open: spearing and fowling in the marshes [*ChS* 5, 10, 22, 49, 51], hunting in the desert [*ChS* 20], offerings proffered by boats [*ChS* 49] and market [*ChS* 4] (three latter topics are included in Tbl. 1 under the heading «uncommon scenes»).

Ritual scenes are very rare on the east wall. Offering-lists appear twice [*ChS* 3, 40], while the representation of the handing of the list is available only once [*ChS* 9]. The table scene [*ChS* 40] and priestly service [*ChS* 46] are also present once each. Representations of ritual sailing can be found as well (like at Giza) [*ChS* 9, 11], but they never became traditional. It is obvious that the household subjects were forcing out the ritual ones on the east wall and finally ousted them.

D. Representations on the north wall. In the narrow East – West chapels prevailing at Saqqara, the north and south walls were the principal places for accommodating murals. In such chapels decorations of these walls are nearly mirror images, although there can be some differences between them. Since there was either no space for the table scene on the west wall, or it was insufficient, they passed over to the chapel's lateral walls.

On the north wall of the registered chapels the table scene appears, starting from the late Dyn. V, 26 times [*ChS* 12, 16–17, 18(?)–19, 23–24(?), 25–26, 29, 31(?)–32, 35–37, 38(?)–40, 42–44, 46–48, 51–52], its frequency sharply increasing in early Dyn. VI when it can be found almost in every chapel. Representations of the tomb owner standing [*ChS* 6, 10–11, 15, 32, 50–51] and sitting [*ChS* 5, 14, 20, 30, 41, 45]

are less frequent. The table scene is accompanied by the offering-list [*ChS* 12, 16–17, 18(?)–19, 23–24, 29, 31–32, 36–38(?), 39(?)–40, 42–44, 47, 51–52(?)], priestly services [*ChS* 16, 18(?)–19(?), 23–24, 29, 31, 36–37(?), 38(?)–40, 43–44, 47–48], slaughter [*ChS* 4, 7, 12, 14, 16–17, 20, 30–32, 35, 41] (not in use after the reign of *Ttj*), as well as by food representations [*ChS* 12, 16–17, 18(?)–19, 24(?)–25, 30, 32, 36–38(?), 39–40, 42–44, 47, 51–52] (rarely apart from the table scene [*ChS* 30, 50]; twice extended by representation of cooking [*ChS* 22, 27]).

As to the proffering scenes, offering-bringers are very common, in total 32 times, thus being the most frequent topic [*ChS* 7–8, 12–13, 16–20, 23–27, 30–32, 36–44, 46–48, 50–52]; representations of the estates are more rare [*ChS* 1–2, 5, 10, 18, 30, 41] (not in use after the reign of *Ttj*) as well as cattle driving [*ChS* 4, 8, 13, 22] (not in use after Dyn. V).

With this, the principal topics of the north wall are exhausted. Under Dyn. V some additional household and entertainment scenes are introduced. Among them there are field works [*ChS* 8, 10, 15], cattle tending [*ChS* 14, 19, 27], marsh scenes [*ChS* 9–10, 13–14, 28], scribes at work [*ChS* 20, 41], music and dances [*ChS* 5–6, 20, 30], and the owner spearing and fowling [*ChS* 10, 13, 15]. Some uncommon topics are also to be found. By late Dyn. V all these scenes vanish, so that under Dyn. VI they are practically absent.

E. Representations on the south wall. The south wall with its decoration very similar to that of the north one, has a more distinct concept of decoration. In the registered chapels the table scene is met 29 times, starting from early Dyn. V to late Dyn. VI [*ChS* 5, 7–8, 10–12, 14–16, 18–21, 23–24(?), 26, 29, 32, 36–44, 47, 51]. Representations of the tomb owner standing [*ChS* 10, 13–14, 17, 32, 46, 50–51] or sitting [*ChS* 9–11, 28, 31, 34, 45, 48] are rare.

The table scene is accompanied by the offering-list [*ChS* 10–12, 16, 18(?)–19, 21, 23–24, 27, 29–30, 32, 36–37(?), 38(?)–39(?), 40(?)–41, 43–44, 47, 51] (twice also apart from the table scene [*ChS* 3, 45]), priestly service (starting from late Dyn. V [*ChS* 16, 18(?)–19, 21, 23–24, 29(?), 36–37, 38(?)–39(?), 40(?)–41, 43–44, 47]), slaughter [*ChS* 5, 8, 10–12, 14–16, 20–21, 42] (apart from the table scene [*ChS* 4, 25, 33, 35]), and food [*ChS* 8, 10–12, 14, 16, 18(?)–21, 24, 32, 36–44, 47, 51(?)] (apart from the table scene [*ChS* 9, 48, 50]; once extended by cooking representations [*ChS* 10]).

A procession of offering-bringers is the most common scene in the proffering group as well as in the whole wall decoration (in total 35 times [*ChS* 4–5, 7, 9–12, 15–16, 18–19, 21–24, 26, 28–31, 33, 35–39, 41–44, 47–48, 50–52]); representations of the estates are much more rare [*ChS* 1–2, 11, 18, 20, 34] (not in use after late Dyn. V) as well as rather infrequent are those depicting cattle driving [*ChS* 9–11, 13–14, 17, 25, 28, 30, 32] (not in use after late Dyn. V).

Like the north wall, this one begins to bear under Dyn. V a series of household and entertainment scenes, but their number is significantly smaller; these are field works [*ChS* 3, 14, 17], marsh activities [*ChS* 17, 31, 46], handicraft works [*ChS* 10], working scribes [*ChS* 13, 17, 32], music and dances [*ChS* 7, 11, 14, 22, 31, 34], tomb owner

spearing and fowling [*ChS* 15], and uncommon scenes [*ChS* 27] (earlier [*ChS* 3]). All these representations disappear at the turn of Dyn. VI (the chapel of *Mrw/Ttj-snb(.w)* [*ChS* 46] being the only exception). Thus, the north and south walls of Saqqara chapels bear the table scene together with the relevant topics; a certain extension of the murals repertory under Dyn. V was but a temporary phenomenon.

§ 4. Conclusions

A. Chronology. The above study has demonstrated that the arrangement of representations on the walls of Old Kingdom chapels was subject to strict rules changing over the course of time. A great number of features that are either stable or unrepresentative because of the lack of information, do not contribute at all to the chronology; however, other features having exact time boundaries, are quite reliable chronological indicators. The sets of these features are radically different for Giza and Saqqara. The most reliable chronological indicators are as follows.

G i z a

Entrance thicknesses:

- a) table scene: prior to early Dyn. V;
- b) offering-list: prior to early Dyn. V;
- c) priestly services: prior to early Dyn. V.

West wall:

- a) table scene: beginning from the early Dyn. V (available only once in the earlier times and only at the East Field of *Hw(j).f-w(j)*);
- b) uncommon scenes: beginning from early Dyn. V;
- c) handing over (reading out) of the offering-list: beginning from Dyn. V (more probable since late Dyn. V);
- d) offering-list: beginning from the reign of *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)*;
- e) priestly service: beginning from the reign of *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)*;
- f) palanquin scene: Dyn. VI.

East wall:

- a) offering-list: the most probable in early Dyn. V;
- b) handing over (reading out) of the offering-list: the most probable in early to middle Dyn. V.
- c) tomb owner standing: beginning from early Dyn. V;
- d) slaughter: beginning from early Dyn. V;
- e) ritual sailing: beginning from the early Dyn. V;
- f) field works: beginning from late Dyn. V.

North wall:

- a) tomb owner sitting: the most probable under Dyn. V;
- b) handing over (reading out) of the offering-list: Dyn. V.

South wall:

- a) tomb owner standing: prior to early Dyn. V;
- b) tomb owner sitting: the most probable beginning from early Dyn. V;
- c) offering-bringers: beginning from early Dyn. V;
- d) tomb owner being given a lotus flower: beginning from the reign of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)$;
- e) music and dances: the most probable beginning from the reign of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)$.

S a q q a r a

Entrance thicknesses:

- a) uncommon scenes: the most probable in late Dyn. V.

West wall:

- a) music and dances: Dyn. V;
- b) uncommon scenes: Dyn. V.

East wall:

- a) tomb owner sitting: prior to late Dyn. V;
- b) handicraft works: middle to late Dyn. V;
- c) ritual sailing: reigns of $Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r^c(w) - Jzzj$;
- d) music and dances: reign of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w) -$ late Dyn. V;
- e) cooking: reign of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w) -$ early Dyn. VI;
- f) cattle tending: reign of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w) -$ early Dyn. VI ;
- g) slaughter: beginning from the reign of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)$;
- h) table scene: the most probable beginning from the first half of Dyn. VI;
- i) priestly service: the most probable in middle Dyn. VI.

North wall:

- a) cattle driving: not later than the end of Dyn. V;
- b) tomb owner spearing and fowling: reign of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)$ or somewhat later;
- c) household scenes: Dyn. V;
- d) music and dances: Dyn. V;
- e) uncommon scenes: Dyn. V;
- f) cooking: late Dyn. V;
- g) slaughter: not later than early Dyn. VI ;
- h) estates: not later than the reign of Ttj ;
- i) table scene: beginning from the reign of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)$;
- j) offering-list: beginning from the reign of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)$;
- k) priestly service: beginning from the reigns of $N(j)-wsr-r^c(w) - Jzzj$.

South wall:

- a) household scenes: Dyn. V;
- b) music and dances: Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI ;
- c) estates: prior to the turn of Dyn. V and VI;

- d) cattle driving: prior to the turn of Dyn. V and VI;
- e) slaughter: prior to the reign of *Ttj* or somewhat later;
- f) priestly services: prior to the reign of *Pjprj I* or somewhat later.

Application of these chronological indicators is useful both for dating monuments and for reconstructing the arrangement of representations, as well as for establishing the provenance of certain well dated reliefs whose location in the tomb is known for certain – task that is rather frequent in a museum practice. This method is most effective with the inclusion of some epigraphic, artistic or textological features (among them, changes of the offering-formula and the offering-list are to be distinguished in the first place). Moreover, it proves to be acceptable even when no more information is available; sometimes it is the only applicable method (for instance, when the description at hand only reports that there are such and such representations on a certain wall).¹²

B. The sense of the representations' arrangement in the chapel.¹³ The false door whose decoration allows the owner to «go forth» and to «come back», plays the predominant role in the chapel and, therefore, the whole of the west wall decoration also prevails.

Representations on the west wall are intimately associated at Giza with decorations on the entrance thicknesses. Until early Dyn. V, the table scene is accommodated on the thicknesses, but never on the west wall, while afterwards – *vice versa*. At Saqqara we can see nothing similar. This phenomenon should obviously be interpreted as a relic of the first half of Dyn. IV when there were no interior chapels at Giza, and the slab-stela with the table scene was walled up into the mastaba facade exactly at the place where in the later tombs the entrance to the interior chapel appeared. At Saqqara, where the period of the chapel evolution was longer than at Giza, any memory about the table scene as related to that place vanished without trace.

Decoration of the west wall is most intimately related to provision of the tomb owner with food. It is ensured by the table scene and relevant representations, namely offering-lists, priestly services, slaughter, and the delivery of victuals. Even in the cases when there is no table scene, as happens in Giza chapels of Dyn. IV – early Dyn. V, the west wall keeps this character due to the scenes of slaughter and proffering, as well as owing to the fact that the table scene, although small in size, is usually arranged on the panel of the false door.

In Dyn. VI the importance of the west wall increased at Giza with the appearance on it of some everyday and household scenes typical of the east wall. This trend reached its height in the chapel of the dwarf ---w(j)-snb(.w)/Snb [*ChG 36*] with all representations concentrated on the false door. At Saqqara this process never took place, for during Dyn. VI the type of chapel prevailed wherein the west wall was entirely occupied by the false door. It does not imply, however, any exclusiveness of

¹² Since these chronological indicators have been defined just by proceeding from the material systematized in our Tbl. 1–2, the chronological boundaries of existence of the above-mentioned features can be somewhat less definite in reality, and this should be considered when using the method proposed.

¹³ Cf. [Harpur, 1987, 226–229].

Saqqara, because the transfer of representations to the west is but an integral part of certain general changes in the arrangement of representations that were occurring in the chapel; below we shall see other manifestations of this process at Saqqara.

However, when explaining the concentration of murals on the west wall, we should not proceed from a one-sided viewpoint. It is likely that several factors have acted there, such as shortage in the means for decorating the chapel in full resulting in decoration of its main part only, and the preoccupation that the tomb owner could not see the remote scenes¹⁴ leading the creators of the decoration concept to draw pictures nearer to the false door.

When there are household or everyday scenes in the chapel, with some rare exceptions they are located on the east wall.¹⁵ For this reason the table scene was never placed there, while the tomb owner was depicted watching the production and proffering of food. This holds true for both Giza and Saqqara, although evolution of these two necropoleis was quite different.

At Saqqara household scenes appear on the east wall in early Dyn. V, but in the second half of the same dynasty a new decoration pattern springs up in *Ntr-wsr(.w)* [*ChS 16*] reducing decorations on the east wall only to food and cattle driving; a similar set of representations is found in the tomb of queen *Nb.t* [*ChS 23*]. However, this laconic decoration co-exists for some time with the traditional one. At the turn of Dyn. V and VI the number of household scenes is reduced and brief versions prevail, generally coming to nothing more than slaughter, victuals and proffering. Finally, in early Dyn. VI the table scene and the offering-list emerged in *Nfr-sšm-ptḥ* [*ChG 40*].

At Giza representations of delivery were prevailing for a long time on the east wall, and only by early Dyn. VI the household scenes became predominant and steadily replaced even offering-bringers which had been so frequent in the earlier periods.

It may seem that the purpose of decoration of the east wall is quite opposite at Giza and Saqqara. However, in spite of the apparent differences, these purposes were the same for the two necropoleis, though we can reveal them only within the 3^d level system. In Saqqara tombs of Dyn. V, it was possible to arrange household scenes on the east wall, since the west one bore the table scene; the disappearance of the latter in the narrow chapels of Dyn. VI made it imperative to omit the household scenes when decorating the east wall. At Giza, where there was originally no table scene on the west wall (which, in its turn, should be explained by the presence of the former on the entrance thicknesses), the east wall was decorated with proffering scenes, seen as more important than those of household activities. Appearance of the table scene on the west wall allowed the introduction of household representations on the east one by rejecting those of delivery. Notwithstanding the apparent differences, the general purpose of these changes was the same and consisted in a more reliable provision of the tomb owner

¹⁴ Under Dyn. VI the Egyptians had serious doubts about the effectiveness and sufficiency of their attempts to ensure eternal life (for example, murals appeared in the burial chamber), and changes in arrangement of representations follow this trend (see Chapter 13).

¹⁵ In early Dyn. V attempts were made at Saqqara to transfer these scenes to the west, but the east soon won out.

with food. Thus, the East – West opposition so typical of the Egyptian funeral monuments manifests itself in the chapel pictorial decoration.

Opposition of the east and west walls consists also in the fact that the west one bears the table scene occurring indoors, whereas practically all the events shown on the east wall, near the exit, are happening outdoors. So the chapel pictorial decoration covers the entire household of a nobleman, from the dining-room and store-rooms (west wall) to the most remote of his domains (east wall).

As to the north and south walls, these are not so radically counterpoised. This is quite natural for, not falling in the principal chapel's axis, these walls have no specific functions and only attract some scenes from the west and east walls to suit the current needs. Thus, in the narrow chapels without murals on the west wall, the north and south walls borrowed traditional ritual topics, i. e., the table scene and the linked subjects. On the other hand, in the wide chapels of Giza with the table scene arranged either on the entrance thicknesses or on the west wall, it was almost always absent on the north wall, whereas on the south wall it acquired a complementary aspect of a solemn feast with extra representations of the tomb owner being given a lotus flower, of music, dances, etc.

Therefore, we have right to claim that all representations in the chapel are an integral whole, a system. There is no doubt that the above facts are not accidental, that all the changes in the chapel pictorial decoration are caused by alteration of the appropriate concepts. These concepts are the subject of a special scrutiny (see Part 2); meanwhile we will turn to the systems of the 4th and 5th levels, otherwise study of the source base of an investigation like this cannot be regarded as complete.





CHAPTER 4

REPRESENTATIONS IN THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF MULTIPLE-ROOMED TOMBS

§ 1. Sources Used

In the previous chapter we have discussed the chapel decoration as a system of the 3^d level. In principle, each of the remaining chambers should be an object of an analogous study. However, it is more of a problem because, unlike unified chapels, the multiple-roomed tombs vary to a great extent both in what concerns their plans and decorations.

We have, therefore, to study in general terms the entire decorative system of the superstructure, the system of the 4th level. We are entitled to deviate from our consistent method here, because representations in the ground chambers have in the final analysis a complementary nature as compared with those in the chapel and serve to specify and widen their contents.

Thus, we proceed to a consideration of the murals' arrangement in the ground chambers as a whole, not in separate rooms. Decoration of the following tombs will be discussed in §§ 2–6 of this chapter:

S a q q a r a

1. *Tjj*, D 22.

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r(w)* ↯ [*PM III*², 468–478]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 277:543]: *Jzzj* – *Wnjs*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 468–478].

2. *N(j)-nh-hnm(w)* and *Hnm(w)-htp(w)*, no number.

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r(w)* – *Jzzj* [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977, 44–45] or *N(j)-wsr-r(w)* – *Mn-k3-w-hr(w)* [*PM III*², 641].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 641–644].

3. *Phn-w(j)-k3(j)*, LS 15 = D 70.

Dating: *Jzzj* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 10–12]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 273:393].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 491–492].

4. *Pth-htp(w)*, D 62.

Dating: *Jzzj* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 10–12; Harpur, 1987, 273:398].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 596–597].

5. $\$pss-r^c(w)$, LS 16=QS 902.
Dating: *Jzzj* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–12]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 275:456].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 494–496].
6. $Pr(j)-nb(w.j)$, QS 913.
Dating: late *Jzzj* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 21–21]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 273:390].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 497–498].
- 7–8. Complex of queens *Nb.t* and *Hnw.t*, no number.
Dating: *Wnjs* [*PM III*², 623, 624].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 623–625]. Now see also [Munro, 1993].
9. $3h-t(j)-htp(\cdot w)/Hmj$, usurped by *Nb(w)-k3.w-hr(w)*, no number.
Dating: *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; Harpur, 1987, 274:437].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 627–629].
10. *Jhjj*, usurped by princess *Zšzš.t/Jdw.t*, no number.
Dating: *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; Harpur, 1987, 275:487].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 617–619].
11. *Jj-nfr.t*, no number.
Dating: *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; Harpur, 1987, 272:345]; Málek's attempt to date the tomb to Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 616] is not convincing.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 616].
12. *Wnjs-ñh(·w)*, no number.
Dating: *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 144, note 26; Harpur, 1987, 273:378].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 616–617].
13. *K3(j)-jrr (?)*, no number.
Dating: *Wnjs* [*PM III*², 631–632]; Harpur [1987, 276:520] dates the tomb to the reign of *Pjpi I*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 631–632].
14. *K3(j)-gm(·w)-n(·j)*, no number.
Dating: *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24–25; Harpur, 1987, 276:534].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 521–525].
15. *Mrr-w(j)-k3(·j)*, no number.
Dating: *Ttj*, ≡ No. 14 [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24–26; Kanawati et. al., 1984, 8]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:420].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 525–534].
16. *Hnt(j)-k3(·j)/Jhhj*, no number.
Dating: *Trj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24–27]; Harpur [1987, 275:479] dates the tomb to middle reign of *Pjpi I*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 508–511].

17. *nh(.j)-m-^c-hr(w)*, no number.

Dating: *Ttj*, No. 15☐ [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24–27; Kanawati et al., 1984, 8]; Harpur [1987, 273:374] dates the tomb to late reign of *Ttj* – early reign of *Pjbj I*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 512–515].

18. *Nfr-sšm-pth*, no number,

Dating: late reign of *Ttj* – early reign of *Pjbj I* [Harpur, 1987, 273:384];
 Málek's dating is rather vague: early Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 515].
Bibliography: [ibid., 515–516].

19. *Mhw*, no number.

Dating: *Pjbj I* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 34]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:424].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 619–622].

20. *Mrjj-ttj*, an annex to the mastaba of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)*.

Dating: *Pjbj I* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 35]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:415].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 563].

21. *Mrw/Ttj-snb(.w)*, no number.

Dating: *Pjbj I* ☐ [*PM III*², 520]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:417].
Brief description: [*PM III*², 520].

22. *Mrrj*, no number.

Dating: middle Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 518]; Kanawati dated the tomb either to the reign of *Pjbj I* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 14] (cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:418]) or to that of *Pjbj II* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 34].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 518–519].

G i z a

23. *Nb(w.j)-m-3h-t*, LG 86.

Dating: late reign of *Mn-k3-w-r^c(w)* [Reisner, 1942, 247] or *špss-k3.f – Wsr-k3.f* [Harpur, 1987, 267:122].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 230–232].

24. *nh(.j)-m-^c-r^c(w)*, G 7837+7843.

Dating: first half of Dyn. V [*PM III*², 206]; Harpur [1987, 266:42] dates the tomb to the reign of *Wnjs*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 206].

25. *Jj-nurjj*, G 6020.

Dating: *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* [Reisner, 1942, 314]; Harpur [1987, 265:14] dates the tomb to late reign of *Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r^c(w)*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 170–174]. Now see also [Weeks, 1994].

26. *K3(.j)-m-nfr-t*, no number.

Dating: middle Dyn. V ☐ [*PM III*², 263–264]; Harpur [1987, 270:261] dates

the tomb to the reigns of $N(j)\text{-}wsr\text{-}r^c(w) - Jzzj$.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 263–264].

27. *Sndm-jb(.j)/Jntj*, G 2370 = LG 27.

Dating: late reign of *Jzzj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 13–15; Harpur, 1987, 269:219].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 85–87].

28. *Sndm-jb(.j)/Mhj*, G 2378 = LG 26.

Dating: *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; Harpur, 1987, 269:220].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 87–89].

29. $N(j)\text{-}m3^c\text{-}t\text{-}r^c(w)$, no number.

Dating: late Dyn. V [*PM III*², 282–284]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 267:110].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 282–284].

30. *Hw(j)-w(j)-wr*, LG 95.

Dating: late Dyn. V [*PM III*², 254]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 268:180].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 254–255].

31. $Mrjj\text{-}r^c(w)\text{-}nfr(.w)/K3r$, G 7101.

Dating: *Pjpi I* ↓ [Reisner, 1942, 314; Simpson, 1976-1, 1–2]; cf. Harpur [1987, 267:90]: early reign of *Pjpi II*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 184–185].

32. $Mrjj\text{-}r^c(w)\text{-}mrj\text{-}nh\text{-}pth/Nhbw$, G 2381.

Dating: *Pjpi I* – $Mrjj\text{-}n(j)\text{-}r^c(w)$ [*PM III*², 90–91; Harpur, 1987, 267:89].

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 90–91].

33. $Sšm(j)\text{-}nfr(.w) IV$, LG 53.

Dating: late Dyn. V – Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 223–226]; Harpur [1987, 270:235] narrows the dating: *Wnjs* – *Ttj*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 223–226].

34. $Sšm(.j)\text{-}nfr(.w)/Ttj$, no number.

Dating: Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 227]; Harpur [1987, 270:239] dates the tomb to the reign of *Ttj*.

Bibliography: [*PM III*², 227].¹

§ 2. Procession of Offering-Bringers Heading to the Chapel

A procession of people bearing offerings to their master is an obligatory element of the tomb decoration, characteristic of any chamber in the superstructure. The head of the procession represented in the chapel and on the false door(s) has already been sufficiently treated above; now we are turning to its route in the preceding rooms. It starts at the tomb entrance [*Sup 1, 3–4, 14*], comes into the antechamber [*Sup 7–8, 11, 14–*

¹ Hereafter we shall refer only to the tombs' numbers according to this list preceded by the *Sup* index («Superstructures»). These numbers should not be confused with those used in Chapter 3.

16, 18–19, 25–26], and then heads to the chapel through a series of rooms [*Sup* 1,² 2,³ 7,⁴ 9,⁵ 10,⁶ 14,⁷ 15,⁸ 16,⁹ 17,¹⁰ 18,¹¹ 19,¹² 25,¹³ 26¹⁴]. Thus, the movement of the procession can be clearly traced back from the tomb entrance to the false door which is its final destination. The same way was followed by actual visitors to the tomb (there was simply no other route), and, thus, the murals are exactly reproducing their activities.

§ 3. Representations Related to the Storerooms

However, the procession of offering-bringers was heading not only to the chapel; some part of it could also come into a storeroom [*Sup* 7,¹⁵ 9,¹⁶ 14,¹⁷ 15,¹⁸ 17¹⁹] in order to «leave» there some of the burden. Representations are not very frequent in storerooms, but if they are present, the procession is also shown there [*Sup* 1, 4, 7, 9–10, 14, 15,²⁰ 17, 20]. Besides, representations of various food articles are sometimes to be found in the storerooms as well [*Sup* 4, 7, 9, 14–15]. Of special importance are murals in the storeroom of *Tjj* [*Sup* 1], where one of the walls bears the scenes of baking, brewing and making beer vessels [Steindorff, 1913, Taf. 85–86; Wreszinski, 1936, Taf. 70; Epron et al., 1939, pl. 66–68, 70–71]. The titles of the persons supervising these works prove that we are dealing here with a particular department of the nobleman's household, the so-called «*šn*^c house». Its functions, which consist in the preparation and preservation of the food to be proffered to the master, are quite clear today thanks to the studies by Yu. Ya. Perepelkin [1988-1, 210–228; cf. 1960].²¹

Representations of the «*šn*^c house» with the respective legends can be found in three more tombs [Perepelkin, 1988-1, 210–212]: of *Jj-nfr-t* [Wiedemann, Pörtner, 1906-1, Taf. 4–6; Schürmann, 1983, Taf. 12–17, 21], of *nh(.j)-m-^c-hr(w)* [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 25;

² Through corridors 2 and 3.

³ Through chambers II, III and IV.

⁴ Through chambers II, III and IV.

⁵ Through chamber III.

⁶ Through chambers II and IV.

⁷ Through chambers III, IV and V.

⁸ Through chambers A3 and A4 to chapel A11; the other part of the procession moves from chamber A4 to chapel A8 through chamber A6.

⁹ Through chamber VI to Chapel VII.

¹⁰ Through chambers II and III.

¹¹ Through chamber II.

¹² Through chambers II and III.

¹³ Through chamber II.

¹⁴ Through the sloping passage.

¹⁵ From chapel IV to storeroom VII.

¹⁶ From chapel IV to storeroom V.

¹⁷ From chapel VII to storeroom VIII.

¹⁸ From chamber A1 to storeroom A5; from chamber A8 to storeroom A9.

¹⁹ From chamber III to storeroom V.

²⁰ Storerooms A9 and A12.

²¹ Cf. [Andrássy, 1993].

Wreszinski, 1936, Taf. 72; Badawy, 1978, pl. 32, fig. 29 (inaccurate)], and of an unknown person [Berlin, 1899, 57]; in addition, there are a great number of similar scenes without legends, but of quite clear contents [Perepelkin, 1988–1, 212–213]. They can be placed in various chambers, but the evidence of *Tjj* should be regarded as playing the decisive part and we are entitled to suppose that not only in his mastaba, but also in other tombs just the storeroom was associated with the «*šn^c* house», no matter whether representations were present there or not. Inscriptions over the entrances to storerooms A 15, A 17, A 18, A 19 and A 20 in the mastaba of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* [*Sup 15*] designate each of them as a «*šn^c* house» for a certain phyle of priests [Duell, 1938, pl. 199]; storerooms in *3h-t(j)-htp(-w)/Hmj* [*Sup 9*] [Hassan, 1975–1, pl. 48-d] are also qualified as «*šn^c* houses». Such a designation is quite reasonable because storerooms were intended for keeping and perhaps for preparing food offerings, and so they had the same functions in the tomb as the «*šn^c* house» in the nobleman's household.

In full compliance with this people are sometimes pictured carrying food out of the storerooms and bringing it to the chapel [*Sup 14*,²² *15*²³]. The owner himself can enter the storeroom to watch what is happening there [*Sup 9*, *14–7*, *20*], and then to go back [*Sup 1*, *4*, representations on the entrance thicknesses].

Thus, although the chapel decoration did provide the tomb owner with everything necessary – food in the first place, – the storerooms made provision more secure: as long as the «*šn^c* house» exists, the food manufacture is guaranteed.

§ 4. Representation of the Tomb Owner Receiving Offerings

This topic, which has already been considered at length in Chapter 3 as regards the chapel, could be located practically in any chamber. The general meaning of these representations is clear; however, the question arises, does their disposition and orientation reflect a deeper semantic layer, as in the case of the chapel?

The first impression these representations produce is the complete lack of any order within the systems of the 3^d level. Indeed, if they keep to certain rules on a separate wall, within the 2^d level system [Duell, 1938, 18], in the whole of a chamber they seem to be subject to no regulations whatsoever. Nevertheless, this lack of order disappears at once within the system of the 4th level: the absence of orientation to the cardinal points becomes a precise orientation according to some other rules, the main part being played by orientation toward the tomb entrance.

In multiple-roomed mastabas, the entrance arrangement can vary; besides the traditional location in the east facade, it can also be placed at the north [*Sup 1*, *2*] or at the south [*Sup 4*, *7–13*, *15*]; deviations from the tradition can be explained by merely architectural reasons – i. e., by the impossibility of accommodating the entrance at the east.

Two large and well-preserved mastabas, those of *Tjj* [*Sup 1*] and *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* [*Sup 15*] give the best indication of orientation principles within the 4th level system. All represen-

²² From storeroom VI through chamber V.

²³ From storeroom A 12 to chapel A 11.

tations in *Tjj* (except those on the entrance thicknesses of the storeroom) are oriented to the tomb entrance. The complicated plan of one of the largest Old Kingdom tombs belonging to *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)* makes the orientation of the murals more intricate, although no less definite. It should be taken into account that the entrance to his mastaba had been originally arranged in the east facade, in chamber A 10, which was at that time an open portico; only later was it transferred to the south [ibid., 9]. The entire plan proves the East – West axis to be predominant (chapels A 8 and A 11 as well as the burial chamber are placed on it, as to the present-day disposition of the entrance, A 8 is placed aside the principal route of the visitors); the same is also reflected in the orientation of some murals. Representations of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)* in chambers A 8, A 6, A 1 and A 4 are turned toward A 10, i. e., toward the original entrance to the mastaba. Such a lack of correspondence between the plan of the tomb and its pictorial decoration was partly compensated by the setting up of a large statue of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)*, which seems to be the main cult place in the tomb, on the axis of the new entrance, in the niche in the north wall of hall A 13, although we would rather have expected it to be arranged somewhere at the west. Thus, murals are arranged all over the walls with a certain intention, the decoration of hall A 10 with no regularities being the only exception. However, it was made later than the main portion of murals and by another team of artists [ibid., 9].

In other tombs no such rules seem to be followed, representations of the owner being arranged in them in an arbitrary manner. This is but an illusion, though. Pictures of the tomb owner do not exist by themselves, but together with those of the procession of offering-bringers: the owner is shown receiving gifts from his servants and, thus, he must be facing them. So the orientation of the procession predetermines to a great extent that of the owner's representations. In this event, although the general direction of the procession toward the chapel(s) and the storeroom(s) is always the same, in each separate case it may be expressed in a different manner depending on the plan of the tomb: in some cases the procession takes the shortest way (representation on one wall), in other cases it goes around the chamber (representations on three walls), and the tomb owner's figures are turning with it as well. As a result, although they are always facing the offerers, their orientation can be greatly dissimilar.

Then, how the strict orientation in *Tjj* and *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)* could appear, if their processions were following no straight way as well? It is evident that, unlike in other tombs, representations of the offering-bringers and of the tomb owner are separated there in some way: *Tjj* is depicted on the doorways' thicknesses, while the procession is shown on the corridor walls; in *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)* the thicknesses bear the images of offering-bringers, whereas the owner himself is shown on the walls of the chambers. The first method indicates best the movement direction of both the procession and of the dignitary, but it requires the covering of considerable surfaces with monotonous rows of offering-bringers; thus, it was reasonable only in the narrow corridors of *Tjj*, where other scenes would have been useless because of the limited field of view. The second method is more universal, but in spite of its rather wide application, there is no tomb where it is used so distinctly as in *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)*, for besides the procession some other scenes would be accommodated on the thicknesses. The reason for the unusual consistency of the masters who worked for *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)* can only be guessed at.

§ 5. Representations of the Tomb Owner not Related to the Delivery of Offerings

As has already been demonstrated in Chapter 3, everyday scenes disappear from the chapels in the beginning of Dyn. VI. While in the earlier periods the chapel – usually being the only chamber in the tomb – imitated the entire household of a nobleman, now it practically becomes a dining-room. People whose means were enough only to erect a tomb with a sole chapel had to resign themselves to the unilateral character of its decoration, whereas those who were able to build a multiple-roomed tomb had much better opportunities, for everyday scenes could be easily accommodated in some other spacious chambers.

The fact that the distribution of the everyday scenes in the ground chambers keeps to certain rules is most evident when we deal with those depicting outdoor events: if they are placed not in the chapel but elsewhere, the chambers closest to the entrance or even the facade are preferred to accommodate these scenes.

- A. Palanquin scene: [*Sup 1–2, 5–6, 14, 20–21, 24–25, 27–29, 31, 34*].
- B. Tomb owner spearing (usually together with C): [*Sup 2, 7, 11, 13–15, 19, 22, 27–18, 32–33*].
- C. Tomb owner fowling (usually together with B): [*Sup 2, 5, 9, 11, 13–15, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27–28, 30*].
- D. Tomb owner hunting with a lasso: [*Sup 33*] and *3h-mr-wt-(nj)-sw-t* (G 2184, MFA 13.4352) [Boston, 1988, 84, fig. 49].

Those outdoor scenes where the tomb owner does not appear also tend to be placed in the antechambers or on the facade. This holds true primarily for various marsh works (at Saqqara [*PM III*², 904–905:8 and the respective references]; at Giza [*PM III*², 356:8 and the respective references]), and for hunting in the desert (at Saqqara [*PM III*², 907:15 and the respective references]).

Thus, the tomb decoration not only represents the household of a nobleman, but also conveys some of its spatial characteristics.

§ 6. Decoration of the Entrance to the Tomb

The tomb owner facing outside is the most frequent topic on the entrance thicknesses²⁴ (except the above-mentioned cases where the procession of people coming in is depicted). If the facade is also decorated, the owner (standing, or more rarely sitting, e. g. [*Sup 16*]) is usually shown on either side of the entrance facing it. These two pairs of figures are likely to be interpreted – as those on the false door – as representing the

²⁴ The only representation of the owner entering the multiple-roomed tomb was made for princess *Zšzš-t/Jdw-t* [*Sup 10*] in the course of re-decoration of the usurped tomb of *Jhjj*. The original representation is entirely destroyed. Another picture of similar orientation is placed on an entrance thickness of the Louvre chapel of *3h-r(j)-hnp(-w)* [Ziegler, 1993, 106–109].

deceased going forth from his tomb and returning to it.²⁵

If this interpretation is correct, we are dealing here with the idea similar to the New Kingdom notion of the dead man spending the day outdoors and staying overnight in the tomb. This at least is not impossible: indeed, the false door could be accommodated openly on the facade (e. g. [*Sup 14*], to say nothing of the early mastabas having no inner chambers at all); moreover, under Dyn. VI open portico chapels appeared, separated from the outer space only partly (e. g., *Kdfj* [Junker, 1943, Abb. 21]). The presence of the owner's representations far from the entrance, on the corners of several Dyn. VI mastabas [*Sup 14–16*] also testifies to the same interpretation.

Representations on the facade had another function as well, this time of an «applied» character – they had to attract visitors and potential offerers. Just owing to this function, facades began to bear (auto)biographic inscriptions (e. g. [*Sup 14–16*]) in which real episodes from the life of the tomb owner are rare, but instead a circumstantial description of his readiness for death and eternal life is given. For example, «[There is nothing sec]ret from me in any writing of the House of the God's books. I am a keeper of secrets. --- And I know everything that any excellent Light One (*3h*) knows, who travels [along the goodly roads (?)] --- ...» [James, 1953, pl. 5, *A 6–A 8*]; «[And I know] every excellent secret office --- of every excellent lector priest. And I am initiated into every secret of the work of embalming...» [ibid., *B 11–B 12*], etc. All this not only grants to the deceased the right to the well provided for eternal life, but also enables him to revenge on everybody daring to make a sacrilege in his tomb: «As for all men who will enter this my tomb [of the Necropolis in their state of impurity, having eaten] those [abominations] which the excellent Light One who has gone [to the West] abominates... [there will be judgement with them] concerning it in that western [desert], in the Council [of the Elder God] --- ... An end will be made [for him] concerning it in respect of [that] evil. And I shall seize his neck like a bird... And I shall cast the fear of myself into him [in order that] the living who are upon earth may see [it] and may fear the excellent Light Ones who have gone²⁶ to the West» [ibid., *B 4–B 10*]. Only one thing can be inferred from these praises and menaces – the offering-formula must be read out for such a worthy and mighty dead man: «Shall you say with your mouths and offer with your hands²⁷ --- 1000 of incense, (1000) of alabaster vessels, 1000 of clothings, (1000) of geese, --- [1000] of pigeons, 1000 of every sweet thing, all year offerings, birds, oxen, oryxes, joints of meat ---» [James, 1953, pl. 6, *C 6–C 8*].

In the periods of flourishing when the cemeteries were kept in order, these appeals to the living ones (see [Garnot, 1938]) remained a mere overcautiousness, but in the conditions of political and economic decline, they acquired a great importance as securing a reliable substitution of the cult impossible to maintain in the hard times.

Thus, the decoration of the facade had to enable the tomb owner to go forth and to come back, it attracted offerers, and was supposed to scare away the sacrilegious.

²⁵ Cf. also [Junker, 1954].

²⁶ Strange as it may be in this context, the *sdm-tj:fj* form is used.

²⁷ The latter is no doubt but a fiction.

§ 7. Representations of the Funeral Procession ²⁸

As it has been repeatedly stated, Old Kingdom murals represent only events of the earthy life of the tomb owner and do not touch at all upon the topics concerning his death. Of course, the scenes of the ritual group (feeding, handing the offering-list, etc.) are rather far from his lifetime reality, but nonetheless, their prototype resided in the earthly life: when alive, the dignitary was fed exactly with the same dishes; after his death, only the manner of feeding changed from real to ritual. Thus, the rule of representing only lifetime scenes is always strictly kept to in the Old Kingdom; there is a single exception to this rule being therefore of key importance – the funeral scenes.

A valuable contribution to the study of funerals was made by H. Junker [1940-3] who found the prototype of the depicted rituals in the burial rites of the earliest Lower Egyptian kings of Buto («Butische Begräbnis»). However, in spite of certain important advances, his concept is too speculative and unable to provide an explanation of all known facts. B. Grdseloff [1941] devoted a special book to the structure called *jbw* which had been visited by the funeral procession. His study contains a number of brilliant ideas concerning the funeral rites and their successive order, but for many years it did not attract due attention.²⁹ S. Hassan [1943, 69–102] made an attempt to reconsider Grdseloff's conclusions and to relate the funeral rites represented in mural compositions to strange remains of some cult structures discovered during his own excavations. The idea was not devoid of interest, but Hassan's analysis was so disorderly and chaotic that nothing but utter confusion was achieved, different scenes getting mixed together, the reconstruction of the procession going all wrong, the author's unawareness of Junker's study (although quite natural in the wartime conditions) keeping low his level of comprehension of the problems under consideration.

H. Kees [1926, 176–177; 1956-2=1977-2=1980-2, 111–119] also made several useful remarks, as always exact and reliable yet too brief to change radically the state of things. Lastly, the study by J. Settgast appeared dealing especially with representations of burials, and providing a detailed analysis of funeral scenes from Old, Middle and New Kingdom tombs. The author succeeded in distinguishing the main chronological groups and in tracing back the general trends of their evolution [Settgast, 1963]. Unfortunately, although his book is a good introduction to the problem, it did not reveal the ideological aspect of the ceremonies represented, and neither was the author inclined to establish the place of the funeral scenes in the system of tomb decoration.

Thus, the treatment of the problems concerning funeral scenes still leaves much to be desired,³⁰ and we intend to examine them as thoroughly as the Old Kingdom material allows – although of course, without delving deeply into the specific domain of Egyptian rites that is too remote from our tasks in the present book.

The earliest and most specific representation of a burial appeared under *Mn-k3-w-r'(w)* in the rock-cut tomb of *Dbh-n(.j)* at Giza. After a long interval funeral scenes

²⁸ See also [Bolshakov, 1991-3].

²⁹ Cf. [Hoffmeier, 1981].

³⁰ Cf. the paper on the burial rites in «*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*» [Altenmüller, 1975-3] – although exact and complete, it does not offer new ideas and interpretations as compared with Settgast's book.

emerged in the Saqqara – Abusir region under *N(j)-wsr-r'(w)*, and at Giza still later, under *Pjpr I*. The only representation at Dahshur cannot be dated, while in the provinces these scenes came into use in the reign of *Pjpr I*. Provided below is a complete list of all available Old Kingdom funeral scenes in their chronological order.³¹

1. *Dbh-n(.j)*, LG 90. Reign of *Mn-k3-w-r'(w)* [*PM III*², 235; Harpur, 1987, 271:297]. Representation of the burial [*LD II*, Bl. 35 (incomplete) + Hassan, 1943, pl. 1, fig. 122] on the south wall of the inner chamber (see plan [*LD I*, Bl. 27; Reisner, 1942, fig. 126; Hassan, 1943, fig. 113]).
2. *N(j)-nh-hnm(w)* and *Hnm(w)-htp(-w)*, Saqqara, no number. Reigns of *N(j)-wsr-r'(w)* – *Mn-k3-w-hr(w)* [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977, 44–45; Harpur, 1987, 274:431].
 - a. Representation of the burial of *Hnm(w)-htp(-w)* [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977, Taf. 6, 8–11] on the east wall of the entrance portico (see plan [ibid., Abb. an S. 17]).
 - b. Representation of the burial of *N(j)-nh-hnm(w)* [ibid., Taf. 7, 12–15], analogous to (a) and mirroring it, but preserved not so well, on the west wall of the entrance portico.
3. *Htp-hr-3h-t(j)*, Saqqara D 60. Reign of *N(j)-wsr-r'(w)* ♀ [Smith, 1949, 193]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 275:467]. Representation of the burial [Holwerda et al., 1905, Taf. 9] on the northern thickness of the entrance to the chapel (see plan [ibid., 12]).
4. *Pth-htp(-w)*, LS 31. Middle Dyn. V ♀ [*PM III*², 653]; Harpur [1987, 273:397] is inclined to a much later dating: reign of *Pjpr I*. Representation of the burial [*LD II*, Bl. 101-b + *LD Erg.*, Bl. 43-b] on the west wall of the pillared hall (see plan [*LD I*, Bl. 42]).
5. Relief fragment [Junker, 1940-3, Abb. 3; Hassan, 1975-2, fig. 28] found near the mastaba of *Pth-htp(-w)/Tff*, Saqqara D 64, and probably coming from that tomb. If so, it should be dated to the reigns of *Jzzj* – *Wnjs* [*PM III*², 599–600]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:400]. It is impossible to reconstruct the original location of the fragment in the tomb.
6. *3h-t(j)-htp(-w)/Hmj*, Saqqara, no number, usurped by *Nb(w)-k3-w-hr(w)*. Reign of *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; Harpur, 1987, 274:437]. Representation of the burial [Hassan, 1975-1, pl. 14-a, 15–18, fig. 3–5, 8–11] on the north wall of the pillared hall (see plan [ibid., fig. 1]).

³¹ Referring to still unpublished work by P. Munro on the Saqqara mastaba of *Jj-nfr-t* M. Eaton-Krauss [1984, 180] presents a brief description of the funeral scenes in the antechamber of the tomb. It is insufficient for our study and nothing remains but to wait for the book by Munro. However, the scenes in question seem (as far as one can judge according to information at hand) not to differ significantly from other synchronous representations.

7. *Jhjj*, Saqqara, no number, usurped by princess *Zšzš-t/Jdw.t*. Reign of *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; Harpur, 1987, 275:487].
Representation of the burial [Macramallah, 1935, pl. 8 + Lauer, 1956, pl. 5–6] on the east wall of chamber B (see plan [Macramallah, 1935, pl. 2]).
8. *D3d3(.j)-m-ḥḥ* (or *Tp(.j)-m-ḥḥ*), Abusir, no number. Reign of *N(j)-wsr-r(w)* to late Dyn. V [*PM III*², 343; Harpur, 1987, 272:328].
Representation of a burial on the relief fragment [Borchardt, 1907, Abb. 104-c] of uncertain location.
9. *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)/Mrj*, Saqqara, no number. Reign of *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24–26]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:420].
Representation of the burial [See Duell, 1938, pl. 130] on the south wall of hall A 13 (see plans [ibid., facing pl. 2, facing pl. 105]).
10. *ḥḥ(.j)-m-ḥr(w)/Zzj*, Saqqara, no number. Reign of *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24–27] or late *Ttj* – early *Pjpy I* [Harpur, 1987, 273:374].
Representation of the burial [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 70–72; Badawy, 1978, pl. 71, fig. 56] on the south wall of the pillared hall VI (see plan [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 18; Badawy, 1978, fig. 16]).
11. *Mrjj-r(w)-nfr(.w)/K3r*, G 7101. Reign of *Pjpy I* ♀ [*PM III*², 184; Simpson, 1976-1, 1–2]; Harpur [1987, 267:90] dates the tomb to early reign of *Pjpy II*.
Representation of the burial [Smith, 1949, fig. 84-a; Simpson, 1976-1, fig. 23–24] on the north wall of the court C (see plan [Simpson, 1976-1, fig. 1]).
12. *Jdw*, G 7102. Reign of *Pjpy I* ♀ [*PM III*², 185; Simpson, 1976-1, 1–2]; Harpur [1987, 265:38] dates the tomb to the reign of *Mr(j)-n(j)-r(w)* – early *Pjpy II*.
Representation of the burial [Smith, 1949, fig. 84-b; Simpson, 1976-1, fig. 35] on the north wall of the chapel, near the entrance (see plan [Simpson, 1976-1, fig. 1]).
13. *Jn(j)-snfr-w(j)-j3(w)t.f*, Dahshur. Dyn. V – VI [*PM III*², 891], most probably the second half of Dyn. V – first half of Dyn. VI; Harpur [1987, 279:614] dates the tomb to the reign of *Ttj*.
Location of the funeral scenes (CG 1776 [Morgan, 1903, pl. 22; Borchardt, 1964, Bl. 105] inside the tomb is uncertain.
14. *Jbj*, Deir el-Gebrawi 8. Early reign of *Pjpy II* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 51; Harpur, 1987, 280:643].
Representation of the burial [Davies, 1902-2, pl. 7] on the west wall of the chapel (see plan [ibid., pl. 2]).
15. *D(w)šm3j* and his son *D(w)*, Deir el-Gebrawi 12. Middle reign of *Pjpy II* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 51]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 280:647].
Representation of the burial [Davies, 1902-2, pl. 7] on the west wall of the chapel (see plan [ibid., pl. 2]).

16. *Pjprj-ḥnh(-w)/Hnjj-km*, Meir A-2. Middle reign of *Pjprj II* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 53–54]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 280:649].

- a. Representation of the burial [Blackman, 1953, pl. 43] on the west wall of the chapel (see plan [ibid., pl. 1]).
- b. Representation of the burial [ibid., pl. 42] on the east wall of the chapel.³²

The number and repertory of scenes in the group of funeral representations do not tally in most tombs, no ensemble reflecting all of the successive performances, yet the total of them can be reconstructed once the bulk of available monuments is taken into consideration. The data can be brought together in a table (Tbl. 3) made after the same pattern as Tbl. 1 and 2.

The funeral procession starts from the house of the deceased where his family and servants are mourning [FP 9–10, 12]. In *ḥnh(-j)-m-ḥr(w)* [FP 10] this scene is entitled «Going forth from /his/ own house toward the goodly West». The body in a wooden coffin set on a bier is conveyed to the river or canal bank [FP 9–10, 12]. Here, as well as in other scenes to follow, the regular participants are two female mourners, lector priests and embalmers; all of these will not be mentioned below.

The next scene, that of ferrying the coffin by ship, is a favorite theme in the representations of the funeral [FP 3–4, 7, 9, 12–15, 16ab]. A ship bearing the coffin is either towed by barges propelled in their turn by oarsmen [FP 9, 13] or hauled by a group of men trudging along the shore [FP 16a]; both methods can be used together [FP 3–4, 7, 16b]. This clearly implies that ferrying did not mean navigating across any considerable water expanse, but represented a purely ritual cruise.³³ In *Pjprj-ḥnh(-w)/Hnjj-km* [FP 16a] the legend is «Escorting toward the forepart (?) of the *jbw*»³⁴, *Jdw* [FP 12] entitles the scene «Ferrying toward the forepart (?) of the *jbw*», while *Pth-ḥtp(-w)* [FP 4] mentions «Ferrying from the house of weavers»³⁵ toward the goodly West before the Elder God».

³² Hereafter we shall refer only to the monuments' numbers according to this list preceded by the FP index («Funeral Processions»).

³³ Representations in *Jbj* [FP 14] and in *Dḥw/Šm3j* and *Dḥw* [FP 15] are an exception, showing the barge with the coffin hauled by a ship under sail and escorted by sailing-ships, thus denoting a much more protracted voyage. However, the exceptional character of the representations in both tombs has a very natural explanation. *Jbj*, *Dḥw/Šm3j* and *Dḥw* were nomarchs of the Twelfth and the Eighth Upper Egyptian nomes with their centers at Deir el-Gebrawi and Abydos. The family practised a unique joint government: the father stayed at Abydos and handed down the Twelfth nome to the son [Martin-Pardey, 1976, 118–119]. So when the father died in Abydos, his son had to ferry the corpse northwards to the family cemetery at Deir el-Gebrawi, and that is reproduced in the tomb decorations [FP 14–15]. It should be noted that sails were generally resorted to only in navigating upstream, southwards. In [FP 14–15] the ships were shown going under sail northwards, as it was necessary to hurry in taking the still unembalmed body across a distance of some 190 km. This is another fine example of realistic reproduction of details in Old Kingdom tombs – to be true to life the artist had to set aside the traditional standards proceeding from the capital.

³⁴ *Tp jbw*.

³⁵ On the «house of weavers» – a weaving workshop – see [Junker, 1941-1, 55–58].

Table 3
Main features of representations of the funeral procession

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		2	3	4	7	8	11	12	13	14	16
	Mourning	Carrying from home to the shore	Ferrying to the jbw	Carrying to the jbw	Jbw	Rituals in front of or in the jbw	Carrying to the w ^c b.t	Ferrying to the w ^c b.t	W ^c b.t	Rituals in front of or in the w ^c b.t	Bearing-out from the w ^c b.t	Ferrying from the w ^c b.t	«Saifahrt»	«Sargschliffenzug»	Mastaba	Rituals on the roof of the mastaba		Carrying from home to the shore	Ferrying to the jbw	Carrying to the jbw	Carrying to the w ^c b.t	Ferrying to the w ^c b.t	Bearing-out from the w ^c b.t	Ferrying from the w ^c b.t	«Saifahrt»	«Sargschliffenzug»	Mastaba
1																											
2a																											
2b																											
3																											
4																											
5																											
6																											
7																											
8																											
9																											
10																											
11																											
12																											
13																											
14																											
15																											
16a																											
16b																											

- Availability of the scene
- ◆

Representation of the coffin
- Representation of the statue or statue naos
- ✕

Destroyed

The interpretation of the scene (evidently inspired by the word «West» and going back to Hassan [1943, 71]) as crossing to the western shore of the Nile («Überfahrt zum Westufer» [Settgast, 1963, 8–9]) is undoubtedly incorrect. First, it was not crossing a water obstacle, but as noted above, coursing along the shore that was repre-

sented;³⁶ second, both the house of the deceased and the necropolis to which the corpse was being brought were located on the western side of the Nile in the capital region as well as at Meir, so that there was no need to cross the river. In the inscription of *Pth-htp(-w)* the word «West» denotes the necropolis where the procession headed.

The next step is carrying the coffin on a bier [*FP 11, 16ab*]. In the inscription of *Pjpi-^cnh(-w)/Hnjj-km* [*FP 16a*], this scene is entitled «Escorting toward the forepart (?) of the *jbw* on the first day /after/ the very good old age before his God»,³⁷ which establishes both the time of the event (the day following the decease) and the destination of the procession (*jbw*, a structure where purification rituals took place [Grdseloff, 1941; Hassan, 1943, 69–72]). Pictures of the *jbw* itself are frequent enough [*FP 9, 11–12, 16ab*], but the rites performed within or in front of it are represented only once [*FP 11*].

Following purification, the body was taken to the embalming workshop *w^cb-t*³⁸ [*FP 9–12, 16ab*]. The legend reads either «Carrying toward the *w^cb-t* for the embalmer» [*FP 12*] or «Escorting toward the *w^cb-t* of the embalmers» [*FP 16a*]. In *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(-w)/K3r* [*FP 11*] this scene is followed by a picture of the coffin being conveyed toward the *w^cb-t* in a ship tugged by two groups of men pacing along both banks of a narrow channel. In several cases we see the *w^cb-t* itself and some of the rituals performed in front of it or within it [*FP 9, 11, 16ab*], but never the process of embalming.

That was the end of the primary stage of the funeral procession as the corpse was left in the *w^cb-t* to be mummified for 70 (?) days.³⁹ Representations do not contain any reference to the interval, we just observe pictures of what occurred after the embalming on the day of the mummy's interment. There is one picture of the coffin carried on a bier out of the *w^cb-t* [*FP 16a*], and twice (in the same tomb) the ferrying back is shown [*FP 2ab*].⁴⁰ The legend [*FP 2a*] suggests that the barge was hauled not by workmen, but by *hm(w)-w-k3* priests, which means that the towing was quite short. That episode seems to have served as a link between the preceding events and the most important

³⁶ On the canals at Giza see [Hawass, 1988, 405–415].

³⁷ Variants: «Escorting toward the *jbw*» and «Escorting toward the *jbw* /after/ the very good old age among the revered ones before the Elder God, Lord of the West».

³⁸ The function of the *w^cb-t* included besides embalming many kinds of handicraft manufacture having nothing to do with the mummies [Perepelkin, 1988-1, 247–264]. Unfortunately, the correlation of the two aspects of the *w^cb-t* is still uncertain, this book treating only those functions that are directly related to funerals.

³⁹ There, in the *w^cb-t*, the mummy might be kept for some time in case the tomb was not ready. Thus, the tomb of queen *Mr(j)-s(j)-^cnh(-w) III* was not constructed by the time of her death and her body remained in the *w^cb-t* for 273 or 274 days [Dunham, Simpson, 1974, pl. 2-*ab*, fig. 2].

⁴⁰ The legend reads «Ferrying on the lake from the embalming workshop (*pr-nfr*, a synonym to *w^cb-t*) – in peace, in peace – toward his tomb of the necropolis». The vagueness of the term *s* – «lake» does not give us any exact idea of the waterways near the *w^cb-t*, but the «lake» no doubt must have been an artificial and rather small reservoir. Alongside with the above representation in *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(-w)/K3r* [*FP 11*], this scene presents conveying the coffin by water to the *w^cb-t* and backwards. Formerly, before the tomb of *N(j)-^cnh-hnm(w)* and *Hnm(w)-htp(-w)* [*FP 2*] became known, the representation [*FP 11*] was considered the anomalously located scene of ferrying toward *jbw* [Settgast, 1963, 8]. Now, when its meaning is clear, the problem of the location of the *w^cb-t* seems not so involved as it was.

activities of the last day of interment – the ritual ferrying to Sais («Saisfahrt») and ceremonies conforming to the tradition of the Buto kings [FP 2ab, 3⁴¹, 4–7, 13]. A chapel symbolizing Sais, one of the earliest Delta religious centers, was constructed on a shore of the canal designated as the Great Canal [FP 2ab, 4, 13]. The barge was hauled as a rule by men on the shore [FP 4–7, 13]; one tomb only shows oarsmen [FP 2ab]. This is another proof that the area within which the funeral rites occurred was rather circumscribed, and all the transfers within it met exclusively ritual requirements and not real transportation needs.

After ferrying to «Sais» comes the most frequent funeral scene of the coffin or naos with the statue being dragged to the tomb on a sledge drawn by oxen («Sargschlittenzug») [FP 2ab, 3–4, 7–8, 12–15]. The procession approaches the tomb [FP 1, 2ab] and concludes with dancing [FP 1] and the bringing of offerings on the roof of the mastaba, near the opening of the shaft [FP 1, 2ab]. The last scene is designated as «Standing on the tomb»⁴² [FP 2ab].

These are, in brief, the themes of funeral scenes in Old Kingdom tombs. Later monuments, New Kingdom tombs of private persons in particular, present a greater number of rites [Settgast, 1963, 26–65, 75–111]; Old Kingdom royal funerals, if judged from the Pyramid Texts [Altenmüller, 1972], also greatly exceeded in the abundance of rites the subjects found in synchronous tombs of high officials. Real life was no doubt more diverse than its reflection in murals, sundry stages of private persons' funeral processions being omitted due to the laconicism of Old Kingdom art.⁴³ Still we may state that the main stages of funerals were represented correctly and truthfully enough in Old Kingdom tombs.

The arrangement of funeral scenes is subject to certain regularities, and sometimes it is even correlated with reality to a great extent. The chapel was better to do without them, so they penetrated there only in exceptional cases and were placed not deep in the chamber, but only on an entrance thickness [FP 3] or near the door [FP 9]. Preferably they were disposed in the pillared hall [FP 4, 6, 9–10], in the open court [FP 11], or in the entrance portico [FP 2ab], that is, in those precincts where open air scenes were the favorite themes of decoration. Only once and for reasons unknown the funeral scenes decorated an inner chamber [FP 7]. The rule could not, of course, be observed in rock-cut tombs, and funeral procession was to be represented there in the chapel [FP 1, 14–15, 16ab]. It should be noted that both in *Jbj* and *D'w* [FP 14–15] the ships of the funeral procession represented on the west walls sail northwards, exactly reproducing the direction of real ships going from Abydos to Deir el-Gebrawi (see footnote 33). There were also some other attempts to indicate the real direction of the procession. In the mastabas with stairs leading to the roof, funeral scenes are attracted toward these stairs,

⁴¹ In *Htp-hr-3h-t(j)* [FP 3] the legend usually accompanying representations of ferrying to «Sais» [Settgast, 1963, 67] is inscribed above the scene of (as judged by the iconography) ferrying toward the *jbw*. Probably, the artist lacking space tried to combine two different scenes, both pertaining to ferrying.

⁴² *h' m-tp jz*; however, H. Altenmüller doubted for some reason the meaning of the legend and translated it as «Stehen vor dem Grab» [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977, 51].

⁴³ E. g., the rites of the opening of the mouth (see Chapter 9, § 4) never appeared in Old Kingdom tomb murals.

i. e., they are disposed either in the chamber where the stairs have their footing [**FP 6, 10**] or in the room next to it [**FP 7**]. With this, the procession [**FP 6**] is heading toward the stairs just as the real procession would do going up to the roof.⁴⁴

In a strange contrast to this realism is the phenomenon that has long been troubling those studying the problem in question: while most representations of funeral processions depict the carrying and ferrying of coffins, in a number of tombs the place of the coffin is occupied by a statue or a tall naos. Junker [1940-1, 57] supposed that the Egyptians considered corpses «ritually impure», and thus, that they must have substituted the coffin with a mummy for a statue in a naos [Junker, 1938, 70]; Settgast supported the idea wholeheartedly [Settgast, 1963, 18, 20, 23]. Accepting their supposition means asserting that Egyptian representations, true to life in great detail as they are, distort reality as regards the central object of the funeral. True, distortions are possible and not even particularly rare in the pictorial decoration of tombs (see Chapter 12, §2), but they never concern the matters of principle, so the accuracy of Junker's theory must be carefully checked.

To do this, let us consider the specificity of funeral scenes as included in the tomb decorative system. Most of the topics picture pleasant and desirable events, thus ensuring their continuous recurrence. Funeral scenes are of a different nature: the burial is a single action which cannot be reiterated due to its very essence, and, thus, its representation could have only one purpose – to attest obviously and permanently that the deceased was interred properly and correctly, with all the rites and ceremonies accomplished. On the other hand, it would have been impossible to reproduce the reality exactly: representing the corpse would have run contrary to the general cheerfulness of Old Kingdom tomb decorations and, in particular, to the custom of the tomb owner being always shown alive.

Thus, it was imperative to renounce the unacceptable representations of a corpse, and indeed, they never occurred in the Old Kingdom.⁴⁵ In this manner the Egyptians managed to introduce the required series of scenes into the system of tomb decoration and at the same time to repudiate undesirable details. Funeral scenes are a good example of the ancient Egyptians' persistent struggle against death which was ejected even from the tombs, its most natural abode.⁴⁶

Let us return to Tbl. 3. It demonstrates most clearly the main trend of the development of the funeral representations. In the earliest tombs only the last stages of the bur-

⁴⁴ In *ḥnh(.j)-m-ḥ-hr(w)* [**FP 10**] the procession was depicted in a boustrophedon; the upper registers being destroyed, it is impossible to determine what was its final direction.

⁴⁵ Much later, the practice of tomb decoration having changed, representations of mummies became permissible; the earliest picture of a mummy is found in Dyn. XI tomb of an unknown person at Barnugi [Edgar, 1907, fig. 15].

⁴⁶ Strife against death by means of representations affected the attitude toward the body of the deceased as well. A mummy wrapped in bandages and with a mask on its face had been rid of the repulsive appearance of the dead body, i. e., it was not a corpse anymore, but rather a likeness of a living person. Although always making comment upon the ugliness of death [Zandee, 1960], in practice the Egyptians beautified it. The aesthetic approach must have greatly contributed to the stability of their culture largely oriented toward the problems connected with death, debarring it from pathological necrophilia and helping the Egyptians to preserve their mental health.

ial are shown: transferring the body toward the tomb, the mastaba itself and the rites performed on its roof [FP 1, 2ab].⁴⁷ In *N(j)-nh-hnm(w)* and *Hnm(w)-htp(-w)*, the scenes of ferrying from the *w^cb-t* and ferrying to «Sais» [FP 2ab] are also depicted. All these events took place on the last day of the funeral, after the body had been embalmed. In the later tombs of Dyn. V, neither the mastaba nor the rites on its roof are represented, rather transport scenes prevail, both ferrying to «Sais» [FP 3–7] and dragging the sledge toward the tomb [FP 3–4, 7–8]; for the first time there also appears the scene of ferrying to the *jbw* [FP 3–4, 7] preceding the embalmment; the three scenes referring to various stages of the funeral procession presenting only a brief and conjectural hint to it. In Dyn. VI funeral scenes are represented more frequently, and the center of attraction is transferred to the first day of the funeral depicted in great detail and quite realistically, while the scenes following the embalmment (bearing-out from the *w^cb-t* [FP 16a], ferrying to «Sais» [FP 13] and transferring the body to the tomb [FP 12–15]) occur rarely, the last of these being used mainly in the provincial necropoleis (three out of the four cases). Thus, three stages of development are on hand: in the earliest one, only the ceremonies related to the tomb were depicted [FP 1, 2ab], in the transitional one three chosen scenes prevailed [FP 3–8], and in the last the initial stage of the procession was shown in detail [FP 9–12, 16ab] (the contracted epitome following the pattern of Dyn. V coexisted with the third stage [FP 13–15]).⁴⁸

Of most importance is the fact that it was a statue which was depicted in the earlier tombs [FP 1, 2ab, 3–4], while in the later ones it was a coffin. This is easy to understand. In trying to show the «correctness» of the burial and to prove that all the rites had been accomplished to ensure the eternal life for the deceased, the Egyptians originally preferred to have the scenes by the tomb. At the same time, it was desirable to omit images too close to death, and the way out of the involved situation was prompted by life itself.

In the tomb of *Dbh-n(j)*, above the famous scene of ceremonies performed in front of the statue on the roof of the mastaba [FP 1] there is a badly damaged picture⁴⁹ of a statue being conveyed,⁵⁰ with the legend ---*jr-w n-f m w^cb-t r jz [šm]s [tw t jn]*⁵¹ *jz-t n-t pr [mr]h[.t]*⁵² – «[Bringing the statue]»⁵³ which was made for him in the *w^cb-t* to the

⁴⁷ When the scenes [FP 2ab] were still unknown and the representation in *Dbh-n(j)* [FP 1] was considered unique, Hassan [1943, 74–75, 84, fig. 40] did not recognize a mastaba in it and interpreted the structure as the *w^cb-t*. Legends to [FP 2ab] leave no space for doubt anymore.

⁴⁸ Settgast [1963, 16–18] noted some of the trends quite correctly, but he distinguished only two chronological groups, the concise variant of Dyn. V and the detailed one of Dyn. VI. That happened because the scenes [FP 2ab] had not been discovered yet, and he could not presume making an independent group of the single representation in *Dbh-n(j)* [FP 1]. Accordingly, the entire line of development, from picturing only the scenes by the tomb to representing events in the house of the deceased, was not revealed.

⁴⁹ Unnoticed by Lepsius.

⁵⁰ Two registers of representations have survived, each containing a statue. Since the registers are ordered in a boustrophedon, they do not seem to show the simultaneous transport of two statues, but different steps of conveying the statue which is depicted on the mastaba roof.

⁵¹ Junker's reconstruction [Junker, 1944, 122, Anm. 2].

⁵² Junker's reconstruction [Junker, 1944, 122, Anm. 2]. The «house of *mrh-t*» is mentioned in connection with statue delivery also in the tomb of queen *Bw-nfr* [Hassan, 1941, fig. 151]. On the «house of

tomb.⁵⁴ [Esc]orting [the statue by] the crew of the house of *mrh-t*. The inscription is of paramount importance for comprehending the funeral scenes. It proves for certain that on the last day of the funeral, at least one statue of the deceased accompanied the corpse all along the route from the *w^cb-t* to the tomb. According to the *pars pro toto* principle, the statue transport could be represented to indicate the whole of the procession. In that manner both the image of the deceased was properly fixed (for the statue was fashioned after it), and the undesirable representation of the coffin was avoided: even without it the sense of the scenes was clear due to the picture of the tomb.

It is difficult to say why representations of the tomb disappeared in funeral scenes under Dyn. V and the abbreviated version came into use. Anyhow, as soon as it occurred, the meaning of the scenes with the statues, now being devoid of their concluding episode, became less evident [FP 3], so that for clarity it grew necessary to show the coffin [FP 6–7] (also [FP 5, 8], both destroyed).

The development of the multiple-roomed mastabas and the extension of the wall surface in late Dyn. V led to the augmentation of murals, to the introduction of new scenes, and to a more detailed treatment of those already in use. Funeral scenes developed in accordance with this trend, although somewhat slower than the main part of the tomb decoration. The radical change occurred only in early Dyn. VI. At that time detailed representations of funeral processions appeared with some new episodes, such as mourning over the deceased, conveying the coffin from the house, and scenes related to the *jbw* and the *w^cb-t*. Detail concerned only the first day of the funeral, while the number of the scenes following the embalmment diminished.⁵⁵ Statues could not take part in the initial stage of the procession (from the house of the deceased to the *w^cb-t*) as they were not kept at home, so the representations of coffin had to be maintained as a matter of necessity. Having once been included in the system of tomb decoration, coffins stopped being considered impermissible, which facilitated the appearance of the mummies' representations in the Middle Kingdom.

Thus, all the scenes of funerals, irrespective of their including pictures of coffins or of statues, did reflect reality, although different aspects of it. Only one real distortion of reality, although slight and infrequent, should be mentioned. In four cases [FP 3–4, 12–13] a naos appears in the scene of ferrying toward the *jbw*, although, as noted above, statues were in fact carried only from the *w^cb-t* to the tomb.⁵⁶ In three cases out of the

mrh-t» as a certain workshop see [Černý, 1936, 113; Janssen J. J., 1975, 244–245].

⁵³ Conjecture based on the context only.

⁵⁴ The passage was translated by Eaton-Krauss [1984, 143] as «--- which was done for him from the *w^cb-t* to the tomb», but her interpretation renders senseless the definition «which was done for him», since any statue was carved for its owner. Now, when it is proved that some items of the tomb equipment including statues were produced in the *w^cb-t* [Perepelkin, 1988-1, 252–264], the preposition *m* should be translated as «in», the determination «made for him in the *w^cb-t*» being much more intelligent.

⁵⁵ Although not all the scenes survived in such important tombs as *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)* and *nh(j)-m-^c-hr(w)* [FP 9–10], the general trend is quite clear.

⁵⁶ Of course, not all the statues were made in the *w^cb-t*, but even if manufactured in other workshops, they obviously were not kept at home, and so they could not participate in the initial stage of the funeral procession.

four [FP 4, 12–13] the coffin is shown in the scenes next to that with the statue. The reason for that distortion can be explained by the representations in *Jdw* [FP 12]. In that tomb all the funeral scenes are disposed on the narrow piers on both sides of the entrance. The space was manifestly insufficient, so that the artist had to diminish the number of the participants – only three figures are represented (instead of large groups of men) in the scenes of carrying the coffin. As for the scene of ferrying to the *jbw*, the coffin could not be accommodated aboard at all, and a tall narrow naos took its place. In other tombs the narrowness was not so bad, still it is characteristic that the naos appears in the ferrying scenes, the space on board always being limited, but not in those of going over the land, where there is enough space for a coffin. Depicting a coffin in the neighbouring scenes made this distortion non-essential, for the meaning of the complex of funeral scenes was clear in any case.

It should be stressed in conclusion that in spite of their specificity, funeral scenes are well blended with the system of tomb pictorial decoration. Only three scenes of mourning [FP 9–10, 12] stand out against its background, being the only occasions when the Old Kingdom Egyptians renounced their habitual restraint and disclosed the grief of the living for the dead, making good use of all the expressiveness their art was capable of. That grief was reflected as well in the unique legend «Going forth of his servants in tears» in *Jdw* [FP 12]. In any case, these are but minor scenes which cannot appreciably impair peace and cheerfulness prevailing in the world of the tomb representations.





CHAPTER 5

STATUES AND THE SERDAB

Sculpture played a most important role in the tomb decoration, yielding nothing in significance to that of the murals. This is to be expected – volumetric statues are closer to reality than two-dimensional pictures, and that was of great significance for the Egyptians who created images to retain forever the essence of represented objects. For safety reasons statues were often walled in the serdab, a special chamber isolated from the rest of the tomb.

Although numerous studies are devoted to various aspects of Old Kingdom sculpture, the serdabs have never been treated in a proper manner.¹ Meanwhile, many essential problems are tangled up here, for the serdab of course is not a passive receptacle for statues, but a chamber functionally related to certain ideological notions.

Unfortunately, very little is known about the initial stage of sculpture evolution [Smith, 1949, 1–12], and the functions of the earliest statues in the tomb complex can be reconstructed only if proceeding from the later data. Several samples of royal and private statues from the Early Dynastic Period, as well as the subsequent rapid quantitative and qualitative growth of their manufacture lead us to suggest that a deep and powerful tradition existed which remains almost entirely concealed from us. The first statue found *in situ* in a serdab and providing reliable information on the cultic function of sculpture portrays *Dsr* and comes from his pyramid complex. The serdab of *Dsr* is a closed exterior structure adjacent to the north side of the Step Pyramid [Firth et al., 1935-2, pl. 28; Lauer, 1936-2, pl. 23]; it seems to have given rise to serdabs in later private tombs, starting from *H'(j)-b3-w-zkr/Hts* and *Nfr-htp-h(w)-t-hr(w)/Tps* (Saqqara A2) [Mariette, 1889, 71].

The serdab was never a compulsory component of the tomb. In the Giza mastabas built in the «style of *Hw(j)-f-w(j)*», serdabs were rather infrequent (e. g., *Hm(w)-jwn(w)*, G 4000 [Junker, 1929, Abb. 18], *3hj*, G 4750 [ibid., Abb. 55], *'nh(w)-h3-f*, G 7510 [Reisner, 1942, fig. 8], and others), while statues stood openly in the chapels (e. g., *K3(j)-w'c(b-w)*, G 7110+7120; *H'(j)-f-mnw*, G 7430+7440 [Smith, 1949, 30]; *'nh(w)-h3-f*, G 7510 [Reisner, 1925-2, 28], and others). Expansion of rock-cut tombs starting as early as the reign of *H'(j)-f-r'(w)* was another factor which hindered the development of serdabs at Giza, and it marked instead the introduction of statues hewn in the walls of the cult chambers (e. g., *Mr(j)-s(j)-'nh(w) III*, G 7530+7540 [Dunham, Simpson, 1974, pl. 6, 11]). At Saqqara, serdabs were more common under Dyn. IV, but nonetheless,

¹ See recent reviews [Brovarski, 1984; 1988-2].

free standing statues remained widespread as well (e. g., *3hj*, B 14 [Mariette, 1889, 106–107]; *K3(·j)-pr(·w)*, C 8 [Capart, 1920, 232]). Rock tombs sprang up at Saqqara later than at Giza and acquired no great importance, but their walls are also decorated with the engaged sculpture (e. g., *Jr(j)-w(j)-k3-ptḥ*, Saqqara, no number [Rachewiltz, 1960, pl. 4–5, 8–11, 21–I, 24–25]).

Regrettably, available information on free standing statues is far from sufficient, for very few of them were found *in situ*. The situation is aggravated at Saqqara by the inaccuracy of excavations carried out in the nineteenth century that unearthed numerous monuments of greatest importance. In any case, the primacy of statues as compared with the serdab which came into existence to protect them is beyond any doubt.

The serdab is a tightly closed chamber inaccessible after the accommodation of the statue(s). In most cases, statues are likely to have been introduced through an opening in the roof which was closed afterwards; exceptional are relatively rare serdabs constructed by means of walling a part of the chapel – they were entered from the latter (e. g., *Bb-jb(·j)*, Saqqara B 13 [Mariette, 1889, 105]). The dimensions of the serdabs were a function of the statues' size, but they were never roomy, sculpture being squeezed into a rather restricted space. Serdabs were often connected with the next chamber by means of a narrow widening inwards slot («serdab squint») arranged opposite the eyes of the statue(s). However, completely isolated serdabs are widespread as well.

All the regularities relating to the serdabs and statues are far less strict as compared with those of the murals' arrangement. This applies both to the number of statues in the serdab and their total in the tomb, as well as to the number and location of the serdabs themselves. In the simplest case there is one single statue in the serdab, but it is by no means a universal rule. Intact serdabs are few, but we know, however, that some of them contained more than half-a-score of statues (e. g., eleven in *Mjtrj*, Saqqara, no number [Peterson, 1984, 10]; twelve or fifteen in *Jhjj*, Saqqara, no number [*PM* III², 651]; twenty-one in *Tttj* [Peterson, 1985]). In total the tomb with several serdabs could have a great deal of sculptures (e. g., from thirty to fifty in *B3-f-b3*, G 5630 [Smith, 1949, 50]); if taking into account also free standing statues, this number could be still more considerable – exceeding one hundred in the tomb of *R^c(w)-wr(·w)* at Giza which set up a record in this respect [Hassan, 1932, 1]. This burial edifice with comparatively few murals in the cult chambers is a good illustration of the fact that tomb decoration could be based mainly on sculpture. Another tomb whose decoration is dominated by sculpture (mainly by the engaged statues) belongs to *K3(·j)-hr-ptḥ*, G 7721 [Kendall, 1981].

The need for the large number of statues in the tomb remains a problem still: indeed, it was quite possible to manage with one statue only, and most people complied with this. One might suppose that the augmentation of the number of statues aimed to provide another guarantee of their survival. This explanation should not be disregarded, but it does not settle the matter in general. The cause no doubt lies in some cultic specificity of various statues we cannot now understand (cf., however, Chapter 11, § 3).

In order to house numerous statues, the need arose to construct several serdabs in the same tomb, which is especially typical of the multiple-roomed mastabas. The greatest number of serdabs is twenty-five in the above mentioned tomb of *R^c(w)-wr(·w)*

[Hassan, 1932, frontisp]. Although being an exception, the complex of $R^c(w)-wr(\cdot w)$ demonstrates how great the variability of the serdabs' number could be.

It is a common assumption that there are no regularities in the arrangement of the serdabs [Vandier, 1954, 276; Junker, 1955, 54]. This statement is far from being true, and certain rules prove to be existent, at least in mastabas with a single cult chamber. For some yet unexplained reason serdabs located behind the south wall of the chapel are predominant at Saqqara; far more seldom they are placed to the west of the chapel, while other arrangement variants are extremely scarce. In contrast to Saqqara, serdabs behind the west wall prevail at Giza, whereas location at the south is not frequent there; other options are even more rare. In multiple-roomed mastabas the arrangement of the serdab(s) is free. The serdab is not always related to the chapel, and its slot(s) can be opened into any other chamber. Nevertheless, certain tendencies can be traced back even here. So in the mastabas with pillared halls and courts, serdabs are frequently placed behind their walls (e. g., $Jttj/Jr(j)-s(w)-nh(\cdot w)$, Saqqara D63) [Mariette, 1889, 357]; $Phn-w(j)-k3(\cdot j)$, Saqqara D70] [ibid., 370]; $Pth-htp(\cdot w)$, Saqqara D62 [Hassan, 1975-2, fig. 12]; Tjj , Saqqara D22 [Steindorff, 1913, Bl. 1]; $Nb(w)-k3-w-hr(w)/Jdw$, Saqqara, no number [Hassan, 1975-1, fig. 1], and others).

However, let us return to the most representative cases when the serdab is located to the west of the chapel. It is often situated beyond the false door and sometimes (although not usually, as Junker [1955, 54] states) its slot is even cut through above or below the drum (e. g., $K3(\cdot j)-n(j)-n(j)-sw.t I$, G 2155 [Junker, 1934, Taf. 6-b]; $N(j)-nh-r^c(w)$, LG 55 [Junker, 1953, Abb. 45]; $Nfr-hr-n(j)-pth/Fff$, Giza, no number [Hassan, 1944, 282] and others). Thus, the rites carried out in front of the false door were also intended to serve the statue in the serdab, emphasizing its role as the second object of the tomb cult. It is quite evident from the cases when a statue was incorporated in the false door (see Chapter 3, § 1) which thus became a universal cult place. It is also obvious that in the numerous cases when the serdab was not related to the false door, performing of the rites in front of it was obligatory as well.

Representations on the wall behind which the serdab is placed usually neither reflect this fact nor contradict the decorative pattern characteristic of this chamber; however, this rule was twice infringed. $Ssm(\cdot j)-nfr(\cdot w) IV$ (LG 53) placed a representation of censuring and offering before the statue (PelM 3190) [Junker, 1953, Abb. 89, Taf. 23] near the serdab squints [ibid., Abb. 49]. A similar scene of censuring in front of two statues [ibid., Abb. 99, Taf. 24-c] in the tomb of $Ssm(\cdot j)-nfr(\cdot w)/Ttj$ (Giza, no number) is also accommodated near the place where the slot could be opened [ibid., Abb. 50].²

These scenes evidently depict performances carried out in front of the already closed serdab and not during statue transport, since otherwise statues would have been shown standing on a sledge. Statues were represented free standing just because it was quite impossible to depict sculptures hidden in the serdab within the system of conventionalities used by Egyptian art. Thus, the above scenes should be interpreted as censuring

² A fragment of a similar scene (BrM 37.35E) came from the mastaba of $Snmh-w(j)-pth/Jtw\delta$ (Saqqara D43) [Smith, 1949, pl. 48-a], but nothing can be said concerning its location.

through the serdab squint, which is confirmed also by the legend placed under the slot in the mastaba of *Mtn* (LS 6) and concerning the smoke of incense: «For the statue» [LD II, Bl. 5].

The specific role of the serdab as the second cult place is strikingly manifested in those cases when it is turned into a separate structure attached to the mastaba. It was *B3-f-b3* (G 5230) who made the precedent in late Dyn. IV. His mastaba has no chapel (three false doors are placed on the facade), but two outhouses are constructed instead to the east of it, each of them having an accessible narrow corridor and four serdabs with their slots opening into the corridor and into the passage between the mastaba and these structures [Reisner, 1942, fig. 153]. After a long interval, the idea was revived in the tomb of *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w) II* (G 5080) where it was expressed in the most pronounced manner. South of the mastaba, an outhouse is situated with its entrance leading to a narrow east–west chamber with nine serdabs behind its three walls [Junker, 1938, Abb. 33]. The south wall of the corridor is decorated with four realistic relief representations of bolted folding doors [ibid., Abb. 34], while the north wall has a palace facade panelling [ibid., Abb. 33]. On the end west wall there is a representation of a table with food stuffs flanked by vessel stands [ibid., Abb. 35]. South of the mastaba of *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w) III* (G 5170), the son of *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w) II*, there is a similar outhouse with three large serdabs [ibid., Abb. 36]; the walls of the accessible chamber are not decorated [ibid., 199]. In a rather degraded form such outhouses are attached to the mastabas of *R'(w)-wr(.w) I* and *II* [ibid., Abb. 40, 44] who were members of the same family; they contain only one serdab each and no accessible chambers, the slots open into courts in front of the mastabas.

In the cases of *B3-f-b3*, *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w) III* and especially of *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w) II* it is quite evident that the accessible chamber of the outhouse is constructed after the pattern of the chapel. Moreover, being intended to serve cult purposes, it is a real chapel arranged in a specific way due to the specificity of the cult.

Rituals in front of the serdab were the only link connecting statues with the outer world, their isolation being absolute in other respects (at least, they were excluded from the world of the murals which played a decisive part in the functioning of the tomb). The mastaba of *Tjj* provides us with two representations of these rites. Near one of the serdab squints ten priests are depicted heading toward it with offerings [Steindorff, 1913, Taf. 14–15; Epron et al., 1939, pl. 15; Kamil, 1978, fig. on p. 101]. On both sides of another slot, two priests with censers are shown; in front of each man there is a legend: «Burning incense for *Tjj*» [Steindorff, 1913, Taf. 132; Wild, 1966, pl. 17]. The same scene can be seen in the tomb of *Sndm-jb(.j)/Jntj* (G 2370) [LD Erg., Taf. 22-b]. Of interest is also the case with the engaged statue in the provincial rock tomb of *Mrw/Bbj* at Sheikh Said (No. 20). The statue is carved in the back wall of a niche [Davies, 1901-2, pl. 17] whose lateral wall bears a representation of a man offering a bird [ibid., pl. 21]. Thus, flat representations of servants could serve the statue of their master, proving that all the images were equivalent in the tomb, no matter what technique was used.

One might suggest that the most logical way of providing statues with everything necessary could have consisted in the decoration of the inner walls of the serdabs with

representations similar to those in the accessible chambers. However, it never happened, perhaps because statues had to be isolated from the world of the chapel and thus, the walls of the serdabs remained bare. As an exception to this rule the serdab of the Meir nomarch *Pjpr-ḥ(w)/Hnjj-km* should be mentioned: its walls are divided into squares, each of them bearing a representation of a statue; the total of such squares surviving in this badly damaged serdab amounts to 219 [Blackman, 1953, pl. 32–40]. Little fragments of similar representations came also from the serdabs of *Nḥbw* (G2381; Boston, MFA 13.4339ab; Cairo, JE 44621) [Fischer, 1963-1, frontisp., pl. 2–3], *S3bw-ptḥ/Jbbj* (G2381+2382; Boston, MFA 13.4345) [Eaton-Krauss, 1984, pl. 31, Cat. Nos. 146, 147] and *Špss-ptḥ/Jmpj* (G2381+ 2382) [ibid., 1984, 182, note 902]. This decoration does not contradict the isolation of the serdab, for they depict nothing but statues, thus increasing their number; moreover, all the four decorated serdabs date back to the late Old Kingdom when all the rules had become less strict.

However, images did penetrate into the serdab, but only as servants' statuettes and models of food offerings, boats, etc. (e. g., *Jttj/Jr(j)-s(w)-ḥ(w)*, Saqqara D63 [Mariette, 1889, 358]; G2385 [Smith, 1949, p. 93]; *Jdw II*, Giza, no number [Junker, 1947, S. 92]; *D333* (Giza D.39/40) [Smith, 1949, 97–101 + *PM III*², 111–112]; *---w(j)-snb(w)/Snb* [Junker, 1941-1, 105–107]). In *3ḥw* (Giza, no number) a real censer full of coals stood near the statues [Abu-Bakr, 1953, pl. 49-b]. It is difficult to say why models and real objects were more admissible than murals.

This brief review does not pretend to provide a solution to any of the great problems related to the serdabs which should be the subject of a special (and voluminous) study. Nevertheless, it demonstrates for certain that although rather isolated and specific, the serdab and the statues arranged in it are a part of the system of tomb decoration and that if we still do not understand all the regularities of their functioning, this does not mean that such regularities do not exist at all.





CHAPTER 6

BURIAL CHAMBER AND ITS DECORATION

Burial chamber is a crypt which, because of its function, is secured by a deep shaft filled with rubble and blocked with monolithic stones, and thus, separated from the rest of the tomb. For this reason, scholars are inclined to study it as if it was quite independent from the superstructure and was not a subject of general regulations of the tomb structure. It was G. A. Reisner who developed a detailed typology of the burial chambers, shafts, stairs and sloping passages in the tombs dated to the period before *Hw(j).f-w(j)* [Reisner, 1936-1]; he also offered a typology of the Giza material of Dyn. IV–VI [Reisner, 1942]. Some even more important but regrettably unsystematized observations are spread all over the twelve volumes of «*Giza*» by H. Junker. All this entitles us to pay special attention only to some still neglected problems significant from the ideological point of view. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the material of the burial chambers cannot be taken into account exhaustively, since too many of them containing no inscriptions, representations or attractive finds have never been published in a proper manner.

§ 1. Arrangement and Orientation of the Burial Chamber

In the earliest mastabas having no chapels yet, the burial chamber was the only room besides the magazines, and thus, special attention was paid to it. At Saqqara it results in the emergence of the extensive systems of hypogean rooms obviously imitating the house of an Egyptian nobleman (Dyn. II–III) [Quibell, 1923, pl. 30]; the largest of them was placed under the mastaba QS 2302 (fig. 1). This type of substructure had no further development and except several cases (e. g. [Hassan, 1941, fig. 36, 66]) the tombs with one burial chamber per each shaft (sloping passage) prevail in the Old Kingdom.

In the mastabas of the Early Dynastic Period, the entrance to the burial chamber (no matter whether from the shaft or stairs) was always located to the north of the chamber or of the whole system of subterranean rooms. We certainly deal here with a manifestation of the archaic astral notions (see Chapter 1, § 2) which greatly influenced the orientation of tombs, of their separate chambers and of some representations (see Chapter 3, § 1). The same orientation prevailed in the Giza mastabas erected under *Hw(j).f-w(j)* and somewhat later. However, already in the Meidum mastaba No. 17 (reign of *Snfr-w(j)*) the first deviation from the original orientation appeared: the sloping passage was arranged to the east of the burial chamber [Petrie et al., 1910, pl. 12]. Then, until middle Dyn. VI, such an arrangement was a general rule; some rare exceptions (e. g. [James,

1953, pl. 4]) can be explained by architectural peculiarities of the respective tombs. Thus, the burial chamber was reoriented according to the solar notions, its entrance being opened toward the sunrise.

In the earliest tombs, there was no correlation between the false door and the burial chamber (e. g. [Quibell, 1923, pl. 1–2]); however, in the Meidum mastabas, the burial chambers were already located to the west of the false door [Petrie, 1892, pl. 5; Petrie et al. 1910, pl. 3], although this did not become a rule yet. It became a general regulation somewhat later and persisted down to the late Old Kingdom. Most obvious this is in the multiple-roomed mastabas (e. g., *Jtj/Jr(j)-s(w)-nh(-w)* [Mariette, 1889, 375], *nh(j)-m-hr(w)* [Badawy, 1978, fig. 1], *Nfr-sšm-r(w)* [Firth, Gunn, 1926-2, pl. 31]).

Since middle Dyn. VI, the location of the burial chamber relative to the shaft came to be free [Junker, 1941-1, 136–137; 1953, 8, 23], the entrance being arranged not only to the east, but also to the north, south, and even west (see the review of the Giza material [Junker, 1955, 241]). This change follows the general slackening of such rules in the late Old Kingdom.

§ 2. Pictorial Decoration of the Burial Chamber

In a number of Dyn. II tombs at Ezbet el-Walda (by Helwan)¹ the so-called «ceiling stelae» were placed in the burial chambers. A narrow shaft «reached from the ground level to the ceiling» [Saad, 1947, 172]² and its lower end was blocked with a rectangular slab bearing the table scene walled up into the ceiling [Saad, 1947, 172–173; 1951, 16, pl. 2; 1957, passim; Müller-Karpe, 1968, Taf. 53]. These «ceiling stelae» cause a number of still unsolved problems, but for the present author it is obvious that we are facing here the formative stage of some local line of development of pictorial decoration in the burial chamber.³ However, another tendency won – that of a complete avoiding of representations in the substructure, their absence being the strictest rule which was never infringed.

This does not mean, however, that during such a protracted time no other trends existed in the decoration of the burial chamber. After the «ceiling stelae» and the systems of underground rooms were given up, the burial chambers began to be neglected. As a

¹ Ezbet el-Walda was no doubt one of the most important archaic cemeteries of the Memphite region and the rival of Saqqara, but unfortunately its relation to the capital and other necropoleis remains uncertain.

² The material of excavations at Ezbet el-Walda was published by Z. Saad in the worst possible manner, almost without any plans being reproduced. As concerns these shafts, Saad's description [1947, 172] contradicts the plan [ibid., pl. 65], and so it is uncertain where their upper end opened. Could they connect the offering place with the burial chamber, thus being a kind of symbolic «line of communication»?

³ An attempt of G. Haeny [1971] to interpret the «ceiling stelae» as re-used slab-stelae having once decorated the superstructures is unconvincing in my opinion for numerous reasons. Looking forward to discussing the problem elsewhere, I would like to state here that the fact of the discovery of nine stelae *in situ* is in spite of all Haeny's objections the decisive argument for considering them an element of the decoration of the substructure.

rule, they were roughly hewn in the rock,⁴ the main attention being paid not to the sub- but to the superstructure. The «style of *Hw(j)·f-w(j)*» gave rise to an absolutely new mounting of the burial chambers at Giza. In accordance with the laconic stylistics of the superstructures, the shafts and burial chambers were lined with perfectly polished limestone blocks, thus acquiring that reserved and noble appearance which was never transcended in the periods to follow. The stone sarcophagi – usually undecorated parallelepipeds with smooth surfaces – were a match for the lining.

Tombs of the traditional style with the burial chambers without lining and rather frequently having irregular forms coexisted in other necropoleis with those of the «style of *Hw(j)·f-w(j)*» at Giza. When the «style of *Hw(j)·f-w(j)*» vanished, they remained the only type in use till late Dyn. V.

In the end of Dyn. V the most important turning point took place in the tomb decoration: for the first time after the Ezbet el-Walda experiment, representations appeared in the substructure.⁵ The following decorated burial chambers are known in the Old Kingdom.^{6 7}

C e n t r a l S a q q a r a

1. *N(j)·nh-b3*, no number.
Dating: *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; 1980-2, 16].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 629].
2. *Jhjj*, usurped by princess *Zšzš·t/Jdw·t*, no number,
Dating: *Wnjs* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 12–13; 1980-2, 16; Harpur, 1987, 275:487].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 619].
3. *Pth-htp(·w)/Jj-n(·j)·nh(·w)*, no number.
Dating: late Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 606]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:399].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 606–607].
4. *K3(·j)·gm(·w)·n(·j)/Mmj*, LS 10,
Dating: *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24–25]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 276:534].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 525].

⁴ Before the reign of *Hw(j)·f-w(j)*, in the period of formation of the building technology, several burial chambers were constructed of large monoliths in open pits filled up afterwards with rubbish and sand, e.g. [Petric et al., 1910, pl. 4; Reisner, 1936-1, fig. 100–101, 103].

⁵ It is remarkable that this happened under *Wnjs*, synchronously with the first record of the Pyramid Texts.

⁶ Tombs of the late Old Kingdom at Saqqara South (Nos. 10–40 according to our list) which can hardly be dated exactly, are listed not in chronological order but according to the «*Topographical Bibliography*». The burial chambers containing some inscriptions but no representations are not included to the list.

⁷ Although we usually do not consider the material of the provincial cemeteries, one tomb at Sheikh Said is included in this list: first, it has the only decorated burial chamber in the provinces; second, its murals are most interesting from the viewpoint of typology.

5. *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)/Mrj*, no number.
Dating: *Ttj* (No. 4) [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24–26]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:420].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 534].
- 6–7. *Hnt(j)-k3(.j)/Jhhj*, no number, two chambers.
Dating: *Ttj*⁸ [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24–27]; Harpur [1987, 275:479] dates the tomb to the middle of the reign of *Pjpi I*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 511].
8. *nh(.j)-m-^c-hr(w)*, no number.
Dating: *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24–27]; or late *Ttj* – early *Pjpi I* [Harpur, 1987, 273:374].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 515].
9. *Mrrj*, no number.⁹
Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 607]; Harpur [1987, 274:419] dates the tomb to the reign of *Mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)* – early reign of *Pjpi II*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 607].

S a q q a r a S o u t h

10. *Jhjj*, no number,
Dating: *Mr(j)-n(.j)-r^c(w)* [PM III², 673].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 673].
11. *Dšrj*, no number,
Dating: FIP [*PM III*², 673].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 673].
12. *Pjpi-nh(.w)/Ztw*, no number.
Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 672].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 672].
- 13–14. *3hj* (usurped by a certain *Bjw*) and *Pjpi*, N.IV.
Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 677].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 677].
15. *Šn^cjj*, N.V.
Dating: *Pjpi II* [*PM III*², 678].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 678].
16. *Dgm/Mr(j)-pjpi*, N.VII.
Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 679].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 679].

⁸ To the reign of *Ttj* date both the mastaba itself and the first burial chamber. The other chamber is secondary and somewhat later in date, although the chronological gap between them can hardly be long.

⁹ Not to be confused with [*Sup 22*].

17. *R^c(w)-hr-k3(·j)/Jpj*, N.VIII.
Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 679].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 679].
18. *Nb(w)·f·nh(·w)*, N.X.
Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 679].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 679–680].
19. *Nfr-k3-r^c(w)-nht(·w)*, N.XI,
Dating: late Dyn. VI or FIP [*PM III*², 680].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 680].
20. *Jdj/D3d3(·j)-m-k3.w* (or *Tp(·j)-m-k3.w*), M-III.
Dating: late Dyn. VI.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 680].
- 21–22. *N(j)-s(j)-jt(w)* and *Snj*, M.VI.
Dating: late Dyn. VI or FIP [*PM III*², 681].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 681].
- 23–24. *Pnw* and *Snj·t*, M.VII.
Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 681].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 681].
25. *Šjj*, M.IX.
Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 682].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 682].
26. *Pth·nh·w/Jtj*, M.X.
Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 682].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 682].
- 27–28. *Mhj* and the secondary burial chamber of *Šm^c·j·t*, M.XI.
Dating: late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 682].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 682].
- 29–30. *Sbkw I* and *Sbkw II*, M.XII.
Dating: late Dyn. VI or FIP [*PM III*², 682].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 682–683].
- 31–32. *Jm3-mrjj-r^c(w)* and the secondary burial chamber of *N(j)-h(3)b-sd-nfr-k3-r^c(w)*, M.XIII.
Dating: *Pjpj II* [*PM III*², 683].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 683].
33. *H^c(j)-b3·w-hnm(w)/Bjw*, M.XIV.
Dating: *Pjpj II* [*PM III*², 684].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 684].

34. Prince *Ttj*, M.XV.
Dating: *Pjpj II* [*PM III*², 684].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 684].
35. *Sbk-htp(·w)*, M.XVII.
Dating: *Pjpj II* [*PM III*², 685].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 685].
36. *Hw(j)-b3-w*, no number.
Dating: *Pjpj II* [*PM III*², 685].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 685].
37. *N(j)-pjpj (?)*, O.1.
Dating: *Pjpj II* [*PM III*², 686].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 686].
38. *Hnmw*, O.II.
Dating: *Pjpj II* [*PM III*², 686].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 686–687].
39. *Nmtj-m-dr-f*, no number.
Dating: *Pjpj II* [*PM III*², 687].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 687].
40. *Jrj*, no number.
Dating: late Dyn. VI or FIP [*PM III*², 689].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 689].
41. *Mrw(?) / Bbj*, provenance uncertain (Brussels, MRAH E.2243).
Dating: Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 694].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 694].

G i z a

42. *Sšm(·j)-nfr(·w)* IV, LG 53.
Dating: late Dyn. V– Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 223]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 270:235]:
Wnjs – Ttj.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 226].
43. *K3(·j)-hr-pth/Ftk-t3*, G 5560 = LG 35.
Dating: early Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 166]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 271:279]: *Ttj – Mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 166–167].
44. *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nfr(·w)/K3r*, G 7101.
Dating: *Pjpj I* [Reisner, 1942, 314].
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 185]. Now see also [Simpson, 1976-1, fig. 7].

45. *R^c(w)-wr(·w) III*, LG 94.
Dating: Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 242]; Harpur [1987, 268:154] prefers an earlier dating: *Wnjs – Ttj*.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 242].
46. *K3(j)-m-^cnh*, G 4561.
Dating: Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 132; Harpur, 1987, 270:255]; Kanawati [1988-2, 137] groundlessly dates the tomb back to the reign of *Jzzj*, see footnote 14.
Bibliography: [*PM III*², 132–133].
47. *Nj-h-t*, no number.
Dating: Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 163].
Walls are whitewashed to receive paintings, but murals were never made [Junker, 1947, 29].

S h e i k h S a i d

48. *Hnn.t* and *Mrw*, No. 18.
Dating: Dyn. VI [Harpur, 1987, 280:637].
Bibliography: [*PM IV*, 191].¹⁰

Representations in the burial chambers were never carved in relief as in the superstructure, but only painted. Most probably, the reason for this were the favorable conditions of preservation, which enabled the thrifty Egyptians to manage without much more expensive reliefs. At the same time, we cannot be certain if some ideological notions were not involved here as well. However, let us turn now to the themes and arrangement of the murals. Decoration in the burial chambers of Saqqara South [*BC 10–40*] is specific and standardized, therefore we shall briefly discuss them later, proceeding now from Central Saqqara and Giza.

Almost in every decorated burial chamber, the offering-list is present: on the east [*BC 2, 6–8, 42–43, 45*], north [*BC 2, 4–5, 9, 41*] or south wall [*BC 5*].¹¹ It is quite obvious why predominant is the arrangement on the east wall: the deceased was supposed to look eastwards from his coffin (see Chapter 1, § 2); this is stressed in the tomb of *Hnt(j)-k3(j)/Jhhj* by the *w3d-tj* eyes represented on east wall of the coffin [James, 1953, pl. 39]. To other walls the offering-list was transferred mainly due to the lack of space on the east one (see [*BC 5, 41*]).
















Other representations are standardized and no regularities can be found in their arrangement. Food stuffs [*BC 1–9, 42, 44–45*], carcasses of slaughtered cattle [*BC 2, 4–6, 8–9, 45*], piles of grains and fruits [*BC 5–8, 41*], granaries [*BC 4–9, 41*], vessels of «sacred oils» [*BC 1–2, 4–8, 44–45*], linen in bales and chests [*BC 1–2, 6–9, 41, 44*], jewelry [*BC 1, 4, 6–8, 41, 44*], etc. are represented.

¹⁰ Hereafter we shall refer only to the tombs' numbers according to this list preceded by the *BC* index («burial chamber»). These numbers should not be confused with those used in Chapters 3 and 4.

¹¹ No arrangement is recorded for [*BC 3*].





However, the east – west opposition and domination of the east wall can be traced back by these representations as well. They either could be concentrated on the east wall only [BC 42–43] or cover also the north and south ones, but in any case the west wall remained undecorated [BC 6, 8, 41, 44]. This is to be expected: since the deceased faced eastwards, it was not imperative to decorate the west wall. So the pictorial decoration of the burial chamber clearly reveals the same east – west axis which is proper to its architecture.

Thus, representations in the burial chamber have much in common with those in the chapel, but they were selected much more strictly: only inanimate objects could be shown there during Dyn. III–V, but no humans or animals. The abandonment of the pictures representing the living creatures was most probably caused by the fear of some harm they could do to the deceased. If in the chapel people were depicted driving and slaughtering cattle and proffering food to the tomb owner, everything was shown ready in the burial chamber: the food stuffs were arranged in piles, the cattle were already slaughtered and the carcasses were cut, so that the owner had to «serve himself» [Junker, 1940-1, 44–45]. Indeed, it was somewhat inconvenient for him, but safety prevailed over comfort.

The same reasons of safety concerned also the hieroglyphs depicting humans and other animate beings: they were avoided by means of creating new phonetic spellings (e.g.,   ,   , substituted by their parts (e.g.,  ,   , or «killed» by decapitation (e.g.,  ,  ) [see Lacau, 1926-3; cf. Lacau, 1913].¹² The name of the tomb owner also was never accompanied by a determinative and his representations were avoided as well.

Under Dyn. VI the prohibition of the representations of the living creatures was relaxed little by little. Of special interest is the painting on the north wall of the burial chamber of *ḥh(.j)-m-ḥr(w)* [BC 8]. It reproduces the traditional table scene in detail, but the chair in front of the table remains empty, although the titles and the names of the tomb owner are inscribed above it.

Another timid attempt to introduce the table scene was made at Sheikh Said by *Hnn.t* [BC 48]. Her method was less keen, but nonetheless witty: the east wall of the burial chamber is occupied by the large offering-list, while the table scene placed below is so small that it remains almost imperceptible. Unfortunately, the tomb of *Hnn.t* and *Mrw* cannot be dated exactly, but the dating is not of prime significance here: since the new trends were always late in Upper Egypt, provincial tombs are usually not to be compared with those of similar date from the Memphite region. Anyhow, the table scene in *Hnn.t* is typologically close to the composition of *ḥh(.j)-m-ḥr(w)*.

¹² Of course, the problem is much more complicated. For example, in full accordance with the tendency for «protective phonetization», the dangerous spelling , «w^cb-priest», could be replaced by  , the  sign being thus harmless for the tomb owner. The reason lies not in the peaceful nature of the quail, but in some properties of the hieroglyphic script; however, it is out of place to discuss this specific phenomenon here.

At Giza, representations were less feared than at Saqqara, and *K3(.j)-hr-ptḥ* whose mastaba is approximately synchronous to *ḥnh(.j)-m-ḥr(w)* made the next step: he arranged the «normal» table scene in the burial chamber [BC 43]. *Rḥ(w)-wr(.w) III* was even bolder, for although the table scene is absent in his crypt, he ventured to represent his servants there – offering-bringers and butchers slaughtering cattle [BC 43].

The Old Kingdom pictorial decoration of the burial chambers reached its height in *K3(.j)-m-ḥnh* [BC 46], where all the topics of the ground chambers were transferred to the substructure:

- East wall: offering-list, priestly service, offering-bringers;
- West wall: field works, cattle tending, granaries, storehouses,¹³ tomb owner fowling in the marshes;
- North wall: ritual sailing, food staffs, cooking, driving of cattle and poultry;
- South wall: priest reading out the offering-list, slaughter, food staffs, furniture, driving of cattle, music and dances.

The burial chamber of *K3(.j)-m-ḥnh* is unique not only in having so many representations of the living beings, but also due to the presence of murals on the west wall. It is easy to see that the arrangement of representations on the west and the east walls is inverted as compared with the chapels: ritual scenes are moved from the west to the east and everyday topics – *vice versa*. This phenomenon was noted and explained by Junker [1940-1, 50]. If in the chapel ritual scenes had to be drawn close to the false door, it was reasonable to arrange them in front of the face of the deceased in the burial chamber; the west wall, being less important, assumed the functions of the east one. The lateral walls not falling in the east – west axis conserved to some extent the traditions of chapel, especially the south one with the scenes of music and dances. Another peculiarity of representations in *K3(.j)-m-ḥnh* – the lack of the table scene – should also be noted here. Although the whole set of the topics is present in his burial chamber, he is depicted only fowling or making the ritual cruise, i. e., in the outdoor scenes, whereas the table scene is merely hinted at.

Thus, the decoration of the Old Kingdom burial chambers had several stages of elaboration:

1. prohibition of any representations – from Dyn. III till the end of Dyn. V;
2. representations of inanimate objects – starting from the reign of *Wnjs*;
3. «depersonalized» table scene in *ḥnh(.j)-m-ḥr(w)* [BC 8] – reign of *Ttj*; the miniaturized table scene in *Hnn.t* [BC 48] belongs to the same stage typologically if not chronologically;
4. pictures of the tomb owner at the table in *K3(.j)-hr-ptḥ* [BC 43] and of the servants in *Rḥ(w)-wr(.w) III* [BC 45] – early to middle (?) Dyn. VI;
5. inverted reproduction of the chapel decoration in *K3(.j)-m-ḥnh* [BC 47] – late (?) Dyn. VI.

¹³ In the storehouses the lists of garments, furniture, tools, and parts of boats are placed. These lists are unique in the Old Kingdom tomb decoration.

The way paved by *K3(.j)-m-ḥnh* allowed the deceased not only a reliable food supply, but also the creation in his burial chamber of a whole world analogous to the world of the chapel. This idea was no doubt so attractive that it could become predominant, but general impoverishment of tombs in the second half of Dyn. VI did not allow to create such elaborate decorations; therefore, in the burial chambers of Saqqara South [BC 10–40], traditional representations of food, garments, funerary equipment, etc. were arranged.¹⁴

One more peculiarity of the decorated burial chambers should be mentioned. Already in the earliest of them, the false doors appeared: [BC 2] on the west wall, [BC 7] on the west and east walls. They are especially widespread at Saqqara South where they are present on the west and east walls of almost every decorated burial chamber. This is another feature drawing nearer the decorative systems of the chapels and burial chambers.

§ 3. Burial Chamber and the Serdab

In Dyn. VI another important change took place concerning not only decoration, but also the whole structure of the tomb: the tendency sprang up to bring the serdab closer to the burial chamber. Whereas originally the serdab had been linked to the chapel or to some other ground room, now it could be located by the shaft's edge,¹⁵ or in its upper part,¹⁶ being connected by the slot either with the chapel¹⁷ or with the shaft.¹⁸ Moreover, the serdab arranged in a niche cut out in the shaft's wall was possible as well¹⁹ along with the statues of the tomb owner placed directly in the burial chamber.²⁰ Thus, the hypogean part of the tomb started to assume to some extent the functions of the serdab.

¹⁴ N. Kanawati [1988-2, 137] reconstructs another chronological order of the burial chambers with murals: *K3(.j)-m-ḥnh* with the whole set of representations (reign of *Jzsj* according to his dating) → *K3(.j)-ḥr-ptḥ* → *ḥnh(.j)-m-ḥr(w)* → decorated chambers without representations of living beings. Kanawati does not adduce any proof of his theory and, moreover, he is even surprised by the results achieved: «What makes the decoration of Kaemankh's burial chamber particularly interesting is that the themes depicted there have never been repeated in other burial chambers... It appears, therefore, that after the initial attempt to decorate the burial chamber when it was treated as an extension of, or even a substitute for, the chapel, the idea of depicting living creatures in an underground room was quickly rejected. It is possible that the reason for this was to safeguard against any harm coming to the mummy in the future» [ibid., 137–138]. This picture is quite unnatural: instead of logical line of development, Kanawati proposes an instant appearance of the new concept of decoration in *K3(.j)-m-ḥnh* and its gradual dying down in the later tombs. On the contrary, old but still reliable Junker's chronology regarding *K3(.j)-m-ḥnh* not as the starting point, but as the result of development of the burial chambers' decoration, does not engender any problems.

¹⁵ At Saqqara: [Hassan, 1944, pl. 8, 46]; at Giza: [Junker, 1944, 25; 1947, 92, Abb. 39].

¹⁶ At Giza: [Hassan, 1936, 56; Junker, 1950, 140, Abb. 64].

¹⁷ At Giza: [Junker, 1950, 216–218, Abb. 99].

¹⁸ At Giza: [Junker, 1950, Abb. 54] (cf. at Deshashe: [Petrie, 1898, 91]).

¹⁹ At Saqqara: [Firth, Gunn, 1926-1, 39]; at Giza (apart from several dubious cases): [Junker, 1944, Abb. 28; 1950, Abb. 45; Hassan, 1941, 11–13].

²⁰ At Saqqara: [Hassan, 1944, 46, pl. 9]; at Giza: [Junker, 1944, 125; 1947, 140].

§ 4. Burial Chamber as a Part of the Tomb Complex

Now we can apprehend the tomb as an integral whole, as a system of the 5th level. Unfortunately, up to now the regularities concerning the correlation of the ground rooms and the burial chamber remain unrevealed because these two parts of the tomb have always been studied separately from each other. It was the present author who raised first this problem and explained some of the above regularities [Bolshakov, 1982]. He has demonstrated that the decoration of the superstructure (in the first place of the chapel) and that of the burial chamber had been closely interrelated: whenever the number of representations in the former decreased, it did increase in the latter.

When the development of representations was being started in the superstructure which had neither internal chapels nor other rooms yet, special attention was paid to the burial chamber. As a result, the «ceiling stela» appeared at Ezbet el-Walda and the systems of hypogean rooms at Saqqara. Rapid development of representations in the chapel put an end to these experiments, and burial chambers remained without murals, whose number, on the other hand, increased gradually in the superstructure.

The onward elaboration of the decorative system was interrupted at Giza by the «style of $Hw(j) \cdot f-w(j)$ ». Almost complete disappearance of representations in the chapel resulted at once in the increased interest in the substructure. Shafts and burial chambers of regular form appeared, excellently lined and accurately oriented toward the cardinal points. This phenomenon cannot be explained by the requirements of the style: the stylistics of the hypogean chambers concealed from view could not contradict the ground part, and thus, we are obviously dealing here with some immanent appropriateness of the tomb functioning as a system. «Reserve heads» were another manifestation of the same trend of development. When the «style of $Hw(j) \cdot f-w(j)$ » vanished, traditional burial chambers (which never disappeared in other necropoleis) revived at Giza.

The transfer of representations to the burial chamber in late Dyn. V coincided with some important events in the superstructure. By that time, the walls of the ground chambers were entirely covered with murals, more attention being gradually given (especially in the chapels) to ritual scenes: Egyptians probably realized by experience that representations were not perpetual, that they could be destroyed, and so only the most significant of them – but as numerous as possible – were worthy to be executed. Therefore, it is quite natural that some doubts arose in reliability of representations in the superstructure which perished first. The transfer of the representations to the concealed burial chamber was the most reasonable precautionary measure.

Thus, the decreasing importance of the superstructure was immediately compensated by concentrating attention on the burial chamber. The reasons inciting changes in the ground part could either be deeply rooted in the development of ideology (as it was at the turn of Dyn. V and Dyn. VI) or it could have a purely stylistic nature (as under $Hw(j) \cdot f-w(j)$) – but the reaction of the burial chamber to the changes was the same. This means that the superstructure and the hypogean part of the tomb were closely related, that the functional inferiority of the former was immediately compensated by the other, and, thus, the tomb functioned as an integral system (of the 5th level). The fact that the

pictorial decoration characteristic of the chapel was transferred to the burial chamber in the end of Dyn. V reflects some serious changes in Egyptian ideology making the world of representations extend to that part of the tomb which formerly was alien to it.





Part 2


THE DOUBLE AND ITS WORLD

CHAPTER 7

150 YEARS OF STUDYING THE *k3* PROBLEM

As the above study has demonstrated, hopes for the next life cherished by Old Kingdom Egyptians were based first of all on pictorial decoration of their tombs – otherwise strict rules of its functioning would be quite unexplainable. We should turn now to a much more complicated task – revealing the Egyptian notions of representations as related to life after death and, in the broad sense, reconstructing concepts of the man and world in the light of these ideas. *k3*, that is the only category related to representations among those describing man's nature, will be the main subject of our analysis; however, numerous theories concerning the *k3* should be discussed first – although not a single interpretation proposed over a century and a half can be regarded as satisfactory, they cannot be ignored or neglected.

From long ago, the problem of the *k3* has attracted the attention of Egyptologists. Many prominent scholars treated it in a number of special studies; furthermore, practically in any scholarly or popular book dealing with Egyptian religion or culture one can find at least several words dedicated to the *k3*.

The scope of problems concerning the *k3* has its own logic of development conforming to that of the evolution of Egyptology over a period of one hundred and fifty years. It was Ed. Hinks who in 1842 first paid attention to the word . Later on, in 1858 S. Birch translated it as «individuality», «personality» [Birch, 1899, 263–270]. His interpretation was accepted in a number of further works¹ and introduced into «*Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*» by H. Brugsch («Person», «Charakter») [Brugsch, 1868, 1433; 1882, 1230–1231]; Brugsch noted also an intimate relation between the *k3* and the name.

All these were purely practical lexicographic remarks not concerned with the essence of the notion concealed under the word *k3*. However, ten years later the concept

¹ On the earliest stage of investigation of the problem see [Maspero, 1913, 125–126].

of G. Maspero was postulated which marked the first stage in investigation of the *k3* problem, thus deserving to be called *the period of primary theories*.

Maspero briefly voiced his idea in September 1878 at the Provincial Congress of Orientalists held in Lyon and then, in more detail, on 8 February 1879 at a conference at the Sorbonne. Less than a month later, on 4 March, 1879, P. Le Page Renouf espoused a similar interpretation of the problem in the Society of Biblical Archaeology in London. Maspero published his papers in rare editions (today these works are mostly known as reprints [Maspero, 1893-1; 1893-2]) which could not have been available in London at that time, so the point of view of his British colleague had been shaped quite independently. The conclusions by Le Page Renouf [1878] ² were much more detailed and elaborate, but he never seriously treated the problem again, whereas Maspero went on developing his theory over several articles written in the 70^s–80^s of the nineteenth century [see reprints: Maspero, 1893-3; 1893-4]. It is not because Maspero had the advantage of treating the *k3* half a year before Le Page Renouf, but due to his further thorough work that we must regard him as the founder of the first trend in the *k3* studies. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the underlying logic of developments in Egyptology compelled the two scholars very different in their interests and approaches ³ to come simultaneously to similar conclusions; one of them was forced even to reject his former understanding – primarily Le Page Renouf [1867] shared the interpretation of the *k3* as «personality».

The above papers by Maspero provide a complete picture of his ideas concerning the *k3*. His conception assumes that the *k3* is an exact copy of a man, his «double», which is quite material, but made of a «less dense substance» than that of his own; the *k3* springs up together with man and is embodied in statues. Maspero persisted in this opinion to the end of his days, one of his last articles where the theory of the *k3* is discussed most completely [Maspero, 1913] being precious evidence to that. Meanwhile Le Page Renouf [1884, 147–148] suggested a comparison of the *k3* with the Roman notion of genius interpreted as «spiritual double of each individual». His idea did not make the understanding of the *k3* as the «double» null and void, but soon it was radically modified by G. Steindorff ⁴ who rejected this interpretation and, thus, started a new trend in the *k3* studies.

According to Steindorff, the *k3* should be treated as a man's «Genius», «Schutzgeist» which has nothing to do with tomb statues and murals [Steindorff, 1897, CXLIV–CXLV] (see also the numerous reprints, e.g. [1903, CXVIII; more in detail 1905, 122; 1911, 152–159]). His theory was subjected to sharp criticism by Maspero [1913], and since the material used by Steindorff was not as extensive as that of the French scholar, the latter could deal with his article a serious blow to this conception.

² The paper was published in the volume of «*Transactions*» of the Society dated back to the previous year (on the priority see [Maspero, 1913, 126]).

³ Le Page Renouf was a philologist, while Maspero would have been classified nowadays as a culturologist.

⁴ Steindorff never referred to Le Page Renouf, and so his theory could come into existence quite independently.

W.-B. Kristensen chose another way of treating the *k3*, as a personified man's vital force [Kristensen, 1896, 14; cf. Leeuw, 1916, 12]. The book by Kristensen quickly became a bibliographical rarity without drawing the attention of Egyptologists, and only ten years after its publication, A. Erman came quite independently to the same idea. Thanks to him it became widespread, therefore it is precisely Erman who must be considered the founder of the third school of the *k3* studies. According to him, the *k3* is that force (most probably, non-material) whose presence distinguishes living beings from inanimate objects [Erman, 1906, 14; 1919, 102; 1934, 209–210]. Erman voiced his opinion in an offhand manner, neither proving it nor devoting special studies to it, as if he was not interested in this problem a great deal and did not adequately appreciate its importance. As a result, within the picture of Egyptian religion reconstructed by Erman and summarizing material known at his time, the *k3* did not play any significant part. Nevertheless, the ideas of one of the greatest Egyptologists drew attention, had repercussions and were developed by his numerous followers.

Lastly, with respect to the primary theories the concept of A. Wiedemann should be mentioned. It represents a further development of the interpretation of the *k3* by the earliest Egyptologists as «personality». Good luck plays in the fate of books a part no less important than in the fate of humans. Wiedemann's «*Die Religion der alten Ägypten*» [Wiedemann, 1890] for no easily perceivable reason was not a success in the German academic circles, although his *k3* concept is interesting in the highest degree. As a result, he was forced to publish it repeatedly in English [Wiedemann, 1895; 1897; 1901], but these books were also ignored,⁵ did not come into scholarly use and remained completely forgotten.⁶

According to Wiedemann, the *k3* is «the divine counterpart of the deceased, holding the same relation to him as a word to the conception which it expresses, or a statue to the living man. It was his individuality as embodied in the man's name, the picture of him which was, or might have been, called up in the minds of those who knew him at the mention of that name» [German original: Wiedemann, 1890, 126; English translation: Wiedemann, 1897, 240; the same text in Wiedemann, 1895, 11]. The Egyptians «endowed it with a material form completely corresponding to that of the man, exactly resembling him, his second self, his Double, his *Doppelgänger*» [Wiedemann, 1895, 11]. It is obvious that Wiedemann was influenced by Maspero's concept, still the sensational aspect of his theory elucidating the essence of the *k3*, is quite original and has no parallels. Wiedemann's approach to the substance of the *k3* was also more reasonable – he was sure that «it was material in the same way as the body itself» [ibid., 19] (cf. also [Wiedemann, 1901, 58–59]). In his later works, Wiedemann [1910, 33–34; 1920, 72] completely rejected his sensational ideas and followed in full the line of Maspero.

The only person who paid attention to the Wiedemann concept was A. H. Sayce who made start from it and developed it to no small degree in his «*Religion of Ancient*

⁵ Probably, because of their popular character.

⁶ They are absent in most Egyptological libraries and the present author came across them when this book had already been finished in general.

Egypt». Since his work remains practically unknown, it is reasonable to cite a large passage from it here. «Underneath the concept of the *Ka* lay a crude philosophy of the universe. The *Ka* corresponded with the shadow in the visible world. Like the shadow which cannot be detached from the object, so, too, the *Ka* or Double is the reflection of the object as it is conceived in the mind. But the Egyptian did not realize that it was only a product of the mind. For him, it was as real and material as the shadow itself; indeed, it was much more material, for it had an independent existence of its own. It could be separated from the object of which it was a facsimile and presentment, and represent it elsewhere. Nay, more than this, it was what gave life and form to the object of which it was the image; it constituted, in fact, its essence and personality. Hence it was sometimes interchanged with the 'Name' which, in the eyes of the Egyptians, was the essence of the thing itself, without which the thing could not exist. In a sense the *Ka* was the spiritual reflection of an object, but it was a spiritual reflection which had a concrete form. The 'ideas' of Plato were the last development of the Egyptian doctrine of the *Ka*. They were the archetypes which are at once abstract and concrete. Modern philosophers have transformed them into the thoughts of God, which realize themselves in concrete shape. But to the ancient Egyptian the concrete side of his conception was alone apparent. That the *Ka* was a creation of his own mind never occurred to him. It had a real and substantial existence in the world of gods and men, even though it was not visible to the outward senses. Everything that he new or thought of had its double, and he never suspected that it was his own act of thought which brought it into being» [Sayce, 1913, 48–49]. Being an Assyriologist, Sayce could not professionally work on Egyptian monuments, but he intuitively managed to approach the essence of the *k3* closer than any Egyptologist and in several sentences formulated many theses the present writer hopes to prove in this book.⁷ Disregard of Wiedemann's and Sayce's contribution to the elaboration of the problems related to the *k3* badly harmed their further development.

The scope of the primary theories is confined with the four conceptions suggested by Maspero, Steindorff, Erman and Wiedemann. In spite of their diversity, they have some common features, characteristic of both the primary stage of the *k3* studies and the general state of Egyptology at the turn of the centuries. That time, when it was quite feasible to survey all the material known, engendered versatile scholars guiding themselves with expert knowledge in very varied spheres and able to define adequately the fields of work of utmost importance. The primary theories did deal with the most significant aspects of the problems concerning the *k3*, and they still continue to evoke interest and serve as starting-points for current studies. At the same time, insufficiency of the source base lead to an illusion of simplicity in the problem and excited unjustified optimism. With this, it seemed that the *k3* could be easily interpreted proceeding from one single and rather particular theory, its many-sided nature being ignored and remaining unrevealed. Finally, all the primary theories suffered from disregarding the specificity of Egyptian categories. Both the «moins dense substance» of Maspero and «Lebens-

⁷ The author discovered the book by Sayce just before sending the manuscript to print; thus, it could not influence my conclusions, but the very fact of such a coincidence is remarkable.

kraft» of Erman, as well as «Schutzgeist» of Steindorff, are concepts that can be imagined by our contemporaries, but hardly generated by an ancient man. Regrettably, this is a common error of almost all scholars dealing with ancient *Weltanschauungen*, and Egyptologists began to correct it only recently.

During several following decades, three out of four primary theories were discussed, had repercussions and initiated three independent lines of *k3* studies that have hitherto survived in their more or less pure form. Maspero was followed by Ed. Naville [1905, 53–54], F. Virey, [1910, 102–103, 234–235], G. A. Reisner [1912, 26–27], G. Jéquier [1913, 151–152], Wiedemann in his late works [Wiedemann, 1910, 33–34; 1920, 132–133], A. W. Shorter [1931, 59] and many others. The viewpoint of Erman was shared by A. Sottas [1913], J. Saint Fare Garnot [1948, 94], J. Vandier [1949, 74, 132–133], S. Morenz [1973, 170, 204], H. Brunner [1983, 139–140] and others. Steindorff's idea was generally accepted by J. H. Breasted [1912, 52–55; 1946, 49–50] who particularly stressed the significance of the *k3* for the next life, thus considering it to be almost exclusively a posthumous hypostasis of a man. W. Spiegelberg [1911] proceeding from demotic and Ptolemaic Greek texts persisted in translating *k3* as «Schutzgott». The case is more complicated with the line of Birch – Wiedemann. A. H. Gardiner defined *k3* as «nature» [Gardiner, 1915, 257, note 3], «character», «providence» [Gardiner, 1917-2, 790], «personality», «individuality» and «temperament» [Gardiner, 1927 = 1950 = 1957-1, 172]; he was followed by B. Gunn [1921, 106, note 3] – «disposition», and T. Peet [1923, 334] – «character», «providence». Such an attitude was characteristic of philologists who tried to provide translations of texts that would be exact in their slightest nuances, but who had no specific interest in the ontological aspect of the *k3*. For instance, Gardiner could in the same book refer to the *k3* as «spirit» or «soul» (which are terms of great difference from a theological point of view) [Gardiner, 1927 = 1950 = 1957-1, 172] or even *not mention it at all* in his famous Cambridge lecture on the attitude of ancient Egyptians to death and the dead [Gardiner, 1935-3]. This position of Egyptologists belonging to the British philological school did promote lexicography, but it emasculated Wiedemann's conception and suppressed his trend which was never revived in full again.

Only W.-F. von Bissing proved able to pass over the limits of the primary theories at that stage, and to realize that the *k3* problem was much more complicated and had many various aspects. It was he who established a certain relation between the *k3* and food [Bissing, 1903, 184], and dedicated a special study to that aspect of the *k3* [Bissing, 1911-2]. His idea was too specific, too different from the general course of investigation, and so it was paid attention to at a much later date.

With all indisputable merits of the primary theories, it came to be evident that no one of them could describe and elucidate this notion completely. It became imperative to reconsider them by assuming a new approach. Thus, *the second period* began which lasted from the first decade of this century till the mid-thirties and may be called *ethnographic*, for the authors of the new theories started widely involving analogies and parallels of ethnographic character. Such a reaction to the crisis of the first stage is quite natural, but neither Egyptologists nor social anthropologists were ready to explain the *k3*

ethnographically and the conclusions drawn turned out to be fantastic. For instance, A. Moret who primarily interpreted the *k3* as «âme corporelle» (as contrary to «âme spirituelle») [Moret, 1907, 76, note 1] at last identified it with Polynesian mana [Moret, 1913-3; 1913-4, 199; 1927, 202], while V. Loret [1904, 87–88] regarded the *k3* as a royal totem, both terms being used arbitrarily and uncritically. G. D. Hornblower [1923; 1929] attempted to find analogies between the *k3* and some ancient Persian beliefs and pre-Islamic notions of the Arabs. Hence he tried to interpret the *k3* as an ancestor's spirit being a guardian and genius of the descendant. It is significant that also G. van de Leeuw, a prominent theorist and historian of religion, joined the discussion – whereas Egyptologists resorted to ethnography in order to settle their problems, he applied to Egyptian notions so that he might interpret ethnographic material. According to his conception the *k3* is a man's «external soul» (something similar to the death of Koschey the Deathless of Russian folklore) [Leeuw, 1918]; N. Thomas [1920] shared a similar opinion.

It was the book by M. Weynants-Ronday [1926] that logically completed the ethnographic period and marked its self-denial. This work is entirely based on numerous extracts describing religious ways of various peoples, from Eskimos to Papuans, while Egyptological study itself, for whose sake the whole work had been done, is absolutely inconsistent and lost among these extracts. Now in hindsight it should be admitted that the considering of ethnographic parallels – though useful and important by itself – was then a kind of «growing pains» for Egyptology, and this is why it went out of fashion quickly. Only some observations of A. M. Blackman [1916-1; 1916-2] on the role of the placenta in the Egyptian concept of a man, that were based on a cautious involvement of some African analogies may be regarded as proper. As a result, Blackman came very close to an important conclusion on the relation of the placenta and the *k3*; unfortunately, he never postulated it because the *k3* was not the main object of his study. Later on, when the ethnographic period had already expired, its heritage was taken into account and the use of ethnographic parallels became more critical. In the first place, this is associated with the name of H. Frankfort.

The common deficiency of all the above theories consists in the fact that they were based upon absolutization of a certain aspect of the *k3* out of the others and turned it into the essence of the notion which in fact is far more multilateral. The third period lasting from the 20^s to the 50^s is remarkable for realizing that the *k3* problem is highly complicated and that it is impossible to solve it within the framework of any existing concept. Harmony of the primary theories inevitably had to be left in the past and seemingly consistent pictures were broken to pieces. On the other hand, Egyptology accumulated a huge body of material that had to be systemized and comprehended. Some particular manifestations of the *k3* in different groups of monuments had to be investigated in those conditions to proceed then to a new synthesis, but owing to the complete lack of co-ordination between the activities of scholars, the matter was reduced to obviously useless attempts to compose a new picture of broken old fragments. *The third period* is that of *eclecticism*.

In fact, there is a premise for combining components of different theories – they are not so incompatible as it may seem at the first casual glance. Erman's «Lebenskraft»

being personified does not differ very much from Steindorff's «Schutzgeist» who may assume the aspect of a man's «double» in the spirit of Maspero, involving «individuality» of the man in compliance with Wiedemann. Reconciliation of everything best resulting from these concepts at a radically new level is not only possible, but necessary; nevertheless, no radical change in approach to the problem happened. All eclectic theories demonstrate that in any case nothing new can be made by mechanical combination of old debris.

It was H. Kees who initiated the eclectic trend and was its most outstanding figure. His vast erudition allowed him to make numerous corrections, thus promoting the further development of the problems related to the k_3 . The most significant achievement of Kees consists in establishing the radical difference between the k_3 of a man and that of a king or a god, and indicating that they should be studied separately. Later on, this postulation was generally adopted as a starting point for any investigation. Nevertheless, Kees did not succeed in working out any consequent conception and his observations were confined to a mere registering of some separate phenomena. Notwithstanding this fact, his ideas expounded in several classical books [Kees, 1926, 67–79; 1933, 319–320; 1941, 41; 1956-1, 100–104; 1956-2, 43–52] became fairly widespread. Recent reprints of his works [Kees, 1977-1=1980-1; 1977-2=1980-2] are evidence that they are still influential.

To the period of eclecticism – but only chronologically – also belong observations on the k_3 by H. Junker [1938, 115–122]. In the very beginning of his review, Junker states that he does not claim to provide the solution of the problem as a whole, confining himself to some specific aspects only. This approach prevents his work from mixing heterogeneous elements, but in general the result is disappointing. By that time, Junker mostly completed his analysis of the pictorial decoration of tomb chambers, thus coming close to the decisive step in interpreting the k_3 , but through inobservance of the method of investigation he failed to make that step [Bolshakov, 1985-4, 173–174]. On the other hand, it was Junker who first put it straight that the cult of representations had been just that of the k_3 and discussed some of its components; however, his conclusions did not draw due attention and the name of Junker is not usually even mentioned in the reviews of the k_3 problem.

The most confused interpretation of the k_3 was offered by S. Mercer. According to its central idea the « k_3 with all its richness of application, connotation, and meaning is fundamentally nothing more or less than the ghostly or spiritual body, counterpart of the material or physical body, like the body celestial in contrast to the body terrestrial of St. Paul» [Mercer, 1952-2, 194]. However, proceeding from the supposition that the «Egyptians themselves were never clear about its nature or its being and activities» [ibid., 196] and in full conformity with the eclectic tradition, Mercer [1949, 41–44; 1952-1, 18–20] supplemented this kernel of his theory with a number of contradictory observations. As a result, trying to create an integral concept he postulated existence of quite impossible interrelations between the man, his k_3 and b_3 .⁸ Mercer's fantastic

⁸ For example, «the double (being a double) had a soul and a body – though different in nature, being spiritual, like the body of a god. The individual's soul (*ba*) on reaching heaven became the «external

conclusions were predetermined by his view and method as of a Christian theologian, without any hesitation applying Christian categories to ancient *Weltanschauung*.

The period of eclecticism at large is marked by the drop in the number of special works devoted to the *k3* – as a rule, it was mentioned briefly and out of hand in more general studies. Only in 1946–1948 a turning-point in the approach to investigation of Egyptian *Weltanschauung* was marked by two books, one of which was inspired by H. Frankfort [Frankfort et al., 1946; also Frankfort et al., 1951] and the other was his most important work on the outlook of the ancient man [Frankfort, 1948-1 = 1978]. In the latter, an entire chapter was dedicated to the *k3* [ibid., 61–78] (cf. also [Frankfort, 1948-2]). This chapter contains the most extensive study of the problem since the time of primary theories; even though bringing together heterogeneous features, it represents an original conception running counter to the traditions of the eclectic period and blending with the logic of Frankfort's understanding of Egyptian *Weltanschauung* as an integral historical and cultural phenomenon. Regrettably, the initially predetermined character of this logic did influence his interpretation of the *k3*, misleading Frankfort into the domain of speculative schemes. He regarded the *k3* as an absolutely impersonal and abstract «vital force», «power» filling the world and humans, all man's capabilities being a function of the amount of that force in him. According to Frankfort, both the *b3* and *3h* are forms of man's posthumous existence, while the *k3* is a force protecting him when alive as well as after his death. Thus, such a *k3* is seen to be very similar to the Roman concept of genius, however much more abstract.

Frankfort's theory has evident borrowings; still, by making an abstract impersonal nature the main feature of the *k3*, it breaks not only with the concepts of Maspero and Wiedemann, but also with the lines of Erman and Steindorff who never doubted the individual character of the *k3*; if Frankfort had a forerunner, it could only be Moret with his identification of the *k3* and mana. The breaking-off with all traditions and preferable orientation toward theological written monuments made Frankfort's scheme incompatible with a number of aspects of the *k3*. He explained this by «the lack of congruity between our own conceptions and those of the Egyptians» [Frankfort, 1978, 67]; still the cause lies in the very approach which thus predetermined his failure in numerous components of the problem.

Following Kees, Frankfort considered the royal *k3* separately from the *k3* of a man, and in this field he succeeded much better. He regarded the *k3* of a king as his personified (i. e., already individualized) vital force assuming the aspect of his twin. In addition, he suggested and proved in general that the king's placenta had been supposed to be his still-born twin, thus establishing that there was a certain connection between the *k3* of the king and his placenta. This conclusion going back to Blackman is almost the most important component of Frankfort's theory, but, nonetheless, the scholars to come were not enthusiastic about it.

soul» of his own double (*ka*). That is, the individual in heaven consisted of a spiritualized body with its own soul plus the «external soul», which on earth was the soul (*ba*) of the human body», etc. [Mercer, 1949, 321-322].

Frankfort's theory deserves a special attention, for it is the apex of the period of eclecticism and at the same time the last conceptual study of the *k3*. For this reason and in spite of all its deficiencies, this work cannot help inspiring great respect for the author's scope. As compared with it, the article on the *k3* by H. Bonnet in his «*Reallexikon*» [Bonnet, 1952, 357–362] seems insipid and does not explain anything. H. Jakobsohn's opinion should also be mentioned as relating the *k3* of a king to his sexual potency [Jakobsohn, 1939, 55–58] that is not devoid of interest, although it is rather specific.

The 1950^s witnessed the appearance of the two first and the last books devoted to the *k3* [Greven, 1954; Schweitzer, 1956]. They summarize the achievements of the past eight decades of studies thereby finishing the third period, but both of them are rather feeble and do not provide anything new or progressive, even though the book by L. Greven is rightly based on the material of one certain age – the Old Kingdom – which favorably distinguishes it from a number of other works where evidence from various epochs is usually mixed up.

The book by E. Meyerowitz – the last echo of the ethnographic period – should not be passed over silently either, although it is almost unknown to Egyptologists. Being a field anthropologist, the author compares results of her own research carried out in Ghana with material of Ancient Egypt and devotes a special chapter to the notion of the *k3* [Meyerowitz, 1960, 103–120]. Unfortunately, notwithstanding that some observations by Meyerowitz are of certain interest, she neither had enough qualification to analyse Egyptian monuments on her own, nor was adequately familiar with Egyptological literature. Hence the failure of the comparison she intended to make, the book having no significance for the development of Egyptology.

Following this, *the fourth period* has commenced which continues up to now – *the period of calm* during which no special works on the *k3* have been published.⁹ The pragmatism of the new generation of researchers oriented them toward the subjects yielding rapid results, whereas the problems concerning the *k3* were tacitly considered futile because of their complexity. Only sometimes certain works dedicated to general questions and popular reviews in which it is impossible to hush up the *k3* remind us of the eclectic period. So H. Altenmüller [1976, 30–32] interprets the *k3* as «*handlungstreibende Kraft*», «*Lebenskraft*» as well as «*Schutzgeist*» and «*Lebenselement*», not explaining the meaning of each term or their interrelations. For R. David [1982, 78] the *k3* is simultaneously «*spirit*», «*embodiment of the life-force*», «*guide and protector of the owner*», as well as «*double*», «*self*» and «*personality*» of the individual. A. J. Spencer [1984, 58, 60] is more definite in his opinion, he rightly suggests that the *k3* is a hypothesis in which the deceased receives offerings, but at the same time he supports the old interpretation as «*vital force*». K. Koch devotes only several sentences to the *k3* as «*Erhalt- und Gestaltsseele*» in his enormous volume on Egyptian religion [Koch, 1993,

⁹ The only exclusion is a brief paper by Abd-Alaziz Saleh [1965]. Unfortunately, being but a number of unsystematic observations without any idea or any conclusion, it is of no interest. Another paper by Saleh, «*Explicit Speculations on the Ancient Egyptian k3*» has been mentioned in the list of his works as being in preparation [Saleh A.-A., List 1981, XIV], but, most probably, it was never published.

42, 81–82], such conciseness testifying to the lack of real interest in the problem. J. Baines is even more laconic – he treats the *k3*, the *b3* and the *3h* in a single phrase [Baines, 1991, 145]. Besides Altenmüller or David, Koch or Baines, other names might have been mentioned in this respect, for the attitudes of different authors add up to a certain similarity in their lack of definition.

Whenever the *k3* is to be treated in particular, critical points are evaded. For example, V. A. Tobin [1989] contrived not to mention the *k3* at all in his recent voluminous book on the principles of Egyptian religion containing a large chapter devoted to future life. Of course, it can be explained by the theological orientation of his work, but, practically the same was the attitude of P. Kaplony [1980-1] who managed to write an article devoted to the *k3* for «*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*» without adducing any definition, thus contradicting the very idea of the «*Lexikon*». Extremes coincide: the present-day poor state of development of the problems relating to the *k3* is a result of both irresponsible eclecticism and excessive caution. Stagnation and crisis are obvious; the period of calm is evidently drawn out. The only original idea was expressed by J. Jaynes [1976, 190–191] within the confines of his bicameral theory. He interprets the *k3* as a hallucinated internal voice directing man's actions, but since the bicameral nature of ancient mentality is but a mere hypothesis (see Introduction), his concept is of little value.

Until recently, such a review should have terminated with these pessimistic words, but now it seems that the state of things has begun changing for the better. Primarily, the book by O. D. Berlev and S. I. Hodjash is remarkable in this respect, for the nature of the relation between representations and the *k3* is clearly (though very briefly) postulated in it [Hodjash, Berlev, 1982, 14–16]; the book also contains a number of important conclusions about the essence of the *k3*.¹⁰ Noteworthy is also the paper by L. Bell [1985] devoted to the cult of the royal *k3* in the Luxor temple; although it does not touch upon ontology and treats particular questions only, it testifies to the growing dissatisfaction by the actual state of development of the *k3* problem. Two articles by the present author have been published as well, briefly exposing the main points of this book and for the first time after Frankfort trying to study the ontological aspect of the problem [Bolshakov, 1986-1, 1987-1]. Can the long-lasting calm be a lull before the storm of new discussions in which we may hope to reveal the meaning of one of the most important ideological notions of the Egyptians?



¹⁰ These conclusions will be discussed below when considering the respective material; see also [Bolshakov, 1986-3].



CHAPTER 8

PSYCHOLOGY OF APPREHENSION AND THE DOUBLE

§ 1. Approach to the Problem

In spite of their indisputable merits, the above interpretations of the *k3* have a common critical deficiency. All the authors take the *k3* for a given entity and do not even try to elucidate why it had these very properties. Their starting-point is always a statement like «The Egyptians believed that...» and never the question «How could this very notion have arisen?». As a result, modern scholars assume the attitude of the ancient Egyptians who considered the *k3* quite really existent, and study this notion not as a product of human consciousness, but as if the *k3* were an objective reality of the outer world. We must renounce this faulty approach and turn to the psychological basis which gave rise to the *k3* category. Monuments reflect this basis in a very indirect way, but nonetheless, it can be revealed.

The most significant feature of the *k3* – its relationship with representations – was established by G. Maspero more than a century ago. Since then, nobody had serious doubts in the existence of that relationship, but its nature has never been explained. The above study demonstrated that in the Old Kingdom hopes for eternal life had been related in some way to the system of tomb decorations imitating the earthly reality. Undoubtedly, the Egyptians did feel something weird in the very nature of representations. An important evidence is given by the Meidum mastaba of *Nfr-m3^ct*, one of the first tombs with an entirely decorated chapel. A figure of the tomb owner is accompanied by the legend: «It is he who made his gods as representation¹ that cannot be obliterated» [Petrie, 1892, 24; *Urk.* I, 7:11]. Only murals can claim to be «gods» in Old Kingdom tombs, and *Nfr-m3^ct* no doubt meant them in his inscription [Spiegelberg, 1930; Goedicke, 1986, 60]. Since no deities were shown on private monuments at that time, the legend proves that *any* representation is a «god» – just due to its very nature. It is reasonable to deduce that the «divinity» of representations is nothing else but the «life» comprised in them.

From our everyday point of view, the idea of attributing a certain life to representations seems to be very naïve and primitive against the general background of Egyptian culture. Indeed, our contemporary can hardly imagine how the Egyptians could combine, for instance, sophisticated mentality able to raise and solve abstract problems,

¹ *m zš*, see [*Wb.* III, 478:8].

with the practice of dressing and feeding statues of gods making us suggest that the statue was regarded as a deity itself. However, this impression of ours is but a result of simplified interpretation of ancient notions which actually were both far more complicated and unexpected. As soon as we give up the stereotypes, separate facts turn out to be a system, and whatever looked like contradictions proves to be a mere disparity between the Egyptian reality and the way we understand it. Revealing these contradictions, we find weak points in our interpretation; therefore, this way is most efficient. Thus, let us establish within the matter of our interest those phenomena which may look strained, awkward or naïve.

The problem of the false door comes to mind at once. The deceased was supposed to «go forth» out of it to the chapel, but the false door was merely a representation of a door and, naturally, it led nowhere from nowhere. If so, where did the dead live? how could the false door serve him as a means of communication? what had it to do with the pictorial decoration of the chapel where it was located?

Another problem concerns the cult practice. Since offerings in the chapel were made in front of statues and murals, it follows that they were intended to feed them. However, there is a substantial difference between representations and real food offered. How could the representation of a man – a conventional imitation of reality – be satiated with natural food?

We should also elucidate the ancient attitude to the process of making representations. They were considered alive or, at least, possessing some qualities of a living thing; on the other hand, they were made of an inanimate material by sculptors and painters. In that case, where did the property of representations to be «alive» come from?²

A number of similar contradictions might be mentioned in this respect, but all of them can be reduced in the final analysis to one single problem lying in the very center of Egyptian *Weltanschauung*. There are numerous indications of pictures and statues being regarded by the Egyptians as alive or rather, capable to ensure an eternal life to the person represented. On the other hand, the same people could not help understanding that representation, as well as the materials it was made of, were inanimate: it might

² Analogous contradictions were noted already by the authors of the Bible who could not take seriously the «life of representations» and, therefore, considered idolatry a harmful delusion. The Bible consistently condemns the idolaters for the following unsoundness. First, idols are made of an inanimate material which has nothing divine in it: «He heweth him down cedars, and taketh the cypress and the oak... Then shall it be for a man to burn: for he will take thereof, and warm himself; yea, he kindleth it, and baketh bread; yea, he maketh a god, and worshippeth it; he maketh it a graven image, and falleth down thereto» (Is. 44:14–15). Second, idols are no doubt inanimate and unable to act: «They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not. They have ears, but they hear not; noses have they, but they smell not. They have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not; neither speak they through their throat» (Ps. 113:13–15). And finally, idols are made by man who cannot create anything more perfect than himself: «It was a man who made them; one who draws borrowed breath gave them the shape. But no human being has the power to shape a god like himself: he is only mortal, but what he makes with his impious hands is dead; and so he is better than the objects of his worship, for he is at least alive – they never can be» (Wisdom 15:16–17). This is a common and natural apprehension of people belonging to the cultures which do not attribute much importance to representations (cf. also Is. 2:8, 44:9–20, 46:6–7; Jer. 2:26–27, 3:9, 10:3–5; 1 Cor. 8:4; Rev. 9:20).

be touched proving yet to be cold; it might be struck and even destroyed without moving or reacting in any other manner the living beings would do. A good illustration of the fact that representations were inanimate for the Egyptians, but at the same time some life was seen in them, is the practice of destroying them in order to annihilate the tomb owner. As this practice existed, eternal life was supposed to be secured by representations, but when destroying them, it was impossible to disregard that they were lifeless.

It should be obvious to every unprejudiced scholar that the problem is too important to be waved away by alluding to a contradictory nature of the Egyptian religion and to the so-called «infantilism» of ancient consciousness which allegedly introduced life into representations qualified as inanimate by our «grown-up» mentality. Unfortunately, nobody did even attempt to raise these questions, to say nothing of answering them. Theories ignoring the problem of the «life of representations» (such as the repeatedly expressed opinion on the «infantile consciousness» and «magic vitalization») cannot explain anything and lead us away from the main point.

Thus, we are facing an insoluble contradiction: from the Egyptian point of view, representations seem both inanimate and alive at the same time. We can get away from this vicious circle only by breaking it up, by recognizing that one of the contradictory theses exists merely in our notion. And, of course, it is erroneous to state that representations are alive, which is a result of our interpretation of the five-thousand-year-old concepts that surely may be wrong, while representations being inanimate is confirmed by practice, whether modern or ancient.

We have to establish what kind of notion existed where we are inclined to see the «life of representations», for some relationship of representations with a certain other reality is beyond any doubt, even though it is not as evident as it seems to be at the first glance. To do this, let us take the way of a consecutive solution of the above particular contradictions. The total of the answers obtained will answer our principal question. We shall begin with the problem of the false door and localization of the «next world».

§ 2. Mechanism of the Origin of the *k3* Category

Infinite number of texts obviously state that it is the West (*Jmn-t*) supposed to be the place of life hereafter. It would be natural to suggest that the West is a certain land of the dead situated somewhere westwards of the Nile valley, in the place where the sun dies. Such a notion could exist at the earliest stage, orientation of the cult chambers, arrangement of the false door, etc., being its relics (see Chapter 1). If this notion had survived into the Old Kingdom, one might believe that the West, the abode of the dead, was located behind the false door from where the tomb owner «went forth» in order to receive offerings. However, in this case the whole world of the chapel pictorial decoration proves senseless, because the deceased had another world – the West – to live there eternally.

Considering the tomb plan, we can reveal many facts contradicting the suggestion about the West as a certain land behind the false door. Indeed, it would have meant that

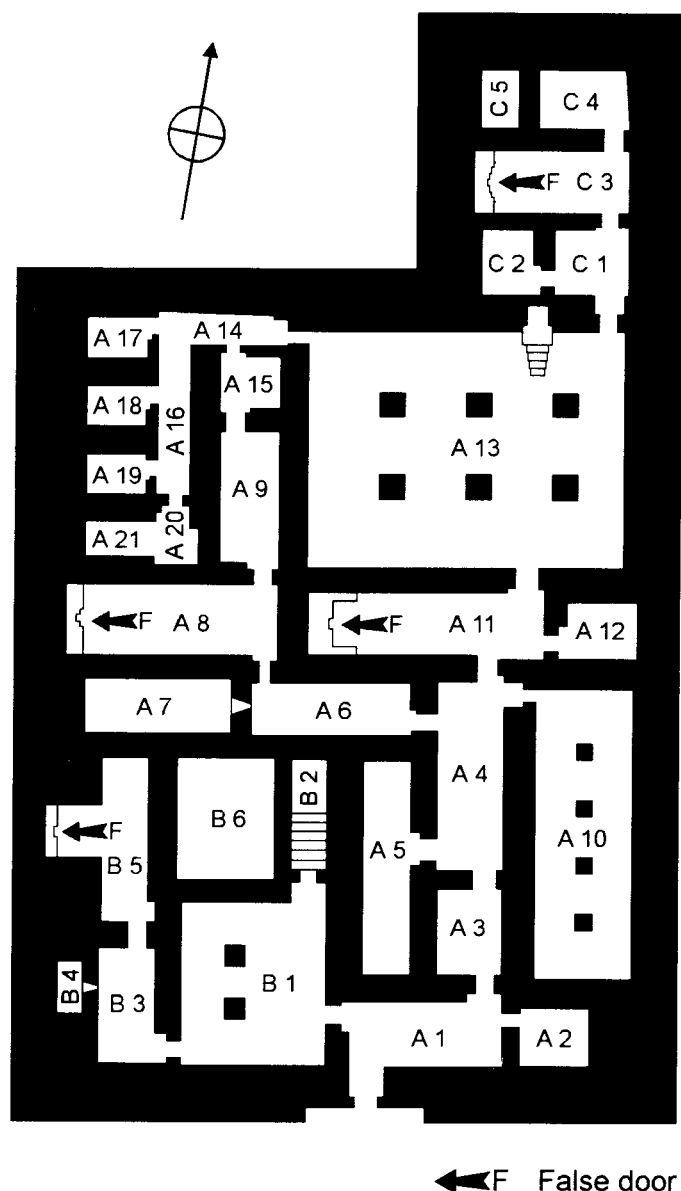


Fig. 3
Mastaba of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*
(after Duell [1938, plan opposite pl. 2])

tional orientation was quite impossible there. As a result of the spur bends and clefts, the axes of the neighboring tombs can sometimes be oriented at right angles with respect to one another, whereas the entrances to the tombs of ---*wḥm/Wḥmj* and of *Špss-k3-w(j)* at Zawiyet el-Mayitin are even facing one another [Brunner, 1936, Abb. 16] (fig. 7).

there had to be nothing of the world of the living in the tomb behind the false door and one could enter no rooms there. However, behind the false door in chapel A 11 of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)*, there is chamber A 8 opened for the visitors to the tomb (fig. 3) [Duell, 1938, plan facing pl. 2]. Accordingly, beyond the false door in chapel 6 of queen *Nb-t*, chamber 1 of queen *Hnw-t* is located (fig. 4) [Munro, 1993, Taf. 2], whereas in the mastaba of *Hnt(j)-k3(j)/Jḥj* [James 1953, pl. 3] storeroom 10 is disposed beyond the false door in chapel 7 (fig. 5).

The evidence of provincial rock-cut tombs is even more revealing. While mastabas were in most cases strictly oriented to the cardinal points, the rock tombs usually did not conform to this rule. Their arrangement and planning were determined primarily by the orientation of the cliff in which they were hewn. If it was parallel to the Nile, the tomb could be oriented (with some deviations) according to the Memphite rule;³ however, many tombs were cut in the escarpments bending at an angle to the river and the tradi-

³ E.g., *Pjpi-ḥḥ(w)* the Middle at Meir [Blackman, 1924-1, pl. 1], *Jdw/Snnj* [Säve-Söderbergh, 1994, pl. 9] and *T3wtj* [ibid., pl. 12; Brunner, 1936, 46] at Qasr es-Sayad, and others.

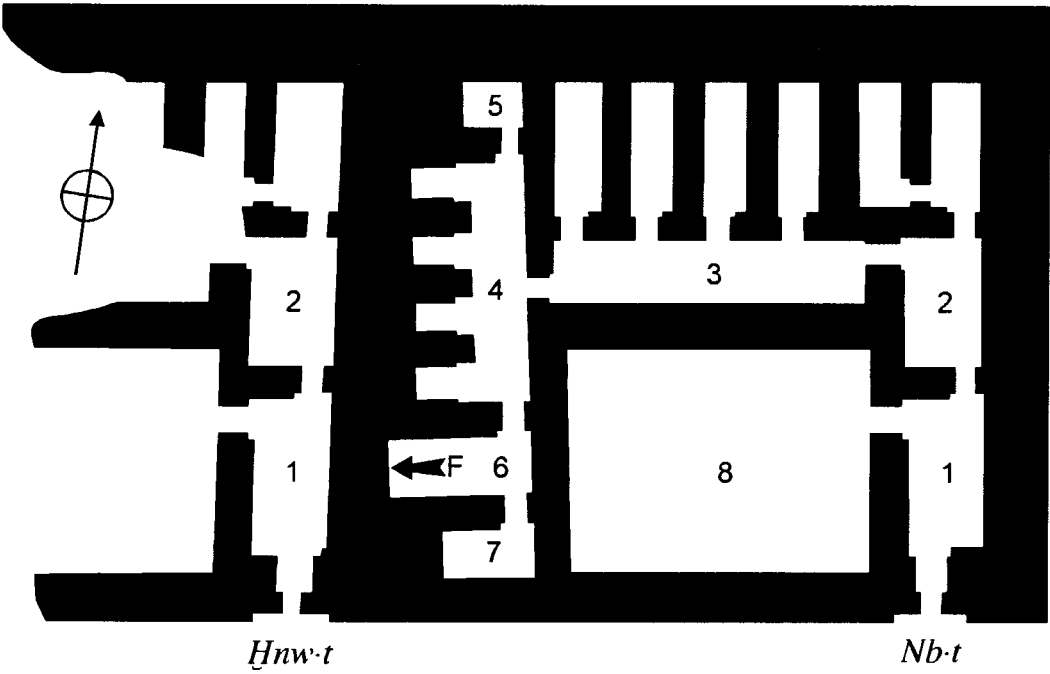
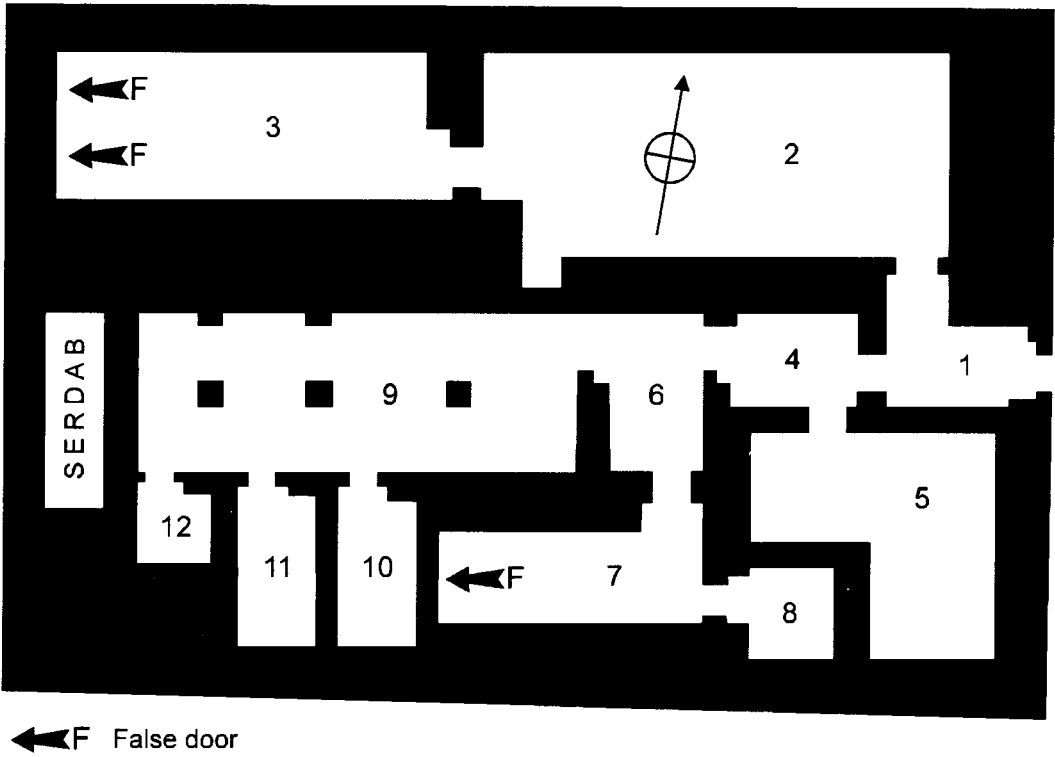


Fig. 4
Mastaba of queens *Hnw-t* and *Nb-t* (after Munro [1993, Taf. 2] and Málek [*PM III*², pl. 64])



←F False door

Fig. 5
Mastaba of *Hnt(j)-k3(.j)/Jhhj* (after James [1953, pl. 3])

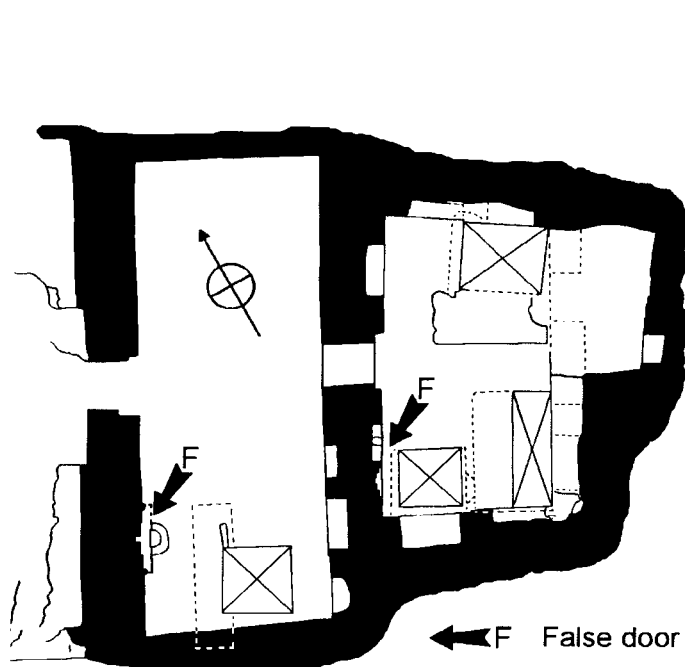


Fig. 6
Rock tomb of *Ttj-nh(-w)*, Sheikh Said No. 25
(after Brunner [1936, Abb. 10])

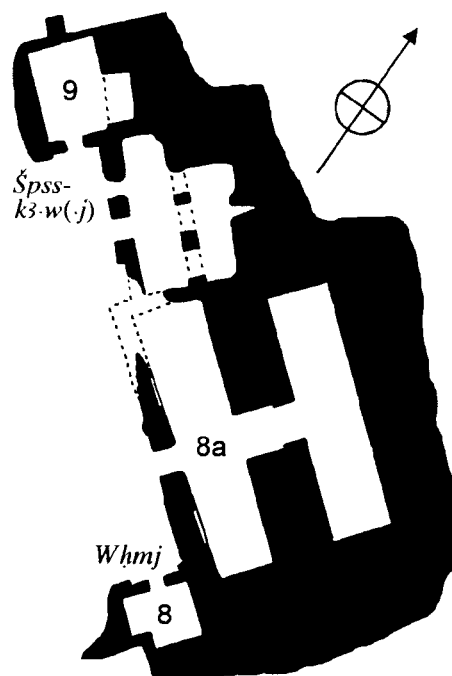


Fig. 7
Rock tombs of *Špss-k3-w(.j)* and
---*whm/Whmj*, Zawiyet el-Mayitin,
Nos. 8 and 9 (after Brunner [1936,
Abb. 16])

In rock tombs of non-Memphite orientation, the false door is traditionally arranged in the west wall, even when the entrance to the chapel is not at the east.⁴ Therefore, sometimes both the entrance and the false door are accommodated in the west wall (fig. 6). Such tombs are known at Sheikh Said,⁵ Zawiyet el-Mayitin,⁶ Quseir el-Amarna,⁷ el-Hawawish.⁸ These cases are of paramount importance, because they most obviously illustrate that there is no world of the dead behind the false door, but the Nile valley, the very world of the living, – and it is separated from the chapel by a thin wall only.

However, the arrangement of the false door in the west wall was not obligatory and in several Memphite tombs it appears in other places [Junker, 1950, Abb. 34, 35, 55; 1951-1, Abb. 50, most probably also S. 154]. This phenomenon was much more wide-

⁴ E. g., in *Hm(w)-r(-w)* at Deir el-Gebrawi [Davies, 1902-2, pl. 16].

⁵ *Ttj-nh(-w)* [Davies, 1901-2, pl. 27], *Mrw/Bbj* [ibid., pl. 18], *Wjw/Jjw* [ibid., pl. 22], *Mrw* and *Hnn-t* [ibid., pl. 22], the anonymous tomb No. 6 [Brunner, 1936, Abb. 12].

⁶ *M3j* (No. 3), *Jbw*, *Httj*, *Hw-t-hr(w)-m-h3-t*, *M3j* (No. 11), *Nj-nh-pjpj* [Brunner, 1936, Abb. 16] (the latter also [Varille, 1938, pl. 3]).

⁷ *Pjpj-nh(-w)* [Brunner, 1936, Abb. 26; El-Khouli, Kanawati, 1989, fig. 24], *Hw(j)-n(-j)-wh* [Quibell, 1902-2, fig. 1; El-Khouli, Kanawati, 1989, fig. 29].

⁸ *Mn(w)-nh(-w)* [Kanawati, 1980-1, fig. 2].

spread in the provinces. The most remarkable in this regard is the chapel of *Hnkw/J---f* at Deir el-Gebrawi, where the false doors are arranged in all of the four walls [Davies, 1902-2, pl. 22]. Finally, in the Deir el-Gebrawi tombs of *Htp-nb(w·j)* (No. 2) [Davies, 1902-1, pl. 21] and of *Mr·wt* (No. 33) [ibid., pl. 22], the false doors are placed in the east and south walls, while the west wall is not decorated at all.

One might suppose that the false door leads to the chapel not from the next world but from the burial chamber – in such a case its orientation could be less strict. Indeed, there are a number of tombs where the shaft leading to the burial chamber is located behind the false door. However, the appearance of false doors in burial chambers of Dyn. VI makes this suggestion absolutely unsound: there is no other chamber to which they could lead in the tomb. It would evidently be wrong to believe that the false doors in the chapel and in the burial chamber were considered the final points of some symbolic way of communication between these two rooms, especially if taking into account that there are many burial chambers with false doors arranged in the wall opposite to the chapel.⁹ Thus, the purpose of the false door had to be the same both in the superstructure and in the underground part of the tomb: they were supposed to let the owner «go forth» out of them. This is but natural, since decoration of the burial chambers was borrowed from the chapels.

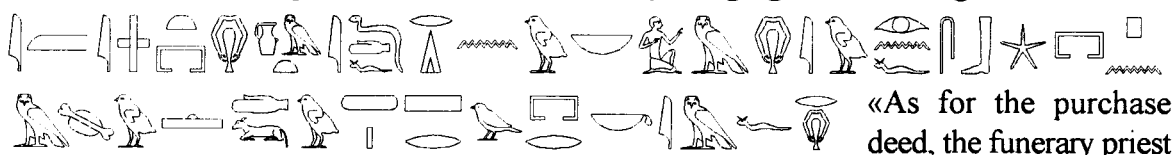
Therefore, it is obvious that as early as the Old Kingdom, the notion of *Jmn·t* was not related to geographical west, that *Jmn·t* had no definite spatial location and, of course, was not placed behind the false door. Then it would be most reasonable to deduce that the West was somehow related to the pictorial decoration of the chapels, for there was nothing else to connect it with. The problem might seem to grow still more complicated, but this feeling is unfair: two late Old Kingdom monuments reflecting the attitude of the Egyptians to representations give us reliable answers to the above questions.

In the late Old Kingdom, tomb inscriptions appear in which the owners claim that they had completely paid for the work of the craftsmen who had built and decorated their monuments (for bibliography see [Berlev, 1978, 19]). The purpose of such claims is quite clear: fearing that the tomb could be usurped in future, its owner tried to confirm his rights to possess it as a legal property [cf. Perepelkin, 1988-1, 121–122; 1988-2, 357]. Developing this idea, the authors of the two inscriptions renounced the stereotype of compiling such texts and exposed to us their understanding of the «life of representations». The specificity of both inscriptions had been unnoticed for a long time, until O. D. Berlev [1978, 18–33] revealed their great importance for the history of Egyptian ideology. Berlev's study is thorough and detailed, but being published in Russian, it remains underrated by most Egyptologists – the fact making the present writer expound here its main conclusions as concerning our subject.

The first inscription is placed by the figure of the «servant of the *k3*» *Hnm·tj* on the lintel CG 1634 from the Saqqara tomb of a certain *J3r·tj* [Grdseloff, 1943, 26–38; Goedicke, 1970,

⁹ As the author was writing these lines, they were an objection against a merely hypothetical opponent. However, after this book had already been finished, A. M. Roth suggested that the false door had served to connect the chapel with the burial chamber [Roth, 1988, 54].

178–181]. This inscription is attributed to *Hnm-tj* bringing food offerings to his master:



Hnm-tj, he says: ‘My lord has appointed me a funerary priest. He has made this door for remuneration of one small loincloth, so that I went forth out of it /i. e., out of the door/ to serve as funerary priest’» [Berlev, 1978, 27¹⁰] (for the review of other interpretations see [ibid., 20–23]; now also [Perepelkin, 1988-1, 86, 115]).

As the purchase deed the inscription itself should be regarded. «Door» (*sb3*) is the key word for understanding the meaning of the text. Since the «door» was made especially to allow *Hnm-tj* and nobody else to go forth through it, it could be neither the entrance to the chapel intended for all visitors to the tomb, nor the false door made only for its owner – *J3r-tj* (the more so that the price, a small loincloth, is too insignificant for such monuments). If so, only the representation of *Hnm-tj* can be the «door» here [Berlev, 1978, 24].¹¹ Thus, the picture of a person is considered a «door» out of which some manifestation of his «goes forth».

The situation reflected by the inscription is as follows. *J3r-tj* ordered the lintel with the representation of *Hnm-tj* serving to him and paid the craftsman for his work, the loincloth being the price of carving one figure only and not of the whole monument. However, the very fact of using the word «door» with reference to the representation means that not a mere picture was bought by *J3r-tj*, but the priest *Hnm-tj* himself in the form he «went forth» out of this «door» to perform eternal priestly services for *J3r-tj*. His picture was ordered and paid for by *J3r-tj* exactly with this purpose [Berlev, 1978, 25–26].

Everything we know about the practice of appointing the «servants of the *k3*» testifies that the purchase of *Hnm-tj* was fictitious and, as a living person, he was not a slave of *J3r-tj*. It is obvious that *J3r-tj* did not buy the priest himself, but his manifestation which would live in the tomb thanks to his image carved in stone and make offerings as long as the representation existed.¹²

¹⁰ In the original «Что касается документа на право собственности /=купчей/, то заупокойный жрец *Hnm-tj*, говорит он: ‘Назначил меня владыка мой заупокойным жрецом. И сотворил он дверь эту за вознаграждение /в виде/ одной набедренной повязки малой, так что я вышел из нее /=двери/, чтобы служить заупокойным жрецом’».

¹¹ For one more case of designating a representation as a door (*3*) see [Berlev, 1978, 24].

¹² If the depicted person can «go forth» out of his representation, it would be reasonable to search for some records of his «coming back» into it. The present writer cannot adduce any cases concerning private persons, but as to gods and their temple images, such records are well known. First of all, the «Memphite Theological Treatise» should be mentioned, where the creation of gods by *Pth* is described as follows: «And gods entered (*3*) their bodies /lit. ‘body’/ of every wood, of every stone, of every clay (?), (of) every material /lit. ‘thing’/...» (Memph. Theol., 60). The verb *3* is an exact antonym to *pr(j)* in the inscription of *J3r-tj*.

More in detail this notion is reflected in the late temple texts. «The Winged Disc comes from the sky everyday to see his sacred representation (*bs*)... He descends upon his image, he unites with his falcon-shaped statues, his heart is glad in his shrine» (Edfu) [Blackman, Fairman, 1941, fig. 2-*b*]. Accord-

The second monument of great interest is the false door of *(J)t(w)-f-h3h3 (?)* (JE 56994) with unusual inscriptions on the lintel and jambs [Bakir, 1952, pl. 1]. The inscription on the lintel reads:



«I have made this /i. e., the false door/ to be blessed before my lord. I have made the craftsmanship /i. e., craftsmen/ creating necropolis praise god for me /i. e., thank me/ for the respective remuneration» [Berlev, 1978, 29].¹³ Two identical inscriptions on the jambs are the legends to the figures of people pictured there baking, brewing and bringing food stuffs and clothes to the tomb owner:



«(My) bought people belonging to (my) body /i. e., my own/. I have obtained them for remuneration /i. e., I have bought them/, (they) having been sealed up /i. e., their names having been sealed up/ in a contract liable to sealing up /and/ belonging to *h-t*,¹⁴ in order that they bring offerings in the necropolis. Funerary priests /and/ funerary priestesses» [Berlev, 1978, 29].¹⁵

If interpreted literally, these inscriptions belong to the small group of Old Kingdom records of purchasing people. However, it was impossible to sell or buy the «servants of the *k3*», and proceeding from the inscription of *J3r-tj*, it should be supposed that *(J)t(w)-f-h3h3* bought not real people, but their representations, that is, their living mani-

ing to the texts of Dendera, the joining with representations is the aim of the god when he appears in the temple, the very process of joining being described as enveloping, embracing the representation [Junker, 1910, 6–7]. Descriptions of this kind are rather numerous; they were paid heed to by H. Junker [ibid.] and some of them were collected by A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman [1941, 412, note 9], but they never became an object of a proper study. They are traditionally interpreted as an evidence of the god's entering a lifeless representation thus animating it. As a result, the deity and its representation loose touch with one another and their indissoluble (although very specific) relation proves considered temporal and not obligatory. It can be possible that we deal here with an inversion of the idea of the «going forth». Indeed, if the person represented «goes forth» from his representation, he must also «enter» into it. The basis of these two ideas seems to be absolutely identical, so there must be no difference in this respect between the dead man and the god, between representations in the temple and in the tomb.

Of course, we should not disregard the fact that the texts of the late temples are a result of a three-millennia-long evolution, and most different components are assimilated there, thus distorting the original picture. Therefore, we can come across the record of the *b3* of a goddess entering her representation [Blackman, Fairman, 1941, 412, note 9]. This idea belongs to another cycle, but it cannot conceal the very fact of «coming back».

¹³ In the original «Сделал я это /т. е. ложную дверь/ для того, чтобы быть почтенным у владыки моего, заставив славить для меня бога /=благодарить меня/ мастерство /=мастеров/, творящее некрополь за вознаграждение соответствующее».

¹⁴ On the *h-t* document see [Berlev, 1978, 30].

¹⁵ In the original «Купленные люди (мои), что от особы (моей) /=собственные мои/, я достал их за вознаграждение /=купил/, запечатанными /=имена которых – в списке запечатанном/ в грамоте, подлежащей запечатыванию, что от *h-t*, с тем, чтобы они приносили мне жертвы в некрополе. Заупокойные жрецы и заупокойные жрицы».

festations «going forth» from the pictures. Indeed, he declares first (on the lintel) that he had paid craftsmen for manufacturing the monument, grounding then (on the jambs) his proprietary rights – not of the people themselves, but of their representations on this monument [Berlev, 1978, 31–32]. As in the inscription of *J3r.tj*, it is stressed that the representations were bought to serve the tomb owner.^{16 17}

The Old Kingdom notion of the «next world», the West, starts to become clear for us. *(J)t(w).f-h3h3* claims it unambiguously that he paid the craftsmen «creating *hr(j).t-ntr*». *Hr(j).t-ntr* might be interpreted literally as «cemetery», «necropolis» [Wb. II, 394:10], the meaning being quite acceptable on the face of it: the tomb owner remunerates the cemetery workmen; however, *(J)t(w).f-h3h3* mentions not the craftsmen working at the cemetery in general, but those who took part in making this very false door. It is obvious that *hr(j).t-ntr* means in this context «Totenreich im Jenseits» [Wb. III, 394:11–13]. Still, if making representations the craftsmen «create *hr(j).t-ntr*», this «next world» is a world of representations or a certain world most intimately related to them.

The case is the same with the main Old Kingdom designation of the «next world» – *Jmn-t* – «West»: like *hr(j).t-ntr*, this term can designate both a cemetery, a real earthly place, and the «next world» [Wb. I, 86:8–9]. Now it is clear why the same word, no matter be it *Jmn-t* or *hr(j).t-ntr*, could denote both the cemetery, a part of the world of the living, and the «world of the dead»: this «world of the dead» exists in the tomb and, thus, partly superposes that of the living ones. In fact, the terms *Jmn-t* and *hr(j).t-ntr* are not even ambivalent: they just refer to the place belonging at the same time to both worlds, one or the other aspect of this place coming to the foreground in each particular case.

The nature of the false door becomes more precise as well. Being an imitation of the door, it can give rise to a certain manifestation of the object represented. Of course, only the tomb owner's manifestation created by his pictures can «go forth» through such a door, for only they and nothing in the world of the living have the same nature. The oldest false doors were arranged in the tombs having no pictorial decorations yet, but from the above observations it is quite evident that an idea similar to the reconstructed one must be existent at that time as well, for what else could «go forth» from the door imitation? This means that the emergence of the false door is the earliest (even though indirect) evidence in favor of the

¹⁶ Earlier the present author accepted this interpretation by Berlev unreservedly [Bolshakov, 1987-1, 10–11], but in the recently published book by Yu. Ya. Perepelkin [1988-1, 83–85] some serious arguments are adduced in favor of the traditional understanding of the inscriptions of *(J)t(w).f-h3h3*. First of all, the line where priests are mentioned, is separated from the previous ones by a narrow blank, and so the priests who could not be sold are detached from the «bought people» (*jsw-w*). Second, some people are depicted on the jambs at work, whereas others are idle, so it seems that the difference between the *jsw-w* and the priests is stressed also here. If so, the fact of buying labourers proves to be irrelevant of the priests and apparently is quite realistic (cf. [Perepelkin, 1988-2, 339]). Nevertheless, we cannot affirm that these very important observations provide the definite solution of the problem related to the false door of *(J)t(w).f-h3h3* which was by right qualified as an «interesting, but intricate» monument [Perepelkin, 1988-1, 83]. Indeed, offerings are delivered by people whom Perepelkin considers to be priests, but the inscription on the lintel reads that there are *jsw-w* who bring offerings.

¹⁷ On the New Kingdom attitude to the ushabti statuettes as the slaves of their owner see [Berlev, 1978, 33–34].

notion which is most obviously expressed in the inscription of *J3r-tj*. Later, when representations came into use, the idea of «going forth» was naturally transferred to them as well. From our modern point of view, it had made the false door useless, because any representation of the tomb owner guaranteed him the «going forth», but practically no old ideas were discarded in Egypt with the appearance of the new ones. So the false door became decorated with representations and went on existing as the main place of the tomb owner's «going forth», and respectively, as the main cult place.

However, the mechanism of «going forth» remains unclear so far. It is the arrangement of murals that helps us to answer this question. With some rare exceptions the decoration of any wall consists of the two main parts: ① representations of various ritual, agricultural, handicraft or festive activities arranged in registers, and ② a large figure of the tomb owner turned to these scenes and by its very size amalgamating them into a single composition. The tomb owner's representation is always static; except for the table scene, he is just sitting or standing still. His picture is usually accompanied by the titles and the name(s) placed over his head. Other inscriptions are not obligatory, but, nevertheless, they appear rather frequently. They represent a vertical column separating the figure of the tomb owner from the scenes of everyday life; the titles should be interpreted as their continuation.¹⁸

These inscriptions serving a title of the whole mural composition are always assembled according to a standard pattern: the word *m33* («seeing») + the object of seeing (description of the scenes taking place before the tomb owner) + the subject of seeing (the titles and the name(s) of the owner). For instance, «Seeing the work /by/... *Tjj*» [Steindorff, 1913, Taf. 110]; «Seeing marshlands,¹⁹ catching fish /and/ fowl /that are/ better than any thing /by/... *N(j)-nh-hnm(w)*» [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977, Taf. 33]; «Seeing every field-work in his *hww-t*-estates /and/ *njw-wt*-estates of Lower /and/ Upper Egypt /by/... *Jdw*» [Macramallah, 1935, pl. 11-*b*]; «Seeing every good enjoyment of heart which are made in the entire country /by/... *Pth-htp(-w)*» [Davies, 1900, pl. 21]; «Seeing vine brought from the palace for... *Nb-t*» [Munro, 1993, Taf. 13, 14]; «Seeing the bull fight by... *Ttj*» [Kanawati, 1980-1, fig. 10], etc.²⁰

The significance of these «seeing formulae» (let them be called so), which still is not appreciated at its true value, is enormous, because they allow us to ascertain how the Egyptians understood the functioning of the system of representations. The customary passivity of the tomb owner is but an illusion arising from his immobile posture: in reality he is busy with the action so important that it gives name to the entire composition – he is *seeing*. Thus, what is the meaning of this «seeing» which is so significant for the tomb owner? Answering this question is facilitated by the fact that here we can put the equals sign between our own apprehension and that of the ancient Egyptians.

¹⁸ There are, seemingly, only two such inscriptions which are not followed by the titles, both of them in the same tomb [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1971, Taf. 2, 7].

¹⁹ See [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977, 92, Sz. 13.A, Anm. a].

²⁰ The only exception to this structure of the seeing formulae which I know is the inscription in the chapel of queen *Mr(j)-s(j)-nh(-w) III* accompanied by a picture of the owner and of her mother shown boating, that reads: «They are seeing every good thing /which is/ in the marshes» [Dunham, Simpson, 1974, fig. 4], but this difference is merely formal and has no semantic character.

Indeed, in our modern culture representations are also of great importance. Practically everyone keeps photographs of his nearest and dearest, of places he remembers with love, of significant events in his life, etc.; prior to the invention of photography this part was played by paintings, drawings, miniatures and so on. The purpose of all these representations is the same – to remind of people and events. Although the ancient system of priorities is quite different as compared with ours, the topics of the Egyptian tomb murals are the same in general. Tomb decorations comprise everything the deceased saw when alive, essentially his household – that is, everything that could be photographed had the Egyptians the idea of photography. In very likelihood the Egyptian murals had also the function of reminding.

Although our memory is able to reproduce involuntarily information once introduced into it, this reproduction does not happen by itself, without incitement. Apprehensions of objects, ideas and thoughts can be such incitements having most unexpected forms and causing a sporadic reproduction. Should such a reminder be purposeful, the resulting reproduction will be far more definite. For example, photographs are very purposeful reminders and this is the reason for making and keeping them. As we look at a photograph, we recollect the respective event more clearly, and instead of a vague image the vivid picture of the past appears in our consciousness. Photograph reminds of many details which are kept so deep in memory that they do not reveal themselves without external incitements; it can also make us recall an event which we have forgotten entirely, which one did not think about a minute ago. Moreover, the incitement evokes a current of spontaneous and uncontrolled associations giving rise to other images which already are not related directly to the things and persons represented. «Events and people registered in memory along with their surroundings form a group or association which is as indissoluble as a poem known by heart, and such a group can be reproduced by hinting at any of its links» [Sechenov, 1947, 449]. Photograph, representation is a very important «link» involving the whole «chain» of recollections. As a result, our memory reproduces a complete fragment of the past.

We have no reasons to believe that the psyche of the Old Kingdom Egyptians could be qualitatively different. There is no doubt that this phenomenon of memory could not help greatly amazing them, being of course not apprehended as related to the memory. Feeling that representation «revives» in our memory, we do understand that it happens only and solely in our mind, that this sensation is of subjective nature; the historical experience of the ancient man being quite different, he could not realize the nature of this phenomenon and had to find another interpretation. In other words, saying «representations revive in memory» we emphasize *in memory*, while the Egyptians would stress *revive*.

Two kinds of images can arise in the human mind. The first are based on information provided from immediate perception by the organs of sense, whereas the second spring up from the memory, i. e., in this case perception is intermediated by memory.²¹

Let us consider both processes (fig. 8). In the first one, the object ① is perceived by optic receptors ② and the obtained information is analyzed by the brain ③ to pro-

²¹ Of course, real images kept in memory can be mixed, merged and transformed into fantastic ones, but these processes are of no importance for our study.

duce a visual image of this object ④. These are also the initial stages of the second process, where the acquired image is subsequently saved by the memory ⑤ to be unconsciously stored in it ⑥. After some time, we come across an object's representation ⑦. It is perceived by optic receptors ⑧, the information gained is treated by the brain ⑨, thus giving rise to a visual image of the object's representation ⑩. This image serves as an incitement ⑪ for memory which reproduces an image of the object being somewhat distorted due to inevitable loss of some information ⑫. The visual image of the object's representation ⑩ amends the image of the reproduced object and initiates memory ⑬, whereas the activated associations provide more information related to the object ⑭. As a result, the revised object's image appears ⑮.²²

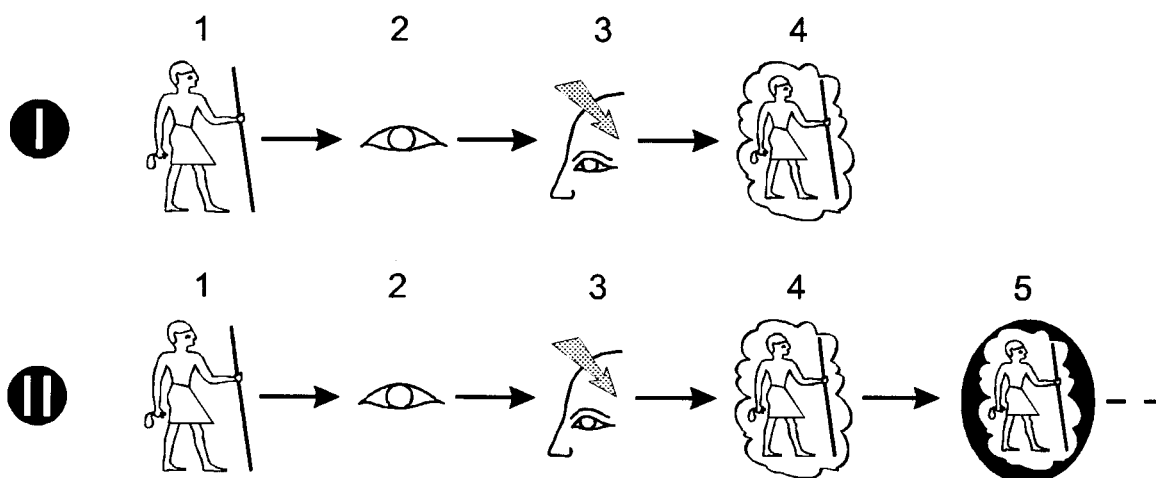
In order to make such a picture quite natural and even banal for us, physiology, psychology and philosophy had to pass a long road of development; the ancient man was not aware of all this – moreover, his feelings told him just the contrary. Indeed, subjectively, from the point of view of the recollecting person, the image arising as a result of recollection ⑮ does not differ from that coming into existence from the immediate reception ④.²³

Therefore, an ancient man being unaware of the processes occurring in his brain, could not take them into consideration and was inclined to regard the reminiscence of anything as its direct vision (processes ⑤ – ⑭ were excluded from his picture of the world). Still, if we see somebody or something (not by mind, as we know it, but with eyes, as the Egyptians believed), it means that this somebody or something is before us at the moment. Since it is possible to recollect and, thus, to see alive a person who has been dead for a long time, the question arises inevitably about the nature of the entity appearing at our sight. If we are as ignorant of the nature of our memory as the Egyptians were, we can suppose that this is a copy of the deceased, his double similar to the «original», but immortal. In all probability, just this copy was called *k3* by the Egyptians. The property of representations to activate memory was regarded as the «going forth» of the *k3* from the picture of the «original» which served it as a «door» – this is the meaning of the «reviving» of representations.²⁴ However, it is still but a hypothesis

²² This is no doubt a mere scheme claiming to nothing else; it does not take account of numerous concepts of modern psychology concerning the analysis of visual information (for instance, the preliminary estimation of the image directly by eyes), still they are not imperative for our study. A certain «mechanicism» helping to reject some secondary details and to focus on the main aspects is quite appropriate here. Below (see Chapter 10, § 1) we shall make some corrections, but now we are approaching the problem in general terms, and it is sufficient to limit ourselves to the above model.

²³ Actually it does, since information cannot be stored without some losses, but the man himself who can reckon solely on his memory, does not feel it, and so «that which I remember» turns for him into «that which has been in reality». Samples of such objectifying of recollections which is equal to subjectifying of reality, can be found in any memoirs.

²⁴ By the way, this hypothesis explains why tomb representations remain lifeless for everybody except the tomb owner. In our memory, the reality depicted by a photograph revives only if it concerns ourselves directly, whereas the events in which we did not take part and which do not refer to us usually do not revive, and at best we regard their representations as documents, perhaps of interest, but nothing more. The possibility of «enlivening» things never seen before is proper of only some people of artistic vein having a special gift of condolence which is the basis of their creative work. With the tomb repre-



1. Object. 2. Perception by optic receptors. 3. Processing of information by the brain. 4. Image of the object. 5. Stamping of the image in the memory. 6. Keeping of the image in the memory. 7. Representation of the object. 8. Perception by optic receptors. 9. Processing of information by the brain. 10. Image of the object's representation. 11. Incitement. 12. Image of the object reproduced by memory. 13. Comparison of the reproduced image with the image of the object's representation. 14. Associations. 15. Revised image of the object.

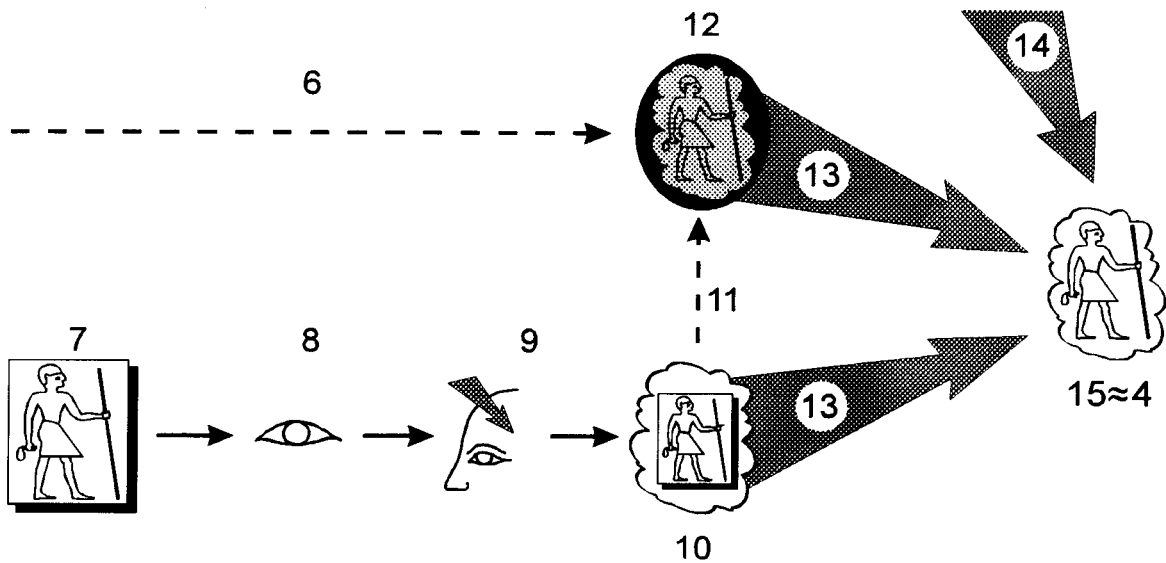
to be confirmed. A confirmation should be searched for in Egyptian terminology which could not help reflecting both the fact of the relation of the *k3* to representations and the nature of that relation. Indeed, the *k3* is sometimes mentioned in connection with representations. All these records are indirect, for the Egyptians themselves were not in need of explaining the correlation between the *k3* and representations – the nature of the *k3* was quite obvious for them. In any case, the evidence of Egyptian terminology can be interpreted definitely proceeding from the facts already established.

Properly speaking, all these records consist in designating representations «the *k3*». It does not contradict the suggested conception, for under conditions of a comparative backwardness of linguistic means, representation and the image of the person evoked in memory (even though objectified) surely could be signified by the same word.²⁵

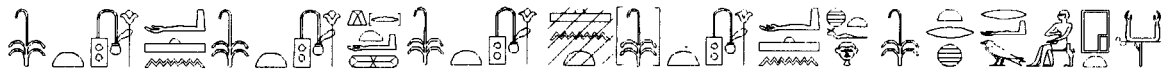
sentations, the state of affairs was absolutely the same: they fixed the life of the tomb owner, so that the reality fixed by the latter was «revived» only for himself (the «seeing formulae» reflect the same idea). For other people they are mere representations, because reality comprised in these latter is not perceived (although the ancient perception does not disrupt representation and its model).



²⁵ Even we are facing a similar problem: having no term to denote an objectified memory image, we talk about «reviving» representations, thus attributing the property of this image to lifeless pictures.

Fig. 8
Mechanism of the origin
of the *k3* category



All Egyptian representations can be subdivided into two basic groups: those made on a plane, mainly murals, and statues. The author does not know any Old Kingdom designation of statues as *k3*, but their relation has been reflected in the name of the serdab. Excavating in 1913 the mastaba of *R^c(w)-wr(·w) I* (G 5270), H. Junker discovered several inscribed slabs which originally had been a frieze on a wall of the exterior serdab annex to the tomb (see Chapter 5). The inscription (Cairo JE 43965) reads:



«Scribe of the royal documents, scribe of the royal writing materials, scribe of the royal books, scribe of the royal documents in the presence, belonging to the royal placenta *R^c(w)-wr(·w)*, court of the *k3*», i. e., «Court of the *k3* of... *R^c(w)-wr(·w)*». *H(w)-t-k3*, «court of the *k3*» was interpreted by Junker as a designation of the serdab [Junker, 1913-2, 12]. A year later A. Moret [1914, 88] tried to prove that  should be read instead of , and thus supposed that the name of the serdab was *jr-tj n(j)-t h(w)-t-k3*, «eyes of the court of the *k3*». A. M. Blackman [1916-3, 250-254] related the designation *jr-tj n(j)-t h(w)-t-k3* to the serdab aperture, ascribing to the serdab itself the name *pr(w) twt*, «statue-house», recorded in the tomb of *Pjppj-^cnh(·w)/Hnjj-km* at Meir [ibid., pl. 39].

However perfect publication of the inscription of $R^c(w)-wr(-w)$ I and comments by Junker [1938, 120, 122, Abb. 11, 42-a, Taf. 13-a] made it certain that just $h(w)-t-k3$ had been used in it as the name of the serdab, while the reading of Moret is wrong. Recently, Ed. Brovarski [1988-2, 88] returned to Moret's reconstruction and Blackman's understanding of $pr(w)$ twt as the only name of the serdab and of the «eyes of $h(w)-t-k3$ »²⁶ as the designation of the serdab slot. He did not provide any explanation of his viewpoint, and, thus, the arguments by Junker remain irrefutable.

Since there was nothing but statuary in the «court of the $k3$ », this name binds the statue and the $k3$. As for $pr(w)-twt$, it could be another (probably provincial) designation of the serdab, demonstrating that twt being the most general term for sculpture, the unity of the $k3$ and the statues had a relative character.²⁷ Thus, there is no doubt that statues were connected with the $k3$. Even more interesting are some legends to murals.

In order to guarantee the delivery of offerings to the very person they were intended for, representations were often accompanied by the legends specifying for whom this or that food stuff was produced or brought. They usually read «for NN», «this is for NN», etc. However, it was possible to substitute the name of the tomb owner with the words « $k3$ of NN». Sometimes such a substitution occurs in the title of the mural composition and is a component of the «seeing formula». For example, «Seeing catching birds, bringing very numerous /products of/ field work for the $k3$ of ... Jbj » [Davies 1902-1, pl. 6]; «Seeing field work, catching fishes, spearing for the $k3$ of ... Jbj » [ibid., pl. 3]. The legend to the picture of $Hnt(j)-k3(j)/Jhhj$ approaching a vase of incense to his nose reads: «Festival perfume /and/ incense for the $k3$ of $Hnt(j)-k3(j)$ » [James, 1953, pl. 21].

More frequently the connection between representations and the $k3$ is reflected in the legends to household and delivery scenes. For instance: «Milking a cow for the $k3$ of Jzj » [Davies, 1902-2, pl. 6]; «Choice meat for the $k3$ every day» [Kanawati, 1983, fig. 16]; «Bringing for the $k3$ of ... $\dot{S}\dot{s}j$ » [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 85, 87, 90]; «Bringing goods for the $k3$ (of) ... $Nfr-s\dot{s}m-pth$ » [ibid., pl. 98]; «Bringing choice meat /and/ fowl for the $k3$ of ... $Nfr-s\dot{s}m-pth$ » [ibid., pl. 101]; «Bringing choice meat for the $k3$ every day» [Kanawati, 1983, fig. 8, 10]; «Bringing every [good] thing for the $k3$ every day» [Kanawati, 1985, fig. 8]; «Bringing choice meat, the best of the offering table /and/ every good thing, every day, for the $k3$ » [ibid.]; «[Brin]ging the best of every good thing for the $k3$ (of) $Mrr[j]$ » [Davies W. et al., 1984, pl. 7]. Rather common are brief legends like «This is for the $k3$ of Tjj » [Steindorff, 1913, Taf. 116; Wreszinski, 1936, Taf. 75; Wild, 1953, pl. 121-122]; «This is for the $k3$ of Mmj » [Bissing, 1905, Taf. 7-1, 24]; «--- (?) for the $k3$ of ... $Rnsj$ » [Simpson, 1976-1, pl. 12-c, fig. 29], «This is for the $k3$ of Mrj »

²⁶ $ptr-tj n(j)-t h(w)-t-k3$ in his reading.

²⁷ Besides the serdab, the term $h(w)-t-k3$ might also denote other ground chambers of a tomb [Wb. III, 5:14-15] as well as temple chapels [ibid., 18-19]. It is quite natural, for statues were worshipped there too. In general it should be admitted that any structure with cult images could be designated as $h(w)-t-k3$. Estates providing food stuffs for the tomb cult were also named $h(w)-wt-k3$, because these offerings were intended for the $k3$ [Perepelkin, 1988-1, 155-164]. However, the problem of $h(w)-t-k3$ is too complex to be discussed here in detail (see, e. g. [Kaplony, 1980-2]).

[Duell, 1938, pl. 145]; «For the *k3* of *Mrj*», «For the *k3* of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)*» [ibid., pl. 79–80, 116]; «For the *k3* of... *Jbj*» [Davies, 1902-1, pl. 4]; «For the *k3*» [Ziegler, 1993, 128], etc.

The fact that the expression «for the *k3* of NN» substitutes here the much more frequent «for NN» is well illustrated by inscriptions in the Saqqara mastaba of *Nfr-sšm-ptḥ/Ššj*. Above several representations of cattle being driven on the entrance thickness, their general title is inscribed: «Delivering the best oxen for... *Ššj*», whereas one of the scenes located below and, thus, being part of this rubric, is entitled «Young ox which is in the stall. For the *k3* of *Ššj* every day» [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 80]. Of special interest are several inscriptions having two objects at the same time, both the personal name and the *k3*: «--- *n(j)-hnm* oil for *Mrj*, for his *k3* every day; *tw3w-t* oil for *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)*, for his *k3* every day; best cedar oil for *Mrj*, for his *k3* every day; best Libyan oil for *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)*, for his *k3* every day» [Duell, 1938, pl. 117]. Similarly in *ḥnh(.j)-m-ḥr(w)/Zzj*, the butcher cutting meat of a sacrificial bull says that it is «for *Jzj*, for his *k3*» [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 53; Badawy, 1978, fig. 47]. Such parallelism in mentioning the name of a man and his *k3* proves that the expression «for the *k3* of NN» is equal to «for NN».

The word *k3* is applied to the tomb owner mainly in the scenes directly related to his feeding, perhaps due to their special importance. However, sometimes the *k3* is mentioned in the legends to the auxiliary scenes. In several tombs such legends are placed by representations of musicians and dancers: «Good dancing for your *k3* every day», «[G]ood fluting for your *k3* every day» (*Nb(w)-k3.w-ḥr(w)*, Saqqara, repeated seven times [Hassan, 1975-1, fig. 2]); «Good dances for the *k3*» (*Špss-rḥ(w)*, Saqqara [LD II, Bl. 61-*b*]); «Good dances for the *k3*» (*Wr-jr(w)-n(.j)*, Sheikh Said [Davies, 1901-2, pl. 10]); «Harping for the *k3* of... *Jbj*» (*Jbj*, Deir el-Gebrawi) [Davies, 1902-1, pl. 8]); «Dancing /and/ music for the dance by the entertainers of his own house for the *k3* of *Hnj*» (*Hnj*, El-Hawawish, [Kanawati, 1981, fig. 22]); «--- by the musicians of his own house for the *k3* of... *Ttj*» (*Ttj*, El-Hawawish [Kanawati, 1980-1, fig. 12]); «Behold, this good /is/ for your *k3*» (*Jttj/Šdw*, Deshasha [Kanawati, McFarlane, 1993, pl. 50-*b*]).²⁸

Thus, most of the inscriptions mentioning the *k3* are the titles of the scenes, but in some cases the form of address with «you» is introduced, which obviously transforms them into quotations of the represented people who say to their master: «For your *k3*» [LD II, Bl. 9]; «This is for your *k3*» [Mariette, 1889, 338]; «This is for your *k3*. Young ibex» [Davies W. et al., 1984, pl. 31]; «Delivering foreleg for your *k3*» [Mariette, 1889, 274–275]; «Bringing offerings for your *k3*» [Davies W. et al., 1984, pl. 31]; «[Be]hold, great quantity of birds for your *k3* every day» [Petrie, 1898, pl. 46; Kanawati, McFarlane, 1993, pl. 46], etc.

The mention of the *k3* in these scenes might be interpreted as some solemn form of address, but rather often the *k3* appears in the quotations of people shown in situations which cannot be qualified as solemn. So the butchers cutting the carcasses of sacrificial

²⁸ There is also a badly damaged and almost illegible inscription of the same contents in *Hm(w)-mn(w)* at el-Hawawish [Kanawati, 1985, fig. 8].

animals in *ḥnh(.j)-m-ḥ-hr(w)/Zzj* say: «Take the brisket of this sacrificial ox for Zzj, for his *k3*», «Cut off the head of this ox. Hurry up. Make that (I) finish with his foreleg. (For) the *k3* of Zzj...», «Cut up yourself. For the *k3* of Zzj, (my) master», «Pure, (it is) pure for Zzj, for his *k3*» [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 53; Badawy, 1978, fig. 47]. Similarly the butcher depicted in the scene of slaughter in *Nfr-sšm-ptḥ/Ššj* says, «(I am) doing (it) as desired by (my) master, for the *k3* of Ššj...» [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 101]. Although directly related to the delivery of offerings, the scene of slaughter represents but a common physical work, heavy and untidy, which does not presuppose any verbal refinement. In the same manner one of the ploughmen pictured in *Dḥw/Šm3j* (Deir el-Gebrawi) tells another: «--- may plough [ti]ll, may your hand be green /i. e., prosperous/ for the *k3* of Dḥw», while the whole scene is entitled «A great (?) /and/ good ploughing for the *k3* of Š[m3j]» [Davies, 1902-2, pl. 6]. In *Jbj* (Deir el-Gebrawi) a carpenter working out a log addresses to his master: «(I am) doing [desi]red by your *k3-w*» [Davies, 1902-1, pl. 15].

There is one more scene where the labeling texts refute our hypothetical suggestion that the word *k3* could be used only on solemn occasions – the punishment of the negligent chiefs of the courts. In *Hnt(j)-k3(.j)/Jhhj* two chiefs are represented fastened to a pole hammered in the ground, while a man staying nearby with a stick jeers at one of them: «Good gratifications for your *k3*. The like has never happened /before/» [James, 1953, pl. 9]. In *Špss-rḥ(w)* the chief being punished complains: «My *k3* is good. What /wrong/ have I done?» [LD II, Bl. 63]. No solemnity can be either in the expressions of the scoffing executioner or in the screams of the beaten victim, as it never can be present in the words of the hurrying butchers, of the ploughman at work, or of the carpenter holding an adze in his hand. Neither can we suppose that the quotations were censored for carving in the tombs, and that, for instance, the words of the butchers are true in the same measure as the tongue of bucolic swains is as compared with that of real peasants: the Egyptians did not feel shy of immortalizing rude expressions in their tombs.²⁹

As soon as we give up the routine way of thinking and resort to the logic of the facts we have elucidated, the situation becomes quite obvious. Of course, in the real life the Egyptians never addressed one another saying «your *k3*» instead of «you». However, these words are not quotations of real people themselves, *but of their representations*, that is, in the final analysis, of their *k3-w*; therefore it is quite natural that one *k3* addresses another using not *die Anrede mit du*, but, so to say «*die Anrede mit k3*». This is one of the distortions of reality in the tomb decoration (cf. Chapter 12, § 2).³⁰ In most cases these artificial expressions were not used at all. «*Die Anrede mit k3*» and mention-

²⁹ For example, in the scene of boatmen jousting in the mastaba of *Tjj* [Steindorff, 1913, Taf. 110; Wreszinski, 1936, Taf. 39; Wild, 1953, pl. 111 = Bolshakov, 1983-1, fig. 1 = Bolshakov, 1993-2, fig. 1].

³⁰ The fact that «*die Anrede mit k3*» could be used as a figure of lofty style in harangue and literature is a phenomenon of quite different nature. Thus, for instance, in Papyrus Westcar (VI:25) the sage *Ddj* says greeting prince *Ddf-ḥr(w)*: «May your *k3* overpower your enemy». The solemn character of *Ddj*'s address is stressed by the author's remark: «These are words to greet the king's son» (pWestc. VI:26 – VII:1). However, the essence of the notion reflected in such expressions is far from the subject of this book, and therefore it is not considered here.

ing the *k3* in the titles of scenes can be met with only in the tombs – and especially in the richest ones – of a definite period: second half of Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI in the capital region and middle Dyn. VI in the province where the new fashions were late to come. It is obvious that when all the possibilities of improving the tomb decoration by means of representations were exhausted at the height of Dyn. V, in some cases such minor details were elaborated by artists with imagination in a manner probably considered excessive by the majority.

The stable expression «*n k3 n(j) + name*» – «for the *k3* of NN», which we have already come across in the above legends, in the following periods came to be obligatory in the offering-formula. It is one more evidence in favor of the correlation of representations and the *k3*, for the formula was practically always placed by mural pictures or on the statues.

The same idea is reflected in the Egyptian term for a priest performing rites in the tomb: *hm(w)-k3* – «servant of the *k3*» [*Wb.* III, 90:12-13]. Since the service of *hm(w)-w-k3* consisted in performing rituals in the chapel and before the serdab, i. e., in front of representations, this term connects representations with the *k3* «going forth» out of them.³¹

Thus, the *k3* is an image evoked by human memory. Objectification of subjective impressions seems to be one of the main features of ancient consciousness (also, incidentally, of the modern one – in our life we come across it fairly often, but except for philosophers of subjectivistic views, we do not create our picture of the world on this basis). The Egyptians objectified their recollections, transferred them from the head of a recollecting person to the outer reality, thus transforming a part of the psyche to a part of the milieu, being unable to separate these two worlds distinctly. Thus, the existence of the *k3* grew to be one of the fundamental properties of reality. Being part of the outer world, the *k3* was regarded as any other of its components – as a real, absolutely material entity.³² Such an interpretation was promoted by the fact that the *k3* was not a mere visual image – only the way of reminding has the visual nature, whereas afterwards, in the course of recollecting and activation of associative ties, the image includes other, non-visual information, thus becoming complex and universal. Accordingly, the *k3* be-

³¹ According to O. D. Berlev [1972-1, 33–41], the word *hm(w)* is a social term «slave» («servant» in the Old Kingdom [Perepelkin, 1988-2, p. 350–351]) which very early was adapted to express the concept of a deity: *hm(w)* is a form in which god and king manifest themselves, an executor of their will. The term *hm(w)-k3* is always interpreted considering the original meaning of *hm(w)* (we also proceed from this assumption), but the probability of using the secondary meaning, however weak it might be, cannot be ignored as well. If so, the «servant of the *k3*» could be regarded as a «counterfeit» of the tomb owner assuming the role of the *k3* of this latter (it might consist in eating the offered food). If some day this idea will be proved, the term *hm(w)-k3* will cease to be an illustration of the connection between representations and the *k3* (it is self-evident though), but for it new and rather interesting investigation prospects will be opened.

³² Our resolute renouncement of the opinion considering the *k3* non-material (Erman) or attributing to its material nature a specific character (Maspero) should not have been emphasized, had not such an approach been proper to some extent of practically every scholar studying the problem of the *k3*. However, it is evident that the very possibility of conceiving the non-material appeared much later and is characteristic of another, non-Egyptian level of mentality. The Egyptians regarded the world as mono-substantial (as it was considered by Tertullian three millennia later).

comes a copy of the whole man's individuality, including both his outer appearance and personal characteristics (cf. the tradition of Birch – Wiedemann – Gardiner).

As a rule, the *k3* is mentioned in the singular, yet in some cases many *k3-w* of one and the same person are referred to (e. g. [Davies, 1902-1, pl. 15]). The idea of the plurality of the *k3-w* caused the increase in the number of representations: would some of them be destroyed, the others – and accordingly the relevant *k3-w* – would persist (for more detailed treatment of the problem see Chapter 12, § 3).

§ 3. *K3* and Statues

Our conclusions concerning the nature of the *k3* were drawn in the previous paragraph proceeding mainly from the material of murals which provide the most conclusive information. However, sculpture at least did not yield to murals in importance and could be the primary component of tomb decoration. This is testified for by the fact that there are many tombs without any murals, but having serdab(s) (especially under Dyn. IV, see Chapter 11, § 3). At any rate, even in the tombs where both the reliefs and statues were present, the cult of the latter was more important. For instance, in his famous contracts with priests, the Middle Kingdom Siut nomarch *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* stipulates in detail their duties in the cult of his statues, but he does not even mention any murals (for these contracts see Chapter 10, § 2). In the same manner, statues of gods were the main object of cult in temples, although their walls could be entirely decorated with reliefs.

The leading role of statuary can be easily explained: three-dimensional representation is less conventional and, thus, closer to reality as compared to those on the plane. This made statues the basic means of fixing the individuality of the tomb owner and, therefore, they had to be protected with special care. In the serdab the statue was safeguarded for millennia, but this entailed a disadvantage – in spite of the rites performed in front of the serdab, the statue kept in it remained isolated and shrunk into itself (this is the destiny of any standard).

Murals, although by their very nature more conventional than sculpture, made it possible to overcome the forced isolation of the *k3*. Here the figure of the tomb owner could be accompanied by pictures of everything he liked or was in need of, and thus, a whole world was created for the *k3*, which was impossible in the case of statuary.^{33 34}

§ 4. *K3* = «Double»

Now, when we have already established how the notion of the *k3* comes into existence and have partly sized up its essence, an English equivalent should be found for this category. Of course, no adequacy can be reached, since as the Western cultures do not know anything analogous to the *k3*, the European languages lack the relevant terms.

³³ For murals as a way of widening the world of the isolated statue see [Hodjash, Berlev, 1982, 15].

³⁴ Attempts were made to widen the world of the statue by placing statuettes of servants in the serdab, especially in the late Old Kingdom (see Chapter 5), but they could not compete with the murals at large.

For this reason, any word we choose for translating *k3* will be inexact, and thus, in order to avoid misunderstandings, we should specify which shade of its meaning will be decisive for us.

It was N. L'Hote who proposed to translate *k3* as «double» [Maspero, 1893-2, 47, note 3]. Brought into wide use by G. Maspero, this translation seems to be the most acceptable, for it reflects best the most important aspect of the *k3* – its resemblance with the «original» – and its outer opposition to the man. Nevertheless, when using this word, we must take an account of the following circumstances.

1. In the thesaurus of a modern educated European, the word «double» has quite a definite coloring evoking a lot of literary associations (for example, with the double described by Dostoevsky). All these allusions attributing to the double the morbid nature of a man's *alter ego* turned into an independent and hostile creature should be rejected and forgotten at once. Since in contrast to the doubles of European literature, the *k3* of the Egyptians was no extraordinary but a universal phenomenon, it was perceived as quite a natural entity and was not vested with any mystic horror. On the contrary, the importance of the *k3* for the future life made it an object of permanent attention and tireless care.

2. Among Egyptologists, the word «double» evokes a number of other useless associations. They are caused by the century-old tradition of interpretation of the *k3* which goes back to Maspero and, besides valuable observations, includes many doubtful and even incorrect theses. There is no reason to speculate on some specific substance of the *k3* [Maspero, 1893-2, 47–48; 1893-4, 389–390] – an ancient man just could not conceive the immaterial, and so all the objects in the world were substantially of equal worth for him. It should also not be supposed after Maspero [1893-4, 389] that the *k3* changes together with his «original» from child to old man. This conclusion logically follows from the similarity of the *k3* and the man, but it cannot be confirmed by Egyptian monuments. Besides, it would be wrong to believe that any object in the world has its own *k3* [Maspero, 1893-4, 389], for such Platonic interpretation, although logical from our point of view, remains unproven by facts. Finally, the widespread idea of Maspero [1893-2, 48; 1893-3] on statues as artificial and eternal bodies for the *k3* is but an oversimplification of a considerably more complicated concept.

3. Advocates of understanding the *k3* as a double are inclined to stress its outer resemblance to the man. It is correct, since, as we have already demonstrated, the *k3* is related first of all to the visual perception, but any endeavor to render this outer aspect absolute is dangerous. Visual is only the incitement, the reminder, but the resulting image has a complex character. We cannot recollect only the exterior of a man – in our consciousness he appears at once as an integral whole, as an individual with all his outer (corporal) and inner (spiritual and physical) unique characteristics. The term «double» must involve the Wiedemann interpretation of the *k3* as «individuality», thus reconciling his approach with that of Maspero. The double is no incarnation of a certain component of a man, but a complete copy of him as an individual.

4. One should not disregard that the interpretation of the *k3* as a double does not eliminate some other aspects of the notion, since it was being developed for a long time and combined many heterogeneous components (see Conclusion).


Thus, although the translation of the word *k3* as «double» cannot be considered quite adequate and universal, it is acceptable and convenient provided that one takes into account all the above reservations freeing it of the burden of traditional apprehensions and false analogies. In order to emphasize the specificity of the contents we attribute to the term «double», from now on we shall write this word with the capital letter.

§ 5. *K3* and *rn*

The *k3* category was not isolated, some other categories being related to it more or less intimately. In many respects *rn* – «name» – is similar and even identical to it. Without taking this fact into account, the study of the *k3* problem would be more than incomplete: many important questions would remain unsolved.


Rn denotes the name both in its «daily» and in its «ideological» aspects – as an identification of a man and as his essence. The Egyptians considered these two aspects an integral whole similar to that formed by the *k3* and representation. For the sake of convenience we shall write *rn* in the cases where the first aspect prevails, while «name» will be applied when the second meaning is predominant. Of course, this division is quite conventional.

The idea of the name bearing a part of its bearer's individuality and being intimately and indissolubly tied with him, is well known in many ancient and primitive cultures. The Egyptians also did not treat the name as mere sound, but as an entity, a manifestation of the man. However, these facts best reflected in the myth about *R'(w)* and the snake created by *Jz:t* [Gardiner, 1935-2, pl. 64-65 + Rossi, Pleyte, 1876, pl. 133] are too well-known and self-evident. Unfortunately, because of its apparent clarity, the *rn* category has never been paid due attention to, there is no special study of the concept, and the scope of the relevant problems remains elaborated even less than those of the *k3* (see [Vernus, 1980]). We cannot dwell on the concept of the *rn* here, for it is a vast subject requiring a special study based on sources differing from ours; however, it is possible and, moreover, necessary, to establish the physiological basis and the way in which the *rn* category springs up.

The fact that the *rn* has many common features with the *k3* had been noted long ago [Rougé, 1868, 61; Brugsch, 1868, 1433; 1882, 1230–1231] and later on this observation was repeatedly corroborated [Lefébure, 1897, 108–109; Blackman, 1916-2, 242, note 3; Bonnet, 1952, 502; Zandee, 1960, 180; and others]. Most definitely the closeness of these two categories was expressed by the Egyptians themselves when in the Ramesside times they created the word , *k3* – «name» [Wb. V, 92:17–23]. However, no serious conclusions were drawn from the obvious connection between the *k3* and the *rn*. So, what is the reason making these two apparently different notions so similar?



Evidently it lies in the same psychological basis of these categories. Both in ancient Egypt and today, the name was and is used to single a specific person out of the mass, which makes it an obligatory and inalienable characteristic of the man. Therefore, the man's name may be an excellent reminder of him giving rise to his image equal to that

initiated by representations. The Egyptians objectified this image, transferred it out of the consciousness of the recollecting subject to the world around him, i. e., transformed it to the *rn*-Double analogous to the *k3*-Double. The difference between the *k3* and the *rn* does not affect their substantial characteristics and involves only the ways of reminding. However, this difference is not considerable. Indeed, very often we cannot even say in which way – visual or acoustic – did we obtain some information: the two senses merge in our consciousness because they give rise to analogous images. This capability to obtain images irrespective of the source of information may be conventionally called the «inner sight». We shall come across it repeatedly in our study.

Similarity of the *k3* and the *rn* deriving from the specificity of the «inner sight» and most evidently manifested in the word  was a universal notion reflected, although more indirectly, practically in all figurative monuments starting from the Old Kingdom.

Representation of a man is practically always accompanied by his name(s) and titles; the latter being an indissoluble complement to the name, helps to identify the person depicted more exactly. So the pair «*representation + name*» appears, in which the picture seems to be the main component because of its predominant dimensions. On the other hand, the name (at least in theory) should always be terminated with a determinative of a man or a woman. As a result, the pair «*name (phonetic part of the word) + determinative*» appears, with the determinative seeming to be but a complement to the main – phonetic – component (its allegedly auxiliary function is reflected in the very term «determinative»). One might assume that these two pairs – «*representation + name*» and «*name + determinative*» – are quite different, but actually there is no fundamental variance between them. The system of true determinatives was finally shaped only in the New Kingdom; in the Old Kingdom determinatives usually had been mere pictograms, representations of the signified objects. Therefore, a large picture occupying the whole surface of a wall is a determinative to the name written nearby in the same measure as a hieroglyph having the size of the rest of the signs, whereas the phonetic part has the same relation to both a large representation and a small determinative.³⁵ Thus, not only the above pairs are essentially identical, but also their components are equipollent – the name specifies the representation and the representation complements the name, both phenomena being possible due to the basically analogous *k3* and *rn* standing behind them.

This observation draws us close to the Egyptian notions concerning the nature of the hieroglyphic system which are related to the ideas of the world order (Chapter 9, § 5). Not only the proper names, but almost all the words form the pair «*phonetic part + pictorial determinative*». So, before the New Kingdom, the determinative usually was a

³⁵ A large representation being a determinative to the name of the depicted person can be proved by the fact that in such cases the name does not require another determinative. Moreover, even a statue can also be a determinative to the name written on it [Firth, Gunn, 1926-1, 171, note 2; Ranke, 1952, 18, Anm. 19; for detailed treatment see Fischer, 1973]. This rule was abandoned only in the New Kingdom, although the first exceptions to it belong to the Old Kingdom, e. g., the statue of *J'(j)-jb(j)*, Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum 3694 (or 3684, cf. [PM III², 103] and [Krauspe, 1987, 25, Nr. 12]) with the names of the owner and his wife determined by the  and  signs respectively [Junker, 1941-1, Taf. 13, Abb. 42].

picture of the signified, while the phonetic part was the name of the object represented by means of the determinative. One can hardly doubt that we are dealing here with a manifestation of the notion concerning the *k3* and the *rn*: the determinative is a representation, the *k3* of the signified, while the phonetic part is its designation, its name, the *rn*. It is this integrity of the *k3* and the *rn* that lays the principle of Egyptian notion concerning the power of the word, especially of the written one. Still this is the topic of a quite different study.³⁶

As the *rn* is practically identical to the *k3*, it plays an important part in securing eternal life and makes up integrity with representations in the tomb decoration. The need to keep the *rn* for eternal life found its most evident, although specific manifestation in the famous «Eulogy of the Scribes» (pCh. B. IV, II:5–III:10). The passage stating that the tombs of ancient sages are devastated and their cult is interrupted, but they still are alive because people repeat their names when reading their books, is usually understood by our contemporaries as a metaphor in the spirit of Horace's *Exegi monumentum*; however, this is no metaphor at all. The author of «Eulogy» stresses that, notwithstanding the destruction of the monuments ensuring life of the *k3-w*, the *rn-w* have survived, and thus, the Doubles of the bearers of these names are living. In the same spirit, we should take quite literally the exhortation to the reader to become a scribe in order to make his name as famous as those of the ancient sages – this is a good way to secure quite real immortality even without erecting expensive and not very reliable (as the First Intermediate Period had proved) cult edifices. Of course, the conclusions drawn by the author are far from the «official» conception, but nevertheless they are postulated proceeding from its categories and as its quite logical continuation. That is why they are of special interest – they demonstrate how much importance was attributed by the Egyptians to the *rn*, if a mere mention of the name could ensure immortality even without any cult. However, it was preferable to have the name repeated as a part of the offering-formula by priests performing everyday services or, at least, by casual visitors to the tomb who were asked to do so in special appeals.

The loss of a written name means the destruction of the *rn* as the loss of representations means the destruction of the *k3*. A tomb with the name lost was regarded as ownerless and remained unprotected by morals anymore [Berlev, 1980, 63]. Thus, erasure of the name was used for usurping tombs (e. g. [Macramallah, 1935, all represen-

³⁶ The conclusion on the two parts of a written word has an important consequence. There are many opinions on the nature of the Egyptian script. Two diametrically opposite viewpoints were voiced by A. Erman and N. S. Petrovsky. Erman [1928, 10] believed it to be a pictographic writing supplemented phonetically, whereas Petrovsky [1978, 147] insisted on its basically phonetic nature, complemented pictographically. The first conception explains the genesis of the Egyptian script, the second one elucidates its state in the classical epoch. However, from the position of the Old Kingdom Egyptians, these extremes meet, since each word fixes simultaneously both the *k3* and the *rn*. Surely, this rapprochement is subjective and possible only in the borders of Egyptian notions, but it has a certain objective basis as well. Egyptian script evolved from phonetically complemented pictures toward pictorially complemented phonetics. The developed Old Kingdom was the time of equilibrium of the pictorial and phonetic components: prior to that epoch it was preferred not to write, but to depict everything which could be represented by pictograms, while later on phonetics began to prevail.










tations of the owner]) and, probably, for the deliberate ultimate destruction of the Double which could be the most savage punishment possible.³⁷

All this means that the *rn* (as well as the *k3*), being genetically related to human psychology, thanks to objectifying was regarded as an independent entity: the mere record of the name was sufficient for its existence.

One might suppose that the *k3* and the *rn* are absolutely identical, different only in their outer manifestations: so to say, the *k3* is the Double manifesting itself in representations, whereas the *rn* is the same Double revealing itself through the name. However, this suggestion reduces the *k3* and the *rn* solely to the representation and the name as such, while a certain universal Double remains concealed behind them, being different from both of them. Of course, the Egyptians had no notion like this, neither they had a word for such a universal «Superdouble». The Double exists only in the unity with its manifestations; therefore the *k3* is both the representation and the Double, while the *rn* is the name and the Double.










Thus, the similarity of the *k3* and the *rn* does not mean that they are absolutely identical. The closeness of the *k3* and the *rn* which results from their common psychological base is apparent only in the notions most intimately related to this base. With the course of time, the concepts of the *k3* and the *rn* could not help diverging, acquiring specific features which conceal the original similarity.³⁸


§ 6. Hieroglyph and Root **k3*



It would be reasonable to suppose that the nature of the *k3* was somehow reflected in the  hieroglyph used for spelling this word. The sign representing the upraised arms (lowered down in *hm(w)-k3*, «servant of the *k3*» ) is usually interpreted as a symbol of embracing, and thus, of protection, which corresponds well to the traditional understanding of the *k3* as a genius or a protective force. The problem was complicated by the archaic title  which should be read as *shn(w)-3h* – «the one embracing the *3h*» [Sethe, 1928, 193]. A certain structural similarity of the monograms  and  raised the opinion that these are two versions of one and the same title existing at different times and, respectively, that  in  should be read *shn(w)*, as  in  [Montet, 1925, 403; Spiegel, 1939, 118]. H. G. Fischer [1977-3, 6, note 6] has ulti-

³⁷ For instance, the name of one of the viziers of *Pjpi I* was erased in his Dahshur decree [Weill, 1912, pl. 3-1; *Urk.* I, 209:12], maybe because of a misdemeanour on his part. Recently S. el-Fikey [1980, 46] tried to identify him with the vizier *R(w)-wr(w)* whose name is erased everywhere (except one single case) in his tomb at Saqqara. Although the suggestion concerning the identity of the Dahshur and Saqqara viziers is rather doubtful [Bolshakov, 1984, 156–157], no matter whether it is true or not, the very fact of the persecuting of his/their names is evident.

³⁸ For example, description of a deity by another name (by means of the formula *m rn-k/m rn-f*) enabled him/her to take the image of the bearer of that name [Matthieu, 1930], whereas no idea on analogous transformations was related to representations.



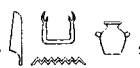
mately refuted this idea by adducing the plural form of  spelled as  (CG 1384), where *hm(w)·w* evidently denotes priests, while  is the object of their service – the *k3*. Moreover, being unaware of the functions of the archaic *shn(w)w-3h*, we have no reason to identify them with *hm(w)·w-k3*. And of course the very idea of the *3h* is so different from the *k3* (see Chapter 9, § 6) that any affinity of the titles is out of question. It is quite another matter that the very structure of the  monogram could and most probably did exert upon that of , but this influence was formal and not semantic [ibid., 5–6] (cf. the unique «normal» spelling  [Abu-Bakr, 1953, fig. 38]). Thus, the main argument in favor of interpreting the  sign as a symbol of embracing is removed.


Recently a suggestion has been made meeting our understanding of the *k3* and assuming that the  sign reflects the idea of similarity of the man and his *k3*: when we say «they are as two peas», the Egyptians could use another simile – «as two arms», «as two hands» [Hodjash, Berlev, 1982, 14].³⁹ In this case, the translation «Double» corresponds not only to the essence of the *k3*, but also to the graphic manifestation of the concept.

It would be of crucial importance to establish the words belonging to the same root as , «Double», and to determine whether the meanings of these words meet our interpretation of the *k3*. First of all, we should pay attention to the words spelled using the  sign. It was I. L. Snegirev [1930] who first tried to establish the semantic connections between some of them. Unfortunately, he proceeded from the absurd Japhetic theory which was an official and compulsory methodological base of Soviet linguistics at that time, and, as a result, his conclusions were far from the actual state of things. Nevertheless, the very approach was fairly promising. Half a century later, W. Westendorf [1980] postulated the same idea quite independently of Snegirev. According to his interpretation of the *k3* as a cosmic force raising the sun to the sky [Westendorf, 1968-1, 65, 80, Anm. 14; 1968-2, 96] he has reconstructed the root **k3(j)* – «heben», «tragen» > «hervorbringen», «erzeugen». However, he did not take into account all the words deserving to be considered and his comments (as well as the interpretation of the *k3* itself) prove rather far fetched. Several years ago, the present author set forth his own way of approaching the problem [Bolshakov, 1985-1, 16; 1987-1, 19–23].



Regrettably, not a single theory of the Egyptian system of writing can be considered satisfactory. Neither has the ratio of pictography (ideography) and phonetics involved in this system been evaluated in full measure (see the latest review [Depuydt, 1994]). Modern Egyptology with its increasing interest in pure linguistics pays less and less attention to the specificity of the writing. This approach aimed at studying the language as such is no doubt effective, but at the same time, being abstracted from the written fixation of the language, it waters down our comprehension of Egyptian culture, whose basic characteristics were greatly influenced by the peculiarities of the script.



³⁹ Of course, other interpretations are possible as well.

The divergence of views on the hieroglyphic system manifests itself first of all in the place where the boundary-line between the phonetic and ideographic signs is drawn [Petrovsky, 1978, 15–58]. The general trend of development was directed toward the recognition of the greater and greater importance of the phonetic component. However, it is quite impossible to differentiate distinctly the two main groups of the hieroglyphs from one another. Indeed, although neither ideograms nor pictograms represented separate sounds of the word, they still referred to its sound pattern as a whole, for it was pronounced anyway [ibid., 63–64] (it is of great importance that the Egyptians themselves, when systematizing the hieroglyphs, did not distinguish pictograms and ideograms from what we call «purely phonetic» signs [ibid., 128–132]). On the other hand, any phonetic sign had its specific pictorial form, and it is impossible to get rid of the impression that the usage of a good deal of them depends much on their visual appearance. Stable application of definite phonograms for writing quite definite words often cannot be reduced to the pure rules of orthography and sometimes it reveals the connection between the shape of the phonetic signs and the meanings of these words. This is just the case with the  hieroglyph. Despite it being usually considered a «pure phonetic» sign (except its ideographic meaning in the word *k3* – «Double» [Gardiner, 1927=1950, 445; 1957-1, 453]), it is highly probable that prior to the New Kingdom, most of the words in which it was used had something in common. In the New Kingdom, a number of words where it was used phonetically increased (e.g., , *sk3* – «kind of animal» [Wb. IV, 316: 15]; at the same time, in the so-called group-writing, it acquired the phonetic value *k* (e.g., , *jkn* – «Syrian vessel» [Wb. I, 140: J]).

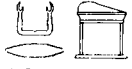


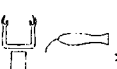

It is out of place here to establish the ratio of the phonetics and ideography in the  sign; however, its evidently purposeful application makes us suppose that a significant number of words spelled with it in the early epochs do belong to the same root. Let us proceed from this assumption as a starting point to compile a list of such words.⁴⁰ It includes mainly words older than the New Kingdom, but also some later words which obviously are semantically related to the former. Of course, the trustworthiness of our conclusions as concerns different words is different for phonetic, morphological and semantic reasons. The words certainly belonging to the same root are preceded by three ✓✓✓ symbols in the list, whereas those whose interpretation is less evident are marked by two ✓✓ signs. As to the words of hypothetical interpretation, they are registered with a single ✓ symbol. The list consists of five semantic groups.

I. The Double and related phenomena

✓✓✓ , , *k3* – «Double» (OK 𓆎) [Wb. V, 86–87].







✓✓✓ , , *k3* – «name» (Dyn. XXII 𓆎) [Wb. V, 92: 17–3].

⁴⁰ The author would like to thank A. S. Chetverukhin who read the manuscript of this paragraph and contributed several valuable remarks as a scholar studying Egyptian from the viewpoint of Afro-Asiatic linguistic.


- ✓✓ , *k3r* – «chapel», «shrine» (OK 𓂏) [*Wb.* V, 107–108; Faulkner, 1962, 284].
- ✓✓ , *tk3w* – «fire», «torch» (OK 𓂏) [*Wb.* V, 331–332; Faulkner, 1962, 301–302].
- ✓✓ , *tk3* – «burn», «be burnt», «illumine» (Dyn. XVIII – LP) [*Wb.* V, 332–333; Faulkner, 1962, 302].
- ✓ , *k3p* – «cense» (OK 𓂏) [*Wb.* V, 103:9–15].
- ✓ , *k3p* – «censer» (OK 𓂏) [*Wb.* V, 103:8].

These words form the group which is most intimately related to the idea of a man's or god's Double: the name is a notion very close to the *k3*; the chapel is the place where representations are arranged, i. e., where the Double of the person represented dwells; light is of vital importance for the Double in the darkness of the tomb (see Chapter 9, § 5); censuring is a significant element of the rituals performed in front of representations and, thus, securing the Double's existence.




II. Reproduction


- ✓✓✓ , *k3* – «bull» (OK 𓂏) [*Wb.* V, 94–98; Faulkner, 1962, 283].
- ✓✓✓ , *k3-t* – «vagina» (OK 𓂏) [*Wb.* V, 93–94; Faulkner, 1962, 283].
- ✓✓✓ , (*t3*) *k3j* – «wench» (NK 𓂏) [*Wb.* V, 101:14–15].
- ✓✓ , *bk3* – «be pregnant», «impregnate» (MK 𓂏) [*Wb.* I, 481:1–14; Faulkner, 1962, 85].
- ✓✓ , *bk3-t* – «pregnant woman» (MK 𓂏) [*Wb.* I, 481:1–13; Faulkner, 1962, 85].
- ✓✓ , (*t3*) *bk3* – «cow with calf» (NK) [*Wb.* I, 481:14].

All these words are related to reproduction and fecundity, bull being their most significant symbol in Egypt. This aspect of the root **k3* was well perceived by the Egyptians and it is likely that they took it into consideration when creating new words even in the twilight of their history:









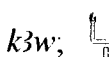

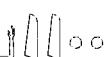




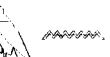

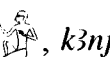
- ✓✓ , *bk3-tj* – «testicles» (PP) [*Wb.* I, 482:3].



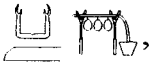



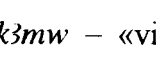

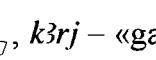
III. Work

- ✓✓✓ , *k3.t* – «work» > «construction» (OK) [Wb. V, 98–101; Faulkner, 1962, 283].
- ✓✓✓ , *k3w.tj* – «builder's workman» > «porter» (MK) [Wb. V, 102:4–10; Faulkner, 1962, 283].
- ✓✓ , *mk3.t* – «support», «pedestal» (OK) [Wb. II, 162:13; Faulkner, 1962, 119].



Any work, the word  being its most general designation, means creating something new, i. e., augmenting the existent. This shade of meaning is especially evident as regards construction.

IV. Agriculture. Food


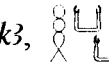
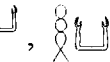
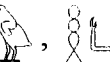

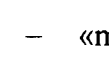


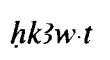


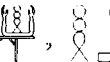



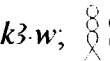



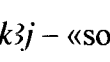


- ✓✓ , *sk3* – «plough» > «cultivate» (OK) [Wb. V, 315–316; Faulkner, 1962, 251].
- ✓✓ , *sk3* – «crops» (MK – NK) [Wb. IV, 316:11; Faulkner, 1962, 251].
- ✓✓ , *sk3* – «plough-ox» (MK) [Wb. IV, 316:11; Faulkner, 1962, 251].
- ✓✓ , *sk3.t*, , (t3) *sk3* – «ploughland» (NK) [Wb. IV, 316:12; Faulkner, 1962, 251].
- ✓✓✓ , *k3*; , , *k3w*; , *k3j* – «food» (MK) [Wb. V, 91–92, 102; Faulkner, 1962, 283].
- ✓✓ , *k3w*; , *k3j* – «sycamore figs» (MK – NK) [Wb. V, 96:14–16, 102].
- ✓✓ , *k3w* – «kind of garden fruits» (NK) [Wb. V, 94:6].
- ✓✓ , *k3.t* – «kind of food stuff» (NK) [Wb. V, 94:5].
- ✓ , , , *k3nw* – «vineyard», «orchard» (OK) [Wb. V, 107:4–9; Faulkner, 1962, 284].
- ✓ , , *k3nj* – «vintner» (OK – MK) [Wb. V, 107: 8–9; Faulkner, 1962, 284].

- ✓  , *k3mw* – «vineyard», «orchard» (Dyn. XVIII²³) [*Wb.* V, 106:4–9; Faulkner, 1962, 284].
- ✓  , *k3m(w)* – «grape-harvest» (Dyn. XVIII) [*Wb.* V, 106:3; Faulkner, 1962, 284].
- ✓   , *k3mw* – «vintner», «gardener» (Dyn. XVIII²³) [*Wb.* V, 106:10–11; Faulkner, 1962, 284].
- ✓  , *k3rj* – «gardener» (late MK²³) [*Wb.* V, 108:13–16; Faulkner, 1962, 284].


This group continues the motif of fertility, this time in the plant world. The fact that here the root **k3* also has the general meaning of augmentation is pointed out by the words denoting harvest: the crops are a result of natural augmentation and fertility, something which had not existed beforehand.⁴¹

Words ✓ , *k3z* – «kind of vessel» (EP) [*Wb.* V, 108:17] and ✓ , *k3* – «kind of stone used for making vessels» (OK) [*Wb.* V, 93:10] can be regarded as extending the «plant», agricultural subjects of the 4th group.


V. Sorcery


- ✓✓     , *hk3*, , *hk3-w* – «magic», «magic spells» (OK²³) [*Wb.* III, 175–176; Faulkner, 1962, 179].
- ✓✓   , *hk3w.t* – «magic» (BD) [*Wb.* III, 177:6; Faulkner, 1962, 179].
- ✓✓    , *hk3(w)* – «god *Hk3(w)*, personification of magic» (OK²³) [*Wb.* III, 177:1–; Faulkner, 1962, 179].
- ✓✓   , *hk3-w*; , *hk3j* – «sorcerer», «magician» (OK²³) [*Wb.* III, 177:10–1; Faulkner, 1962, 179].
- ✓✓   , *hk3j* – «sorceress» (NK) [*Wb.* III, 177:13].
- ✓✓  , *hk3* – «enchant», «be enchanted» (NK²³) [*Wb.* III, 177:7–9].

Interpretation of the words belonging to this group is difficult, because the ontological aspect of the Egyptian notion of magic and sorcery has not yet been studied sufficiently.




⁴¹ A. Yu. Militarev [1983] derives  from Afro-Asiatic *sVk^w a/y – «to loosen and sow field». The present writer believes that it would be much more reasonable to interpret it as a causative from *k3*. The way that this verb conforms to the above scheme supports our suggestion.




Anyhow, it is obvious that magic, like many other abstractions, could be personified as an outward manifestation of the magician, as his «double» [Bonnet, 1952, 301–302; Kákosy, 1977, 1108–1110; Perepelkin, 1988-2, 379]; for *hk3* belonging to the root **k3* see [Kákosy, 1977, Anm. 1].




However different the words forming these five groups might seem at first glance, they are no doubt semantically close to one another. The idea of plurality and augmentation – vegetable, animal, etc. – constitutes their common semantic field, the notion of the Double being a particular case of plurality – the duality.⁴² Regrettably, as stated above, modern Afro-Asiatic linguistics cannot yet provide reliable selection criteria, and thus, not all of the above words should be regarded for certain as belonging to the same root: in some cases we may be dealing with a kind of graphic game. In the words not belonging to the root **k3*, but having some semantic likeness to it and being at least slightly consonant to it, the  sign could be a pictorial hint to that likeness. A special verification is required for each of the above words, but anyhow, bringing some of the spellings to a mere game cannot be regarded as an argument against the rest of the words belonging to the same root.

We should also not ignore the fact that a number of words spelled without the  sign but having *k+3* or simply *k* in their consonant pattern, do belong to the same semantic/root entity.

I. The Double and related phenomena




✓✓✓   , *k3(j)* – «think about», «intend», «plan» (OK₃) [*Wb.* V, 83–84; Faulkner, 1982, 283].



✓✓✓   , *k3-t* – «thought», «plan» (MK₃) [*Wb.* V, 84: –4; Faulkner, 1982, 283].





✓✓✓   , *nk3(j)* – «think about» (MK – NK) [*Wb.* II, 345:14; Faulkner, 1982, 141].

These words reflect a very important aspect of the *k3* which lies beyond the scope of this book – its being the subject of the mental processes in a man (see Conclusion).


Since thinking was regarded by the Egyptians as a dialogue with some internal interlocutor [Bolshakov, 1985-2, 21–23; cf. also *Wb.* V, 623:3–4], the ascription of the verb

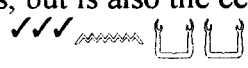
✓✓✓   , *k3(j)* – «speak» (NK₃) [*Wb.* V, 85–86] to the same group and the same root is obvious.

Formant ✓✓✓  , *k3* used in the *sdm-k3.f* form referring to future events

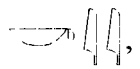
⁴² ✓✓✓    , *mfk3-t* – «turquoise» (OK₃) [*Wb.* II, 56], must also be related to this root, but the author finds difficulty in elucidating the way that this word is connected with the unity under study.


[Gardiner, 1927=1950=1957-1, 347] no doubt had been derived from the verb *k3j*, and thus, it also belongs to the 1st group: any event-to-come is something thought about at present.⁴³


The same future sense is embodied in the word , *bk3* – «the morrow», «morning» (Pyr., NK) [*Wb.* I, 481:17; Faulkner, 1962, 85].

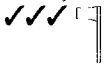
The *k3* not only organizes the mental processes, but is also the center of human vital activity as a whole. This is reflected in the word , *nk3k3* – «good condition of flesh» (Pyr.) [*Wb.* II, 345:15].

Interpretation of the next three words is based on the assumption on the very early transition *3 > j*.

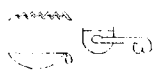
✓ , *kj* – «other», «another» (OK₃) [*Wb.* V, 110–115; Faulkner, 1962, 285].⁴⁴


✓ , *kwj* – «others» > «foreigners» (NK₃) [*Wb.* V, 110–115, 116:1–5].

✓ , *kwj* – «enemies» (LP – PP) [*Wb.* V, 116:7].


And, last but not least, we should not overlook one more word of great importance: , *ntr* – «god» (PDP₃) [*Wb.* II, 358–360]. The transitions *t > k*⁴⁵ and *r > 3*⁴⁶ are quite natural, and so «god» obviously belongs to the same root as the «Double». Of course, it is very difficult to establish which aspect of the god was primordial, relating his nature with that of the Double,⁴⁷ but the author makes bold to suppose that it might be the plurality of god's manifestations, one of his main characteristics in Egyptian religion.


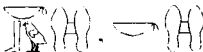

II. Reproduction

✓✓ , *nk(j)* – «copulate» (OK₃) [*Wb.* II, 345:3–10; Faulkner, 1962, 141].

✓✓ , *nk(w)* – «lover», «adulterer» (OK₃) [*Wb.* II, 345:11].

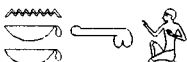
⁴³ Thus, thinking, speaking and working (i. e., intention, formulation and execution of the planned) are mutually related. This is the ontological basis of the idea of the world being created by god's thought and word (see Chapter 10, § 1) and kindred concepts.

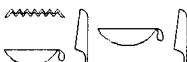
⁴⁴ Spelling variant  [*Wb.* V, 101] testifies to the possibility of the proposed transition *3 > j*.

⁴⁵ E. g.,  *tbw* – «sole of foot» (Pyr. 681e) and  *kb-w(j)* – «sandals» (Pyr. 22b). Cf. also unusual spelling of *ddk* – «also»  (Pyr. 27c).

⁴⁶ See [Edel, 1955, §§ 129, 135; Schenkel, 1990, § 2.1.2.2].

⁴⁷ See, e. g. [Goedicke, 1986] and objections by D. Lorton [1994, 59–61].

✓✓  , *nkk* – «lover», «adulterer» (BD, LP) [*Wb.* II, 347:8].

✓✓  , *nkjkj* – «fecundate» (Pyr.) [*Wb.* II, 346:1].⁴⁸

The author could find no words which could be referred with any assurance to the 3^d, 4th and 5th groups.⁴⁹



Thus, the spectrum of meanings of the words we are inclined to trace to the root **k3* is fairly wide, but in general it can be reduced to the ideas of plurality, augmentation and reproduction. The terms directly related to the Double reflect very different aspects of this extremely sophisticated and complex notion. Connection of some words with the sphere of the divine and miraculous is also to be expected, for they apply to the deepest strata of the Egyptian ideas on the supernatural.

Linguistic scrutiny may prove that some spellings considered here are but a graphic game. However, the very phenomenon of such a game would be most significant, for it would demonstrate that the Egyptians intentionally tried to draw these words closer graphically in order to stress their semantic closeness.

This paragraph is the most disputable part of the book and it will beyond all question be subjected to sharp criticism. Nevertheless, – *in omnia paratus* – the author has made this choice deliberately. Of course, he could not solve the problem which should be elaborated by joint efforts of specialists in various branches of Egyptology and Afro-Asiatic linguistics – but in any case he had to demonstrate that the problem does exist and to propose an approach to it.



⁴⁸ In this word *3 > j* is also most probable.

⁴⁹ Basing on the early spelling of the word «Double» as  U. Schweitzer [1956, 20–21] has suggested that also the word  , *k* – «basket» could be related to the Double (basket being a receptacle for the food offerings brought to the Double).



CHAPTER 9

EGYPTIAN NOTIONS OF SIGHT AND LIGHT ¹

In the previous chapter we have established how the notion of the *k3* could arise. It is based on the interpretation of the quality of human memory to reproduce an image of a man kept in it when looking at his representation. Now the logic of our study urges us to turn to the Egyptian way of apprehending sight – it will include the *k3* into a group of notions having a similar basis and, thus, will considerably broaden the picture we are reconstructing.

Notions of sight are among the most important components of Egyptian *Weltanschauung*. They were much discussed, there are numerous interesting and important studies devoted to them, but no attention was paid to the fact that exactly within the framework of the problems of sight taken as a whole, isolated and seemingly unrelated ideas form a complex occupying the central place in ancient ontology. Only recently the problem of sight has been finally formulated and a way to solving it has been paved [Hodjash, Berlev, 1982, 14]. The very nature of the book by S. I. Hodjash and O. D. Berlev – publication of a museum collection – has not allowed the authors to offer a detailed picture and a system of proofs, but even a sole paragraph devoted to the problem marks the beginning of an essentially new approach to Egyptian outlook.

The problem of sight is too extensive to be considered in this book in detail. Therefore, we shall touch upon it only to the degree, to which it is connected with the subject of our study.

§ 1. Methods of the Feeding of the Double

Plurality and equivalence of various explanations of the same fact are a distinctive feature of ancient consciousness: each explanation concerns only one aspect of the phenomenon, and thus their increase resulting in the emergence of a more complete picture is both natural and desirable. This general principle of ancient *Weltanschauung* exerted a great influence upon the whole Egyptian culture. Whenever finding a new explanation, Egyptians never discarded the old ones, no matter how contradictory they might be

¹ This chapter could not have been written without the friendly help of O. D. Berlev. I am grateful to him for valuable comments which he was kind to communicate to me in the course of our long discussions. He has drawn my attention to the inscription of *Zšnw*, to the stela of *Hnt(j)-m-smj-tj*, as well as to the meaning of the book «May my *rn* be solid». As for §9 devoted to *Jz-t-jr-t*, it is based on a still unpublished conception by Prof. Berlev which he has allowed me to include into this book in order to make the picture more complete.

from our point of view, and regarded them as equal. That unity, being absolutely unacceptable to us, was considered quite organic and harmonious.

This manifests itself in full measure in the cult practice, including the plurality of methods of feeding the deceased. Our conclusion on the essence of the *k3* was based on the evidence provided by tomb representations, manufacturing which had been one of these methods directly linked to visual perception. Therefore, it would be reasonable to start our consideration of the problem of sight from elucidating the degree in which other ways of feeding are related to it.

Feeding and, more widely, provision of the dead underlie the Egyptian picture of eternal life. The deceased is helpless by himself, therefore the living ones must take care of him, must feed him, give him to drink, dress him, etc. The representations widely used in the Old Kingdom allowed to do it easily and with due guarantees. Feasibility of depicting not only food stuffs, but also the processes of their production, i. e., the whole household of the tomb owner, made it possible to provide him with everything he wanted, thereby transforming pictorial decoration into the most universal way of feeding. However, in the evolution of the idea of feeding the dead, this is only a duplication of the earliest – ritual – method.

Ritual feeding comprised a number of rites wrongly called «mortuary cult» (see Chapter 10, § 2). There is an extensive literature devoted both to separate rituals and to the «mortuary cult» in general, so there is no need to go into detail here. Only the main tendencies are important for us – the way how the subsistence of the deceased was maintained.

The kernel of the cult was bringing food offerings which were placed with proper rites on the altar in front of the false door. The structure of offerings slightly changed in the course of time and according to the occasions on which they were made (the festive ones were certainly richer than those brought daily), but they always included several kinds of bread, various pieces of meat, slaughtered fowl, etc.; water to slake thirst of the deceased was libated into the basin of the offering-stone. Thus, Egyptian tomb offerings consisted of food stuffs and drinks to satisfy the deceased.²

It might seem that with the rise of durable representations, the cult which transitory nature and unreliability were evident had to lose its importance. However, this never happened and the rites always remained the main method of feeding. Hence is the everlasting care of maintaining the cult, even whenever all the walls of the tomb were covered with murals. And it is not accident that priestly services were included into the repertoire of tomb decoration – the subject was so important that Egyptians immortalized it in the world of representations, although it was quite senseless there from our modern viewpoint (see Chapter 4, § 7).

A serious problem must be considered here. Offerings were made in front of representations, that is, they were brought to the *k3*. However, it is obvious that food stuffs and the Double are of different nature, they pertain to quite different worlds and the *k3* cannot be satisfied with real food as living men cannot consume comestibles overloading canvases of *Snyders*. It is strange to say, but this problem of crucial importance for

² Evidently, offerings were also interpreted in mythological terms, but this fact may be neglected here, for their original purpose was only physical satisfaction of the deceased.

the understanding of the Egyptian cult has never been properly examined, even though it has been repeatedly noted that victuals placed on the offering-stone had to remain untouched and the priests coming next day to perform their service had to see it. An attempt to suppose that food was devoured by wild animals, especially by jackals abundant in the desert and certainly scouring by night around necropoleis, is untenable already because chapels were locked and inaccessible to them. Moreover, it is well known that after lying for some time on the altar, the food could be taken by priests to other tombs to be offered there again [Gardiner, 1938, 87–88] (probably, it could be eaten by them after all).³ Thus, priestly practice itself proves that nobody believed the Double to eat real food. The course of thinking was the same as in the case of representations – stuffs lying on the offering-stone are needed not as physical entities, but only because they remind of food – like its mural pictures do – thus giving rise to its image and engendering its *k3*. The Double of the deceased can eat it, for they are of the same nature and pertain to the same world. In its turn, this initiated offering-stones with depictions of food which were nonetheless effective than the real victual lying on altars without representations. In the same manner genuine offerings could be replaced with stone, plaster or wooden models (of course, these imitations are much more numerous in burial chambers than in chapels, but this is to be expected, since they could easily disappear from open superstructures of abandoned tombs).

There was another important method of feeding, which took its shape in the heart of rituals. Undoubtedly, from the deepest antiquity, rites were accompanied by certain formulae pronounced aloud, for the combination of action and word is characteristic of any ritual. We do not know and will never know what the offering-formula was like prior to its first record, but we believe that it is not wrong to suppose that its meaning (except those its aspects which concern the economical basis of supply) was generally analogous to what we know from later sources.⁴

The Old Kingdom version of the formula states that the king and some of the gods (originally *Jnpw*, then *Jz.t-jr.t* and others) give certain goods to the deceased. The repertoire of these goods was growing with the course of time, but it was always based on food stuffs. Numerous representations show a lector priest reading out the offering-formula from a papyrus scroll. The offering-list including up to one hundred items was most probably read with the formula as its sequel, so the deceased could enjoy diverse and delicious meals.

The effectiveness of the offering-formula is based on the notion of the *rn* and its relation with the *k3*. When the names of food stuffs were pronounced as the constituents of the formula, their *rn-w* arose for its addressee. Since the *k3*-Double and the *rn*-Double are of the same nature in spite of some differences between them, the *k3* of the tomb owner receives food acceptable for it.

This method of feeding, which originally was only an integral part of a ritual one, suffered from the same fault – it was inevitably transient. When the impossibility of the

³ The same occurred with temple offerings: a good deal of food stuffs offered in New Kingdom temples was distributed not only among priests, but also amidst townsmen.

⁴ For detailed treatment of the offering-formula see [Barta, 1968; Lapp, 1986]; also [Gardiner, 1927 = 1950 = 1957-1, 170–173].

eternal cult became obvious, the center of gravity was transferred from priests officiating for a consideration to casual visitors to the tomb acting for purely moral reasons. In order to urge the passers-by to read the offering-formula, starting from late Dyn. V it was often complemented by the so-called «appeals to the living ones» [Garnot, 1938] stating that reading cost no efforts and at the same time was advantageous not only to the dead, but also to the living, since they might hope that somebody would do the same for them in future.⁵ Thus, any passer-by was turned into a priest⁶ and the cult became more reliable,⁷ but the mechanism of the offering-formula remained unchanged.

The offering-formula became an independent method of feeding having no direct bearing on the ritual one at the moment when it was recorded in the chapels.⁸ That happened first at the end of the reign of *Snfr-w(j)* in the Meidum mastaba of *R'(w)-htp(.w)* [Petrie, 1892, pl. 13] (in somewhat earlier tomb of his brother *Nfr-m3't* it was still absent).⁹ Therefore, who was supposed to read the formula carved on the walls?

On the face of it, one may believe that it could be a lector priest, the mural inscription being a substitute of his scroll. However, numerous representations prove that even in the tombs with offering-formulae inscribed on their walls, priests read from their scrolls. Moreover, in some chapels, the offering-list directly linked to the formula was carved on the east wall (see Tbl. 1, 2 [*ChG* 13, 21; *ChS* 3, 40]) – to read it, the priest had to turn his back upon the false door, which was certainly impossible.

Thus, offering-formulae on the walls were not intended for the priests – they could be read only by the Double of the tomb owner who, therefore, made offering for itself. In this case, the functioning of the formula is more complicated, since the *rn-w* of food arise here due to visual perception instead of the acoustical one, but this is no surprise. As we already know, since both sight and hearing can create images of the seen and heard, they might be considered a complex sense, the «inner sight» (Chapter 8, § 5). So all the methods of feeding are based on the capability of the *k3* to see everything wanted by its «inner sight». However, this is only one of innumerable manifestations of the universal notion of sight.

§ 2. Sight as a Condition of Life

Food received by the Double through sight is an obligatory condition of its life. However, life without sight is impossible not only because blindness means starvation. We are facing here an inversion of the belief that whatever is seen, it is existent – whatever people do not see, it does not exist. Blindness is non-existence of the surrounding

⁵ This is strikingly manifest in the text of Ptolemaic stela of *T3-jz-t* (PMFA I.1.b.270) where the thesis of mutual advantage of reading the formula is repeated thrice [Hodjash, Berlev, 1982, 191].

⁶ This was particularly natural in the Old Kingdom when professional priesthood did not exist yet.

⁷ In quite the same manner modern Egyptologists who read the offering-formula when working, involuntary make a sacrifice – within the limits of Egyptian notions, the system of provision is irreproachable even after the death of the culture which originated it.

⁸ Nevertheless, reading of the formula during the rites was never given up, which is another manifestation of the tendency for repeated duplication.

⁹ On the dates of these monuments see [Bolshakov, 1991-2].

world, an impossibility to act in it, i.e., death; therefore, the deceased are always conceived as blind [Zandee, 1960, 60].

The best illustration of this notion is an image of a falcon-headed god of Letopolis who has two names, *M-ḥnt(j)-jr·tj* and *M-ḥnt(j)-n-jr·tj* – «He-Who-Has-Eyes-In-The-Brow» and «He-Who-Has-No-Eyes-In-The-Brow». With his usual keenness, H. Junker [1942, 9] has observed that when the god bears the first name, he is described as alive, while with the second name he is dead (cf. [Brunner-Traut, 1975, 926–927]). Unfortunately, neither Junker nor his followers drew a conclusion of sight as a general condition of life which obviously follows from this. Instead, a fantastic assumption of Junker on *M-ḥnt(j)-jr·tj/M-ḥnt(j)-n-jr·tj* as a universal celestial *Weltgott* was widely accepted, which would have meant the existence of practically monotheistic tendencies in the Old Kingdom. Only J. G. Griffiths [1958, 192–193] pointed out the groundlessness of this concept, thus making a step to clearing the core of Junker's idea, but he erroneously declared that *M-ḥnt(j)-jr·tj* had no second name, spellings with *n* before *jr·tj* allegedly being only the versions of the same name. This statement has never been proved, and we must admit that Junker's arguments in favor of two names of the god (and, accordingly, of the great role of sight) [Junker, 1942, 12–15] remain valid in full measure.

Thus, two conditions guaranteeing sight are necessary for life. These are the presence of eyes – without them man is blind, and the availability of light – otherwise eyes are helpless (cf. [Assmann, 1975, 56]). The establishment of the essence of notions involving sight and light is very important.

§ 3. Egyptian Notion of Eyes


The idea of sight as a condition ensuring life, which is most evident in the image of *M-ḥnt(j)-jr·tj/M-ḥnt(j)-n-jr·tj*, goes through the whole culture of Egypt. It explains the sense of one of the most important episodes in Egyptian mythology – the «resurrection» of *Jz·t-jr·t* by means of an eye of his son *Ḥr(w)*.¹⁰ Since both eyes of the killed *Jz·t-jr·t* were intact, the eye of *Ḥr(w)* was not a compensation of a physical defect causing blindness. As any other dead person, *Jz·t-jr·t* was blind; with the eye of *Ḥr(w)* he was provided with a new, artificial sight. Upon receiving the eye, *Jz·t-jr·t* «revived», which should be explained by the fact that he could see again. However, the artificial nature of this new sight makes itself felt: indeed, *Jz·t-jr·t* never became properly alive again, and for this reason the words «revival» and «resurrection» are enclosed in quotes here. Being alive means to be included into the realm of the living ones, but *Jz·t-jr·t*, although becoming active, never returned to the earthly world and changed into the king of the dead. It is manifest in the «Conflict of *Ḥr(w)* and *Sth*» that *Jz·t-jr·t* was not present in the council of gods and did not leave his world even when the fate of his son was being decided, the contacts with him being established only by means of letters (pCh. B. I,

¹⁰ For instance, «He /i. e., *Ḥr(w)*/ has snatched his eye from him /i. e., from *Sth*/. He gave it to you» (Pyr. 578a).

XIV:6 – XV:10).¹¹ Thus, *Jz-t-jr-t* is a «living corpse» who, although being active, never crosses the boundaries of his kingdom hereafter. However, in any case his activeness, i. e., the likeness to life, although restricted, is maintained by sight.

Starting from late Old Kingdom when all the deceased became identified with *Jz-t-jr-t*, the story of his «revival» came to be that of «resurrection» of every man. According to the New Kingdom concept of posthumous judgement, it was *Jz-t-jr-t* who gave sight to the justified deceased, which entirely conforms to his nature (see Chapter 9, § 9). In the Book of the Dead of a certain *Ntjwnj*, the owner is depicted holding her eyes and mouth which she received in accordance with the sentence of *Jz-t-jr-t* who says: «Give her her eyes and her mouth, for her heart is righteous» [Winlock, 1930, fig. 32 = Lapis, Matthieu, 1969, fig. 5]. Thus, endowing with sight (along with the capability to speak and eat) is the most important condition of the next life. Of course, this new sight, like that of *Jz-t-jr-t*, is of specific nature, which allows us to explain a merely practical thing – why it is impossible to revive the dead by means of ritual reproduction of the story of *Jz-t-jr-t*. Thanks to receiving eyes, the dead person recovers sight and «revives» – that is, becomes active, but his «revival» is not for the world of the living, that would mean a real resurrection,¹² but only for the next world.



This is only natural that the eye of *Hr(w)* «reviving» *Jz-t-jr-t* ranks high in Egyptian religion and is played up in almost all the subjects related to gods and king [Rudnitzky, 1956; Anthes, 1961]. Of special importance is the fact that offerings brought to gods were associated with it [*Wb.* I, 107:14], any sacrifice being an act of giving the eye, sight, i. e., life.¹³

However, all these examples have a pronounced mythological coloring. Much more illustrative and important for us is the most general and common word for the eye throughout Egyptian history. *ʿ(j)n* [*Wb.* I, 189], the original designation of the eye going back to Afro-Asiatic root *ʿjn*, became obsolete prior to the shaping of Egyptian script, its only reminiscence being preserved in the phonetic value *ʿn* of the  sign

¹¹ The idea that written documents have an advantage over verbal communication, that is quite natural for a bureaucratic society, has a certain significance here, but it is symptomatic that letters were written only to *Jz-t-jr-t*. Our interpretation of this episode can be confirmed by the fact that whenever Egyptians wanted to contact their dead ancestors in order to solicit their help and protection, they proceeded in the same way known as early as late Old Kingdom – they wrote letters and left them in the tombs (publications of the «Letters to the dead» [Gardiner, Sethe, 1928; Gardiner, 1930; Clère, Piankoff, 1934; Černý, Gardiner, 1957; pl. 80; Simpson, 1966; 1970; Guilmo, 1973]; see also [Guilmo, 1966]; the latest review [Grieshammer, 1975]). Like *Jz-t-jr-t*, a dead person is active in his world, but is excluded from the world of the living ones (even though he is able to influence it), therefore he cannot be got in touch with directly and the need in the letters arises to serve as mediators.

¹² In the spirit of the evangelical revivals of a widow's son in Nain (Lk. 7:11–17), of the daughter of Jairus (Mk. 5:22–23; Lk. 8:40–56) and of Lazarus (Jn. 11:1–46).

¹³ We cannot discuss here the «anatomy» of Egyptian gods who had separable and independently acting eyes. These ideas are of crucial importance, but they can lead us far away from the subject of this study. This concept most clearly reflected in the New Kingdom «Book of the Cow» [Navelle, 1876; 1885] and in the myth about the return of *H(w)-t-hr(w)/Tfnw-t* from Nubia [Junker, 1911; West, 1969] is universal and concerns the very essence of Egyptian notions of god's nature.

[Gardiner, 1927 = 1950, 443, D-7; 1957-1, 451, D-7]). It was substituted by *jr-t* of the same root as the verb *jrj*, «to do», «to make», which should be interpreted as «maker» > «creator». It evidently links the beginnings and the existence of the world to eyes and sight. Of interest is also the fact that the eye sign  is used for spelling the verb *jrj*. A. H. Gardiner [1927 = 1950, 443, D-4; 1957, 451, D-7] saw here a manifestation of the phonetic value *jr* acquired from *jr-t* – «eye», but the relation proves to be more intricate. The  sign in the verb *jrj* is a graphical hint at the semantic essence of this word – hence its phonetic value. So the original meaning of *jrj* stressed graphically is «to create by sight».

§ 4. Opening of the Mouth and Eyes

Availability of eyes is an indispensable condition of sight, but it is not sufficient by itself – eyes must be able to see. However, it is obvious that the eyes of representations are not real and, therefore, they are blind. Egyptians tried to overcome this defect using lively inlaid eyes for statues and coffins, but certainly, that was not sufficient. This is another manifestation of the above-mentioned contradiction between inert substance of representations and life attributed to them. Since it is evident that in the course of manufacture a representation is only inanimate raw material, there must have been a moment when it acquired qualitatively new properties. These qualities could be imparted only by means of certain rites, their nature being predetermined by the decisive role of sight in the notion of the Double. If represented eyes are not genuine and cannot see, they must be made «real» and functioning, they must be «opened». Similarly, in order to enable representations to eat and speak, their mouths must be also «opened».¹⁴

This was attained by a complex of rites called *wp(j)-t r3 jr-tj* – «opening of the mouth /and/ eyes». It sprang up at least as early as the Old Kingdom: some of its components are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts [Otto, 1960-2, 4–6] and other royal monuments, e. g., in the Palermo Stone (vs. 4:3) and the jubilee inscription of *Pjpi I* (CG 1747) [*Urk.* I, 114:11]. It was performed in the tombs of private persons as well [Otto, 1960-2, 6–8], and although its records are rare in the Old Kingdom, the earliest one is found in one of the first decorated chapels, that of *Mtn* [*LD* II, Bl. 4–5]. Numerous sets of model tools used for the «opening» (27 specimens are known), are material evidence of these rituals practised in Memphite and provincial private tombs of the Old Kingdom [Boston, 1988, 81, Cat. No. 11].¹⁵

The «opening» is best documented as applied to statuary. It was performed after manufacturing statues and immediately in the workshop called *h(w)-t-nb(w)* – «Court of Gold» [*Wb.* II, 238:16–18].¹⁶ Ritual procedures are most completely reflected in New

¹⁴ A similar notion also concerned mummies: their eyes and mouths did not function and, thus, they had to be «opened».

¹⁵ Since two such sets were found *in situ* in burial chambers at Saqqara South [Jéquier, 1928, fig. 72, 137], they were likely to have been used for treating mummies. This aspect of the «opening» is discussed in two brilliant papers by A. M. Roth [1992; 1993].

¹⁶ For the «Court of Gold» see [Berlev, 1979, 53].

Kingdom tomb representations and legends to them. E. Otto, the author of the latest study devoted to the «opening», has thoroughly reconstructed the sequence of seventy-five scenes and brought them together into a system [Otto, 1960-2, 8–10]. Numerous rites were combined with the «opening» proper, principally multiple purifications, censings and offerings, which in the New Kingdom formed a cumbersome procedure bearing the name of its central component.

The «opening» itself, considered without auxiliary ceremonies, consisted in touching the eyes and mouth of a statue with *dwn-r^c* adze, *nw3* adze, *ntr-tj* adze (scene 26 after Otto), with *wr-t-hk3-w* baton which also imitated an adze (scene 27), with *mddf-t* chisel (scene 32) and with a finger-shaped baton (scene 33), all these actions being accompanied by dialogues of the priests going back to the story of the «revival» of *Jz-t-jr-t*. Characteristically, implements used for the «opening» (except the last one) are sculptor's tools or their ersatzes, so the rituals themselves imitated the final stage of making a statue – carving the eyes and mouth. M. E. Matthieu [1958-1, 351] even believed that this process was not imitated, but was really accomplished in the course of the rites. Her assumption conforms well to the ancient idea of inseparability of work and ritual; perhaps in predynastic times when the labor of a sculptor was less skilled, the completion of statuettes was indeed combined with some rites like the «opening», the priest and artist being the same person, as it is known from ethnographic analogies. It was quite different in the Old Kingdom with its highly developed art and artistic work which already became an independent and specialized profession. Thorough modeling of eyes and mouth as well as final polishing of stone required great professionalism even as concerned the statuary of middling quality, not to mention *chef d'oeuvres* – but although we know several masters who simultaneously assumed priestly duties (especially under Dyn. III–IV) [Matthieu, 1947-2, 54–95], these cases are exceptions to the rule and it is quite evident that most of the priests had no professional skills of sculptors. Moreover, careful treatment means not only mastery, but also plenty of time which was not available when the rites were performed. And – last but not least – since the «opening» was the final stage of making a statue, no extra intervention of sculptors was possible after it was performed. However, even placing of an inlay into the eye-socket was a complicated task and some subsequent revisions were inevitable.

Thus, although the participants of the «opening» disguised themselves as craftsmen (scene 11), they only imitated their work by touching statues with their tools. None the less, there was a qualitative difference between a statue whose eyes and mouths were already «opened» and that which did not undergo the «opening». Without changing anything in the outer appearance of the statue, the «opening» transformed its very nature: initially an inanimate substance, it became linked to the Double.¹⁷

As for murals, the rites of opening are not recorded in a pictorial form, that is quite natural: Egyptian artists could show only manipulations with three-dimensional objects,

¹⁷ Rites similar to the Egyptian «opening» were also practised in Mesopotamia [Blackman, 1924-2]. Some differences in the way *how* they were performed do not conceal the likeness of their *sense*. The aim was obviously analogous – to «animate» representations which were lifeless in the process of manufacture (cf. also some African ethnographic analogies collected by Matthieu [1958-1, 357–362]).

such as statues, but they were unable to depict the process of making a flat representation – this was inhibited by the very aspective character of Egyptian art. The author does not know Old Kingdom records of the opening of the eyes and mouth of murals – most probably, they appeared only later. The Abydos cenotaph stela of *Nb(w)-pw-z-n(j)-wsr-t* dating back to the reign of *Jmn-m-h3-t III* [Blackman, 1935, pl. 1] is illustrative in this regard. Inscription repeats twice that the face of the owner is opened (*wn hr*): «The face... of *Nb(w)-pw-z-n(j)-wsr-t* is opened /in order that/ he may see the beauty of *Wp(j)-w-w3-wt* in his goodly procession, /when/ he is coming in peace to his palace of pleasure...», «The face... of *Nb(w)-pw-z-n(j)-wsr-t* is opened /in order that/ he may see *Jz-t-jr-t* /when/ he is true of voice in front of the two Enneads, /when/ he rests in his palace, /when/ his heart is glad for ever...»¹⁸ The expression «to open the face» is synonymous with «to open the mouth and eyes» [ibid., 2, note 5], thus this inscription mentions the rite of our interest. Of special importance is the fact that it is placed not in the tomb of *Nb(w)-pw-z-n(j)-wsr-t*, but on his cenotaph mounted at Abydos; therefore, only representations could see the temple mysteries, but not its dead owner, who most probably never visited Abydos [ibid., 5].

It seems that except some insignificant details, there was no substantial difference between statuary and representations on the plane as concerns the «opening». It was H. Junker [1910, 6–7] who, proceeding from the inscriptions of the late temples, noted that the ideas concerning tomb statues and temple reliefs had a common basis. Later A. M. Blackman and W. Fairman [1946, 84–85, 90] came to the similar and even more important conclusions. They established that according to the texts of Edfu, the rites of opening were made for each representation in the temple, murals as well as statues, so that, taken together, they formed the «opening of the mouth of Throne-Of-The-Protector-Of-His-Father /i. e., of Edfu temple/».

Thus, all three-dimensional and flat cult representations in temples and tombs underwent the rites of opening. It would be reasonable to establish whether the same ideas concerned other kinds of representations, whether they were also regarded as «alive», related to the *k3*, or there were some admittedly «dead»? We may try to answer this question on the basis of the material discovered in the hidden burial chamber of the mother of *Hw(j)-f-w(j)*, queen *Htp-hr-s I* – the only Old Kingdom sepulchre where rich burial goods were found intact. They include several articles bearing representations of *Htp-hr-s I* herself [Reisner, Smith, 1955, fig. 30 + pl. 14; fig. 40 + pl. 28-a, 29-a, 35-b] and those of her husband, king *Snfr-w(j)* [ibid., fig. 29-b + pl. 11-c], which is surprising under *Hw(j)-f-w(j)* when representations disappeared even from chapels and were feared like death in burial chambers, not to mention that in the queen's tomb all the rules must have been observed with special care. Surely, *Htp-hr-s I* was not feared of these very representations, since they were considered innocuous, «lifeless». The reason is that all the items bearing these representations were used by *Snfr-w(j)* and *Htp-hr-s I* in their everyday life and were not made especially for the burial. While the rites of opening were performed with all the tomb representations without failure, articles of

¹⁸ Rituals in and in front of the temple of *Jz-t-jr-t* are meant.

everyday use, of course, could do without them. As a result, representations on these objects were «lifeless», harmless, and certainly useless, purely decorative. Unfortunately, other Old Kingdom burial chambers are either badly plundered or their goods are too scanty and do not include objects with representations. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that many noblemen took their favorite things with representations to their graves.

Thus, there was a considerable group of admittedly «dead» representations on objects of daily use – it would be absurd to suggest that the «opening» was officiated, for instance, over a picture on a box for clothes. These exceptions excellently conform to the fact that Egyptians had to confirm the life of the Double by the rites of opening.

§ 5. Egyptian Notion of Light ¹⁹

Great attention paid by Egyptian ontology to sight predetermined also the importance of the notions concerning light (properly speaking, these ideas are of the same nature and can be separated from one another only conventionally) – light is an obligatory condition of sight, whereas darkness means impossibility to see, blindness.

The fact that the rites of opening were performed at sunrise is very symptomatic in this connection. The earliest evidence is provided by the stela of *Hnt(j)-m-smj-tj* (BM 574) dated back to the reign of *Jmn-m-h3-t II* [British Museum, 1912, pl. 8–9]. Its owner is «great administrator (*hrp 3*) in the Court of Gold /when/ god is born at dawn (*m nhpw*)». Only the statue being carved in the workshop can be understood as a god here,²⁰ while birth is the final step of its manufacture [Sethe, 1914] including the «opening». Thus, the statue acquired its internal property – an ability to see – whenever light, an external condition of sight, flooded Egypt. This made the rites more effectual, especially because – in contrast to the night darkness – the first morning light was particularly associated with life-giving (see below). Even more illustrative are the words on the New Kingdom stela Bologna 1922: «Your mouth is opened /and/ your members are caused to be pure in front of *R'(w)* when he rises» [Kminek-Szedło, 1895, 196–197; Curto, 1961, tav. 52] – the «opening» is obviously related with the sun rising to the sky.

It is by no means a matter of chance that solar deities always held the central position in Egyptian pantheon²¹ – priority was guaranteed by their nature of donators of light, sight and, accordingly, life on the world scale. This role of solar gods is seen in numerous religious texts, but most striking it is in the Amarna hymn to *Jtn* recorded in the tomb of *Jjj* [Davies, 1908, pl. 27]. Night darkness is described there as death: «/When/ you set at the western horizon, earth is in darkness, in a kind²² of death» (l. 3). Forces hostile to man sway in the darkness: «Every lion goes out from its lair, all

¹⁹ Cf. [Grieshammer, 1980].

²⁰ On representations as *ntr-w* see [Spiegelberg, 1930].

²¹ Whenever political events put forward non-solar gods (*Sbk* of Fayum in the Middle Kingdom, Theban *Jmn* in the New Kingdom and Late Period), they were identified with *R'(w)* thus coming to be the sun.

²² This passage is usually translated as «in a likeness of death», but the word *shr* is no doubt more impressive here.

snakes, they bite»²³ (l. 4), while sleeping people are absolutely helpless: «Eye does not see another /man/. If somebody takes their things from under their heads, they do not know /it/» (l. 3). As for sunrise, it means granting life to every creature in the world, and the first action of the sun is «expelling of the darkness» (l. 4), the subsequent revival of the universe being a consequence of illumination.²⁴ An intimate loving attitude of *3h(.j)-n(j)-jtn* toward his god makes the hymn picturesque and expressive, thus distinguishing it from other texts of similar contents. Our contemporary is inclined to mistake these vivid pictures for metaphors, but we are dealing here only with well known traditional notions which have a new emotional coloring.

Egypt is flooded with bright sunshine, but it cannot penetrate into tomb and temple chapels having no windows, so that murals and statues which badly need light remain in darkness. These chambers must have been lit up artificially by means of torches and lamps. There are no direct records of this in Old Kingdom sources, detailed information coming only from later epochs [Fischer, 1977-1]. So the Siut nomarch *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* (reign of *Z-n(j)-wsr-t I*) stipulates in his celebrated contracts with priests (see Chapter 10, § 2) where and when light must be lit in front of his statues, and mentions provision of lamps with wicks as special clauses (ll. 296–301, 305–318). Similar data are available in respect of everyday and festive temple rituals [Nelson, 1949, 321–341]. However, chapels can be illuminated with torches and lamps only during priestly services, overcoming darkness by practical means being as impossible as the establishment of an eternal cult. And here the Egyptians chose the same way which allowed them to compensate the transitory nature of the cult – duplication of real procedures by various imitative substitutes. Since no lamp can burn endlessly, it must be replaced with its everlasting representation. Therefore, models of lamps (e. g., Saqqara South M.IV, M.IX [Jéquier, 1929, fig. 27, 70]) and statuettes imitating fire (e. g., *Dr-sm3-t*, Giza [Hassan, 1941, fig. 13-a, pl. 3-3]) are seen along with real lamps (e. g., Saqqara South M.XII [Jéquier, 1929, fig. 92]) among Old Kingdom burial goods.²⁵

There was another way of duplication. A stone support for a torch from the still unknown Dahshur chapel of *Zšnw* (late Middle Kingdom, for dating see [Fischer, 1977-1, 81, Anm. 7]) bears an inscription identifying the torch with the Eye of *Hr(w)* (ll. 1–2) [Fakhry, 1961, fig. 385]. Owing to the light of the torch «heaven is given to you /i. e., to the deceased/, earth is given to you, Fields of Reeds are given (to you) in this goodly night» (ll. 7–8). Everlasting night of death becomes «goodly» for the deceased thanks to the light – he can see again and, accordingly, he possesses everything he sees.²⁶ Artificial light of the torch secured by the inscription is considered eternal: «May

²³ Mention of snakes is most symptomatic in this context, for it means much more than a mere helplessness of man in front of the nature. Snakes are dwellers of the primordial lightless chaos, and their appearance equates night gloom with the darkness before the beginning of the world (in our abstract terms we can characterize it as absolute non-existence).

²⁴ Characteristically, hymns always describe only light as a source of life, but never the heat of the sun which was not hailed in torrid Egypt.

²⁵ They are a component of the equipment of burial chambers, but this difference is not of importance, since light was required there as well.


²⁶ The same idea is embodied in somewhat different way in a bronze «candelabrum» from the tomb of *Twt-ṇh-jmn* (Cairo, JE 63254) [Carter, Mace, 1927, Taf. 60; Hildesheim, 1976, No. 61] in the shape

the torch be as solid (*rwḏ*) as solid is the *rn* of (*Jtm*) and of some other deities – *Šw*, *Tfnw.t*, *Gbb*, *Nw.t* (ll. 12–18). Records of the strength of the *rn* are rather frequent and go back to the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 1660–1661). They can be found also in New Kingdom tombs [Fakhry, 1961, 63] and, especially, in a late composition entitled «May my *rn* be solid».²⁷ These records are well-known, but their meaning has never been investigated. Now it is obvious that the strength of the *rn* is ensured by the availability of light, and all the texts containing such mentions are aimed at its provision.

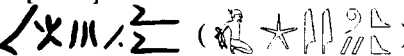
An interesting evidence is also provided by the first story of the Demotic cycle of the prince *H^c(j)-m-wṣs.t*. The sage *H^c(j)-m-wṣs.t* searched in ancient tombs of Memphite necropoleis for a magic book of *Dhw.tj*, which could give its owner an absolute power over the world, and found it at last in the tomb of a sorcerer *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ*. Thanks to his magic spells, *H^c(j)-m-wṣs.t* defeated *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ* and seized the longed-for scroll. When he left the tomb, «light went in front of him /and/ darkness»²⁸ followed him», while the wife of *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ* complained of the ensued darkness (Ch. I, IV:34). On the other hand, when *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ* forced the prince to give back the book and *H^c(j)-m-wṣs.t* came with it to the tomb, «he found as if *R^c(w)* were in this whole tomb» (Ch. I, VI:2). Undoubtedly, light was created in the abode of *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ* by the scroll *H^c(j)-m-wṣs.t* encroached upon.

Owing to the specific functions of the book «May my *rn* be solid» and of the scripture of *Dhw.tj*, their ability to engender light is by no means surprising, but we are dealing here with a manifestation of a much more general notion. Whenever *any* text is being read, the *rn.w* Doubles of the mentioned objects are revived, the reader or listener imagines these objects, sees them with his «inner sight» – and the capability of seeing is equal to illumination. In full conformity with what we already know about Egyptian interpretation of the «inner sight», this property of human consciousness was interpreted as a property of the text – the text proves to create light. We have already stated above (Chapter 8, § 5) that any text creates Doubles (*k3.w* and *rn.w*); now we can see that life of these Doubles is guaranteed by the very nature of the text. Egyptian belief in great power of the word, when everything written is regarded as existent, also becomes explicable.

Owing to this, the Double of the tomb owner can read the offering-formula even in the darkness, thus satisfying itself with the Doubles of food. Combination of all these methods of illumination which complement one another (torches and lamps, their models, formula of the strength of the *rn*, nature of a written text) left no doubt that it would always be fed up.²⁹

of a personified  hieroglyph holding a socket for a torch in its hands.

²⁷ Generally adopted interpretation of the book's name as «*Que mon nom fleurisse*» is based on a wrong understanding of *rwḏ* by J. Lieblein [1895].

²⁸ The word «darkness» is spelled  – the second determinative relates it to the semantics of death.

²⁹ This eternal presence of light is reflected in the designation of temple or tomb chapel as *ḥd* – «the light one» [Wb. III, 209:1–8].

§ 6. Sight and the Notion of the *3h*

3h – one of the most important categories used to describe the posthumous existence – also has a direct bearing on the subject of this chapter. Until recently, *3h* was a riddle whose prompt solution seemed rather problematic. This situation is manifest in the latest extensive study of the problem [Englund, 1978], which could not make things moving in spite of thorough analysis.

This happens for the simple reason that *3h* is traditionally regarded as a category of the same nature as *k3*, *rn*, *b3* and some others describing the human being. With this approach, no due attention is paid to the radical difference between them: while the *k3*, *rn* and *b3* are innate hypostases of man, the *3h* is what he turns to be after his death by means of the *s3h* ritual – «transformation into *3h*». Interpretations of the *3h* are greatly influenced by its relation with the root *3h* – «to be bright» [*Wb.* I, 13–18] leading to its treatment as «*Verklärter*», «*esprit lumineux*» etc.,³⁰ which is obviously inspired by European notions of luminous ghosts, but finds no confirmation in Egyptian sources.

Only recently a radically new approach to the *3h* problem has been suggested [Hodjash, Berlev, 1982, 72, note h] based on a different understanding of the relation between the *3h* and light. *3h* is the «Light One» indeed, but not the light radiated by a kind of ghost is meant here – the question is of an inner illumination of a man, of his capability to see. This use of words is quite natural: if light is an external condition of sight, the internal ability to see must be also explained by the presence of some specific «inner light».

Since people are transformed into *3h.w* after death, while light and sight mean life, *3h* designates a dead man possessing a certain life in the beyond. The essential quality of that existence is well reflected by the *s3h* rite well known by numerous mural representations. Its core consists in reading out the offering-formula and the offering-list. When hearing the names of the food stuffs, the Double accepts their *rn.w*, but since the basis of the *k3* and *rn* categories is identical due to the peculiarity of the «inner sight», it simultaneously sees these comestibles. Thus, the *s3h* rite makes the deceased able to see through hearing and, accordingly, guarantees that he will be fed up in the hereafter.

Regular reading of the offering-formulae is feasible only if there is a properly equipped tomb with representations and the cult in it; therefore, in the final analysis, the *3h* is the deceased who took care of constructing such a tomb when alive. Along with the rites of opening, the *s3h* ritual is intended to provide him with a new, artificial sight, although the method used is different.

§ 7. Sight and the Formula of Ushabti

Ushabti statuettes overfilling museums and private collections form the largest (except scarabs) group of Egyptian monuments. They are studied in a number of works, but one of the most important problems related to ushabtis remains disregarded up to

³⁰ However, see [Friedman, 1985].

now. It can be solved only on the basis of the position stated in this chapter, so we cannot ignore it, although chronologically it is very remote from our material.

Ushabti usually bears a formulaic inscription stating that this statuette must act in the hereafter as a «deputy» of its owner at king's works hated by Egyptian commoners.³¹ The meaning of the formula of ushabti is quite clear in general terms, but we must establish what ensures its effectiveness and makes active an inanimate statuette.

In the New Kingdom and later [Schneider, 1977, 131], the initial words of the formula of ushabti were «*shd Jz-t-jr-t NN*». The designation of the deceased as god *Jz-t-jr-t* is quite natural for those times and requires no special comments; the problem lies in the interpretation of the word *shd* which is a causative from *hd* – «to be white», «to be bright» [Wb. III, 206–208; Wb. IV, 224–226]. The interpretations of the formula can be divided into two groups depending on which meaning of *shd* – the primary or the secondary one – is adopted.

W. M. F. Petrie [1935, 6] suggested that the derivative meaning «to instruct» had been used (there is a good English translation «to enlighten» reflecting the root relation with light). With this interpretation in view, the formula is a kind of directions addressed to the statuette by its owner in order to explain its duties. This theory is not popular nowadays, for this meaning of *shd* is not characteristic of religious texts [Schneider, 1977, 132].

The other group of theories treats *shd* literally, understanding the formula as talking about the light received or radiated by ushabti itself or by its owner, that is the same in the final analysis (see review [ibid., 132]). Although free of the deficiencies of Petrie's idea, these theories do not touch upon the mechanism of the functioning of the formula which must have been set forth in its initial words.³²

Meanwhile, we are dealing with a manifestation of the general notion of light. We are told not about external illumination, but about the «inner light», the reviving capability of sight. Owing to the formula, ushabti becomes able to see, i. e., «alive», active and capable to perform its duties. Thus, the beginning of the formula should be read as «Illuminated is *Jz-t-jr-t NN*», this illumination meaning the endowing with sight for the sake of which the formula of ushabti was introduced.³³

§ 8. Notion of the Cartouche




The problem of intimately related sight and light is boundless, so let us confine ourselves only with one more manifestation of this relationship – the notion of the car-



³¹ The idea of posthumous king's works pertains to another group of notions as compared with those discussed in this book, but still see Chapter 13.



³² Traditional reluctance to search for the «mechanism» of the formula is so persistent that it becomes in its turn a factor determining the trends of studies. E. g., H. Schneider [1977, 133] had to reject the common interpretation of *shd* as an infinitive or *sdm-f* form because «it would have meant that the following incantation is intended merely to achieve this end». This attitude led him to the interpretation of *shd* as a substantivized participle used as an epithet – «giver of life», «shiner».

³³ This is very similar to the notion of the *sh*, with the only difference that the term *sh* designates an illuminated man himself, whereas in the case of ushabti, his «deputy» is illuminated.

touche [Kaplony, 1980-3; Beckerath, 1984, 34–37].³⁴

As far as we know, *Snfr-w(j)* was the first king to write his name within a cartouche³⁵ depicting a two-layered rope loop .³⁶ However, the idea of this kind of loop as a certain important symbol is much older – its first representation appeared on a wooden fragment from Abydos mentioning king *Dn* of Dyn. I [Petrie, 1901-1, pl. 7-12]. When represented as a real object, without any name inside, the loop is round – ; the shape of the hieroglyph used as a determinative to the word «cartouche» is the same [Gardiner, 1927=1950, 507, V-9; 1957-1, 522, V-9], so the cartouche is elongated only because of the need to encircle long names [ibid., 74], but in general it is equivalent to the .

The  ring was certainly a protective amuletic bow and cartouche must have had the same function. At least, it is manifestly shown as an amulet (the elongated rope loop) on the necks of *nh(-w)* (Dyn. III, statue Louvre A.39 [Weill, 1908, pl. 2]) and *Jj-nfr* (early Dyn. IV, representation on a false door from Dahshur [Staehelin, 1966, Abb. 10, 23]). Thus, cartouche as a rope tied up around king's name must have protected his *rn* from outer dangers or from disintegration. However, very early both the  ring and cartouche received a solar interpretation having nothing in common with their original meaning.

The  ring most probably originates from the *šn* sign , especially as the original name of the cartouche was also *šn* [Schäfer, 1896, 167; *Wb.* IV, 488:10]. Therefore, it could easily turn into a pictorial hint to the verb *šn**j* – «encircle», «surround» which was used to describe the daily revolution of the sun [*Wb.* IV, 489:4]. In this case, the whole world proves to be included into this orbit,³⁷ and the cartouche conveys the idea of the divine sun-king having power all over it [Gardiner, 1927 = 1950 = 1957-1, 74].

All this does not exhaust ancient interpretations of the cartouche. Since understanding of the ring as the sun orbit imparted a solar character to it, quite natural associations led to regarding its interior as a sun disc. This tradition could originate due to the appearance of the idea of a solar disc god *Jtn* in early Middle Kingdom;³⁸ it was stable during millennia and its manifestations can be found down to the Late Period.

For instance, this identification is unequivocally demonstrated by such a group of late monuments as coffins. The inner sides of their covers frequently bear representations of the sky-goddess *Nw-t* giving birth to the sun. The daily revolution of the lumi-

³⁴ The term «cartouche» introduced at the very outset of Egyptology is no doubt obscure and since long ago it has been suggested to be substituted for «royal ring». In this book, the traditional term «cartouche» is used to denote the oval frame around the kings' names, while the word «ring» designates its original round prototype. This distinction is certainly conventional and reflects only the superficial difference of the two signs.

³⁵ Attempts to prove that the first cartouches appeared under Dyn. II (*Nfr-k3-zkr* [Kaplony, 1977, 12]) or Dyn. III (*Nb(w-j)-k3(j)* [Müller, 1938, 33]) are dubious [Beckerath, 1984, 50, Anm. 13, 51, Anm. 1].

³⁶ Realistic representations of cartouches are rare, but see the earliest examples from the tomb of *Snfr-w(j)*'s wife, queen *Htp-hr-s I*, where rope strands are reproduced in detail [Reisner, Smith, 1955, pl. 8].

³⁷ This is also reflected in the letter of *Z3-nh-t* to *Z-n(j)-wsr-t I*: «You have subdued everything encircled by the sun» (pBerlin 3022, 213).


³⁸ The earliest records in the «Prophecy of *Nfr-tj*» (pHermitage □1116B, rt. 24) and in the «Story of *Z3-nh-t*» (pBerlin 10499, 6–7).


nary is conveyed by showing its disk several times, e. g., above the head of *Nw.t* and under her feet. It is of importance for us that sometimes the ☉ ring replaces the sun disk. Thus, on the cover of the coffin of *ḥh.f-n-ḥ-n(j)-sw(.t)* (CG 41042, Dyn. XXV – XXVI), *Nw.t* is depicted with the disk over her head; a winged scarab is shown under her feet holding another disc in its front legs and the ☉ ring in its back legs [Gauthier, 1913-2, pl. 2]. Both the two discs and the inner part of the ring are of the same red color [Gauthier, 1913-1, 14] – that of the sun. Analogous is the meaning of a composition provided by the coffin of *P(3)-dj-(j)z.t* (Hermitage ̳775) whose cover has no representation of *Nw.t*. The head part of the coffin bears the solar disk, and the ring with its interior also painted red appears on its feet part [Landa, Lapis, 1974, pl. 103]. The list of examples can be continued, but it is absolutely clear that on the coffins rings were equivalent to the sun disks.












As for coffins, their polychromy is of great help for us. Unfortunately, painting disappeared on most of Egyptian monuments, thus depriving us of a reliable argument. Yet we can turn to another group of objects which, owing to their purpose, were made of perpetual materials never losing their colors – that is, to jewellery. Since these are not mere decorations, but artifacts reflecting a certain ideology, they frequently include compositions with the ☉ ring. Very often its inside is filled with red paste or semiprecious stones, cornelian being a favorite material for these inlays. The earliest examples are provided by decorations from the Middle Kingdom Dahshur treasure, such as pectorals of princess *Z3-t-ḥ(w)-t-ḥr(w)* (JE 52001 [Aldred, 1978, pl. 19]), of princess *Z3-t-ḥ(w)-t-ḥr(w)-jwn.t* (JE 52712; MMA 61.1.3 [ibid., pl. 26, 24]), of queen *Mrr.t* (JE 52002 [ibid., pl. 29]) and of *Z-n(j)-wsr.t III* (CG 52002 [Morgan, 1895, pl. 19]). This tradition is continued in the New Kingdom (see, for instance, a bracelet of queen *Jḥ-ḥtp(.w)*, JE 52068 [Aldred, 1978, pl. 43]), particularly, in the adornments of *Twt-ḥh-jmn*, e. g., earrings (JE 61969 [Berlin, 1980 = Köln, 1980, Nr. 18]), pectorals (Carter's Nos. 261.P3, 261.0 [Aldred, 1978, pl. 62, 65]), pendants (Carter's Nos. 270.0, 267.1, 267.M1 = JE 61893 [Aldred, 1978, pl. 72–73, 79]), breast decorations (JE 61876 [Berlin, 1980 = Köln, 1980, Nr. 36], JE 61892 [Aldred, 1978, pl. 78]), etc. Jewellery of the Late Period also have red inlays in the ☉ rings. With this regard, we can mention a marvellous pendant of king *P3-sb3-ḥ3-n-nw.t* (JE 85790 [Rotterdam, 1979, No. 63]) which is very similar to the above composition with a scarab on the coffin of *ḥh.f-n(j)-ḥ-n(j)-sw.t*. This persistent tradition no doubt testifies in favor of our interpretation of the ☉ ring.

Now we can proceed to the evidence of Middle Kingdom and later stelae whose coloring was lost, as a rule. Their upper rounded part often bears a composition consisting of the ☉ ring in the center flanked by two eyes (or two jackals replacing them) on each side.³⁹ However, the central place can be occupied by a winged sun-disk which steadily comes to be more and more widespread (e. g., CG 20397, Middle Kingdom [Lange, Schäfer, 1902-2, Taf. 28]). It would be only natural to suppose that the two compositions are interchangeable, and then the ring again proves to be an equivalent of the sun. This deduction is supported by compositions containing elements of both scenes.

³⁹ Of course, these are not human eyes, but Eyes of *Hrw*, but they also guarantee sight.

For instance, on the stela of *P3-r(w)* (PMFA I.1.a.5631, Dyn. XIX), a large sign of the rising sun  is placed above the ring flanked by eyes [Hodjash, Berlev, 1982, No. 82, 141].



Thus, the meaning of the combination of  and eyes which appears not only on stelae, but also on coffins (e. g., CG 28029–28030 [Lacau, 1904, pl. 15–16]), pyramidi-
ons (e. g. [Rammant-Peeters, 1983, pl. 6:12; pl. 8:22]), and other monuments, and which is one of the most widespread Egyptian symbols, becomes obvious. This composition provides the deceased with sight: eyes enable him to see, whereas the ring equal to the sun gives him light, the outer possibility of seeing. This is manifest in the representations of one-winged solar disc with an eye instead of the second wing, which are rather frequent on New Kingdom stelae (e. g., CG 34009, 34040, 34058–34065, 34170 [Lacau, 1926-1, 2, pl. 25, 35–38, 62]).

The cartouche is only a version of the  ring, whereas the latter is equivalent with the sun. Accordingly, the cartouche is the source of light and life for the name inscribed in it.⁴⁰ This is well confirmed by a New Kingdom stela CG 34008 bearing not a traditional ring between two jackals in its upper part, but a cartouche of *Dsr-k3-r(w)* in whose reign the monument was made [Lacau, 1926-1, pl. 6]: being a substitute of the sun, it gives light to the name of *Dsr-k3-r(w)*, to his *rn*. The same idea is embodied in the above-mentioned pendant of *P3-sb3-h3-n-nw.t* representing a scarab holding the  ring with a red inlay in its back legs, whereas a cartouche with the king's name is in its front legs. The connection of the cartouche with life (for life of the *rn* means life of the name's bearer) is also clearly manifested in the interchangeability of  and  in symbolic compositions. The life sign  is easily replaced on stelae by the ring flanked by the eyes (e. g., CG 20068 [Lange, Schäfer, 1902-2, Taf. 7]), while the heavenly kite *Nhb.t* stretches to the king either  (e. g., the Dahshur pectoral of *Z-n(j)-wsr.t III*, CG 52002, for bibliography see [PM III², 884]) or  (an analogous pectoral of *Jmn-m-h3.t III*, CG 52003, for bibliography see [ibid.])⁴¹ – since the ring is a source of life, , in its turn, becomes an equivalent of . This idea is most evident in the cases when the loop of  is shown encircling the sun-disk in the same manner as the  ring does.



§ 9. *Jz.t-jr.t* and Sight

The notion of one of the most important Egyptian gods whose name is commonly known in a Grecized form Ὀσίρις is closely related to our topic. In her time M. E. Matthieu [1956, 52] stated that the image of this god «still remained unrevealed in general and has never been properly analyzed». Decades have passed, but the situation has not radically changed for the better in spite of numerous studies, among which the books by

⁴⁰ This by no means contradicts the notion of the cartouche as a symbol of power over the world, for such ambivalence is most characteristic of the ancient Egyptians.

⁴¹ Proceeding from this fact, G. Jéquier [1914, 142] even supposed that  is a truncated form of .

J. G. Griffiths [1966; 1980] should be principally mentioned – the essence of the notion is still not touched upon.

The god's name can give us the key to the problem, although it still causes debates. «*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*» offers 13 (!) versions of its reading and interpretation [Griffiths, 1982, 624–625], which is the best possible illustration of the actual state of affairs. The existence of numerous and sometimes very dissimilar spellings makes things even more complicated.⁴² We should certainly proceed from revealing the original spelling, giving preference to the variant where signs are used as ideograms or pictograms. This was no doubt  constantly used in the Pyramid Texts (later also ). Let us read this combination of signs literally, as consisting of pictograms – *Jz-t-jr-t*, «Place-Of-Eye». Analogous translation («Sitz des Auges») has been long ago suggested by K. Sethe [1930, § 94] who tried to interpret it as «Augenfreude». The similar reading was also defended by W. Westendorff [1977], but he identified the eye with the sun. However, the sense of the «Place-Of-Eye» is quite obvious.

It was A. H. Gardiner [1912, 261, footnote 4] who in the very beginning of the century elucidated the meaning of word combinations constructed after the pattern «*jz-t* + a member of the body», but his observation remained unnoticed and even his friend Sethe was not aware of it. Only forty years later O. Firthow [1954] independently came to the same conclusion. Word combinations «*jz-t* + a member of the body» convey the function of the respective limb, e. g., *jz-t r3*, «place of mouth» = «speech»; *jz-t jb*, «place of heart» = «desire», etc. Accordingly, «place of eye» means sight and, accordingly, *Jz-t-jr-t* is its personification, «The Sight». Since the names reflect original concepts of gods most clearly, *Jz-t-jr-t* should be regarded as a specific deity of sight, his other functions being of a secondary nature.

Thus, *Jz-t-jr-t* is a personified abstraction, and this is proved by the history of his rise in texts. Early royal monuments do not mention *Jz-t-jr-t* – his name appears only in the Pyramid Texts of *Wnjs*. In private tombs of Giza, it is recorded first at the turn of Dyn. V–VI,⁴³ whereas at Saqqara this happened somewhat earlier – probably under *Jzzj*,⁴⁴ but at any rate after *N(j)-wsr-r(w)*⁴⁵ (cf. [Bolshakov, 1992]). Prior to that epoch, domination of the indigenous god of the dead *Jnp(w)* is absolute; afterwards *Jz-t-jr-t* begins to replace him gradually, and in the late Old Kingdom he is mentioned approximately as often as *Jnp(w)*. This sudden appearance of *Jz-t-jr-t* makes us suggest that he was called into being by the need of solving a certain vital problem, a personified abstraction fitting best for the purpose.

⁴² Spellings with the initial *w* which led to Coptic *ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲡⲉ*, *ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲡⲓ* and caused much confusion among Egyptologists should be most probably explained as reflecting some dialecticisms.

⁴³ See [Junker, 1940-1, 18].

⁴⁴ E. g., *N(j)-k3(j)-nh*, (Saqqara D 48, BM 1275) [British Museum, 1961, pl. 21-1]; *Wr-jr-(t)-n(j)-pth* (BM 718) [ibid., pl. 28, 29-1]; *nh(j)-m-3-k3(j)* (Saqqara D 16) [Mariette, 1889, 214–218]; *Sndm-jb(j)* (Saqqara D 28) [ibid., 259]; *Htp-hr-3h-t(j)* (Saqqara D 60) [Holwerda et al., 1905, Taf. 17–18]; *Tjj* (Saqqara D 22) [Steindorff, 1913, Taf. 45, 109, 135–136, 139–140], and others.

⁴⁵ For instance, they are still absent in such an exemplar tomb as that of *N(j)-nh-hnm(w)* and *Hnm(w)-htp(w)* [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977].

What could be the cause giving rise to a specific god of sight? The present author prefers the following explanation. Initially the cult was performed in the places lit – in front of mastabas, in open courts or in external chapels, and only the introduction of internal cult chambers transferred the rites into darkness. The economics of Dyn. IV were able to guarantee the succession of the cult and Egyptians reckoned on it entirely, so artificial illumination used during priestly services could be considered eternal. Under Dyn. V, the inevitability of the cult ceasing became obvious and representations changed into the ganglion of the tomb. They must have been able to see forever, and the new god of sight did ensure it.⁴⁶

Of importance for understanding *Jz-t-jr-t* as a personified abstraction is the fact that, although greatly pressing *Jnp(w)*, he never assumed all his functions. In the offering-formula, the request of a good burial in the necropolis is almost always addressed to *Jnp(w)*, whereas that of bringing offerings is directed both to *Jnp(w)* who was its original addressee, and to *Jz-t-jr-t* [Barta, 1968, 15]. This is no surprise, for being an embalmer, *Jnp(w)* remained responsible of all aspects of the funeral, while *Jz-t-jr-t* did not intervene into these merely «practical» activities; on the contrary, the offering was always complemented and could be even replaced by reading out the offering-formula, was related to the «inner sight», and so it entirely belonged to the domain of *Jz-t-jr-t*.

As a god of sight, *Jz-t-jr-t* had to be a god of light as well, and it is not by accident that a late text from Philae calls him «the one who has created light (*sšp*) /still/ in the womb of his mother» [Wb. IV, 283:12]. To understand this aspect of *Jz-t-jr-t*, we must briefly touch upon the extremely important problem of the so-called «Great God» – *ntr ʕ*. Although it caused hot discussions for a while, it is obvious at present that *ntr ʕ* is the sun [Gardiner, Sethe, 1928, 11–12; Barta, 1968, 291–292; Kaplony, 1976, 78] and that he must be understood not as a «Great» but as an «Elder God» opposed to his son – the «Younger God» (*ntr nfr*), that is, the king [Berlev, 1972-2, 12, note 2; Hodjash, Berlev, 1975, 11–12; 1982, 37, note c].^{47 48} Indeed, it is mainly *R'(w)* who is called the Elder God in Old Kingdom monuments (e. g. [Urk. I, 116:6]). However, sometimes the Elder God can be designated as the «Lord of the West» (e. g. [Capart, 1906, pl. 3; 1907-2,

⁴⁶ The problem of *Jz-t-jr-t* making his appearance is certainly far more intricate. If we recognize the heterogeneity of the Pyramid Texts, we must also admit that *Jz-t-jr-t* existed in the preceding verbal tradition and, probably, in some early texts which remain unknown to us. This explains well the diversity and discrepancy of his records in the Pyramid Texts. In all probability, he was an ancient, specifically royal deity linked to the divine nature of the king, and so his name was a taboo for private persons. To establish the time when the notion concerning this god arose, we must at least elucidate when the respective spells were compiled – the problem too great to be solved. Yet, of more importance for us is the fact that chronologically the «removal of the secret ban» from *Jz-t-jr-t* coincides with the moment when the Egyptians realized how unreliable the cult was and for the first time recorded ancient texts in the passages and chambers of pyramids: the need for a god of sight appeared when it became clear that the cult could not provide eternal light.

⁴⁷ On the celestial luminary and the king as the paternal and the filial suns in Amarna period see [Perepelkin, 1979, 258–271].

⁴⁸ Junker's interpretation of the Great God as a universal celestial deity [Junker, 1934, 47–57; 1953, 98–106] is one of the gravest errors in his studies of Egyptian ideology.

pl. 11, 44; Jéquier, 1929, pl. 12, 17; Mariette, 1889, p. 412; *Urk.* I, 202:11]), which complicates the problem, for this epithet was usually proper of *Jz-t-jr-t* (e. g. [James, 1953, pl. 7]).⁴⁹ This means that *Jz-t-jr-t* was equaled to the Elder God – the sun.⁵⁰ Similarly, the Elder God should be interpreted as *Jz-t-jr-t* when he has such epithets as «Lord of Necropolis» [Murray, 1905, pl. 3], «Lord of the Clean Places [= of necropolis]» [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 11], «Lord of the Burial» [British Museum, 1961, pl. 17; Hassan, 1932, fig. 163; Mariette, 1889, 230, 251, 283–284], «Lord of Abydos» [British Museum, 1961, pl. 34-2]. Thus, *Jz-t-jr-t* becomes the sun, which is confirmed by his solar epithet «Lord of Heaven» (Pyr. 964a, 966a, 968a).

Characteristically, in contrast to later times, the sun has never been identified with non-solar deities in the Old Kingdom. The only exception was made to *Jz-t-jr-t* indirectly equalled to the sun as the Elder God. This could happen only since being a god of sight, *Jz-t-jr-t* must have also been a god of light, and in that aspect he was identical to the sun. In the epochs to follow, the identification of *Jz-t-jr-t* with the sun becomes even more evident [Žabkar, 1968, 36–39], especially in the Late Period,⁵¹ but these cases are less illustrative for our purposes, since within the course of time the tendency for identification of practically all the gods with the sun significantly strengthened in the Egyptian religion.

So *Jz-t-jr-t* became the sun – the sun of the hereafter. Therefore, it is natural that the luminary has never been represented in Old Kingdom tombs: it would be useless in the presence of the specific sun of the beyond – of *Jz-t-jr-t*.⁵²

Finally, starting from late Old Kingdom, every deceased was called *Jz-t-jr-t*, this identification persisting throughout the whole of Egyptian history. In the offering-lists of the tombs at Saqqara South, traditional designations of the addressee – «for NN», «for the *k3* of NN», are for the first time replaced by the formulaic expression «for *Jz-t-jr-t* NN»: «For *Jz-t-jr-t Jdj*» [Jéquier, 1929, fig. 14, 15], «For *Jz-t-jr-t Pnw*» [ibid., pl. 48], «For *Jz-t-jr-t... Snj*» [ibid., pl. 3]. Thus, another important step was made for guaranteeing the eternal existence of the dead. Being *Jz-t-jr-t*, the deceased was the sun in himself, the source of the «inner sight». As a result, he was capable to see everything pictured in the tomb, and thus everything depicted existed for him.⁵³ Interestingly, all

⁴⁹ Most probably, this epithet was borrowed from *Jnp(w)*, e. g. [Jéquier, 1929, pl. 4].

⁵⁰ It is illustrative that in the burial chamber of Šjj (Saqqara South M.IX), the Elder God is called «Lord of the Sky» on one wall and «Lord of the West» on another [Jéquier, 1929, pl. 6].

⁵¹ For instance, two solar barks turn into symbols of *Jz-t-jr-t*, while *Jz-t-jr-t* and *Jz-t* themselves become the sun and the moon [Kees, 1956-2, 157–158].

⁵² The identity of *Jz-t-jr-t* with the sun made easier his transformation into the king of the next world. As king is the second – earthly – sun, the sun is the second – heavenly – king (this thought was logically shaped in its ultimate form at Amarna). For this reason, it is natural that the sun of the next world comes to be its king.

⁵³ The identification of the deceased with *Jz-t-jr-t* is analogous to his designation as *3h*: *3h* describes him as possessing «inner light», while *Jz-t-jr-t* is the possessor of sight. By the way, this fact has an important issue. If the deceased becomes *3h* thanks to the erection of his tomb and to the performance of rites, it may mean that he turns out to be *Jz-t-jr-t* owing to the observation of the same conditions. If this early notion did exist in reality, it was radically different from New Kingdom ideas, according to which the transformation into *Jz-t-jr-t* was subject to the court examination in the hereafter.

these early records of the deceased as *Jz·t-jr·t* are arranged in the burial chambers, i. e., in the place where light was of special need.

In conclusion, we should pay attention to what may seem a certain discrepancy. As it was repeatedly mentioned above, the decoration of Old Kingdom tombs is extremely realistic, it imitates everyday life and includes no transcendental, divine components – but at the same time an enormous part is played by *Jz·t-jr·t*. However, there is no contradiction here. First, *Jz·t-jr·t* is mentioned only in offering-formulae, and thus, although his existence is due to the need of enlightening representations, he is not included into their world.⁵⁴ Second – and this is the main point – in Old Kingdom tombs *Jz·t-jr·t* still does not have an image of a concrete deity which is characteristic of him in the Pyramid Texts and in private monuments of later periods – he exists there only as the personification of an absolute capability to see, as a universal guarantee of sight, and all his divinity can be reduced to this absoluteness. Therefore, one may be sure to claim that the world of representations of the Old Kingdom tomb really does without intervention of the gods.

* * *

Thus, the notions concerning sight and light play a considerable part in Egyptian outlook: ontology is widely based on them, they permeate into mythology and are associated with the most important temple and tomb rituals. Our explication of the *k3* as an objectified visual image may seem forced if taken by itself, but now it is obvious that the *k3* is only one of numerous aspects of the world's picture, in which sight is of great importance. So our interpretation is confirmed, but we still have a merely schematic picture to be animated with flesh and blood of the Egyptian notions. This is the aim of the following chapters.



⁵⁴ This concerns also *Jnp(w)* and some other deities who are recorded only in the offering-formula.



CHAPTER 10

EGYPTIAN INTERPRETATION OF THE DOUBLE

The above study is only a starting point as regards the final aim of this book – reconstruction of the concept of the Double. In Chapter 8 we dealt with the psychological basis of the *k3*, thus answering how this category could come into being. Then, in Chapter 9, the *k3* category was included into the general context of Egyptian notions of sight playing an important role in the ideas concerning the basic nature of the world. Now we must turn to ancient interpretation of the Double.

§ 1. Ancient Interpretation of the Emergence of the Double

Since the world of feelings and ideas was interpreted by ancient Egyptians as an entity outside man, the origin of these emotions and thoughts was not and could not be elucidated. Therefore, the subjects of the previous two chapters were excluded from their picture of the world. It is human psychology that we proceed from in our study; analyzing it we establish the way how the categories *k3* and *rn* could arise.¹ This way was passed by the Egyptians unconsciously and our conclusions were just a point of departure for them; the Double was regarded as one of the properties of the world, as a manifestation of its, so to say, «physics». Of course, the fact of existence and emergence of the Double had to be explained, but its ancient understanding was fundamentally different from ours.

From the Egyptian point of view, existence of the Double as an objective property of the world is perceptually verifiable – any recollection of a dead person interpreted as a vision of his Double was a conclusive evidence: I have seen it myself, so it does exist. Nevertheless, despite that estimation of the Double as something absolutely real and objective, the Egyptians certainly felt that, at any rate, it was very unstable and elusive: I see it now, but it was invisible an instant ago and in a little while it will disappear

¹ The idea of the Double is based on the possibility to see a man who is not in front of us at a given instant. There are only two possibilities of such seeing whatever is absent – recollections and dreams. Dream allow us to see many things not pertaining to our everyday reality, therefore its interpretation may be of great significance for explanation of the world. However, as far as we know, the Egyptians did not relate basic ontological notions to dreams. Thus, only one possible psychological basis for the categories *k3* and *rn* remains – the processes of memory. All other possibilities have nothing to do with the sane psyche and should be rejected, for it is senseless to explain the outlook of a great culture by pathology.

again; moreover, it may happen that my neighbor did not and will not see it at all. Because of this vagueness resulting from the actually subjective character of the Double, it was too unreliable in such an important matter as securing eternal life. It was necessary to make it stable, quite independent of outer circumstances and apparent forever and to everybody. Representations and the name giving an incitement to reminiscences of a man, i. e., revealing his Double, making it visible to people, prompt the way of consolidation – creation of inscribed pictures and statues. The person depicted should not fear the elusiveness of his Double, for as long as his representations exist together with the inscribed name, the Double is fixed, manifest to people, alive.

This makes the Double independent of people. Objectively being an image in the memory, it could exist only until people remembering its «original» were alive. Owing to pictorial and written records, the Double goes on living even when all the contemporaries pass away. If replacing the word «Double» with «memory», we get an exact analogy to our own apprehension of the yore. For us, only those people of the past live as individuals who have left some information on themselves – that is, in Egyptian terms, those whose Doubles were somehow fixed. As for the resting billions, we know that they did exist, realize their historical mission, but imagine them without individual characteristics – not as concrete men and women, but as a featureless mass. Interests and aspirations of this mass can be revealed merely in general terms; only when some source mentions a lively detail, the relevant person appears to us as an individuality, which would be understood by the Egyptians as seeing the Double.

Thus, eternal fixation of the Double is of paramount importance. However, a serious problem of relation between representations and the *k3* arises here. The evidence of (J)t(w).f-h3h3 who mentioned craftsmen «making hr(j).t-ntr» may seem explicit in the light of the already elucidated facts concerning the correlation of the Double, representations and hereafter: by making representations, craftsmen create the world of the *k3*. In that case, the link of representations to the *k3* proves absolute and unequivocal: the presence of representations means the existence of the *k3* and *vice versa*. However, the psychology of artistic creative work cannot be ignored since the notions of the *k3* manifest themselves mainly in monuments of art. It contradicts this suggestion and demonstrates that making representations is not creation, but only revealing of the *k3*. Indeed, when an artist depicts an object, its image exists beforehand in his consciousness and he embodies it in paint, stone or clay; capability of seeing this image and of its materialization in various substances is the most important virtue of an artist enabling him to work. Making a representation means revealing that image, transformation of what can be seen by an artist only to what is visible to everybody. For the Egyptians, having an object's image in consciousness means seeing its *k3*, seeing it quite really, by external sight. Therefore, whenever an artist creates a representation, he simply outlines the *k3*, thus making it visible not only to himself, but also to others.

Egyptian monuments testify to the correctness of this interpretation. Temple scenes of king's miraculous birth show Hnm(w) forming a king and his exact copy – the *k3* – on a potter's wheel [Gayet, 1894, pl. 63, fig. 202; Naville, 1897, pl. 48]. Therefore the *k3* of the king is born with the king himself, i. e., it exists *before* his first representations

are made. Of course, this is recorded by monuments not earlier than Dyn XVIII and conformably to the king only, but there can be little doubt that an analogous notion concerned private persons as well, for the king's nature (except some specific royal attributes) was described by the same categories which were used to characterize man. As for the probability of a New Kingdom reinterpretation of the origin of the *k3*, it is not out of question, but only with regards to an outer, formal aspect, whereas its very essence – the birth of the *k3* together with the «original» – was too fundamental to change radically. Thus, we can believe that in the Old Kingdom the *k3* was supposed to be born with the man, before his representations were created.

Corroborative evidence can be found in such an unexpected domain as specificity of reflecting reality in Egyptian art – and not in its ideological aspect, as one might expect, but in technology which have never been considered from this point of view. It is well known that children learn to model in plastic materials much sooner than to draw properly. This is only natural: changes and corrections can be easily made in the process of modeling, while drawing requires a well-considered intention taking into account all the peculiarities of conveying three-dimensional objects on plane, which is a far more complicated task. Similarly, in art of most ancient civilizations, drawing falls behind modeling.² Egyptian culture, unique in many respects, is specific in this regard as well: drawing prevails over modeling – perhaps, because of the wide use of stone in building, art and production of various items, which could not help affecting greatly the methods applied by craftsmen when working with *any* material.³ In contrast to the Near East and Mesopotamia, where clay was the main material and so a mighty tradition of modeling was formed, in Egypt relatively low culture of modeling was compensated by the highest in the ancient world culture of stone processing and carving. This phenomenon can be traced starting from prehistoric times.

As early as Dyn. 0–II production of stone vessels reached enormous amounts; in the magazines of many tombs they are more numerous than pottery, while in the subterranean chambers the Step Pyramid their total weight mounts to about ninety tons. Developed habits of carving make craftsmen regard stone as almost a plastic material – from royal Abydos stelae of Dyn I down to the end of Egyptian history.

However, in spite of all this, properties of stone, even of the soft one, inevitably gave rise to linearity of representations on the plane. Hence the role played by line and contour in Egyptian art which was greatly based on graphical drawing and silhouette (cf. [Schäfer, 1986, 79]) – even the earliest Predynastic monuments strike us by crafts-

² For instance, let us compare treatment of the same topic – the scene of rending – in technologically distinct objects of Scythian times: gold belt buckles from Siberian Collection of Peter I (Hermitage 1727 1/5, 1/6 [Dawn of Art, 1974, pl. 60]) and felt applications from Pazyryk barrows (Hermitage 1295/150 [ibid., pl. 56]). Three-dimensional metalworks made by the use of the lost wax process perfectly convey anatomy of animals within the limits of the adopted system of conventions, whereas pictures of felt are much more awkward. The author is indebted to R. S. Minasian (Department of Archaeology, Hermitage Museum) for his example.


³ The present writer does not deny a probability of some psychological peculiarity of ancient Egyptians which could lead to the same result, but this is a specific problem requiring an employment of untraditional methods and it can hardly be solved within the borders of Egyptology proper.

man's ability to create images by only a contouring line. Such are cosmetic palettes in shape of animals, birds, fishes, etc. Their surfaces are flat and smooth (only an eye may be indicated), the image is but a silhouette, always most characteristic in spite of generalization. In Old Kingdom reliefs, silhouettes also play the predominant role, while details within the contour are auxiliary as compared with it.

A specific «aspective» manner of representing people and things is also based on showing the most expressive silhouettes of every member of the human body or of every detail of an article and, thus, on creating a characteristic silhouette of the whole. Hieroglyphs have the same silhouette form as well. By the way, this is excellently reflected in the hieroglyphic font of IFAO where all the signs are black shapes usually without inner details – they are recognizable because the individuality of hieroglyphs consists, first of all, in their contours. In Old Kingdom painting the prevalence of silhouette leads to the absence of blends and halftones – they would destroy the integrity of images.⁴

The same trends are apparent in Egyptian toreutics, no matter how poor our knowledge of it might be. Famous pectorals from the Dahshur treasure made in the lost wax technique [Morgan, 1895, pl 15–16, 19–21] just imitate graphical compositions usual for reliefs, but their author does not even try to demonstrate the natural properties of wax as a plastic material.⁵

The very organization of artistic works and the respective terminology prove that Egyptian craftsmen proceeded from graphical drawings. This is illustrated best by materials later than those used in this book, but there can be no doubt that the state of affairs was not different in the Old Kingdom. The same root *zš* denotes both writing [Wb. III, 475:7–21, 476:1–6, 16–21, 477:1–14] and drawing, painting [Wb. III, 476:7–15, 477:15–17]. Drawer (*zš kd-wt* – «scribe of images») only outlined representations, but he was the real author of the composition, while the role of carvers and painters (*zš* – «scribe» > «painter») was regarded as secondary.

Carving was also the main technology used in Egyptian statuary. The word , «sculptor», must be read *ks-tj* (from *ks* – «bone»),⁶ which means that sculptor was

⁴ Interestingly, Egyptian art was highly rated by painters of the last century who had special interest in problems of line and silhouette. For example, Gauguin, one of the first artists to pay much attention to pictorial plane as a substance, saw his ideal in the legacy of Egypt: «La vérité est à trouver dans un art purement cérébral, le plus érudite de tous, en Égypte» [Wadley, 1986, note 51]. Hence Egyptian silhouettes and arrangement of figures in his famous *Ta Matete* (Basel, Kunstmuseum) [Wildenstein, 1964, No 476; Wadley, 1986, pl 51], in *Vaïraumati tei oa* (Moscow, PMFA) [Wildenstein, 1964, No 450; Impressionists, 1986, pl 93] and in some other paintings. Somewhat later, in 1919, German expressionist Otto Müller stated that art of Egypt had always been his ideal, for in it he had found a model of structuring pictures by means of line and contour [German Expressionists, 1981, 38].

⁵ For instance, as an antipode of the Dahshur ornaments we can mention Greek gold comb from Solokha barrow (Hermitage ДН 1913 1/1) [Artamonov, 1966, pl. 147, 148, 150]. Egyptian master follows traditions shaped in reliefs in stone and makes compositions as dried-up as possible, as if purposely trying to conceal natural properties of gold allowing to perfectly render plasticity of forms; by way of contrast Greek craftsman creates a sculptural composition revealing great technological potentialities of the material.

⁶ As contrary to traditional reading *gnw-tj* [Gardiner, 1927, 449, T-19]. This interpretation was offered by R. Anthes [1941, 103] and then, independently, by M. E. Matthieu [1947-2, 12, note 1]; recently

originally seen as a (bone) carver, but not as a modeler. Although insufficiently known, early metal statuary is of special interest in this respect. The famous copper statues of *Pjpi I* from Hierakonpolis (Cairo, JE 33034–33035) [Quibell, 1902-1, pl 50–56] still have not been studied properly, but most probably, they were made of sheet copper by beating over a carved wooden model [Smith, 1949, 82–83] and, thus, are masterpieces not of a modeler and founder, but of a carver and chaser. Copper statue «High is *H^c(j)-shm-wj*» mentioned on the Palermo Stone (Rt. 5:4) was probably manufactured by the same method (on its possible appearance see [Wildung, 1969, 52]). The earliest known statues made in the lost wax process are dated only to the reign of *Jmn-m-h3-t III* (the greater part of this group of sculpture is now in private collection of G. Ortiz, Geneva [Ortiz, 1993, Cat. Nos 33–37; 1994, Cat. Nos 33–37]). R. Simes, who worked much on the Ortiz statues, informed the present writer privately that their creators had no settled universal technology and that new methods were employed for each piece. Thus, even in the late Middle Kingdom the lost wax technique was still a kind of experiment in copper statuary.

We may conclude that the technology of stone processing led to specific ways of reproducing the surrounding world which became traditional, invariable and inevitable. At the same time the primacy of the Double as compared with representations gave rise to specific interpretation of artistic creative work. Indeed, the historically established contour character of representations on the plane could be regarded as testifying that when making them, an artist outlined the Double as if a shadow of a man on the wall.

Carving of a statue could also be apprehended as outlining the Double, and it is by no means accidental that *Hnm(w)* creates king and his *k3* by modeling them of clay. Indeed, carving is just freeing an already existent image from the raw material, whereas modeling is a process of shaping something that has not yet any form, creation of a quite a new thing which up to that instance did not exist in any form, i.e., it is not a revealing but real creation of the Double. A staggering New Kingdom description of creating a statue [Drenkhahn, 1976, 52] testifies that this mixture of artistic practice with ideology did really exist: «Extraction of your thing /=the article/ from its womb /=from the raw material/, while it /=the raw material/ surrounds /the article/». ⁷ Three millennia later, Michelangelo stated in almost the same words that any stone comprises a statue, and one should only remove the unnecessary. Such a coincidence has its basis in the same throughout millennia psychology of creative work, where the concept of an object, its image appears prior to its creation.

Turning to the notion of the *rn*, it is easy to see that it was also regarded as appearing together with the man. Of special importance is evidence offered by papyrus Westcar. The last story of the Westcar cycle narrates about the visit of deities to the house of the priest of Sun *R^c(w)-wsr(w)* in order to help his wife to bear three future kings of

R Drenkhahn [1976, 62] expressed her agreement with the theory of Anthes – Matthieu which was at last proved by E. S. Bogoslovsky [1983, 78–79] who demonstrated spelling variants with phonetic complements.

⁷ Interpretation of the inscription by E. S. Bogoslovsky [1983, 59]. In the original «изымение вещи /= изделия/ твоей из утробы его /= сырьё/, причем оно /= сырьё/ окружает /изделие/».

Egypt. *Jz·t* gives them their names and it happens in the course of delivery; moreover, it is due to mentioning their names that the babies «slip down to her arms» (pWestc., X:8–10, 16–17, 23–25). So both the «original» – the child, and his Double – the *rn*, are created simultaneously. It is noteworthy that *Hnm(w)* who acts as a creator of the king and his *k3* in temple scenes of the miraculous birth is present among the deities. Although repeatedly noted (e.g. [Livshits, 1979, 272, note 66]), this significant fact was never considered as connected with the first mention of the name, i.e., with the creation of the *rn*.

Thus, papyrus Westcar not only proves that there was a practice of giving children their names in the process of accouchement, but also demonstrates the indissoluble relationship between creation of the *rn* and the birth of the man.⁸ In this respect papyrus Westcar follows the tradition which manifests itself best in the so-called «Memphite Theological Treatise».

According to the Memphite Theology, the world is created by *Pth* by naming all its components, that is, by making their *rn·w*. The essence of this notion was revealed already by G Maspero, whose understanding of this aspect of the text is generally adopted: «Selon notre auteur, toute opération créatrice doit procéder du coeur et de la langue et être parlée en dedans, pensée puis énoncée au dehors en paroles. Il a pleine conscience de la force de cette parole interne, mais la façon dont il insiste sur la nécessité de faire répéter par la langue ce que le coeur avait formulé intérieurement et d'émettre une parole, un discours afin de produire une suprême. Les choses et les êtres dits et dedans n'existent qu'en puissance: pour qu'ils arrivent à l'existence réelle, il faut que la langue les parle au dehors devise ou proclame leurs noms solennellement. Rien, n'existe avant a'avoir reçu son nom à haute voix» [Maspero, 1902, 175]. Thus, epistemology turns in the «Treatise» into ontology: the way how man perceives the world around becomes the method of its creation.

Unfortunately, neither Maspero himself, who was aware of the *k3* better than any of his contemporaries, nor his disciples including H. Junker [1940-2, 1941-2] paid due attention to the fact that not only creation of the *rn·w*-Doubles has been described in the «Treatise», but also that of the *k3·w*-Doubles. According to the Memphite Theology, «the Ennead created the sight of eyes, the hearing of ears, the breath of nose, /so that/ they informed the heart. It /= the heart/ is that which makes go forth any knowledge, while the tongue repeats conceived by the heart. So the *k3·w* were made /and/ the *hm(w)s·wt* were assigned⁹ making every food /and/ every offering by means of this speech» (ll. 56–58). In spite of specific features of the *k3* in cosmogonic context, it is clear that creation of the world by pronouncing names means also creation of the *k3·w*.

Originally the «Memphite Treatise» was considered an Old Kingdom text copied under Š3b3k3 as described in 1.2 (see the review of opinions [Altenmüller, 1975-2, 1068–1069]); now it is fashionable to regard it as an archaized late composition (e.g.

⁸ In real life the name was given by the father of a child, but in theory it was pronounced first by some god. Hence such names as *Dd-jmn-w3h·s* – «*Jmn*-Has-Said-‘She-Will-Endure’» [Ranke, 1935, 410:1], *Dd-ptḥ-jw·f·nh* – «*Pth*-Has-Said-‘He-Will-Live’» [ibid., 410:11], etc.

⁹ On *hm(w)s·t* as a kind of female counterpart of the *k3* see [Sethe, 1928, 61–64].

[Jünge, 1973]). The present author prefers an early dating, but even if the «Treatise» had been indeed composed in Dyn. XXV, this cannot radically change our understanding of the tradition of creation by word – it is reflected in a number of religious texts from various epochs.

In the hymn of pBoul. XVII (Dyn. XVIII), *Jmn-r^c(w)* is named «The one who said /and/ gods came into existence» [Hassan, 1928, 192]. The origin of this hymn, however, should be dated to the Middle Kingdom, since similar fragments addressed to *Mn(w)-jmn* survived on a statuette found in the Dyn XI temple at Deir el-Bahari (BM 40959, late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period [Naville, 1913, pl 6-6; British Museum, 1913, pl 50; Hassan, 1928, 158–192; Pavlova, 1984, fig 20]). In the Leiden hymn to *Jmn* (Dyn XIX), the world order is described as established by the word of *Jmn*, gods existing only of his will: «Gods are established according to your orders» (pLeid. 1350, IV:24). With this, the word of *Jmn* creates the Double: «His *k3* is everything existing which is in his mouth /i. e., everything named by him/» (V:17). About nine hundred years later, the «Book of ʿ3pp» says on behalf of the gods: «I am the one who came into being as *Hprj*. I came into being /and/ beings came into being. Every being came into being after I have come into being, /and/ numerous beings went forth from my mouth /i. e., their names were pronounced/» (pBr. Rh., 26:21–22).

Thus, tradition of explaining the world's creation by pronouncing the names of everything to exist was widespread even apart from the Memphite Theology. Therefore, it is not casual that Philo's doctrine of the Logos appeared on the Egyptian ground – an ancient tradition of great vitality is obviously reconsidered in it.¹⁰

So the Double, be it the *k3* or the *rn*, is not created by man, but arises at the instant he is born and coexists with him throughout his life. The Double is an eternal and innate companion of man. But in such a case, the entire cumbersome and expensive practice of cult construction which absorbed a good deal of the country's human and material resources seems to be absolutely senseless; if existence of the Double is an immanent world's property, numerous representations and inscriptions on the tomb walls prove to be of no use. However, this is the way of thinking of our contemporaries accustomed to

¹⁰ Great significance of this tradition is reflected in numerous borrowings from it in the Biblical cosmogony. Creation of the world is explained by words of the God (Gen. 1:3, 6, 9, 14–15, 20, 24). Less directly the same is apparent in the fact that already created animals and birds have the right to exist only after Adam gave them their names (Gen. 2:19–20): naming only duplicates the act of creation here, but its original purpose is indisputable.

In the New Testament, Egyptian reminiscences are obvious in the first words of the Gospel as told by John (1:1–5): «In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made that was made. In Him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not». This is an intricate combination of the ideas of Philo which largely contributed early Christianity, and the reminiscences of Egyptian tradition of creation by word as interpreted by the Genesis [Korostovtsev, 1976, 278–279]. Even of greater interest is the fact that the notion of the God's word as light may also go back to the Egyptian concept of text engendering light (see Chapter 9, § 5). That is why the Genesis regards light as the first world's element – it is related with the creation by word.

pure abstractions, but not of the ancient Egyptians. For them the Double by itself, without any consolidation, was too elusive, standing on the verge of non-existence – it must have existed in theory, but practically it was desired to face something more substantial, tangible and reliable.¹¹ For this reason, making representations and revealing the Double became a task of great practical importance – existence of the Double which initially was substantiated only on the conviction that it must exist, found a reliable confirmation in representations, and this seems to be none the less important than its very creation by the god.

There was another important reason to fix the Double. Independent of people in its origin, the Double needed food during its life and here it entirely depended on its human benefactors. It was to be fed by means of real offerings or of food representations accompanied by offering-formulae.¹² All these methods of feeding require pictorial monuments: offerings must be eternal, the descendants must remember about their ancestors, and inscribed representations are the best possible reminder for them.

§ 2. The Moment of the Establishment of the Tomb Cult ¹³

The birth of the *k3* together with a man and its revealing by means of representations are significant characteristics of the Double. The fact the *k3* is born with its «original» was noted already by G. Maspero [1893-4, 389], who positively stressed that it had existed not only after a man's death, but also in his lifetime. Unfortunately, Maspero wrote nothing on the functions of the *k3* before death; his followers who accepted his theory in general also never scrutinized this aspect of the *k3*. Therefore, very specific relations between the birth of the *k3* and revealing it by representations were not even touched upon.

We must turn to the highly important problem of Egyptian tomb cult now. Generally it is regarded as posthumous, which is reflected in standard terms, such as *mortuary cult*, *culte funéraire*, *Totenkult*, *заупокойный культ*, etc. If the traditional understanding is true, this is a hard if not fatal blow to our interpretation of the *k3*: cult is the most important indicator of the presence of the Double and we can hardly suppose it could exist without any cult for sometimes rather long periods between the completion of the tomb and the death of its owner. However, this understanding was never proved; moreover, nobody even thought of advancing such proof, for everything in the tomb was *a priori* considered pertaining to death and posthumous existence. Thus, comprehension of Egyptian cult as a posthumous phenomenon is based only on the common sense of a modern man, but as soon as we get rid of this habitual view, a radically different picture appears to us.

The conjecture that death does not mean annihilation of man is one of the most ancient and universal in history. The earliest Paleolithic burials with grave goods indicate the appearance of this notion, although we can but guess at its nature. The main problem con-

¹¹ Similarly, although having a refined conception of the god, Egyptians needed a concrete object of adoration – temple statues. Such contradictions were (and are) a stumbling-block for most of religions.

¹² This is another analogy to the notion of gods who can live only because people feed them with offerings.

¹³ See also [Bolshakov, 1991-4].

sists in the degree of linking the next life with the dead body. Probably it was considered most primitively at the earliest stage – as the life of the body itself¹⁴ having the same physical needs as before the death. This gives rise to the practice of providing the dead with burial goods: food, clothes, weapons, etc. Their presence may be regarded as an indicator of the notion of the corporeal next life. This notion is very stable and coexists with more intricate and refined ideas over millennia, the belief in vampires being its modern echo.

Scantiness of food placed in the grave had to lead to the idea that it would be sufficient for a short while only, and then the deceased would be hungry again. This raised the practice of regular, in theory eternal offerings on the place of the burial. Regrettably, we cannot say whether this practice was later than the appearance of the grave goods, i. e., whether human history knows a period when no offerings were practiced after a funeral. The fact that burials without any traces of cult monuments are predominant all over the world cannot be regarded as an *argumentum ex silentio* – these monuments are open and they easily decay. At any rate, qualitative improvement of the methods of excavations allowed over the last two decades to expose numerous commemorative monuments wherever they had not been known before – on and by the barrows of the Bronze and Iron Ages of Eurasian steppes.¹⁵

Thus, the problem of antiquity of regular offerings remains open, although in purely speculative, logical terms they seem to be secondary as compared with the notions of the life of the body. If so, the emergence of cult practice marks the beginning of a significant stage in the evolution of human consciousness: the very fact of bringing offerings presupposes that the deceased regularly takes food delivered by his descendants, which requires a well-developed abstract thinking able to answer how and in what hypostasis he does it. Egyptian sources are priceless in this regard, for no other culture gives us enough information to adequately reconstruct these notions.

¹⁴ This primitivism is the only argument in favor of such a notion, for in the beliefs of those times we should expect but simplicity. Still, given the below facts, the problem may be more complicated than it seems at the first glance.

¹⁵ For instance, a sanctuary on the top of a Catacomb culture barrow by Molochansk (Zaporozhye Province). In the times of the Culture of fillet-ornament pottery, it was reconstructed, which testifies to its special importance [Pustovalov, Rassamakin, 1990]. Cf. also sanctuaries by Dolgaya Mogila barrow (Nikopol District, Bronze Age or Scythian epoch) and by a barrow in the vicinity of Izobilnoye village (Nikopol District, Scythian epoch), both excavated by the late B. N. Mozolevsky (the material remains unpublished and the present writer was acquainted with it by the author of excavations). A sensational discovery was made of an accessible room with some traces of offerings in one of the mounds of Sintashta barrow group (Cheliabinsk Province, Middle Bronze Age, excavations of G. B. Zdanovich); burials were made in the floor of the sanctuary (unpublished, but some materials were presented in the paper read by the excavator at the Soviet-French Symposium for archaeology of Central Asia and neighboring regions, Alma-Ata, 1987). A number of such structures are known today; worth mentioning is, for example, Temir barrow on the watershed of the Ural and Tobol rivers (Sauromatian time) [Zdanovich, Habdulina, 1987]. Systems of corridors under several mounds of Saka culture in Besshatyr and Ushtobe barrow groups (right bank of the Ili river and outskirts of Dzhambul) are more difficult to interpret, but in any case they were opened for visitors and illumined [Akishev, Kushaev, 1963, 46, 60–62, 76; Ismagilov, 1992]. Of special interest is chronological and cultural dispersion of the commemorative monuments allowing us to suppose that more or less durable cult was a universal practice from at least the Bronze Age.

Egyptian cult practice is unique in making «exits» for the deceased – false doors and stelae – as early as Dyn I. Since the deceased cannot go forth from them in his corporal form, his another hypostasis must be involved here. Now we may state for certain that this is the *k3*. So, on the one hand, Egyptian tomb cult of the Dynastic epoch still continued the pristine practice of regular offerings, but on the other hand, its object was changed to representations, to the *k3*. With this, food stuffs to be offered were not needed as such, but only because they engender the Doubles of food for the Double of the tomb owner.

Notions pertaining to the dead body were less important, and the respective ritual acts were reduced to preventing it from decay, providing it with funeral goods and making offerings at the funeral. Thus, the main component of the tomb cult – the cult of representations located in the chapel – was separated from the corpse, and not only by the dozen of meters that parted the chapel and the vault. Middle Kingdom nomarchs of the 10th Upper Egyptian nome erected tombs imitating royal pyramid complexes with two temples, one of which was detached from the pyramid. These tombs also had two chapels: namely the upper, located near the cliff where the burial chamber was hewn, and the lower, arranged in the valley and joined with the former with a causeway [Petrie, 1930; Steckeweh, 1936].¹⁶ Separation of the cult of representations from the dead body is most clearly seen in royal tombs of the New Kingdom with temples built far away from the secret burial places. Moreover, the cult of representations was not only disconnected from the body – it was absolutely independent of it, thus giving rise to cenotaphs placed hundreds kilometers away from burials.

Egyptian tomb cult is a cult of representations. However, it is well known that tombs were built and decorated usually when their owners still were alive. For instance, the tomb of *Dbh-n(j)* was erected and equipped before his death by the order of the king *Mn-k3-w-r(w)* [*Urk.* I, 18–21]; the same happened whenever tombs were constructed at the expense of their owners. This well-known fact is convincingly illustrated by the cases when noblemen asked the king to grant them some burial goods – the tomb itself had to be finished before such requests. So the overseer of physicians *N(j)-nh-shm-t* asked *S3h-w(j)-r(w)* for a false door. Two false doors were carved for him according to a royal order [*Urk.* I, 38–40], their quality being considerably higher than that of the rest rather poor decoration in the chapel of *N(j)-nh-shm-t*. These instances are numerous, but of more interest are some written records of the moment of donation in a successive biography of the deceased – they demonstrate that it could happen long before the death of the person in question.

In his celebrated autobiography, *Wnj* says that he asked *Pjpi I* for a sarcophagus and the requested object as well as a false door and some other tomb elements were made for him [*Urk.* I, 99:10–100:4]. Afterwards *Wnj* took part in the trial against the wife of *Pjpi I*, headed an aquatic expedition against nomads, suppressed them five

¹⁶ Borrowings from the royal cult which started already in the Old Kingdom did not efface the border between the divine king and man, for borrowed was only whatever proper of the human component of his nature. Therefore this reference does not contradict the principle of discussing only monuments of private persons set forth in the Introduction.

times and commanded a campaign in Palestine; than, already under *Mr(j)-n(.j)-r(w)*, he was appointed the Overseer of the South and made three expeditions to stone quarries. Thus, he got his funeral furniture being a rather young man. One might object that *Wnj*'s tomb at Abydos was constructed in the last period of his life, after his assignment the Overseer of the South. This is true, but he asked for a sarcophagus not to keep it in reserve, but for his tomb unknown to us which was built at one of the Memphite cemeteries and than abandoned because of his transfer to the South.

The cases when people died before completing or even starting to construct their monuments, although not rare, are exclusions to the general rule.¹⁷ Thus, in the lifetime most people had monuments intended for their burial and cult. Burial chamber was empty prior to the day of interment and, thus, it did not function before the death of the owner. On the contrary, murals were completed and statuary placed in the superstructure, its state being the same before and after the funeral. The question arises whether the chapel remained empty waiting for the death of its owner or if it functioned in some way. Since the functioning of the chapel (at least initially) manifested itself in offering rituals, the problem concerns the moment of the establishment of the cult. No single monument taken by itself seems to provide an unequivocal answer to this question, but analysis of evidence scattered throughout different epochs allows us to establish the time of the cult's initiation.

Scenes of transporting statues to the tomb are frequent in decoration of the cult chambers. As a rule, these scenes include censuring in front of the statues which started during the rites of the «opening of the mouth».¹⁸ Thus, at the moment of transportation, the statues were already considered «alive» and requiring rituals. The main problem is the time when the statues were brought to the tomb.

Some transport scenes are a part of the funeral procession (see Chapter 4, § 7), but most of them have quite a different iconography and seem to have nothing to do with the interment. It was H. Kees who noticed that there are two types of the statue transport scenes in Old Kingdom tombs, one of which is solemn and the other more unpretentious [Kees, 1926, 176; 1956-2 = 1977-2 = 1980-2, 124–125]. This observation inevitably leads to the conclusion that the scenes of the first and second type show events taking place at different times – funeral and the preceding dragging of the burial goods. Since the tomb was usually completed during the lifetime of its owner, the delivery of its equipment had also to have premortal character; accordingly, the cult of statues started prior to the death of the person represented. However, neither Kees nor the

¹⁷ Most probably, the unfinished state of some tombs is a result untimely or sudden death of their owners. However, N. Kanawati [1977-1] proved that the sizes of tombs correlated with the posts their owners occupied in the official hierarchy, and we may suppose that sometimes tombs remained uncompleted because their proprietors expected promotion giving them right to construct greater monuments, but died before or soon after the advancement. For instance, *Sndm-jb(.j)/Jntj* who was an owner of a modest tomb LG 10, had no time to build a new monument when he became a vizier, and it was constructed by his son *Sndm-jb(.j)/Mhj* (G 2370).

¹⁸ Censing in front of statues dragged out of workshop is shown in the tomb of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)* [Duell, 1938, pl 29–30].

scholars to follow came to this conclusion (e.g. [Montet, 1925, 385–388, Matthieu, 1958-1, 355]); M. Eaton-Krauss [1984, 60–70], the author of the latest study devoted to representations of Old Kingdom statuary, has confused the two types of the transport scenes and has not paid due attention to the fundamental semantic difference between them.

Meanwhile already H Junker [1953, 226–233] supposed that the transport of statues took place in the lifetime of their owner, since the latter had been twice depicted observing it in the mastaba of *Tjj* (Saqqara D 22) [Steindorff, 1913, Taf 13; Epron et al., 1939, pl 14]. He believed that statues were brought to the tomb before the death because the serdab «lag oft so tief in dem Bau, daß es ganz wesentlich leichter und sicherer war sie vorher zu verschließen und das Dach der Mastaba in einem Stück herzustellen, statt über dem Serdab jeweils eine große Lücke zu lassen». Junker's observation is so important that it had to attract attention. Unfortunately it never happened, probably because the lifetime beginning of the cult was considered too unusual to be true, while purely «technological» interpretation was no doubt unsatisfactory. Only P Kaplony [1976, 34] supposed that in the autobiographical inscription of *Mtjj* (ROM 953.116.1 [ibid., Abb. an S 32]), the passage on his parents' gratitude for the establishment of their cult could be regarded as an argument for its lifetime nature. Kaplony's idea did not evoke any interest as well, since the record of *Mtjj* is unique and other interpretations are not impossible.

Recently Eaton-Krauss [1984, 74] listed several extra representations of the tomb owner observing the transport of his statues: *Tjj* (Saqqara D 22) [Steindorff, 1913, Taf. 62–70, 72–73; Epron et al., 1939, pl 52–55], *3h.t(j)-htp(.w)* (Louvre E.10958) [Ziegler, 1993, 106–109], *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)* [Duell, 1938, pl 29–30]. However, justly criticizing Junker and Kaplony for imperfection of their interpretations (serdab could be closed after the funeral, simultaneously with the burial chamber, while the inscription of *Mtjj* can be interpreted differently), she groundlessly rejected the very essence of their idea. According to Eaton-Krauss [1984, 74–75], statue transport in front of the tomb owner does not correspond to reality – she understands this event as a part of the funeral, while the surrounding scenes including the tomb owner are regarded as accidental in this context. Her opinion ignores the fact that any mural composition is a system which cannot include heterogeneous components. Thus, the essence of Junker's idea is not rejected but confirmed by Eaton-Krauss, regardless of her intentions.

Moreover, those scenes of the second type (after Kees) which are not associated with figures of the tomb owner, do not depict an episode of the funeral as well. Indeed, although in a half of the tombs with representations of the funeral procession there are also transport scenes of the second type, in three tombs out of seven they are located in different rooms ¹⁹ [*FP* 4,²⁰ 6,²¹ 9²²], twice they are arranged on an entrance thickness

¹⁹ Numbering according to the list in Chapter 4, § 7.

²⁰ Statue transport on the entrance thickness of the chapel [*LD* II, Bl 104-c].

²¹ Statue transport on the entrance thickness of the antechamber [Hassan, 1975-1, pl 4-b].

²² Statue transport in chamber A 3 [Duell, 1938, pl 23–30].

and on a wall of the same chamber, i. e., also separately [FP 2,²³ 7²⁴], and only once they are placed side by side [FP 3²⁵].²⁶

Thus, the tendency to separate representations of the funeral from the transport scenes of the second type is obvious, which corresponds well to the real time interval between these events. Inscriptions in the tomb of *N(j)-ḥnh-hnm(w)* and *Hnm(w)-hṯp(·w)* [FP 2] confirm our understanding. Dragging of high chests with some equipment is shown by the delivery of statues. The scene is entitled «Dragging *stḳ-t* chest [= chests/ at the festival of *Dḥw.tj* for the 'going forth of the voice' [= for offering/» [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977, Taf 16]. The adjacent scenes must be synchronous; thus, statues were transported to the tomb on the day of the annual festival of *Dḥw.tj*. Of course, it happened not after the burial, but prior to it, when the tomb owner still was alive. Bringing and overthrowing of two oxen is represented nearby; the legends read «Bringing a young long-horned ox for breakfast» and «Driving a young long-horned ox for supper» [ibid., Taf 16–17]. This scene has nothing to do with funeral rites, and so it represents an episode of a routine cult in the tomb beginning with the delivery of statues.

Thus, although some statues were arranged in the tomb in the course of the funeral (see Chapter 4, § 7), most of them were brought there much earlier, in the lifetime of the owner. The problem of the cult specificity of both groups is very complicated and probably even unsolvable, but it is quite clear that rituals started with the delivery of the first of them – prior to the tomb owner's death. However, let us try to find more reliable evidence, giving preference to written monuments.

Valuable illustrations are offered by a number of royal decrees from the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. The earliest is the Abydos decree of *Pjpi II* devoted to the establishment of the cult of his own, of two queens and of the vizier *Dḥw*. The decree [Goedicke, 1967, Abb 7; also Petrie, 1903, pl 19, 21; *Urk.* I, 279–280] reads as follows:

- «--- [half] of an ox /and/ a jar of milk in every festival here for the service of the overseer of prophets /and/ of the prophets of this temple.
- 1/8 part of an ox /and/ [a jar of milk] in every festival here for the statue of *Nfr-k3-r(w)* which is in the sanctuary of *Hnt(j)-jmn-tjw*.
- [1/8 part of an ox] /and/ a jar of milk in every festival here for the statue of King's mother *Mn-ḥnh-nfr-k3-r(w)*²⁷ *ḥnh-n-s-pjpi*²⁸ which is in the sanctuary of *Hnt(j)-jmn-tjw*.

²³ Statue transport on the entrance thicknesses of the antechamber [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977, Taf 16–17].

²⁴ Statue transport on the entrance thicknesses of chamber B [Macramallah, 1935, pl 9-*ab*].

²⁵ Statue transport on the entrance thickness of the chapel [Holwerda et al., 1905, Taf 19].

²⁶ Arrangement of the transport scene in the tomb of *D3d3(j)-m-ḥnh* at Abusir [FP 8] is uncertain [Borchardt, 1907, 122].

²⁷ According to the tradition of late Dyn. VI, the name of the ruling son in queen's titles is replaced by that of his pyramid.

²⁸ Queen *ḥnh-n-s-nrjji-r(w)/ḥnh-n-s-pjpi II*, the wife of *Pjpi I* and mother of *Pjpi II*.

- [1/8 part of an ox] /and/ a jar [of milk] in every festival here for the statue of King's mother *H^c(j)-nfr-mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)*²⁹ *nh-n-s-pjpj*²⁹ which is in the sanctuary of *Hnt(j)-jmn-tjw*.
- 1/8 part [of an ox /and/ a jar of milk] in every festival here for the statue of the vizier *D^cw*...»

The contents of this decree do not raise any doubt. Since *Pjpj II* himself establishes the cult of his statue, it begins in his lifetime. As for the two queens, the wives of *Pjpj I*, one of whom was the mother of *Pjpj II*, they could be alive at that time as well, although it is uncertain. According to H Goedicke [1967, 85] this means that the cult of the statue of *Pjpj I* started prior to the king's death (another interpretation is impossible), but he supposes it to be a deviation from the tradition. His opinion is based on the *a priori* conviction of the mortuary character of Egyptian tomb cult, but it cannot be proved if we reject this suggestion.

The evidence of *Pjpj II* is utmost significant, but one may suppose that the royal cult had some peculiarities and differed from that of private persons. However, the Abydos decree informs us of the simultaneous establishment of the cult of the vizier *D^cw* which had the same material base as the cult of the king and the queens and, thus, was a replica of the royal cult.

D^cw, uncle of *Pjpj II*, is a well-known person who was of special importance during the long initial stage of his nephew's reign – probably he had risen as a brother of the queen during her regency [*Urk.* I, 112–113] and the Abydos decree was issued when he was on the summit of his glory. It is easy to demonstrate that *D^cw* was alive when his cult was established. He is mentioned as a vizier in the Coptos decree **B** dated to the year after the eleventh reckoning of cattle under *Pjpj II* [Goedicke, 1967, Abb 8; also Weill, 1912, pl 1, 5; *Urk.* I, 280–283] and so he held his office for approximately thirty years. His name disappeared from inscriptions only when the pyramid complex of *Pjpj II* was being decorated [Helck, 1954, 141]. Thus, the Abydos decree was issued long before his death.

Of course, the life story of *D^cw*, the vizier of a boy-king, is unique; for instance, he is the first known private person whose statue was placed in a temple. However, is it possible to consider unique the very character of his cult established when he was still alive? A number of analogies allow us to give a negative answer.

Of great interest in this regard is the decree of Horus *Ntr(j)-b3-w* from the Coptos temple of *Mn(w)* (Coptos **K**) belonging to the group of decrees (Coptos **K–Q**) issued simultaneously – day 20, month 2 of the Harvest season, year 1 of that king. All of them are addressed to the vizier *Šm3j* and his two sons, one of them named *Jdj*. The decree reads [Goedicke, 1967, Abb 27; also *Urk.* I, 302–303]:

«Horus *Ntr(j)-b3-w*.

Royal decree to the father of the God, beloved (of the God), hereditary prince, overseer of the pyramid-town, chief justice /and/ vizier, overseer of scribes of

²⁹ Queen *nh-n-s-mrjj-r^c(w)/nh-n-s-pjpj I*, the wife of *Pjpj I* and mother of *Mrjj-n(j)-r^c(w)*.

the royal documents,³⁰ overseer of prophets, *sm3*-priest of *Mn(w) Šm3[j]*.

(My) *hm(w)*³¹ has ordered 12 inspectors of the servants of the *k3* to be appointed to the --- chapel³² of your own (*n(j)-t d.t.k*³³) to serve (*w'b*) for you, to recite for you in the course of a month.

(My) *hm(w)* has ordered 12 inspectors of the servants of the *k3* to be appointed to the chapel of (your) own which is in the sanc[tuary] of *Mn(w)* the Coptite.

(My) *hm(w)* has ordered 12 inspectors of the servants of the *k3* to be appointed to the upper /tomb/-chapel³⁴ of your own.

(My) *hm(w)* has ordered 10 inspectors of the servants of the *k3* to be appointed to make ceremonies for you (*r jr(j)-t n.k h-t*) in the year of the bu[rial].

(My) *hm(w)* has ordered 12 inspectors of the servants of the *k3*³⁵ to be appointed for [your] wife, King's eldest daughter, King's sole adorer *Nb-t* to serve for her, to recite for her in the course of a month in [her] chapel /and/ in [your] chapel...»

Vizier *Šm3j*, king's brother-in-law, Overseer of the South is an outstanding figure in the history of Dyn VIII. A group of Coptos decrees from the first year of Horus *Ntr(j)-b3-w* is the best illustration of his prominence: nobody else could boast of such a number of royal documents addressed to himself and his family. The above decree **K** is devoted to the establishment of his cult in three places, both in the Coptos temple and in his tomb. Comparison with the synchronous Coptos decrees irrefutably proves that this happened in the lifetime of *Šm3j*. Indeed, the decree I [Goedicke, 1967, Abb 18; also Weill, 1912, pl 12-2] grants him jurisdiction over several Upper Egyptian nomes on the same day when his cult was established. Decree L [Goedicke, 1967, Abb 17; see also Weill, 1912, pl 10; *Urk. I*, 295–296] addressed to the administrators of the 5th–9th nomes of Upper Egypt obliges them to cooperate with *Šm3j*. Decrees **M** [Goedicke, 1967, Abb 20; see also *Urk. I*, 300–301] and **N** [Goedicke, 1967, Abb 22; also *Urk. I*, 301–302] devoted to the appointment of his son *Jdj* the Overseer of Upper Egypt with jurisdiction over the 1st–7th nomes, and of his another son whose name is lost to a post in the Coptos temple of *Mn(w)*, are addressed to *Šm3j*. Finally, decree **O** [Goedicke, 1967, Abb 19; see also *Urk. I*, 299] of the same

³⁰ So according to Sethe [*Urk. I*, 302:12]; in [Goedicke, 1967, Abb. 27] *jmj-r3* is omitted by mistake.

³¹ For a scrutiny of the concept of *hm(w)* see [Berlev, 1972-1, 33–41].

³² It is uncertain which chapel is meant here, any reconstruction being doubtful. A temple and a tomb (?) chapel are mentioned below.

³³ See [Perepelkin, 1966 = 1986].

³⁴ J Pirenne [1935, 214] suggested that *h(w)-t-k3 hr-t* should be translated as «le tombeau de necropole». If a tomb is really meant here [Faulkner, 1962, 175], *h(w)-t-k3* designates its cult chambers with the serdab. *H(w)-t-k3 hr-t* can be also interpreted as an «upper chapel» («верхняя каплица» [Perepelkin, 1988-1, 13]); this translation is more promising, but it is difficult to explain what the «upper chapel» may signify here (see also [Savelyeva, 1992, 160–161]).

³⁵ So according to Goedicke; Sethe's reading «10» [*Urk. I*, 303:2] is erroneous as Prof. Goedicke has kindly informed the present writer.

contents as **M** but addressed to *Jdj* solves the problem connected with his appointment the Overseer of the nomes under jurisdiction of his father: the expression *whm (j)t(w)-k* means that he does not replace *Šm3j*, but assumes the role of his deputy [Goedicke, 1967, 181].

Thus, the cult of *Šm3j* was established when he was alive. By the way, this is also proved by the fact that special services in the year of the burial are mentioned in decree **K** after the appointment of priests to all three chapels – the cult commences first, and only than the man dies.

One more decree, Coptos **R**, dated to still later times, is also of interest for our subject. It was issued by Horus *Dmd-jb-t3-wj* in favor of *Jdj*, the son of *Šm3j* [Goedicke, 1967, Abb 28; also Weill, 1912, pl 4-1; *Urk.* I, 304–306]:

«Horus *Dmd-jb-t3-wj*.

Royal decree to the father of the God, beloved (of the God), hereditary prince, king's foster-child, overseer of the pyramid-town, chief justice (and) vizier, *sm3*-priest of *Mn(w) Jdj*.

As for all people of this whole country who will

do some harm (and) evil to the statues, to the offering-stones, to every wood /i.e., wooden furniture/, to the monuments which are in every temple (and) every sanctuary, my *hm(w)* does not let them keep the property /lit. 'thing'/ of theirs (and) of their fathers, join the Light Ones (*3h-w*) in the necropolis, be among the living ones³⁶---

cause damage (or) diminution of the property /lit 'thing'/ of your *w^cb-t*³⁷ included in the *ht*-document³⁸ (or <?>) established for your statues which are in the temples of Upper Egypt, (consisting) of arable land, [bread], beer, meat, milk, established for you by *swd*-document,³⁹ indeed, my *hm(w)* does not let them be among the Light Ones in the Necropolis...»

The situation reflected by this decree is similar to the above cases. It is evidently addressed to a living person, and so the cult of *Jdj* – like that of *D^cw* and *Šm3j* – started when he was alive.

Thus, although the positions of the persons whose cult was established by royal decrees were no doubt specific, the circumstances of its initiation may by no means be

³⁶ Sethe reconstructed *nh-w* [*tpj-w t3*] – «the living ones [who are on the earth]»; if so, the capital punishment is meant here. It conforms well to the preceding and subsequent bans prohibiting sacrilegists to be among the Light Ones – executed criminals were not properly buried and, respectively, could not be *3h-w*. Goedicke [1967, 217–219] objects against this reconstruction stating that there is not enough space for *tpj-w t3* and interprets *nh-w* as «freien Bürgern». Still, as hieroglyphs are arranged irregularly in this part of the decree, the words *tpj-w t3*, anyway, could have gone in the lacuna.

³⁷ On the *w^cb-t* see [Junker, 1940-1, 14; Goedicke, 1967, 219].

³⁸ See [Berlev, 1978, 30–31].

³⁹ See [Goedicke, 1967, 270].

considered extraordinary. Unique are only the monuments reflecting these circumstances: most people did not record them as too banal to be mentioned, whereas personal good graces of the king were to be fixed without fail. There are, however, other documents testifying to our understanding.

We know a number of contracts with *hm(w)-w-k3* concerning their duties in the tomb cult. It would be only natural to stipulate in them when the services were to start: although very laconic, these texts which must be exact in wording. However, the time of the establishment of the cult was so evident for the Egyptians that there was no need to mention it, neither directly (e. g., «since the day of my death», etc.) nor in any indirect way. A contract recorded in an anonymous tomb by the pyramid of *H'(j)-f-r'(w)* (CG 1432), although destroyed in the portion which is of interest for us, mentions that it was made when «he /i. e., the tomb owner/ was alive and /stood/ on his legs» [*Urk.* I, 11:8; Borchardt, 1937, Bl 28], but, unfortunately, this indication cannot be seen as decisive, for concluding the contract in the lifetime does not mean by itself that exclusively posthumous services could not be concerned in it.

Indisputable, although not obvious evidence on the moment when the tomb cult was established can be found only in much later document – in the inscription of Middle Kingdom Siut nomarch *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* (reign of *Z-n(j)-wsr-t I*) being one of the most remarkable monuments of Egyptian law. This is the only text describing in detail the terms of the assignment of tomb-priests and their duties which are mentioned very briefly in other inscriptions of the same contents. Unique features of the contracts of *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* have attracted attention of scholars as long as more than a century ago [Erman, 1882]. The inscription was repeatedly published [Griffith, 1889, pl 1-9; Montet, 1935, 45–69] and translated [Breasted, 1906, §§ 535–593; Reisner, 1918], but mainly the legal aspect of the document was discussed. The same approach is proper of the latest study as well [Spalinger, 1985; a complete bibliography of the problem is adduced in footnote 1]. However, the inscription of *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* is a fairly versatile source containing some information of great significance concerning ideological problems as well. The way to understanding this information was paved by O D Berlev [1972-1, 198–200, 255–256; 1978, 121–123] who elucidated a fundamental peculiarity of the text to be discussed below.

The inscription includes ten contracts of *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* with the priests of *Wp(j-w)-w3-wt* and *Jnpw* stipulating their duties in the cult of his temple and tomb statues⁴⁰ as well as the payment commitments of the nomarch. It was already J. H. Breasted [1906, § 536] who noticed the main peculiarity of the contracts: the payments had two sources: inherited property of *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* (*pr(w) jt(w)* – «estate of the father») and his office-held property (*pr(w) h3-tj-c* – «estate of the prince /≠ of the nomarch/»). Since the cult was supposed to be everlasting, *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* tried to pay whenever possible from his

⁴⁰ One of the statues from the tomb of *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* has survived up to now. Found in the beginning of this century by A. Kamal, it disappeared for many years and was purchased by the Louvre in 1970 (E.26915 [Delange, 1987, 76–77]). This enormous wooden statue over two meters high following traditions of late Old Kingdom, is one of the masterpieces of its epoch, while the fact that we know in detail about events that happened in front of it imparts special charm to it.

inherited property, which was the only way to make an absolutely inviolable and eternally effective testament. However he could not pay for all the services from the «estate of the father» – not because of its scale (it was enormous), but due to its very structure: most probably, *ḥw-tjw*-peasants did not belong to the «estate of the father», and so whenever their labor was the source of payment, the «estate of the prince» is mentioned [Berlev, 1972-1, 255–256].

Of course, since *Df3-j-ḥ(°)p(j)* was in charge of his office-held property only until he remained a nomarch, such a payment was precarious. So two contracts (II and VIII) treating the office-held property drastically differ from others (their interpretation is the greatest Berlev's contribution to the study of the problem). First of all, *Df3-j-ḥ(°)p(j)* had to ask the nomarchs-to-come who would be in charge of his nomarchic property not to stop payments to the priests: «Shall no future count cease the contract of another count /i. e., of *Df3-j-ḥ(°)p(j)*/ with the future *wḥ*-priests» (ll. 281, 310–311). His optimism regarding the efficacy of this request was based on the inheritance of his post by his direct descendants, on ethical responsibility of every Egyptian to have a respect for the cult of forefathers and, finally, on the conviction that the future nomarchs would find themselves in the same situation and in order to secure their own cult they would continue the cult of their predecessor.

Whatever reliable this complex of ethic and pragmatic motives may seem, it was considered questionable in the country that had recently suffered the disturbances of the First Intermediate Period. Thus, it was senseless to promise payments which would remain without any guarantee after the death of the nomarch; the case would be quite different if the cult started in the lifetime when it was reliably secured and then lasted «by inertia». This is indeed stressed in contracts II and VIII in the most unequivocal manner: «Behold, he /i. e., *Df3-j-ḥ(°)p(j)*/ begins to order that every his peasant gives it /i. e., the first grain of the harvest/ to this temple» (ll. 279–280, 309–310). Making stress on the fact that *Df3-j-ḥ(°)p(j)* only began to pay just in these two contracts is most reasonable. When payments were based on the inherited property, their source was the same both before and after the death of the nomarch – he began them and supposed to continue them eternally. On the contrary, in the case of the office-held property, he could only start to pay, the future being dependent on his successors.

Thus, the contracts of *Df3-j-ḥ(°)p(j)* prove that his cult began when he was still alive. Moreover, *Df3-j-ḥ(°)p(j)* also stated that this was not an exception, but a general rule. In the same contracts II and VIII he stressed that priests had to perform the rites of «enlightening» (*s3ḥ.t*) for the nomarch «like they enlightened their own nobles (*sḥ.w*)» (ll. 278–279, 309) in spite of the payment from the office-held property, because «every *nds*⁴¹ of Siut did» the same. Appealing to the practice of the middle class (*nds.w*) evidences that the cult was as a rule provided for from the office-held property and, respectively, its lifetime character was proper not only of the elite, but of the commoners as well.⁴²

⁴¹ For *nds* as «soldier» in contracts II and VIII see [Berlev, 1978, 122–123].

⁴² These passages remained unnoticed before Berlev, but even now they are not seen in proper per-

There is another evidence in the inscription of *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* which may be interpreted in favor of the lifetime character of the cult. Contract VI is entitled «Contract concluded by the count, overseer of prophets *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* true of voice⁴³ with the overseer of prophets of *Wp(j-w)-w3-wt»* (l. 32). However, in accordance with tradition, *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* as a nomarch was the high priest of the local god, i. e., overseer of prophets of *Wp(j-w)-w3-wt* (l. 260). Thus, as a tomb owner he made a contract with himself as a priest, and, since according to this contract, he had to perform rites in his own tomb, his cult was established prior to his death. Of course, making an agreement with himself looks as a bureaucratic trick and one may object that *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* could be the high priest but nominally, while in reality these duties were fulfilled by his son. Most probably this is the case, but such an agreement with himself, however nominal, still proves that the cult began when he was living. Anyhow, the probability of this interpretation should not be ignored.⁴⁴

In the case of *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* our conclusion is based on the interpretation of reliable but indirect information.⁴⁵ However, there is quite obvious and direct evidence of the

spective; at least, the author of the latest scrutiny of the contracts [Spalinger, 1985] has disregarded the significance of his conclusions, although he has cited the book by Berlev repeatedly.

⁴³ For *m3°-hrw* see [Hodjash, Berlev, 1982, 77, note d].

⁴⁴ Exceptional care of *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* for his cult gives some idea of his personality, which is a rare occasion in Egyptology. It evokes special interest to this man and desire to reconstruct his life. G. A. Reisner [1914-2, 43; 1915-2, 71-72] who discovered fragments of statuettes of *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* and of his wife in the tomb K-III at Kerma deduced that he had died in Nubia, over thousand kilometers from his native town. As interpreted by Reisner [1918, 88, 97], the story of *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* illustrates the vanity of Egyptian cult practice: since the nomarch was not buried in Siut, his cult proved quite useless and his great concern for it was futile. However H. Junker [1921] proved that the necropolis at Kerma was not of Egyptian origin, his opinion being generally accepted now [Hintze, 1964]. As for the tomb K-III, its funeral rite has a local, Nubian character, and burial goods include some objects of the Hykos period [Sherif, 1980, 275-277]. Thus, *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* was most probably buried at Siut, his death in Nubia being a mere legend whose last advocates were E. Drioton and J. Vandier [1952, 272-273]. This legend would not have been mentioned here, if it were not for a peculiar circumstance: were *Df3-j-h(°)p(j)* buried far away from his home, this fact would have been, notwithstanding Reisner, a triumph of Egyptian notions – the cult of representations would have provided the Double of the nomarch with everything needed in spite of the place where his corpse had been buried.

⁴⁵ There is another group of Middle Kingdom monuments which can be interpreted as testifying to the lifetime character of Egyptian cult. Stela of *Jmnjj* dedicated by his son *Z3-stj-t* (Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire D 50 [Wiedemann, Pörtner, 1906-2, Taf. 1; bibliography *PM V*, 101]) mentions his visit to Abydos together with *Jj-hr-nfr-t* in year 19 of *Z-n(j)-wsr-t III*. Undated stela of *Jj-hr-nfr-t* himself (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1204 [LD II, Bl. 135-h; Berlin, 1913, 169-175; bibliography *PM V*, 97]) describes the same event and most probably should be dated to the same year; it also mentions *Z3-stj-t* as an associate of *Jj-hr-nfr-t* and a participant of his activities in Abydos. These two monuments indicate the beginning of the cult of *Jj-hr-nfr-t* in year 19 of *Z-n(j)-wsr-t III*, but his another stela (CG 20140 [Lange, Schäfer, 1902-1, 165-166; 1902-2, Taf. 13; bibliography *PM V*, 93]) is dated to year 1 of *Jmn-m-h3-t III*; to the same year is dated the stela of *Z3-stj-t* (Louvre C 5 [Gayet, 1886, pl. 8-9; bibliography *PM V*, 98-99]). If the standard chronology ascribing *Z-n(j)-wsr-t III* 35 years is correct, this means that the cult of *Jj-hr-nfr-t* was established at least seventeen years before his death. However, year 19 may be the last in the reign of *Z-n(j)-wsr-t III* [Simpson, 1972, 52-53; 1984, 903-904]. If so, the dates of the monuments of *Jj-hr-nfr-t* are of little importance for the problem of the cult, but they should not be disregarded

lifetime character of the cult. It is provided by monuments of the celebrated *Jmn-ḥtp(·w)/Hwjj*, son of *Hpw*, who lived in the golden age of Dyn XVIII.⁴⁶ *Jmn-ḥtp(·w)/Hwjj* descended from the middle stratum of society (his father was an ordinary scribe at Atribis [Varille, 1968, 126]) and owing to his personal abilities reached the highest status. During his long life he accomplished many tasks of prime importance, but nowadays he is known mainly as an architect, overseer of king's works who was in charge of building activities at Karnak under *Jmn-ḥtp(·w) III* and probably supervised the construction of the mortuary temple of that king [Matthieu, 1961, 224]. For his outstanding service he was granted a unique reward – a temple built for him near that of *Jmn-ḥtp(·w) III* [Robichon, Varille, 1936]. To erect a temple for a private person must have staggered the Egyptians and perhaps the very fact of such an official recognition along with really high merits of *Jmn-ḥtp(·w)/Hwjj* was a reason for reckoning him among the greatest Egyptian sages and then for his deification. The cult of deified *Jmn-ḥtp(·w)/Hwjj* continued in his temple as long as to the Ramesside period; later it was transferred elsewhere [Wildung, 1977-1, 91; 1977-2, 251–276].

The exact date when the cult of *Jmn-ḥtp(·w)/Hwjj* was established is well known. The royal decree devoted to this temple (stela BM 138) is dated to day 6, month 4 of Inundation season, year 31 of *Jmn-ḥtp(·w) III* [Möller, 1910, Taf 6; Robichon, Varille, 1936, pl 1; Varille, 1968, fig 8; for bibliography see Varille, 1968, 67–68]. Proceeding from the preconceived interpretation of Egyptian cult as a posthumous phenomenon, A. Varille [1968, 12, 126] regarded this event as proving that *Jmn-ḥtp(·w)/Hwjj* had died in year 31 of *Jmn-ḥtp(·w) III*. However, a group of inscriptions from Malkata refutes his understanding.

During excavations of the palace complex of *Jmn-ḥtp(·w) III*, about 1400 hieratic graffiti were found on the vessels for food offerings brought to the palace. Among them are 86 vessels bearing the name of the king's scribe *Hwjj* [Hayes, 1951, 100]. He must be identified with *Jmn-ḥtp(·w)/Hwjj* who had the same title. This deduction is based not only on the coincidence of the name and the title, but also on the fact that the number of vessels offered by *Hwjj* is greater than that delivered by any other person [ibid.], which befitted just such a high dignitary as *Jmn-ḥtp(·w)/Hwjj* in the late reign of *Jmn-ḥtp(·w) III*. There are no records of both names in the same inscription, but this is to be expected in brief household notes.⁴⁷ More than a half of the Malkata graffiti are dated to years 30, 34 and 37 of *Jmn-ḥtp(·w) III* [ibid., fig 16] – the years of his *h(3)b-sd* jubilees when the need in food offerings was especially pressing. Some inscriptions of *Hwjj* are undated, some were made in year 30 (inscriptions 15, 95, 96, 184), and ten are dated to year 34 (variants of inscriptions 39, 130, 158, 160, all unpublished, but see [ibid.,

once and for all (by the way, this is the position of W. K. Simpson [1974, 3, note 20], the main partisan of shortening the reign of *Z-n(j)-wsr-t III*).

⁴⁶ For the synopsis of information concerning *Jmn-ḥtp(·w)/Hwjj* see [Helck, 1975; Wildung, 1977-1, 89–105].

⁴⁷ Apart from inscriptions of *Hwjj*, there are also several graffiti with the name of the king's scribe *Jmn-ḥtp(·w)*, but W. Hayes [1951, 100, note 215] had some doubts if it was the same person.

100]).⁴⁸ So, *Jmn-htp(.w)/Hwjj* not only outlived the first *h(3)b-sd* of his lord, but took an active part in food supplies for the second jubilee and died not earlier than year 34.

Thus, monuments of *Jmn-htp(.w)/Hwjj* testify in the most unambiguous manner that his cult was established in his own lifetime; objections may concern only the fact that it was a temple cult and as such it could have some specific features. However, the temple of *Jmn-htp(.w)/Hwjj* is constructed after the pattern of royal funeral complexes consisting of a secret tomb and a temple, which, although distant from one another, form an integral whole. So if we do not doubt the character of the royal temples, we should not doubt that the temple of *Jmn-htp(.w)/Hwjj* is the cult component of a complex with a hidden burial chamber⁴⁹ and there is no radical difference between the temple of *Jmn-htp(.w)/Hwjj* and the cult chambers of traditional private tombs. It would be also wrong to suggest that the cult of *Jmn-htp(.w)/Hwjj* was specific because of his deification: it happened not in his lifetime and even not soon after his death [Wildung, 1977-1, 89–107]). Ultimately his temple turned into the god's house, but initially it functioned as a tomb chapel detached from the burial place.

So the cult of *Jmn-htp(.w)/Hwjj*, son of *H'pw*, was established at least three years prior to his death.⁵⁰ Since originally it had no specific features, the lifetime establishment of the cult must be regarded as a common practice, not as an exclusion made for an eminent statesman.

Important evidence on the character of the tomb cult is given also by the material of Deir el-Medina allowing us to reconstruct the biographies of the persons under study with maximum accuracy possible in Egyptology.⁵¹

In year 9 of *R'(w)-ms(j-w)-s(w) II*, the scribe of the royal necropolis *R'(w)-ms(.w)* made a statue with an inscription mentioning the setting up of offerings «for his *k3*» [Bruyère, 1952, pl 35], which means the beginning of his cult. However, *R'(w)-ms(.w)* was still alive in year 38 (O Michaelidis, 47:4 [Goedicke, Wente, 1962, Taf 50]; O CG 25809, rt., 4 [Černý, 1935, pl 112]) and, according to indirect data (O CG 25573, col 1,4 [ibid., pl. 38]), even in year 39 of *R'(w)-ms(j-w)-s(w) II*. Thus, offerings were brought to his statue for at least 30 years before the death of its owner.

Other monuments to *R'(w)-ms(.w)* confirm this conclusion. He became the scribe of the royal necropolis in year 5 of *R'(w)-ms(j-w)-s(w) II*, but one of his stelae made «for the *k3*», does not bear this title [Černý, 1958, No 4]. Thus, it dates to an earlier time

⁴⁸ The date of these graffiti was mentioned by W. Helck on the same page as that of the temple [Helck, 1975, 219], but without any conclusion.

⁴⁹ The burial part of this complex see [Bidoli, 1970; Helck, 1975, 220; Wildung, 1977-2, 289].

⁵⁰ A year before this *Jmn-htp(.w)/Hwjj* played an active role in the first jubilee of *Jmn-htp(.w) III* [Varille, 1968, fig 14; Helck, 1975, 219]. Maybe the establishment of his cult can be associated with the successful fulfillment of his tasks during the festival. Certainly participation in the jubilee was not enough for such royal graces, but if we take into account the former great services of *Jmn-htp(.w)/Hwjj* in various fields of activity, we may suppose that the said tasks were no cause but an opportunity to reward this very old man for all his outstanding deeds.

⁵¹ The following illustrations were offered by the late Prof. E. S. Bogoslovsky, the greatest expert on the prosopography of Deir el-Medina.

and the rites in front of it had a lifetime character (cf. also the Leiden statue of *R^c(w)-ms(·w)* combining both his early and late titles [Capart, 1905, pl. 82] and so also dating to approximately the year 5).

The same holds true as concerns the tombs of *R^c(w)-ms(·w)*. He was the owner of the tomb DM 7 constructed also «for the *k3*» [Černý et al., 1949, 64]. An inscription in this tomb mentions that *R^c(w)-ms(·w)* together with the vizier *P3-sr* escorted their lord, *R^c(w)-ms(j·w)-s(w) II* when he visited the residence [ibid.; cf. Bruyère, 1927, 94, No 104, fig 118, pl 4; 1948, 129–130, No 137, fig 212]. *P3-sr* occupied the post of the vizier till year 30 of *R^c(w)-ms(j·w)-s(w) II* when it passed to *H'j* [Helck, 1958, 458]. Thus, the cult in DM 7 was established at least 9 years before the death of its owner. Later on, *R^c(w)-ms(·w)* built another tomb «for the *k3*», DM 212 [Černý et al., 1949, 91], and was finally buried in the third tomb – DM 250 [Bruyère, 1927, pl 6]. Thus, *R^c(w)-ms(·w)* had three tombs and a number of minor monuments with the cults established before his death.

R^c(w)-ms(·w) was the richest resident of Deir el-Medina, but much more humble people followed the same practice of the establishment of the cult. For instance, *P3-nb(w)* is mentioned as an ordinary worker in his tomb constructed «for the *k3*» [Černý et al., 1949, 87–90], but it is known that than he rose to the post of the chief-workman [Černý, 1973, 301–302]. So the cult in his tomb was established when he was still alive.

In the light of these facts, our interpretation of some Old Kingdom cases which are not manifest by themselves, takes a new turn.

Jrj/Tj-snb(·w) (Saqqara) says about the construction of his tomb: «I worked in it with my hands, together with my children and brothers» [Kanawati et al., 1988, pl. 3]. The tomb was built and decorated in the lifetime of *Jrj*, otherwise the inscription would be compiled on behalf of his heir, not on his. It is next to impossible to suppose that a completed tomb could remain without cult in it for any considerable time.

In the reign of *Jzzj*, his vizier *Sndm-jb(·j)/Jntj* died before he could erect a tomb. His son, *Sndm-jb(·j)/Mhj* had to take upon himself all the work. In his inscription he states that it had been completed in a year and three months [*LD* II, Bl. 76-c; *Urk* I, 64:3]. There can be no doubt that the cult of *Sndm-jb(·j)/Jntj* was established as soon as the tomb was finished and continued during the whole term of *Mhj*'s vezirate, except the first 15 months. However, *Jntj*'s mastaba (G 2370) was but a part of enormous family complex constructed by *Mhj* and including also his own tomb (G 2378). Of course, the father's part had to be decorated first, but since both tombs were constructed simultaneously or almost simultaneously, the cult chambers of *Mhj* were completed soon after it. Then it is quite reasonable to deduce that the priests, having finished services for *Jntj*, passed to the next chapel to service for his son who was alive at that time.

The same holds true as concerns provincial rock tombs. In the early reign of *Pjpi II* the Meir nomarch *Pjpi-^cnh(·w)/Hnjj-km* joined his chapel to that of his father *N(j)-^cnh-pjpi/Sbk-htp(·w)/Hpj-km*⁵² so that they formed one large hall [Blackman, 1953, pl. 1].

⁵² On the succession of the Meir nomarchs and on the dates of their tombs see [Kanawati, 1977-1, 52–54]; Kanawati's chronological pattern differs greatly from the old one [Blackman, 1914, 9–10].

Almost simultaneously the same was made by the nomarch of Elephantine *S3bnj* who connected his father's chapel with his own by a corridor [Morgan et al., 1894, 144 = Brunner, 1936, Abb. 34]. Although the chapels of the father and the son are not synchronous in these cases, it is most probable that the two cults were combined here as well.

Even more unequivocal evidence is provided by the nomarchic tomb No. 12 at Deir el-Gebrawi. The nomarch *Dꜥw/Šm3j* who died soon after his father *Jbj* [see *Urk.* I, 147:13–16; Kanawati, 1980-2, 94] had no time to construct a tomb. His son and successor *Dꜥw* cut a rock tomb both for himself and the father, and motivated that unusual decision as follows [Davies, 1902-2, pl. 13; *Urk.* I, 146:15–147:6]: «(I) caused that (I) should be buried in the same tomb with this *Dꜥw* /the father/ in order that (I) could be with him in one place. Not because (I) had no possibility /lit. 'hand'/ to make a second tomb, but I did it in order that I could see this *Dꜥw* /the father/ every day, in order that (I) could be with him in one place». There are representations of both *Dꜥw/Šm3j* and *Dꜥw* in the chapel. Therefore, when rituals were performed for the father, they had to be performed simultaneously for his son who was still alive – at least because they were shown side by side.⁵³ Amalgamation of the two cults simplified the task of the priests and was most advantageous, filial love stressed in the inscription not contradicting to practical interest.

Thus, the cult started in the tomb at the moment of its completion, or rather when its decoration was finished, which could take place long before the death of its owner. Initiated in his lifetime, the cult of representations continued after the death of the person represented without any alterations (at least no apparent changes are traceable and so even if they did occur, they were insignificant).

The lifetime cult of representations could hardly be supplemented after the death by some extra regular rituals forming the cult of the corpse – such rites took place only in the day of interment (see Chapter 4, § 7). Since the burial chamber was closed after the funeral, the non-permanent character of these rituals is unquestionable.

Thus, the Old Kingdom tomb cult (with the exception of funeral rites) was the cult of the Double and started at the moment representations were completed. The death of the tomb owner changed nothing in the character of that cult – it continued without alterations until it could be provided for. Death of the «original» is nothing from the viewpoint of the Double for whom perceptible are only creation and destruction of representations. Therefore it is quite wrong to call the complex of rituals in Egyptian tomb a mortuary or funerary cult – these terms should be excluded from the vocabulary of Egyptologists.

Junker's idea on the lifetime beginning of the cult is corroborated on a qualitatively new level and with a fundamentally new contents. Forty years ago, its significance for understanding Egyptian ideology was diminished by technological character of interpretation (Junker himself never gave up the term *Totenkult*). Now, when the lifetime character of the cult may be considered proven, not only our understanding of the tomb and related activities must be changed, but also the role of the Double must be seen in a

⁵³ On the distinguishing of the pictures of *Dꜥw/Šm3j* and *Dꜥw* see [Kanawati, 1977-2]. His conclusions are of great interest but not unquestionable, and although Kanawati refutes such a possibility, the father and the son could be even depicted together, in the same scene [Davies, 1902-2, pl. 7, 10].

new light – it exists synchronously with the man and thus is not separated from him and the whole human world by an insuperable border of death.

§ 3. Temporal Characteristics of the Double

Now we are ready to discuss one of the most important features of the Double which can be called its twofold birth. Indeed, the *k3* is born as if twice: for the first time together with the «original» and for the second one when representations are made and their eyes are «opened». Of course, the «second birth» is only an exposure and fixation of the already existent entity, but its significance is so great that it by no means yields to the first, true birth.

Two life stages of the *k3* – before and after making of representations – are radically different. Since our study is based on the tomb decoration, the results obtained concern mainly the second stage. Owing to representations, the *k3* is revealed and its existence is obvious to everybody, which makes the role of the subject of eternal life its most important function. On the contrary, prior to making representations, the *k3* is very indistinct and illusory. Of course, the very possibility to see the *k3* (i. e., recollection about the respective person) confirms even at this stage that it does exist, but as recalling is particularly individual and accidental, it testifies to non-persistence of the unrevealed *k3*. At this stage it cannot be a guarantor of eternal life and therefore it must be revealed by means of representations. Nevertheless, we should not believe that at the first stage the *k3* is a mere potentiality to be realized only at the second stage. As long as the man is alive, the *k3* maintains his vital and mental activities, thus also having the functions of great importance. However, these notions lie beyond the limits of this book and cannot be discussed here (see Conclusion).

Thus, there are radically different stages in the lives of the man and of his *k3* (fig 8a). The whole man's life is a qualitatively uniform existence without substantial alterations and with death as its final point. The *k3* is born with man and exists unrevealed for some time. In the moment when representations are completed, which is by no means a turning point in the man's life, the *k3* undergoes a qualitative change – it acquires at last an evident form. In this form it smoothly outlives the man's death which does not affect it at all (except its stopping to maintain the psychological activity), and continues its independent existence.

How long could it last? Was the *k3* supposed to expire one day? This question can be answered taking an account of the way the Egyptians practiced to struggle with the life of the Doubles of their enemies – namely, destruction of representations. However, does the *k3* vanish in this case tracelessly or does it simply return into its original unrevealed form? The latter option may seem more probable: since representations do not create the Double but merely make it apparent, destruction of representations does not annihilate but only conceals the *k3*. Yet in fact this neither is nor can be true.

Indeed, the presence of the *k3* – even hidden – in the lifetime of the man is proved by the very existence of the latter since there can be no man without a Double. The state of things is quite different when the man is dead, for now only representations make

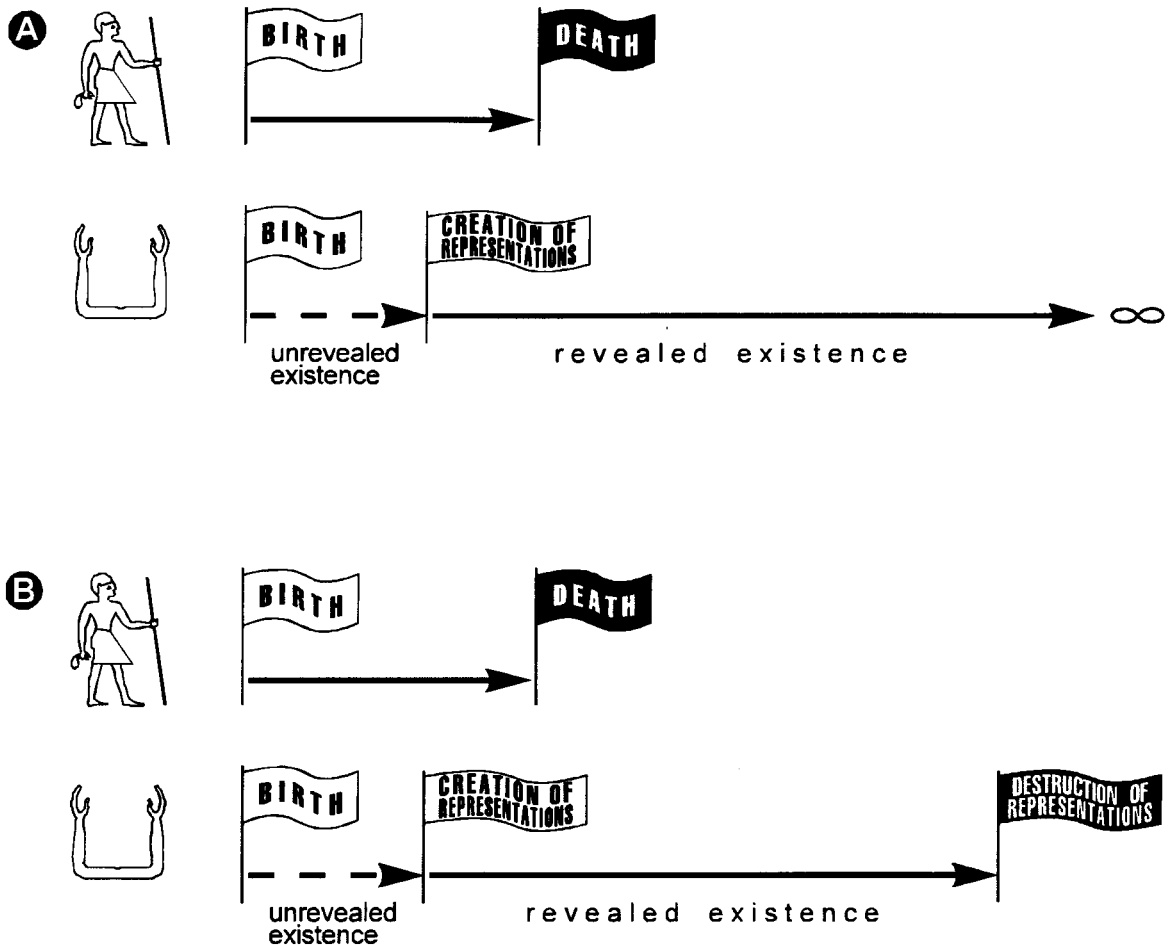


Fig. 8
Stages of life of a man and his *k3*

certain that his *k3* does exist, and only the existence of the Double is evidence that its «original» has ever lived. It is enough to destroy representations, and nothing will remain to confirm that both the *k3* and the man were once existent. When representations are destroyed, the *k3* turns into something that exists, but does not manifest itself in any manner and the very fact of its existence remains unknown. Modern man possessed of great experience in speculative thinking can ponder over the possibility of such objects, but as concerns ancient Egyptians for whom «to exist» meant «to be seen», these problems were alien to them in principle.

Thus, we must suppose that the *k3* exists as long as representations persist, otherwise it is bound to die (fig 8b). From the Egyptian point of view, the *k3-w* of all those people whose monuments – even badly damaged but bearing some traces of representations – endure at necropoleis or are exhibited in museums from Japan to Brazil are

still alive.⁵⁴ Egyptian practice of securing eternal life is utterly reliable and irreproachable within the framework of the notions it is based on.

However, destruction of separate monuments means that all representations will be lost one day in spite of their massiveness and strength. Does it mean that Egyptians realized the futility of hopes for eternal life and only attempted to prolong the existence which was deliberately finite? The very statement of the question is wrong. Ancient man just could not conceive eternity. An Egyptian picture of the world assumed that it would inevitably terminate and return to the primordial chaos in which solely *Jtm* would survive [BD 175 + Otto, 1962]. In such a world, eternity is reduced to what we think of it in our daily round, i.e., a period much more protracted than the human life – for example, the duration of stone. So, if there was anything eternal for the Egyptians, those were representations in stone.

Thus, the *k3* is born with man, is revealed by means of representations, and lives as long as they endure. Such an existence is finite from our point of view, but for the Egyptians it is eternal if some precautions are taken. However, this eternity can be cut short by destroying monuments. Hence the care constantly taken of representations in order to provide their safety and increase their number; hence threats of the judgment at the Elder God against those who profaned tombs along with severe punishments of such sacrilegists. But life judged it its own way and all these measures proved futile; instead, tombs that had been covered with sand and abandoned in ancient times have survived quite well until excavations of the last two centuries. Anyway, at least some Egyptians succeeded in prolonging the life of their *k3-w* if only for five millennia.

The same holds true as concerns the *rn*. It is also born with the man and exists as long as the monuments bearing his name last, i.e., in theory eternally. Destruction of the name means annihilation of the *rn*. However, there is some difference as well. For the *k3* the moment of its revealing is of utmost importance. If judged by analogy with the *k3*, the same must be proper of the *rn*, the first record of the name being its revealing. However, since from the birth of a child a name fulfilled the function of designating a certain person and therefore was frequently repeated, it was quite apparent prior to being written. Then it would be logical to suggest that the *rn* was revealed when the name was first pronounced (probably by the father in the moment of delivery). Discussing the concept of creation of the world as described in the «Memphite Treatise», G. Maspero [1902, 175] affirmed that «les choses et les êtres dits et dedans n'existent qu'en puissance: pour qu'ils arrivent à l'existence réelle, il faut que la langue les parle au dehors devise ou proclame leurs noms solennellement». Thus, according to Maspero, it is the while between the rise of the idea of an object in consciousness and the articulation of its name aloud that should be regarded as an unrevealed existence of the *rn*.

⁵⁴ In Egyptian terms, any reproduction in a modern book must be regarded as equal to a new monument of a person dead long since, as an act of utmost piety. For example, *K3j*, overseer of the house of princess *J3btj-t*, reconstructed her tomb (G 4650) and made a new false door as a token of devotion [Junker, 1929, 216–218]. When Hermann Junker published that tomb [ibid., Abb. 51], the result of his activity was practically the same for her. Perfect publications of monuments are not only useful for Egyptology, but also advantageous for the Doubles of their owners.

However, if this is true as related to abstract theology of the «Memphite Treatise», it can hardly be attributed to everyday practice of the Egyptians. Contrary to the *k3*, the name played so evident practical part at the first stage that it could not be interpreted as unrevealed. Thus, we can state that record of the name is no revelation, but only a fixation of the *rn*.





CHAPTER 11

THE MANNER OF REPRESENTING HUMAN BEING IN OLD KINGDOM ART AND THE DOUBLE ¹

§ 1. The Starting Point

The fact that the notion of the Double manifests itself mainly in figurative monuments makes them an important source for studying Egyptian *Weltanschauung*. In the above chapters they were examined just in the ideological aspect regardless of their artistic merits: we were interested in *what* had been depicted in this or that case, but not in *how* it had been done. Singling out various scenes, such as «table scene», «marsh works», «tending of cattle», etc., we ignored the variance in the interpretation of these scenes in different tombs and used these names as mere conventional labels. This approach is not unfounded, for most representations of the same subject are very similar due to their function in the tomb and the Egyptians themselves used them just as signs, symbols of the corresponding actions. This phenomenon is apparent, for example, in the fact that many kinds of representations of people, animals, birds and various objects do not differ from the respective hieroglyphs. As a rule, not a specific person was pictured, but a human being as such, not events taking place in concrete cases, but episodes characteristic of such situations in general, etc. Individual attempts to animate standard scenes by casual, non-obligatory and customarily amusing details ² cannot affect the standardized character of tomb decoration. Most surprising is the standardization of the tomb owners' representations which usually are so similar, that they could be transferred from one monument to another and such a transfer would not be striking. It is most important to ascertain why the Egyptians who could perfectly convey individual features, did not use their skills in most cases.

This approach, of course, does not mean that, reducing the problem to *Weltanschauung*, the author does not want to regard Egyptian art as art, as a relatively independent sphere of social consciousness. In the field of arts no phenomena can be explained proceeding only from ideology, or from the complex of skills, methods and technologies used by craftsmen or, at last, from their experience and talent: these most various factors are closely interwoven to give rise both to mass production of mediocre works and to outstanding masterpieces. The role of the artist's creative individuality is

¹ See also [Bolshakov, 1990].

² For instance, a monkey «helping» people treading the grapes [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1971, pl. 8], playing children [Davies, 1900, pl. 21], buyers pulling goods out of the seller's hands [LD II, Bl. 96], etc.

always most significant, but in antiquity with its extremely utilitarian approach to what nowadays is called art, the ideological aspect was of special importance, and so we must turn to it first of all.

On royal monuments, the *k3* of the king can be shown side by side with his figure, which was quite impossible in private tombs. This fact is usually interpreted as testifying that the *k3* of a man cannot be represented in principle (e. g. [Frankfort, 1948-1 = 1978, 69]). This understanding is both correct and quite wrong. Indeed, only the king's *k3* could be represented *as an independent creature* standing by its «original», which no doubt should be explained by specific nonhuman and superhuman nature of the lord of Egypt. However, on the other hand, *any* representation is the means of «creating» the Double and, thus, *any representation is the Double*. So whatever we call representation of the tomb owner does not convey his appearance but that of his Double. This subtle difference was disregarded for more than a century, since it was always believed that the *k3* had been utterly identical to the «original».

The theory of absolute resemblance of a man and his *k3* was advanced by P. Le Page Renouf and G. Maspero. According to it, the *k3* had to correspond to its «original» entirely and down to the smallest detail; more than that, to make this resemblance perfect in full measure, Maspero had to suppose that both the *k3* and the «original» underwent the same changes in the course of time: «Whenever the child was born, there was born with him a double which followed him through the various stages of life; young while he was young, it came to maturity and declined when he came to maturity and declined» [Maspero, 1893-4, 389; cf. also Le Page Renouf, 1878, 501]. This hypothesis is but an unproved artificial scheme which follows the logic of the ideas brought forward by its authors, but does not stand up to verification by facts.

First, it means that the *k3* had to eternally exist in the state in which the man died, i. e., it often presupposes the eternal conservation of all his diseases, sufferings and senile infirmities. Such ideas could be proper of peoples who did not pay much attention to the posthumous life and imagined it gloomy and uncertain (e. g., Hades of the Greeks), but they could never have appeared among the Egyptians who placed the Double in the very center of their picture of the world and thoroughly elaborated all the relevant problems. Second, the indifference to conveying individual features proves that the *k3* cannot be an exact copy of a man, this fact being extremely important for both comprehending the notion of the *k3* and interpreting Egyptian art as a whole.

In spite of inevitable changes occurring throughout millennia in the tastes and iconography, Egyptian artists depicted humans in almost the same fashion for about three thousand years. Men are always robust, broad-shouldered and narrow-hipped; women are slender, with well-shaped breasts and thin waist; their facial features are most regular according to the Egyptian standards. These are not concrete persons, but numerous and deprived of any individuality copies of the ideal model.

The age of depicted people is also standardized. They are always shown in the prime of their life, even when it is known for sure that this or that person died at a good old age. So, for instance, the chapel of queen *Mr(j)-s(j)-nh(-w) III* was decorated after her death [Dunham, Simpson, 1974, 7]; according to what we know of her biography

and judging by her bone remnants, she died at an age of at least fifty years old [ibid., 7–8, 21–22]. However, the murals and statues show her as a woman in the full bloom of youth. What is more, her mother – queen *Htp-ḥr-s II* – was over seventy at that time [ibid., 7], but she is repeatedly pictured beside *Mr(j)-s(j)-ḥh(w) III* not differing from the daughter either in face or in figure. Such examples may be cited *ad infinitum*, but this one is particularly illustrative, since here we know exactly how old were the persons represented at the moment of the tomb decoration.

Thus, the hypothesis of Le Page Renouf – Maspero must be rejected. The *k3* did not decline with the man, but kept forever the young appearance so desirable for the eternal life. At this, even his youth was conventional, for proceeding from Egyptian representations we can never say what this ideal age had to be. Moreover, no man resembled his representation even when he was young: in fact, they were similar only in having two arms, two legs and one head – all the individual peculiarities were smoothed over.

Does it mean that when rejecting the theory of absolute resemblance, we must also give up our interpretation of the *k3* – if representations do not convey individual features, how can they be a reminder? if the *k3* is not identical to the man, how can it be the Double? These questions seemingly destroying all our conclusions are no doubt too straightforward to be dangerous: it should not be forgotten that we are dealing here with such a complicated phenomenon as human psychology.

Offering in Chapter 8 the outline of the origin of a visual image interpreted by the Egyptians as the *k3*, we have deliberately stipulated that its likeness to the «original» bears a merely subjective character, that people are inclined to take their recollections for the recollected events and people. Moreover, only very few are able to reproduce the contents of their memory vividly and in detail (no matter that some details may differ from reality). The overwhelming majority cannot boast of it – for them any recollection, except some emotionally colored events, is inevitably more or less vague. The image of a man is usually indistinct in our memory – it is seen in general, whereas particular details fail to be caught. It means that this image has a dual nature: on the one hand, we see a human being as such rather than a concrete person; on the other hand, something prompts us who it is. Similarly, we can see people without faces in our dreams, but nonetheless, we recognize them at once.

Of course, it is the name that prompts and creates an illusion of recognition. In our conscience the name and the visual image of a person do not exist without each other, their unity being indissoluble. Thus, as we recall somebody, his vague image is immediately complemented by the name giving impetus to associations and releasing a good deal of versatile information on the person in question. The image itself does not become more distinct, but it takes its place in a certain context helping us to identify it with a definite person. So, recollections are both adequate and inadequate to the past: the accurately fixed key moments link our memory to reality; at the same time, the loss of some information along with infinite complexity and unpredictability of associations raise false conjectures and fantasies. Our conscience adapts itself to the fragmentary character and discreteness of recollections, so that their incompleteness does not usually

affect us, still deep inside we unconsciously feel that they are rather indefinite: like dreams, recollections cannot even be retold without transforming them into a kind of «literary narrative» following the logic of its own.

This is an exact analogy to the facts we faced when attempting to explain the seemingly contradictory evidence of Egyptian monuments. We came to the conclusion that the *k3* had completely reproduced both inward and outward characteristics of a concrete person, resembling simultaneously not an individual, but a human being in general. It is obvious now that this is a manifestation of the contradictions of our memory well known to anybody who ever tried to analyze his sensations which sprang up whenever recalling the past. Like any recollection, the *k3* is fairly vague, but since our versatile knowledge of a certain man makes his image complex and seemingly complete, the *k3* is indeed the Double. As to the intimate relation of the *k3* and the *rn* characteristic of the Egyptian notions, it has already been discussed at length.

In the light of the above observations, the existence of conventional representations is quite explicable. Every completed mural picture and statue must have (at least in theory) a legend including the name(s) of the person, which compensates the immanent imperfection of the conventional representations and individualizes them without making any visible changes.^{3 4}

If so, any inscribed chock could be in principle regarded as a statue. Something like this did take place in the periods of decline (let us recall innumerable late ushabtis of poor quality), but it did not lead to the death of art inevitable if this principle would be consistently followed. On the contrary, attempts to convey individual features and even genuine portraits (in statuary) can be found throughout the history of Egypt.⁵ The easiest way to explain this would be to say that the talent of an eminent artist (and we do know masterpieces created by great masters) follows its own way, inevitably breaking away from the traditional norms. This rather banal opinion was voiced repeatedly, yet by itself it cannot clarify anything – the work of art should be first included into a certain cultural and historical context. In order to do it, let us examine the best samples of individualized reliefs and statues.

³ All this explain only the standardization of Egyptian representations, but not the obligatory youth of the persons depicted (i. e., of their Doubles). Of course, that was an ideal age to be kept forever in the next life, but the problem was much more intricate, youth being one of the basic properties of the *k3* related to that aspect of its heterogeneous nature which was not related to representations (see Conclusion).

⁴ This rule does not concern only representations of dwarfs. Deformity was such an important element of their individuality, that it had to be depicted. As to the dwarf servants and court dwarfs, one might suppose that their physical defects had to be shown because for this very reason the former were viewed as funny creatures, like pet monkeys, for amusing their owner, while the latter could perform their cultic duties. However, the dwarf ---*w(j)-snb(-w)/Snb* who was rich enough to erect one of the most imposing tombs of his time and whose titles have nothing to do with the cult, could not help displaying his deformity as well, although his drawers and sculptors tried their hardest to make it less evident [see Bolshakov, 1994-1]. This was caused by the circumstance that the unusual appearance of the dwarfs could not have been idealized.

⁵ For interpretation in terms of the *k3* changing his appearance with the «original» see [Ballodis, 1917].

§ 2. Attempts of Conveying Individual Features in Murals

First of all, the question of a criterion arises: which features allow us to suggest that in some cases an artist attempted to reproduce the real appearance of a concrete person? Comparison of representations to the mummy or skeleton of the person pictured could provide us with most reliable results, but regrettably, such cases are not characteristic of the Old Kingdom, since the bone remnants have survived only in a small number of decorated tombs. However, useful (although indirect) information can be found sometimes by means of this method. For example, the relief representations [Dunham, Simpson, 1974, fig. 3-*ab*, 6–7, 12] and statues (Boston, MFA 30.1456, 30.1457, 30.1461) [ibid., pl. 17-*ab*; ibid., 17-*ce*; ibid., pl. 19-*abc*] of queen *Mr(j)-s(j)-nh(.w) III* lack the most characteristic feature proper of her scull [ibid., pl. 16] – the elongated occipital part of the head. Thus, any portraying is out of question here. On the other hand, *H'(j)-f-hw(j)-f-w(j) I* who belonged to the same family and could have some family likeness to *Mr(j)-s(j)-nh(.w) III* was depicted with an elongated head [Smith, 1949, pl. 43-*a*; Simpson, 1978, pl. 16-*b*, fig. 27] – this may be regarded as an attempt to convey an individual trait.

A comparison of different representations of the same person can be sometimes useful as well. In several extremely rare cases features differing from the idealized standard are shown both in relief and in sculpture. So, the relief fragment from the chapel of *Hm(w)-jwn(w)*, G 4000 (Boston, MFA 27.296 [Smith, 1949, pl. 48-*c*]) and his famous statue (Hildesheim, PelM 1962 [ibid., pl. 48-*b*]) render his face very similarly. The same likeness is found in the face of *Nfr*, G 2110, executed in relief (Boston, MFA 07.1002 [ibid., pl. 48-*e*] and his «reserve head» (Boston, MFA 06.1886 [ibid., pl. 48-*d*]). These facts should be interpreted as a result of reality being reflected by the monuments.

However, usually we cannot make such conclusions, and so even in the absence of material for comparison, we are forced to suppose that the availability of nonstandard features means an attempt to convey some individual peculiarities. Of course, we should apply our study only to the samples of more or less high quality guaranteeing that the unusual features have appeared in full accordance with the master's intention and do not result from the lack of skill. As contrary to the conventional representations, we shall call these pictures individualized.⁶

Conveying peculiarities of the facial traits on plane was a difficult task for Egyptian artists, because – due to the traditional profile position of the head with the *en face* depiction of the eye – it was feasible to show only those features which could be well seen in profile [Smith, 1949, 301–302]; in the above reliefs of *Hm(w)-jwn(w)* and *Nfr* only the outlines of the nose, forehead and chin are peculiar. We do not know other examples as perfect as these: as a rule, the artist used a limited number of standard methods of conveying separate parts of the face and, by varying their combinations, made something like assembling a police composite drawing (identikit). Representations obtained this way differed in some details, but nevertheless, they remained very similar to each other on the whole.

⁶ Sometimes the terms «realism», «naturalism» or «verism» are used (see [Bothmer, 1982; 1988]), but their applicability to Egyptian monuments is not unquestionable. «Individualization» seems to be a preferable term since it does not involve the burden of useless associations.

Thus, the faces of mural representations provide us with but rather scarce information. As to the body, it is usually shown in even more conventional manner, without endeavoring to reproduce its specific features. Against this background there stand out a small number of representations of another type which appeared as early as Dyn. III. They convey the figure of a more or less stout and even obese man. Let us consider this group of individualized pictures.⁷

1. *H^c(j)-b3-w-zkr/Hts*, Saqqara A 2 = QS 3073, middle Dyn. III – early Dyn. IV [*PM* III², 449]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 275:470]. Representation (CG 1385) [Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 10; Murray, 1905, pl. 1].
Attitude: standing.⁸
Garments: short.⁹
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen, but no general corpulence.
2. *Mtn*, LS 6, early reign of *Hw(j)-f-w(j)* [Reisner, 1936-1, 364]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:425]. Representation (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1105, blocks 48–49) [*LD* II, Bl. 6].
Attitude: sitting (at the table).
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen and pendulous breasts, but no general corpulence.¹⁰
3. *H^c(j)-f-hw(j)-f-w(j)* I, G 7130+7140, late reign of *Hw(j)-f-w(j)* – *H^c(j)-f-r^c(w)* [Reisner, 1942, 115]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 269:183]; Málek dates the tomb less definitely – late Dyn. IV [*PM* III², 188]. Representation [Smith, 1949, pl. 43-*a*; Simpson, 1978, fig. 27].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long + panther skin.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen hanging over the belt and fat breasts; neck

⁷ Our list is complemented as compared with that published by Y. Harpur [1987, 329–331] (monuments not mentioned by her are marked by the * symbol); at the same time some badly damaged or poorly reproduced representations are omitted.

⁸ The Egyptians usually depicted standing men with their left foot advanced, as if they were striding (while women almost always have their legs tightly set next to one another). It would be out of place to discuss this problem of ideological nature here, so we shall use the verb «to stand» for designating this posture (as an antonym to «to sit»).

⁹ To simplify the description we shall call «long» the garments covering the knees, while those leaving the knees uncovered will be designated as «short».

¹⁰ The face of *Mtn* is treated differently in different representations from his chapel, the features of the figure discussed being the most individualized. These differences were not reproduced in Lepsius' «*Denkmäler*» and so, since the chapel is being out of reach for more than fifty years, this fact, which is most important for the history of Egyptian art, remains little known (I was able to work on the dismantled reliefs of *Mtn* thanks to kindness of Prof. D. Wildung and Dr. K.-H. Priese).

and arms not corpulent at all.

- 4^x. *K3(j)-w^cb(w)*, in the chapel of his daughter *Mr(j)-s(j)-^cnh(w) III*, year 2 of an unspecified king, most probably of *Špss-k3-f* [Smith, 1952, 126; Harpur, 1987, 267:98]; Dunham and Simpson [1974, 8] date the chapel to the reign of *Mn-k3-w-r^c(w)*. Representation [ibid., fig. 4].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence (including legs and arms); protruding breasts and abdomen.
5. *K3(j)-^cpr(w)*, Abusir, no number [Verner, 1993, 85], early Dyn. V [Fischer, 1959, 234]. Representation [Fischer, 1959, fig. 8 + Verner, 1993, fig. 11].
Attitude: standing (embraced by his wife).
Garments: long.
Wig: ? (destroyed).
Body: protruding abdomen and pendulous breasts.
6. *Hnt(j)-k3(j)*, el-Hammamiya A 2, early Dyn. V [El-Khouli, Kanawati, 1990, 16, 30]; Harpur [1987, 280] dates the tomb to late Dyn. V. Representation [El-Khouli, Kanawati, 1990, pl. 44].
Attitude: standing (leaning on a staff).
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence.
7. *Nfr*, Saqqara, no number, middle Dyn. V, probably early reign of *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* [Moussa, Altenmüller, 1971, 18]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 274:439]. Representation [ibid., pl. 26].
Attitude: standing (leaning on a staff).
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen and fat breasts.
8. *H^c(j)-f-hw(j)-f-w(j) II*, G 7150, reign of *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* [Harpur, 1987, 269:184; *PM III*², 190]. Representation [Simpson, 1978, fig. 46].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence, protruding abdomen and pendulous breasts.
9. *H^c(j)-f-r^c(w)-^cnh(w)*, G 7948 = LG 75, reign of *N(j)-wsr-r^c(w)* [Harpur, 1987, 268:156]; Málek is much more careful – Dyn. V² [PM III², 207]. Representation [LD II, Bl. 8].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long (knee-long) + panther skin.

- Wig: none.
Body: folded abdomen and protruding breasts; proportions ideal in other respects.
- 10.* *Jntj*, Deshasha, reign of *Jzzj* [Kanawati, McFarlane, 1993, 19]. Two representations [Petrie, 1898, pl. 6, 12; Kanawati, McFarlane, 1993, pl. 32, 29].
Attitude: standing (leaning on a staff).
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence.
11. *Nfrj*, Giza, no number, late reign of *Jzzj* – *Wnjs* [Harpur, 1987, 267:128]. Representation [Abu-Bakr, 1953, fig. 37].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen, fat breasts and short legs.
- 12.* *N(j)-s(w)-jr-t-nfr(.w)* (?), Saqqara D 3 = QS 903 (New York, MMA 08.201.1), late Dyn. V [*PM* III², 487]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 275:453]. Usurped and modified by *R^c(w)-m-k3(.j)*. Representation [Fischer, 1959, fig. 10-f].
a (original). Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: pendulous breasts and no other features of corpulence.
b (modified). Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: none.
Body: the usurper erased pendulous breasts and thus made the build normal.
13. *nh(.w)-h3:f*, G 1234, reigns of *Wnjs* – *Ttj* [Harpur, 1987, 266:48]; cf. [*PM* III², 60]: late Dyn. V or Dyn. VI. Two representations (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 15321; Strasbourg, Institut d'Égyptologie 1361) [Spiegelberg, 1909, Taf. 1].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence, protruding abdomen, pendulous breasts.
14. *S3bw/Jbbj*, Saqqara E 1, reign of *Ttj* [*PM* III², 460; Harpur, 1987, 276:491]. Two representations (CG 1565) [Borchardt, 1964, Bl. 65].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding breasts, folds under breasts.

- 15.* *Mrr-w(j)-k3(j)/Mrj*, Saqqara, no number, reign of *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24-26; Harpur, 1987, 274:420]. Several representations; one of the finest [Duell, 1938, pl. 175]; also [ibid., pl. 181] and fragments [ibid., pl. 174-b, 185-a, 187-b].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: no obesity, but the figure is heavier than ideal.
16. *Nfr-sšm-r^c(w)/Ššj*, Saqqara, no number, reign of *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 25-26; Harpur, 1987, 274:444]. Several representations [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 12-17].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen, pendulous breasts, fat back and buttocks.
17. *‘nh(j)-m-^chr(w)/Zzj*, Saqqara, no number, reign of *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24-27] or late *Ttj* – early *Pjpi II* [Harpur, 1987, 273:374]. Two representations [Badawy, 1978, fig. 20-21].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: folded abdomen, pendulous breasts, fat back and buttocks.
18. *Hnt(j)-k3(j)/Jhhj*, Saqqara, no number, reign of *Ttj* [Kanawati, 1980-2, 24-27]; according to Harpur [1987, 275:479] the tomb dates to middle reign of *Pjpi II*. Two representations [James, 1953, pl. 7].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen, pendulous breasts, fat back and buttocks.
19. *Nfr-sšm-ptj/Ššj*, Saqqara, no number, reign of *Ttj* (?); Málek dates the tomb less definitely: early Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 515]; Harpur [1987, 274:443] prefers an earlier dating: *Wnjs* – *Ttj*. Two representations [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 78-79].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: folded abdomen, pendulous breasts, fat back and buttocks.
20. *Nhbw*, G 2381, reigns of *Pjpi I* [Harpur, 1987, 329] or *Mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)* [*PM III*², 90]. Representation on a relief fragment [Fischer, 1963-1, pl. facing p. 17].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: present.
Body: treated conventionally; slightly protruding breasts and folds on the abdomen.

- 21.^x *Hw(j)-n(j)-wh*, Quseir el-Amarna 2, reign of *Pjpi I* ∞ [El-Khouli, Kanawati, 1989, 25]. Representation [ibid., pl. 36-b].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen.
22. *Jdw*, G 7102, reign of *Pjpi I* ∩ [*PM III*², 185; Simpson, 1976-1, 1-2]; Harpur [1987, 265:38] dates the tomb to *Mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)* – early *Pjpi II*. Representation [Simpson, 1976-1, fig. 34, pl. 16-d].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen, pendulous breasts, fat back and buttocks.
23. *Jhjj*, el-Khokha, no number, reign of *Mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)* – early *Pjpi II* [Harpur, 1987, 281:681]. Representation [Saleh M., 1977, pl. 18].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence, protruding breasts, folds on the abdomen.
- 24.^x *K3r*, el-Hawawish L 31, reign of *Mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)* – early *Pjpi II* [Kanawati, 1986, 35]. Representation [ibid., fig. 16].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long + panther skin.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen and breasts.
25. *Mrjj-r^c(w)-nh(.w)/N(j)-s(w)-jhjj*, Saqqara E 13, reign of *Mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)* ∩ [Harpur, 1987, 274:413]. Two representations (CG 1483) [Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 39].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding breasts.
26. *N(j)-nh-pjpi/Sbk-htp(.w)/Hpi-km*, Meir A-1, early reign of *Pjpi II* [Harpur, 1987, 280:652]; cf. [Kanawati, 1980-2, 50]. Three representations [Blackman, 1953, pl. 5, 6, 14].
a, b. Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen, pendulous breasts.
c. Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence.

- 27.* *Pjpj-ḥh(.w)-wr*, Quseir el-Amarna 1, early reign of *Pjpj II* [El-Khouli, Kanawati, 1989, 25]. Representation [ibid., pl. 27-a].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: ? (destroyed)
Body: protruding abdomen and breasts.
- 28.* *Hwj*, el-Hagarsa B 19, early reign of *Pjpj II* [Kanawati, 1993, 35]. Representation [ibid., pl. 29-a].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence, fold on the abdomen.
29. *Pjpj-ḥh(.w)/Hnjj-km*, Meir A-2, early – middle reign of *Pjpj II* [Harpur, 1987, 280:649]; cf. [Kanawati, 1980-2, 89]. Representation [Blackman, 1953, pl. 16].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence.
- 30.* *Nhwt-dšr/Mrjj*, el-Hawawish G 95, early – middle reign of *Pjpj II* [Kanawati, 1988-1, 9]. Representation [ibid., fig. 4].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long + panther skin.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen and breasts.
- 31.* *ḥn-ḥhj*, el-Hagarsa B 13, early – middle reign of *Pjpj II* [Kanawati, 1993, 42]. Representation [ibid., pl. 36].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence.
- 32.* *Bšwj*, el-Hawawish, BA 48, middle reign of *Pjpj II* ⇩ [Kanawati, 1987, 36]. Representation [ibid., fig. 24].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long + panther skin.
Wig: ? (destroyed).
Body: protruding abdomen.
- 33.* *Ghs3/Nbjj*, el-Hawawish GA 11, middle reign of *Pjpj II* ⇩ [Kanawati, 1987, 39]. Representation [ibid., fig. 29].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long + panther skin.
Wig: none.

- Body: protruding abdomen and breasts.
34. *K3(.j)-hp/Ttj-jkr(.w)*, el-Hawawish, middle – late reign of *Pjpy II* [Harpur, 1987, 281:666]. Representation [Kanawati, 1980-1, fig. 11].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence.
- 35.* *Špsj-pw-mn(w)/Hnj*, el-Hawawish H 24, late reign of *Pjpy II* [Kanawati, 1981]. Two representations [ibid., fig. 10, 24].
 a Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence.
 b Attitude: standing.
Garments: long + panther skin.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence.
36. *Mn-hbw*, LG 30, *Pjpy II* ♀ [Harpur, 1987, 266:84]; cf. [*PM III*², 168]: Dyn. VI. Representation [Junker, 1947, Abb. 82].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: present.
Body: treated conventionally; protruding abdomen, pendulous breasts.
37. *‘nhj/Jntj*, Saqqara, no number, *Pjpy II* ♀ [*PM III*², 609]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 273:371]. Four representations [Goyon, 1959, pl. 5–9].
 a, b. Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding breasts and abdomen with folds, fat back and buttocks.
 c, d. Attitude: standing (posture of adoration).
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen and breasts, fold under breast, fat back and buttocks.
38. *Wr-nw (?)*, Saqqara, no number, middle Dyn. VI ♀ [*PM III*², 519]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 273:380]: *Mr(j)-n(j)-r^c(w)* – early *Pjpy II*. Representation [Davies W. et al., 1984, pl. 24].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.

- Body: slight general corpulence, slightly protruding abdomen and breasts.
- 39.* *Mrw*, Saqqara, no number, middle – late Dyn. VI. Representation [Lloyd et al., 1990, pl. 5].
- Attitude: standing.
- Garments: long.
- Wig: none.
- Body: general corpulence.
- 40.* *Hwj*, Saqqara, no number, middle – late Dyn. VI. Representation [Lloyd et al., 1990, pl. 22].
- Attitude: standing.
- Garments: long.
- Wig: none.
- Body: general corpulence.
41. *Pjpj-ḥ(-w)* the Middle, Meir D-2, late Dyn. VI – Dyn. VIII [Harpur, 1987, 280: 650]; cf. [Kanawati, 1980-2, 71]: Dyn. VI. Two representations [Blackman, 1924-1, pl. 6].
- Attitude: standing.
- Garments: long.
- Wig: none.
- Body: general corpulence, protruding abdomen.
42. *Tfw*, relief fragment found in the mastaba of *Mrrj*, Saqqara, no number, Dyn. VI; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 277:544]: reigns of *Ttj* – *Pjpj I*. Representation [Hassan, 1975-3, fig. 21].
- Attitude: standing.
- Garments: long.
- Wig: none.
- Body: treated conventionally, but waist is not slender.
43. *ḥbdw*, Giza, no number, Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 51; Harpur, 1987, 265:5]. Three representations [Abu-Bakr, 1953, fig. 51–52, 56].
- Attitude: standing.
- Garments: long.
- Wig: none.
- Body: protruding abdomen.
44. *Mrjj-jb(-j)*, LG 70, Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 211; Harpur, 1987, 267:92]. Representation [*LD Text I*, 90].
- Attitude: standing.
- Garments: long.
- Wig: ? (destroyed).
- Body: protruding abdomen, pendulous breasts.

45. *N(j)-sw-ptḥ*, Giza, fragments from shaft S 700 (Cairo, JE 44973; Hildesheim, PelM 2388), Dyn. VI; Harpur [1987, 267:114] dates them to the reign of *Ttj*. Three representations [Junker, 1947, Taf. 27, Abb. 88–89].
- a, b. Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen, pendulous breasts.
- c. Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence, protruding abdomen, pendulous breasts and fat buttocks.
46. *Hnnj*, Giza, no number, Dyn. VI [*PM* III², 222; Harpur, 1987, 268:169]. Representation on the false door [Junker, 1953, Abb. 40, Taf. 7-c].
- Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: degenerated type of representation treated quite conventionally; pendulous breasts and slightly protruding abdomen.
47. *Hnm(w)-ḥtp(·w) I*, LG 38, Dyn. VI [*PM* III², 164; Harpur, 1987, 269:202]. Representation [Junker, 1947, Abb. 27].
- Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: present.
Body: general corpulence, protruding abdomen and breasts.
48. *Ttḥw/K3(·j)-n(j)-sw-t*, G 2001, Dyn. VI [Harpur, 1987, 271:292]; Málek dates the tomb even less definitely: Dyn. V – VI [*PM* III², 66]. Representation [Simpson, 1980, fig. 20].¹¹
- Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: light general corpulence, slightly protruding abdomen and breasts.
49. *N(j)-s(w)-jr(·w)/Pjpi-snb(·w)*, lintel, St. Petersburg, Hermitage □18125, Saqqara (?), Dyn. VI. Two representations [Landa, Lapis, 1974, pl. 15].
- Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: slight corpulence of the abdomen and breasts.

¹¹ From the same tomb could come also a fragment with the lower part of a figure in long garments [Junker, 1947, Abb. 26] (not included into Harpur's list).

- 50.* *Jmpj/Špss-pth*, lintel, Saqqara, Dyn. VI (\cong No. 43). Two representations [Sotheby's, 1990, lot 11].
- Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: slight corpulence of the abdomen and breasts.
51. *Ššm(.j)-nfr(.w)/Jff*, Saqqara, no number, Dyn. VI [*PM* III², 614; Harpur, 1987, 276:509]. Two representations [Barsanti, 1900, fig. 4, 9].
- a. Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence, protruding abdomen and breasts, fat back and buttocks.
- b. Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence, protruding abdomen and breasts, fat back and buttocks.
52. *Ššj*, false door Louvre E.27133, Saqqara (?), Dyn. VI [Ziegler, 1990, 222; Harpur, 1987, 330]. Two representations [Ziegler, 1990, figs. on pp. 223, 225].
- Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: conventionally treated slim figure, protruding breasts and abdomen.
53. *Ggj*, false door CG 1455, Saqqara, Dyn. VI [*PM* III², 691; Harpur, 1987, 277:539]. Representation [Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 35].
- Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: conventionally treated figure, protruding abdomen and breasts.
54. *Hnnw*, Saqqara South N.IV, Dyn. VI [*PM* III², 677; Harpur, 1987, 275:459]. Two representations [Jéquier, 1929, fig. 111].
- Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: conventionally treated figure, protruding abdomen and breasts.
55. *Jdj*, false door CG 1575, Abydos, Dyn. VI [Harpur, 1987, 330]. Representation [Borchardt, 1964, Bl. 75].
- Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.

- Wig: none.
Body: general corpulence.
56. *Mrj/Jdw*, false door BM 1191, Saqqara, late Dyn. VI – FIP [Harpur, 1987, 274:409]. Three representations [British Museum, 1961, pl. 35].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding folded abdomen, pendulous breasts.
57. *3bbj*, relief fragment, Saqqara, late Dyn. VI – FIP [Harpur, 1987, 272:335]. Representation [Firth, Gunn, 1926-2, pl. 78].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: present.
Body: protruding abdomen, pendulous breasts, folds under breasts.
58. *Jtj*, false door, Saqqara, late Dyn. VI – FIP [Harpur, 1987, 273:369]. Representation [Fischer, 1963-2, pl. 5].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: slight corpulence, protruding breasts.
59. *Wsr*, false door, Saqqara, late Dyn. VI – FIP [Harpur, 1987, 273:382]. Two representations [Firth, Gunn, 1926-2, pl. 70-1].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: conventionally treated figure; protruding breasts, waist is not slender.
60. *Htp-n(j)-t*, false door, Saqqara, late Dyn. VI – FIP [Harpur, 1987, 275:450]. Representation [Firth, Gunn, 1926-2, pl. 72-2].
Attitude: standing (posture of adoration).
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: conventionally treated figure; waist is not slender.
61. *Htp*, false door, Saqqara, late Dyn. VI – FIP [Harpur, 1987, 275:465]. Representation [Firth, Gunn, 1926-2, pl. 73-1].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: conventionally treated figure; general corpulence, pendulous breasts.

62. *Gmnj-ḥ(w)*, false door, Saqqara, late Dyn. VI – FIP [Harpur, 1987, 276:537]. Two representations [Firth, Gunn, 1926-2, pl. 74-2].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: conventionally treated figure; general corpulence.
63. *Ttw*, Saqqara, no number, late Dyn. VI – FIP [Harpur, 1987, 277:554], cf. [*PM* III², 537]. Two representations [Firth, Gunn, 1926-2, pl. 61].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen and breasts.
64. *Jpj*, false door, Abusir, late Dyn. VI – FIP [Harpur, 1987, 329]. Two representations [Schäfer, 1908, Abb. 12].
Attitude: standing (posture of adoration).
Garments: long.
Wig: present.
Body: conventionally treated; general corpulence.
65. *Gmnj-m-ḥ3.t/Gmnj*, Saqqara HMK.30, FIP [Harpur, 1987, 277:538; *PM* III², 538]. Two representations (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1616) [Firth, Gunn, 1926-2, pl. 27-b].
Attitude: standing (posture of adoration).
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen and breasts.
- 66.* *B3wj*, el-Hawawish B 7 + B 6, Dyn. IX – X (?) [Kanawati, 1989, 34]. Representation [ibid., fig. 17-b].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long + panther skin.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen and breasts.
67. *Mmj*, el-Hawawish M 23, FIP – MK (?) [Harpur, 1987, 281:658]. Three representations (CG 1586) [Borchardt, 1964, Bl. 78].
Attitude: standing.
Garments: long + panther skin.
Wig: none.
Body: protruding abdomen and breasts, fat back and buttocks.¹²

¹² Hereafter we shall refer only to the representations' numbers according to this list preceded by the *R* index («Reliefs»).

Table 4
Main features of individualized mural representations of the tomb owner

	Attitude		Garments		Wig		Body						
	Standing	Sitting	Long	Short	Panther skin	Present	Absent	General corpulence	Protruding abdomen	Folded abdomen	Protruding breasts	Pendulous breasts	Fat back and buttocks
1													
2													
3													
4													
5							X						
6													
7													
8													
9													
10ab													
11													
12a													
12b													
13ab													
14ab													
15a-e													
16													
17ab													
18ab													
19ab													
20													
21													
22													
23													
24													
25ab													
26ab													
26c													
27							X						
28													
29													
30													
31													
32							X						
33													
34													

	Attitude		Garments		Wig		Body						
	Standing	Sitting	Long	Short	Panther skin	Present	Absent	General corpulence	Protruding abdomen	Folded abdomen	Protruding breasts	Pendulous breasts	Fat back and buttocks
35a													
35b													
36													
37a-d													
38													
39													
40													
41ab													
42													
43													
44							X						
45ab													
45c													
46													
47													
48													
49ab													
50ab													
51a													
51b													
52ab													
53													
54													
55													
56a-c													
57													
58													
59													
60													
61													
62													
63ab													
64													
65ab													
66													
67													

■ Availability of the feature X Destroyed

Let us present the main features of the individualized figures as a table (Tbl. 4). Their typology and evolution are quite distinct. A standing man is shown (the only exception is [R 2], an early sample) in long garments (except the earliest [R 1], rather strange in general [R 11], and very late [R 51b]),¹³ and with no wig on the head (except [R 20, 36, 47, 57, 64]). The two latter features are of key importance, for they are typical of all individualized representations, both on a plane and in sculpture. Unfortunately, the meaning of such an iconography remains uncertain, but the Egyptians realized it quite well – otherwise the stable correlation of certain type of garment with the individualization would be quite useless.¹⁴ However, it is much more important for us now to reveal the meaning of the corpulence in the individualized representations.

There are two main theories concerning this phenomenon. H. Junker [1948] believed that some real peculiarities of the figure were shown, while H. G. Fisher [1959, 244–245, note 26] suggested that obesity was just a conventional indication of an old age, representation of a fat man entirely conforming to the life ideal of an Egyptian official – the satiety. This latter opinion seems to be confirmed by the meaning of corpulence in Middle Kingdom representations established by O. D. Berlev [1978, 192–196]. At that times, stoutness was a feature characterizing a servant or courtier content with his position; it was also a compliment to his master or the king keeping their servants well (characteristically, people who did not belong to the court, e. g., the nomarchs, never represented themselves in such a manner). However, this interpretation is reliable only as applied to Middle Kingdom monuments, while in the Old Kingdom the situation was much more intricate. For example, both *Hpj*, inspector of the «servants of the *k3*» of *nh(j)-m-^c-hr(w)* [Capart, 1907-2, pl. 35; Badawy, 1978, fig. 33], and his master himself [R 17ab] are shown obese in the same measure in the tomb of the latter, and so the corpulence obviously proves to be no symbol of a social status. Most probably we are dealing here with the conveying of real features in the spirit of Junker. Let us return to Tbl. 4.¹⁵

There are only several methods of representing stoutness. General corpulence [R 4, 6, 8, 10ab, 13ab, 23, 26c, 28–29, 31, 34–35ab, 38–41ab, 45c, 47–48, 51ab, 58, 61–62, 64], protruding abdomen [R 1–5, 7–8, 11, 13ab, 16, 18ab, 21–22, 24, 26ab, 27, 30, 32–33, 36, 38, 41ab, 43–45a-c, 46–49ab, 50ab, 51ab, 52ab, 53–56a-c, 57, 59, 63ab, 65ab, 66–67], protruding breasts [R 3–4, 7, 9, 11, 14ab, 16, 20, 23–25ab, 27, 30, 33, 38–39, 47–49ab, 50ab, 51ab, 52ab, 53–54, 58–59, 63ab, 65ab, 66–67] and pendulous breasts [R 2, 5, 8, 12a, 13ab, 17ab, 18ab, 19ab, 22, 26ab, 36, 44, 45a-c, 46, 56a-c, 57, 61] can be shown throughout the whole period under study. However, other methods have more or less definite

¹³ On [R 12b] see below.

¹⁴ Presence of a panther skin [R 3, 9–10ab, 24–25ab, 30, 32–33, 35b, 67] being a priestly vestment might seem an indicator of some specific ritualistic function of these figures, but it is much more characteristic of conventional representations.

¹⁵ Several years ago the present author has discussed the problem basing on eighteen representations [Bolshakov, 1990, 92–102]. Such an approach was most reasonable, since the selection included almost all monuments of high quality dating to Dyn. IV – early Dyn. VI. The above list is extended mainly by the late material, principally by representations on false doors which are less important because of low quality, small size and inexact datings. Thus, our conclusions remain practically the same.

chronological limits. These are folds on the abdomen (mainly Dyn. VI [*R 17ab, 19ab, 20, 23, 28, 37a-d, 55, 56a-c*], earlier only [*R 9*]) and fat back and buttocks (starting from early Dyn. VI [*R 16, 17ab, 18ab, 19ab, 22, 37a-d, 45c, 51ab, 52ab, 53–54, 67*]). Thus, there was something which may be called fashion for all these representations, and so they were used as conventional signs. This may seem to refute Junker's concept, but let us try to deduce, whether the new features were conventional starting from their first occurrence and what might have been the cause of their appearance.

It is reasonable to suppose that new features appeared as an attempt to convey individual properties of a concrete person. Indeed, Tbl. 4 clearly demonstrates that besides representations fashionable at a certain time, there exist synchronous representations which are out of fashion. For instance, the corpulence of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)* [*R 15a-e*] is not exaggerated – his proportions are only somewhat heavier than ideal, while in the neighboring tombs decorated at the same time, folds of fat on the abdomen, pendulous breasts as well as fat back and buttocks are frequently represented. Most probably, these features were excessive to convey the slight corpulence of *Mrr-w(j)-k3(.j)*, and thus, his picture to some extent conforms to reality. The same holds true regarding *Jntj* [*R 10*], *Nfrj* [*R 11*], and *S3bw/Jbbj* [*R 14ab*]. Perhaps, they were not too stout and, therefore, could do without stressing the obesity. Even more demonstrative is the figure on the false door of *N(j)-s(w)-jr(.w)-nfr(.w)* (?) – he had been shown with pendulous breasts and wearing long garments [*R 12a*], but *R^c(w)-m-k3(.j)* who usurped his tomb erased the breasts and shortened the clothes, thus changing the figure to the conventional [*R 12b*]. This modification was necessary because this was not a feature of *R^c(w)-m-k3(.j)* in his life, and so it had to be eliminated in his tomb as well.

Thus, new details most probably appeared in order to convey specific features of definite men. Then these godsendings started to be used in other tombs, they became fashionable and turned to be conventional signs, clichés. However, these clichés could be applied only whenever they were appropriate and conformed more or less to reality. This enables us to consider all these representations individualized – not only those in which original details arise first. For all that, it is most important that just the obesity was considered worthy of representing: Egyptian officials were proud of it as an evidence of their prosperity and selected this detail out of all peculiarities of their constitution.

So we have no reason to follow Fischer in suggesting corpulence to have been a symbol of an old age (although it is fairly probable that many people depicting themselves as fat were really not young by that moment). We shall see below that the sculpture which sometimes actually conveyed the age proves that the link between the years of life and corpulence was as facultative in Egyptian art as it is in reality.

Thus, Old Kingdom artists did attempt to show individual features in plane. However, two important amendments should be made to Junker's concept. First, the individualization concerned only the socially significant characteristic of the man's appearance; second, this was achieved by means of combining a very limited number of features partly conforming to reality. All these circumstances do not allow us to regard Old Kingdom individualized murals as portraits.

In the end of the Old Kingdom, the individualized representations degenerated, became standardized, conveying no features of concrete persons, no matter how conventional their rendering might be. These pictures are reduced to mere signs, and only their iconography going back to ancient prototypes is reminiscent of their original meaning. It is symptomatic that different individualized representations of the same person could show different features. So *N(j)-sw-ptḥ* is twice depicted on his false door with protruding abdomen and pendulous breasts [*R 45ab*] while on the relief fragment [*R 45c*] these features are complemented by general corpulence of the body and fat back and buttocks.

§ 3. Conveying Individual Features in Statuary ¹⁶

The case is different as concerns statuary. Individualization is much more perfect here, so that sometimes we encounter monuments which can be called but real portraits. Nonetheless, conventional treatment prevails in sculpture as well. Three main groups of sculpture can be distinguished from the viewpoint of individualization.

1. Statues with extremely individual faces and naturalistically conveyed bodies. Their number is small, but this group includes the greatest masterpieces of Egyptian art. Two inscriptions have survived mentioning the names of such statues. A relief fragment from the mastaba of *Smnḥ-w(j)-ptḥ/Jtwš*, Saqqara D 43 (New York, BrM 37.25E) shows a head (without wig) and shoulders in profile, the latter circumstance proving that a statue is depicted. The legend is arranged in front of the face: «--- his great name *Smnḥ-w(j)-ptḥ*, his young name *Jtwš*, statue according to life (*šzp r ḥnh*)» [Petrie, 1920-2, fig. on p. 19 (upper); Smith, 1949, pl. 48-*a*, bibliography: *PM III*², p. 452]. Censing before an analogous statue (without wig, wearing long garments and having obese abdomen and breast) is represented in *Sšm(·j)-nfr(·w) IV*, LG 53 (Hildesheim, PelM 3190). The legend reads: «[Sta]tue according to life ([*t*]wt r ḥnh) /of the/ sole companion *Sšm(·j)-nfr(·w)*» [Junker, 1951-2, Taf. 1; 1953, Taf. 22-*d*, 23-*ab*, Abb. 89-90; Eaton-Krauss, 1984, pl. 23, Cat. No. 135]. Thus, the Egyptians regarded these statues as a specific group (cf. the iconography of *twt r ḥnh* in the tomb of *Sšm(·j)-nfr(·w) IV* and that of the statues discussed below), but their name never became widespread.¹⁷

¹⁶ See also [Bolshakov, 1987-2].

¹⁷ Interpretation of the name of this type of statuary as «Statue nach dem Leben», «lebenswahre Statue» had been offered by H. Junker [1951-2, 403-405; 1953, 224-225]; it was shared by M. E. Matthieu [1961, 96; Lapis, Matthieu, 1969, 18-19], Cl. Vandersleyen [1982, 1079, Anm. 5], D. Wildung [1982, 11] and others. Despite some problems rooted in the interpretation of the word *šzp* whose meaning «statue» is recorded first in the Middle Kingdom [*Wb. IV*, 536], such an explanation seems to be well proved. H. G. Fisher [1963-1, 24-27] supposed that *šzp* derives from the verb *šzp*, «to receive»; according to him, *šzp* is a term designating the statue as a receiver of offerings. Recently M. Eaton-Krauss [1984, 85-88, 176-177], proceeding from Fischer's concept, assumed that *šzp r ḥnh* describes the function of the statue as a specific cult object – «a statue in order to live». This idea is no doubt of interest, although not indisputable. First of all, every statue – not only *šzp-w r ḥnh* – was a cult

2. Statues with conventional faces in which individual features are but slightly traceable behind the standard, and with quite conventional, ideal bodies. The greater part of high quality statuary pertains to this group.

3. Utterly conventional sculpture depicting not a certain person, but a human being in general. These statues constitute the overwhelming majority of Egyptian statuary.

Naturally, a certain part is played by the skill of the sculptor, but the quality of execution and the affiliation of the statue to one or another group do not always correlate. Indeed, the most individualized statues are of the highest quality, while the works of bad or mediocre craftsmen are usually featureless, but at the same time the monuments of the second group are often made with no less thoroughness than the sculpture «according to life». The solution of the problem should be sought in the sphere of ideology. In that domain the difference between the statues of the second and the third groups, significant as it can be by itself, is of little importance, while the sculpture of the first group differs from them qualitatively. Thus, we shall regard the second and the third groups as constituting the type of conventional statuary opposed as a whole to the sculpture «according to life».

The fact that a number of statues have survived representing the same man both conventionally and in the individualized manner leads us to the most important conclusions. Characteristically, these pairs include practically all known individualized statues (their conventional counterparts have not always survived, but sometimes we can prove that they did exist). Let us examine the individualized statues of private persons and their conventional counterparts.^{18 19}

object, and we cannot reveal any cultic specificity of *šzp-w r ʿnh*. Moreover, the legend in *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w)IV* designating an analogous statue as *twt r ʿnh* makes us doubt about the key significance of the word *šzp*, for *twt* is the most general designation of male statues. Therefore we are accepting Junker's interpretation – however different the treatment of the details might be, *šzp/twt r ʿnh* in any case refers to a special vitality of the respective statues which no doubt was related to their specific appearance (cf. also an attempt of B. Ockinga [1984, 33–34] to reconcile the theories of Junker and Fischer).

¹⁸ Of course, since works of art are used as a source here, their selection cannot help being subjective to some extent. However, although our list can be somewhat extended (mainly by involving statuettes of the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom which are of less relevance), it does include the best and the most important samples. The famous «Salt head» (Paris, Louvre, N.2289 [Louvre, 1935, pl. 12–15]) which had sometimes been dated to the Old Kingdom [e.g., Smith, 1949, 40; Vandier, 1958, 54–55; Matthieu, 1961, 515, note 32] is not discussed here, for it no doubt is a piece of Amarna art [Müller-Feldman, 1938; Vandersleyen, 1975-2, 24]. Fragment of a statue of a scribe (?) (JE 72221 [Kees, 1958, Abb. 50; Russmann, 1989, figs. on pp. 37–38]) is worth considering, but having no archaeological context and no survived counterpart, it can hardly be of use for us here. Statues of *B3-f-hnm(w)* (New York, MMA 64.66.1–2; Boston, MFA 34.235, 34.1461 [*PM* III², 157]) brilliantly illustrate the two methods of treating bodies, but unfortunately their heads are lost. Pair statues from Lisht (?) (MMA 59.50.1–2) are not included in our list since the conventional one represents a naked man and thus belongs to another iconographic type as compared to the conventional sculpture considered here. Several individualized heads of foreign captives [Bothmer, 1982] cannot be touched upon because of their specific function.

¹⁹ Hereafter we shall refer only to the statues' numbers according to the list below preceded by the *St* index («Statues»).

1. *R^c(w)-h₃p(·w)*, Meidum, mastaba 6, late reign of *Snfr-w(j)* [Bolshakov, 1991-2].
 - a. Cairo, CG 3, limestone, h. 120 cm [Borchardt, 1911, Bl. 1; Caire, 1949, pl. 12-13; Cairo, 1969, pl. 17; Málek, 1986, fig. on p. 113 (left); Russmann, 1989, fig. on pp. 17, 19].

Attitude: sitting.
Garments: short.
Wig: none.
Eyes: inlaid.
Face: rather young, with smallest details including wrinkles between the brows and near the mouth.
Body: ideal.
Name: present.
 - b. Since the chapel with [*St 1a*] inside was found blocked and intact, it is certain that there had been no pair statue.
2. *Hm(w)-jwn(w)*, G 4000, early reign of *Hw(j)-f-w(j)* [Bolshakov, 1991-2].
 - a. Hildesheim, PelM 1962, limestone, h. 156 cm [Junker, 1929, Taf. 18-23]; bibliography [*PM III*², 123].

Attitude: sitting.
Garments: short.
Wig: none.
Eyes: inlaid (lost).
Face: very characteristic, energetic in spite of obesity.
Body: most trustworthy features of obesity down to the smallest details.
Name: present.
 - b. Along with the serdab behind the northern false door where [*St 2a*] was found, there is another, somewhat smaller serdab behind the southern false door [Junker, 1929, Abb. 18] which was found empty. Thus, it is reasonable to deduce that a pair statue of approximately the same size as [*St 2a*] had originally existed.
3. *nh(·w)-h₃f*, G 7510, reign of *H^c(j)-f-r^c(w)* [*PM III*², 196]; cf. [Harpur, 1987, 266:49].
 - a. Boston, MFA 27.442, limestone, h. 50 cm [Smith, 1949, pl. 14, 15-a; Boston, 1975, 147; Bolshakov, 1991-1, covers]; bibliography [*PM III*², 196].

Attitude: --- (the bust). ²⁰
Garments: --- (the bust).
Wig: none.

²⁰ This is the only Old Kingdom bust besides the «busts» of *Nfr-sšm-ptḥ* and *Jdw* which are incorporated in the false doors (bibliography [*PM III*², 516, 186]). These busts resemble that of *nh(·w)-h₃f* by their iconography (no wig) and by similar treatment of the heavy shoulders and breast, so that the influence of the Dyn. IV monument is not out of the question. This suggestion seems to be most probable, for the bust of *nh(·w)-h₃f* was placed openly in a chapel which could be visited by sculptors of Dyn. VI. On the original appearance of the bust of *nh(·w)-h₃f* see [Bolshakov, 1991-1].

Eyes: no inlay.
Face: elderly face with bags under eyes, swollen eyelids, folds on cheeks and near mouth, sensitive lips.²¹
Body: heavy but strong shoulders and breast, short neck.
Name: none.

- b. G 7510 had both an exterior chapel where the Boston bust was found lying on the floor and an interior one with an empty serdab behind the false door [Reisner, 1942, fig. 8, 122]. This caused W. S. Smith [1949, 38] to suggest that the bust had originally been placed in the serdab, but his assumption should be rejected (see [Bolshakov, 1991-1, 8-9, 14, note 21]). Thus, the serdab had to contain another statue of *ḥnh(·w)-ḥ3:f* which could be a conventional counterpart of the bust.
4. *K3(·j)-ḥpr(·w)*, Saqqara C 8, most probably Dyn. IV (dating still uncertain [Vandersleyen, 1983], cf. [PM III², 459]).
- a. «Sheikh el-Beled», Cairo, CG 34, wood, h. 110 cm (feet and base lost) [Borchardt, 1911, Bl. 9; Caire, 1949, pl. 16-18; Málek, 1986, fig. on p. 61; Russmann, 1989, figs. on pp. 30-31]; bibliography [PM III², 459].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Eyes: inlaid.
Face: soft face of an old man with flabby chin, plumb cheeks and small nose.
Body: very realistic fat neck, corpulent legs and arms; the corpulence is not unhealthy (as contrary to *Hm(w)-jwn(w)*).
Name: ? (the base lost).

- b. Cairo, CG 32, wood, h. 69 cm (the lower portion up to the thigh is lost) [Borchardt, 1911, Bl. 8; Capart, 1920, pl. 27-3, 28; Caire, 1949, pl. 30-31]; bibliography [PM III², 724].²²

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: inlaid.

²¹ The face of *ḥnh(·w)-ḥ3:f* is extremely realistic, there is not a trace of stylization in it. In this connection the following anecdotal story is most revealing [Dunham, 1943]. When in the war time the museum staff was preparing monuments for evacuation, somebody in a hurry put his hat on the head of *ḥnh(·w)-ḥ3:f*. The expression thus produced by the bust inspired an experiment: it was dressed in a suit of D. Dunham. The face of *ḥnh(·w)-ḥ3:f* proved so natural and modern looking that he would not have distinguished himself in the street crowd. The results of an analogous experiments with some other statues «according to life» could be the same.

²² There is no direct evidence that [St 4b] represents the same man as [St 4a], but the circumstances of the statues' discovery [Capart, 1921, 227-233] make this assumption most probable.

Face: rather individual, but much more conventional than [*St 4a*]; some resemblance to [*St 4a*], especially in the shape of the mouth, is present, though. The man represented is much younger than [*St 4a*].

Body: ideal.

Name: ? (the base lost).

5. *K3j*, Saqqara C 20 (for provenance see [Smith, 1936, 402]), early Dyn. V [*PM III*², 458].

- a. «Louvre scribe», «Scribe rouge», Paris, Louvre N.2290, limestone, h. 53 cm [Louvre, 1935, pl. 29–31; Málek, 1986, fig. on p. 8]; bibliography [*PM III*², 458–459].

Attitude: squatting.

Garments: short.

Wig: none.

Eyes: inlaid.

Face: bony and wide, with flat nose, thin lips and broad chin.

Body: weak body with flaccid muscles and folds on the breast and abdomen.

Name: none.

- b. Paris, Louvre A.106, limestone, h. 78 cm [Louvre, 1935, pl. 32–33]; bibliography [*PM III*², 458].²³

Attitude: sitting.

Garments: short.

Wig: present.

Eyes: inlaid.

Face: little, if any, resemblance to [*St 5a*]; at any rate the person represented is much younger.

Body: ideal.

Name: present.

6. Unknown person, Saqqara, mastaba near C 16, early Dyn. V [*PM III*², 499].

- a. «Cairo scribe», Cairo, CG 36, limestone, h. 51 cm [Borchardt, 1911, Bl. 9; Caire,

²³ The «Louvre scribe» was found together with four statues of *Sḥm-k3(.j)* (Louvre A.102–106), a statue of *Ph(.j)-r-nfr* (Louvre A.107) and that of *K3j* (Louvre A.106). Upon examining the circumstances of their discovery, J. Capart [1921] identified the «Louvre scribe» with *K3j* and his identification seems most convincing. Later on, W. S. Smith [1936, 402] proved that these two statues came from the Saqqara mastaba C 20, whereas the others from C 19. Both statues were found *in situ* in front of the false doors of the corridor chapel of C 20. J. Harris [1955] and J. Vandier [1958, 122] objected to Capart's identification, but their arguments based mainly on the stylistic peculiarities can hardly be regarded as convincing. Of course, the archaeological context of the two statues should be accurately studied, but unfortunately, as Dr. Ch. Ziegler kindly informed me, when preparing the catalogue of Old Kingdom sculpture in the Louvre, she could find no new documents concerning Mariette's excavations at Saqqara, and so most probably only field work can offer decisive arguments.

1949, pl. 26–28; Cairo, 1969, pl. 21; Vandersleyen, 1975-1, Abb. XI]; bibliography [PM III², 499–500].

Attitude: squatting.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: inlaid.
Face: rather young, with plump cheeks and chin.
Body: idealized body without individual features.
Name: none.

- b. Cairo, CG 35, limestone, h. 61 cm [Borchardt, 1911, Bl. 9]; bibliography [PM III², 500].²⁴

Attitude: sitting.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: inlaid.
Face: some features (oval of the face, nose and lips) have some resemblance to [St 6a], but they are much more conventional.
Body: ideal.
Name: none.

7. *R^c(w)-nfr(-w)*, Saqqara C 5, early Dyn. V [PM III², 461].

- a. Cairo, CG 18, limestone, h. 195 cm [Borchardt, 1911, Bl. 5; Vandersleyen, 1975-1, Abb. 133-b]; bibliography [PM III², 462].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: face of a mature man with rather deep naso-labial lines and with characteristic elongated bridge of the nose.
Body: strong body, but with some tendency toward corpulence (abdomen and breast).
Name: present.

- b. Cairo, CG 19, limestone, h. 180 cm [Borchardt, 1911, Bl. 5]; bibliography [PM III², 462].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: very individual and having likeness to [St 7a], but evidently

²⁴ According to G. Maspero, both statues were found *in situ* in front of the false doors in a corridor chapel [Capart, 1921, 190]; thus the identity of the person represented is unquestionable.

younger.²⁵
Body: ideal.
Name: present.

8. *ḥt(j)-htp(-w)*, Saqqara, no number, near the pyramid of *Wnjs*. Most probably late Dyn. V; cf. very indefinite dating by Málek: Dyn. V – VI [*PM III*², 638].

a. Cairo,²⁶ wood, h. 171 cm (the lower part destroyed) [Zayed, 1958, pl. 9–10; Batrawi, 1948, pl. 2–3].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: the oval of the face, snub-nose and mouth are very individual.
Body: the body is rather conventional, but without powerful shoulders and thin waist characteristic of idealized statues; muscles are covered with a thin layer of fat.
Name: ? (the base lost).

b–e. Cairo,²⁵ wood, the largest of the four statues is lower than [*St 8a*], the smallest one is 90 cm high [Zayed, 1958, pl. 9, 12–16; Batrawi, 1948, pl. 2–3].²⁷

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wigs: none.
Eyes: no inlay.
Faces: similar to one another, but having little likeness to [*St 8a*].
Body: ideal.
Name: due to the imperfection of reproductions, the presence of the name is trustworthy in one case only [Zayed, 1958, pl. 14]; it could be inscribed on other statues as well, see [*PM III*², 638].

²⁵ Indisputable difference between the two statues was already mentioned by Capart [1920, 227], but R. Engelbach [1934] supposed the faces to be absolutely identical, all the differences being of a subjective nature and resulting from the shadow of the wig changing the expression of the face of [*St 7b*]. In order to prove his idea, Engelbach made a cast of the wig and put it on the cast of the head of [*St 7a*]. The two faces became more similar, but the difference is also obvious and has an objective character (see [Smith, 1949, 49; Vandier, 1958, 121–126]). So it is no wonder that once an art historian who was not an Egyptologist conjectured that these statues represented two different persons bearing the same name [Curtius, 1914, 80–81] – his opinion is based on the lack of knowledge, but testifies to the existence of a striking difference. However, the statues of *R^c(w)-htp(-w)* really are the most similar among the analogous pairs.

²⁶ Statues of *ḥt(j)-htp(-w)* and of his wife have Inv. Nos. JE 93168–93174, but the present writer could not establish which number corresponds to each of them.

²⁷ The upper part of another excellent statue was discovered in the serdab of *ḥt(j)-htp(-w)* [Zayed, 1958, pl. 7] (wood, height of the preserved part 87,5 cm [Batrawi, 1948, 493], original height reconstructed as 175 cm [ibid.]). It is not included in the list due to its affiliation to the iconographic type representing a naked man, but resemblance of the face to [*St 8a*] should be mentioned.

9. *Mjtrj*, Saqqara, no number, late Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI [Russmann, 1995, 276].
- a. New York, MMA 26.2.4, wood, h. 146 cm (legs below knees lost) [Hayes, 1953, fig. 65].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: round face of a mature but rather young man, plump cheeks, slight naso-labial lines.
Body: slight corpulence of breast and abdomen.
Name: ? (the base lost).
 - b. New York, MMA 26.2.2. Wood, h. \approx 1 m (the base lost) [Hayes, 1953, fig. 64].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: some resemblance to [*St 9a*], but all the traits are sharper, naso-labial lines almost absent.
Body: ideal.
Name: ? (the base lost).
10. *Mtjji*, Saqqara, exact provenance unknown, reign of *Ttj* [*PM III*², 646].
- a. New York, BrM 51.1, wood, h. 61.5 cm [Brooklyn, 1956, pl. 4–6; Russmann, 1995, pl. 56-*ab*]; bibliography [*PM III*², 647].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Eyes: inlaid.
Face: most characteristic, with finest modeling creating an image of an elderly man with sad lowered eyes.
Body: a meager aged man with narrow shoulders, thin arms and a head which seems too large for his weak body.²⁸
Name: present.
 - b. Kansas City, Nelson Gallery of Art 51.1, wood, h. 80 cm [Kansas City, 1973, fig. on p. 19; Kaplony, 1976, Abb. an S. 68–70]; bibliography [*PM III*², 647–648].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.

²⁸ P. Kaplony [1976, 62] regards [*St 10a*] as artistically the most valuable Old Kingdom wooden statue; however, the delicacy of *Mtjji*'s body is more exaggerated than the stoutness of «Sheikh el-Beled».

Eyes: inlaid.
Face: resembling [*St 10a*], but less individual.
Body: the body is less delicate and individual than that of [*St 10a*].
Name: present.

- c. Boston, MFA 47.1455, wood, h. 80 cm [Bothmer, 1948, fig. 1–7; Kaplony, 1976, Abb. an S. 56–59]; bibliography [*PM III*², 647].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: has some similarity to [*St 10a*], but features are standardized.
Body: ideal.
Name: present.

- d. New York, BrM 53.222, wood, h. 74.5 cm [Brooklyn, 1956, pl. 1–3; Kaplony, 1976, Abb. an S. 66, 68; Russmann, 1995, pl. 55-*b*] bibliography [*PM III*², 647].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: conventional; little, if any, resemblance to [*St 10a*].
Body: ideal.
Name: present.

- e. New York, BrM 50.77, wood, h. 89 cm [Kaplony, 1976, Abb. an S. 60–61; Russmann, 1995, pl. 55-*a*]; bibliography [*PM III*², 647].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: the most conventional of all five statues, broader than those of the four others.
Body: ideal.
Name: present.

11. Dwarf *Hnm(w)-htp(.w)*, Saqqara, unknown tomb, late Dyn. V – Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 722].

- a. Cairo, CG 144, limestone, h. 44 cm [Borchardt, 1911, Bl. 32; Vandersleyen, 1975-1, Abb. 142-*b*; Russmann, 1989, fig. on p. 32]; bibliography [*PM III*², 722–723].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Eyes: no inlay.

Face: childish expression and elongated shape of the head characteristic of dwarfs.

Body: all the features of dwarfism are shown with anatomical exactness – short and fat legs, arms and neck, unhealthy general corpulence, fat rolls on the thighs.

Name: present.

- b. No counterpart of CG 144 is known, but since the circumstances under which the statue CG 144 was found are uncertain, a pair statue could have existed.

12. Dwarf ---w(j)-snb(·w)/Snb, Giza, no number, late Old Kingdom (see Chapter 3, footnote 9).

- a. Cairo, JE 51280, limestone, h. 44 cm [Junker, 1941-1, Vorsatzblatt; Caire, 1949, pl. 26; Cairo, 1969, pl. 25; Málek, 1986, fig. on p. 38; Russmann, 1989, fig. on p. 40]; bibliography [*PM III*², 102–103].²⁹

Attitude: squatting.

Garments: short.

Wig: none.

Eyes: no inlay.

Face: very individual, with broad forehead, large eyes, nose and mouth, and powerful chin.

Body: characteristic features of dwarfism, but hardly the individual ones.

Name: present.

- b. In the serdab to the south of the false door, a wooden statue had been originally kept, which was entirely destroyed by the moment of excavations [Junker, 1941-1, 104–105].

- c. In the serdab arranged to the south of the chapel, the base of a granite statue of ---w(j)-snb(·w)/Snb was found [*ibid.*, Abb. 29-b].

Attitude: sitting.

Garments: ?

Wig: ?

Eyes: ?

Face: ?

Body: ?

Name: present.

²⁹ V. Dasen [1988, 260–268] in her study of the medical aspect of the dwarfs' representations has drawn the conclusion that they convey characteristic manifestations of the respective diseases coming to be iconographic signs, but no individual features. Her opinion is correct by and large, especially as concerns murals, but the statue of ---w(j)-snb(·w)/Snb is an exception to this rule and its face is no doubt individualized. Of course, individual features are concealed to some extent behind the general characteristics of dwarfism, but this is to be expected: deformity is the first feature of a dwarf to arrest our attention and the attention of the sculptor.

In the late Old Kingdom (probably, in the middle of Dyn. VI) the technical virtuosity of sculptors declined and the previous level of individualization became unattainable. For this reason, although the tradition of making the pair statues was still maintained, statuary «according to life» came to be fairly standardized – instead of peculiarities of the constitution the conventional signs of corpulence appeared, while the faces lost much of their individuality. However, sometimes individual features are perceptible, which proves that their absence in other cases results from the general decline of the artistic school and not from some changes in the respective ideological notions.³⁰

13. *N(j)-nh-pjpj-km*, Meir A 1, early reign of *Pjpj II* [Kanawati, 1977-1, 52–54].

a. Cairo, CG 236, wood, h. 70 cm [Borchardt, 1911, Bl. 49].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: rather distinctive, with small chin, large mouth and prominent cheek-bones.
Body: corpulent abdomen and fat fold under breast.³¹
Name: none.

b. Cairo, CG 60, wood, h. 105 cm [Borchardt, 1911, Bl. 15].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: conventional, but the shape slightly reminds [*St 13a*].
Body: quite conventional, unproportionally elongated body.
Name: present.

³⁰ In her excellent paper on the so-called second style of the late Old Kingdom, E. Russmann [1995, 269–271] states that the denial of naturalism, general narrowing of proportions and other features characteristic of Dyn. VI sculpture (and reliefs) is but a manifestation of the peculiarities of the said style having nothing to do with the decline of the sculptor's craftsmanship; the present author [Bolshakov, 1990] is mentioned as one of the supporters of the «theory of decline» [Russmann, 1995, 270, note 10]. No doubt, Russmann is, as usual, quite right in most respects, but we are talking about different, although partly synchronous phenomena. Russmann deals with the stylistic changes starting at the end of Dyn. V (statuettes of *Mtjj* being one of its earliest samples), while I mean the much later lowering of quality taking place in the middle of Dyn. VI within the frames of the second style – just because it was predominant in that time. However, one can hardly impugn that the quality of *Mtjj*'s statuettes is head and shoulders above that of any monument in the following list.

³¹ Characteristic features of Middle Kingdom Meir statuary – «short, almost flattened heads, large mouths, thick lips, pronounced cheek-bones and particularly well outlined muscles of the breast which is well-developed and separated in relief from the abdomen» [Matthieu, 1941, 38; 1961, 161] – may go back to this or an analogous prototype.

14. *Jštj/Ttj*, Saqqara, no number, reign of *Pjtpj II* ↯ [*PM III*², 609].

- a. Cairo, JE 88577, wood, h. 42 cm (the base lost) [Lauer, 1950, pl. 2-*ab*; Drioton, Lauer, 1958, pl. 14].

Attitude: standing.

Garments: long.

Wig: none.

Eyes: no inlay.

Face: no individual features.

Body: the body is shown rather conventionally, but it is softened as compared to the ideal – there are no powerful shoulders and thin waist and thighs; slight corpulence of a healthy, but not athletic man is present.

Name: ? (the base lost).

- b. Cairo, JE 88578, wood, h. 53 cm (the base lost) [Lauer, 1950, pl. 2-*d*; Drioton, Lauer, 1958, pl. 15].

Most features: like [*St 14a*].

Name: ? (the base lost).

- c. Cairo,³² wood, size unknown. Unpublished, see [Drioton, Lauer, 1958, 219].

Analogous to [*St 14b*], but badly destroyed.

- d. Cairo, JE 88575, wood, h. 66,5 cm [Lauer, 1950, pl. 1-*c*; Drioton, Lauer, 1958, pl. 8-*a*, 9].

Attitude: standing.

Garments: short.

Wig: present.

Eyes: no inlay.

Face: conventional, slightly resembling those of [*St 14a*] and [*St 14b*].

Body: ideal; shoulders are much broader and waist is much slender than those of [*St 14a*] and [*St 14b*].

Name: present.

- e. Cairo, JE 88576. Wood, h. 66,5 cm [Lauer, 1950, pl. 1-*b*; Drioton, Lauer, 1958, pl. 8-*a*].

Most features: like [*St 14d*].

Name: present.

15. *Jhjj*, Saqqara, no number, shaft near the south wall of the pyramid enclosure of *Dsr*; late Dyn. VI [*PM III*², 651],³³ but a later dating is possible as well, given the elon-

³² Unfortunately, the author could not establish the number according to the Cairo *Journal d'Entrée*.

³³ Twelve statuettes bearing the name of *Jhjj* were found in the burial chamber, but nothing is known about the present whereabouts of seven of them.

gated proportions of the statues.

- a. New York, MMA 27.9.3, wood, no dimensions published [Pijoan, 1945, fig. 219].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: practically no individual features.
Body: quite conventional unproportionally elongated body.
Name: ? (the base lost).

- b. Neuchâtel, MEN 424, wood, h. 88,5 cm (feet and the base lost) [Gabus, 1967, 167, fig. 7].

Practically analogous to [*St 15a*].

Name: ? (the base lost).

- c. New York, MMA 27.9.5, wood, no dimensions published [Pijoan, 1945, fig. 218].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: like [*St 15a*].
Body: waist is more slender than that of [*St 15a*].
Name: ? (the base lost).

- d. New York, MMA 297.9.4, wood, unpublished, see [*PM III*², 651].³⁴

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: slight resemblance to [*St 15a*].
Body: figure is more slender than that of [*St 15a*], but its leanness is less exaggerated than in [*St 15b*].
Name: ? (the base lost).

- e. Neuchâtel, MEN 425, wood, h. 103,5 cm [Gabus, 1967, 166, fig. 6].

Very similar to [*St 15c*].

Name: none.

16. *Ttj*, Saqqara, no number, near the pyramid of *Ttj*, late Dyn. VI [Peterson, 1985, 4].

- a. Cairo, JE 49371, wood, h. 45 cm [ibid., fig. on p. 10; Caire, 1949, pl. 43].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.

³⁴ The author was able to use its photograph and work on the original in the museum thanks to the kindness of Dr. Dorothea Arnold and Dr. C. Roehrig.

Wig: none.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: no individual features.
Body: no individual features, but proportions are slightly elongated.
Name: none.

- b. Boston, MFA 24.608, wood; h. 40 cm [Peterson, 1985, fig. on p. 9].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: no individual features.
Body: proportions are somewhat heavier than those of [St 16a].
Name: present.

- c. New York, MMA 26.2.9, wood; no dimensions published [ibid., fig. on p. 13, left; Russmann, 1995, pl. 53-b].

Analogous to [St 16b].

Name: present.

- d. Boston, MFA 24.606, wood, h. 40,5 cm [ibid., fig. on p. 7].

Analogous to [St 16a], but less perfect.

Name: present.

- e-g. Location unknown, the only information available is given by photographs from the collection of B. Gunn, now in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, which were published by B. Peterson [1985, fig. on p. 20].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: no individual features.
Body: no individual features.
Name: the published reproduction of the bases is poor, but, as Prof. Peterson who had worked on the original Gunn photographs kindly informed the present writer, at least one statue is inscribed (the right one on the photo).

- h. Boston, MFA 24.607, wood, h. 52 cm [ibid., fig. on p. 8].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: no individual features.
Body: ideal.

Name: present.

- i. Neuchâtel, MEN 328, wood, h. 52 cm [ibid., fig. on p. 11].

Very similar to [*St 16h*].

Name: present.

- j. Neuchâtel, MEN 329, wood, h. 31 cm [ibid., fig. on p. 12].

Attitude: sitting.

Garments: short.

Wig: present.

Eyes: no inlay.

Face: more corpulent than those of other statues, but without individual features.

Body: ideal.

Name: present.

- k. New York, MMA 26.2.8, wood, h. 52.5 cm [ibid., fig. on p. 13, left; Rüssmann, 1995, pl. 53-a].

Attitude: standing.

Garments: short.

Wig: present.

Eyes: no inlay.

Face: remote likeness to [*St 16b*].

Body: ideal.

Name: present.

- l. Stockholm, MeM 11411, wood, h. 42.4 cm [Peterson, 1985, fig. on p. 14–15].

Attitude: standing.

Garments: short.

Wig: present.

Eyes: no inlay.

Face: no individual features.

Body: ideal.

Name: present.

- m–n. Stockholm, MeM 11412–11413, wood, h. 41.9 and 35.2 cm respectively [ibid., fig. on p. 16–17, fig. on p. 18–19].

Analogous to [*St 16l*], but of poorer quality.

Name: present.

- o–q. Present location unknown, for documentation see [*St 16e–h*], wood, sizes unknown [ibid., fig. on p. 21].

Attitude: standing.

Garments: short.

Wig: present.

Eyes: no inlay.
Face: no individual features.
Body: ideal.
Name: the published reproduction of the bases is poor, but, as Prof. Peterson kindly informed the present author, at least one statue is inscribed (the right one on the photo).

- r. Boston, MFA 24.605, limestone, h. 39 cm [ibid., fig. on p. 6].³⁵

Attitude: sitting.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: no individual features.
Body: ideal.
Name: present.

17. Unknown person, Dahshur, east of the Northern pyramid of *Snfr-w(j)*, mastaba 24, late Dyn. VI ꜥ; cf. [PM III², 892] – Dyn. VI.

- a. Cairo, CG 506, wood, h. 23 cm [Borchardt, 1925, Bl. 86; Morgan, 1903, pl. 4-20].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: long.
Wig: none.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: the work is poor, but the sculptor probably tried to individualize the features.
Body: the body is represented rather conventionally, but a fold is seen below the breasts; legs are too thick due to poor skill of the sculptor.
Name: none.

- b. Cairo, CG 505, wood, h. 31 cm. [Morgan, 1903, pl. 4, No. 17].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.
Wig: present.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: no individual features.
Body: ideal.
Name: was present (lost, but the preceding titles are preserved).

- c. Cairo, a large group of wooden statuettes [Morgan, 1903, 20–21; PM III², 893].

Attitude: standing.
Garments: short.

³⁵ Three more statues of *Ttj* are kept in the Cairo Museum (unpublished, Inv. Nos. unknown). One of them represents him in long garments, two others – in short, and all of them – wearing a wig.

<u>Wig:</u>	present.
<u>Eyes:</u>	no inlay.
<u>Face:</u>	no individual features.
<u>Body:</u>	ideal.
<u>Name:</u>	none.

In the First Intermediate Period the tradition of pair statues was maintained, but the statues «according to life» practically lost all portrait features, keeping only the traditional iconography. Yet the purpose of creating such pairs was obviously the same – it is no accident that the statues of the two types are opposed one to another both in the chapel and in the burial chamber of *Nhtj*.

18A. *Nhtj*, Siut, tomb 7, Dyn. X; dating by Delange [1987, 151] – early Dyn. XII – is hardly possible. Statues from the chapel.

- a. Paris, Louvre E.11937, wood, h. 179 cm [Chassinat, Palanque, 1911, pl. 6–7; Capart, 1920, pl. 24 top, right; Louvre, 1935, pl. 44–46; Vandier, 1958, pl. 53–4; Delange, 1987, 151–153].

<u>Attitude:</u>	standing.
<u>Garments:</u>	long.
<u>Wig:</u>	none.
<u>Eyes:</u>	inlaid.
<u>Face:</u>	typical of the Siut school, but rather individual, with broad nose and characteristic form of lips.
<u>Body:</u>	the body is represented with the most possible craftsmanship for the period; however, all the features of corpulence are not individual, but purely iconographic.
<u>Name:</u>	present.

- b. Cairo, JE 36283, wood, h. 165 cm [Chassinat, Palanque, 1911, pl. 5; Capart, 1920, pl. 24, top, left].³⁶

<u>Attitude:</u>	standing.
<u>Garments:</u>	short.
<u>Wig:</u>	present.
<u>Eyes:</u>	inlaid.
<u>Face:</u>	flat, with enormous eyes; little, if any, resemblance to [St 18Aa].
<u>Body:</u>	ideal.
<u>Name:</u>	present.

18B. *Nhtj*, statues from the burial chamber (shaft I).

- a. Cairo, JE 36292, wood, h. 48 cm [Chassinat, Palanque, 1911, pl. 11–I, left].

Analogous to [St 18Aa].

<u>Name:</u>	none.
--------------	-------

³⁶ Numbering and measurements of the Cairo statues of *Nhtj* according to [Harvey, 1990].

- b** Boston, MFA 04.1770, wood, h. 41 cm [ibid., pl. 11-1, third from left, 12-3].
 Very similar to [St 18Aa].
Eyes: no inlay.
Name: none.
- c.** Paris, Louvre E.12002, wood, h. 45 cm [ibid., pl. 11-1, second from left, 12-3; Capart, 1920, pl. 24, bottom, right; Delange, 1987, 154–155].
 Very similar to [St 18Bb].
Name: none.
- d.** Boston, MFA 04.1775, wood, h. 29 cm [Chassinat, Palanque, 1911, pl. 11-2].
 Very similar to [St 18Bb].
Name: none.
- e.** Paris, Louvre E.12633 (?),³⁷ wood, h. 26 cm [Delange, 1987, 160–161], cf. [Chassinat, Palanque, 1911, 49].
 Very similar to [St 18Bb].
Name: none.
- f.** Cairo, JE 36281, wood, h. 28 cm [ibid., pl. 11-1, second from right, 12-1].
Most features: like [St 18Ab].
Garments: short («Königsschurz».)
Eyes: drawn, but with a copper rim inlaid.
Name: none.
- g.** Paris, Louvre 12028, wood, h. 28,5 cm [ibid., pl. 11-1, third from right, 12-2; Capart, 1920, pl. 24, bottom, left].
Most features: like [St 18Ab].
Garments: short («Königsschurz».)
Eyes: no inlay.
Name: none.³⁸
- 19. Mrj**, El-Tarif, Dyn. XI [Vandersleyen, 1975-1, 233].
- a.** London, BM 37895, limestone, h. 58 cm [British Museum, 1904, fig. on p. 93; 1964, fig. 66; Vandersleyen, 1975-1, Abb. 149-a].
Attitude: sitting.
Garments: short.
Wig: none.
Eyes: no inlay.
Face: little, if any, individual features.
Body: ideal.
Name: present.

³⁷ Identification of J. Harvey [1990, 48–49:9].

³⁸ Besides these, an alabaster statue of poor quality representing sitting *Nhtj* was found in the burial chamber (Brussels, MRAH E.5596 [Chassinat, Palanque, 1911, pl. 11-3]).

- b. London, BM 37896, limestone, h. 60 cm [British Museum, 1904, fig. on p. 93; 1964, fig. 66; Vandersleyen, 1975-1, Abb. 149-b].

<u>Attitude:</u>	sitting (arms folded).
<u>Garments:</u>	short («Königsschurz»).
<u>Wig:</u>	present.
<u>Eyes:</u>	no inlay.
<u>Face:</u>	resembling [<i>St 20a</i>].
<u>Name:</u>	present.

The Middle Kingdom revival of sculpture gave rise to excellent portraits of kings. As for the statues of private persons, although some samples going back to the Old Kingdom iconography «according to life» can be found among them, their quality is usually too poor to convey individual features. Moreover, since Middle Kingdom tombs with intact serdabs and burial chambers are scanty, while the names are often not inscribed on the statues, the identification of the persons represented proves to be fairly embarrassing. In the New Kingdom, imitation of the features of the ruling king replaced individualization in private statuary, which put an end to the pairs showing the same person conventionally and in the individualized manner.³⁹

Let us present the main characteristics of the pair statues as a table (Tbl. 5). Like in the murals, the length of the garments and the presence or absence of the wig are the most important iconographic features. Statues «according to life» show a man wearing long garments⁴⁰ but no wig, whereas conventional statues represent him dressed in short clothes with a wig on the head. In extremely rare cases the statues «according to life» have wigs [*St 6a, 16bc*], and the conventional ones can manage without them [*St 8bcde*],⁴¹ but in these instances the statues of the other type have the same feature and never the opposite one. In other words, a pair consisting of a statue «according to life» without wig and a conventional statue in a wig is a norm, pairs including both statues in wigs or both statues without wigs are exceptions, while the pair of a statue «according to life» in a wig and a conventional statue without wig is impossible.

³⁹ Brief renaissance of the old idea can be seen in a group of statues of the major of Thebes and Fourth Prophet of *Jmn Mntw-m-h3-t* who governed Upper Egypt under Ethiopians and *Psmṯk I* [Leclant, 1961, 171–186]. Most of them are conventional, but two render individuality with unusual strength (Cairo, CG 647 [Russmann, 1989, fig. on p. 173]; JE 42236 [ibid., figs. on pp. 170, 172]). However, in spite of quite obvious borrowings from Old Kingdom art, any following to ancient ideology is out of question. First and foremost, a pair is constituted by two statues with individualized faces – one of them has an ideal archaized body and a wig, while the other has no wig and displays features of an older age; some more inconsistencies are quite obvious from the Old Kingdom viewpoint as well.

⁴⁰ With the exception of sitting (and, of course, squatting) statues [*St 1a, 2a, 5a, 6a, 12a, 19a*], for in the Old Kingdom private statuary sitting men were usually shown in short garments.

⁴¹ In very rare cases characteristics of the two types are mixed. For example, the statue of *Ph(.j)-r-nfr* (Paris, Louvre A.107 [*PM III*², 466]) represents him with obese breast and abdomen, but he wears a wig, while his face is hardly individualized. On the other hand, the body and the face of an anonymous man in the family group Louvre A.44 [Louvre, 1935, pl. 37] are conventional, but no wig is shown on his head.

Table 5

Main features of statues «according to life»
and their conventional counterparts

X	Name		Garments		Eyes		Wig		Material	
	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C
1	■		⬢		▲		○		■	
2	■	×	⬢	×	▲	×	○	×	■	×
3	□	×		×	△	×	○	×	□	×
4	×	×	⬢	⬢	▲	▲	○	●	□	□
5	□	■	⬢	⬢	▲	▲	○	●	■	■
6	□	□	⬢	⬢	▲	▲	○	●	■	■
7	■	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	■	■
8	×	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	○	□	□
		?		⬢		△		○		□
		?		⬢		△		○		□
		?		⬢		△		○		□
9	×	×	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
10	■	■	⬢	⬢	▲	△	○	●	□	□
		■	⬢	⬢	▲	△	○	●	□	□
		■		⬢		△		●		□
11	■	?	⬢	?	△	?	○	?	■	?
12	■	×	⬢	×	△	×	○	×	■	□
		■		×		×		×		■
13	□	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
14	×	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
	×	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
	×		⬢		△		○		□	

X	Name		Garments		Eyes		Wig		Material	
	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C
15	×	×	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
	×	×	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
		□		⬢		△		●		□
16	□	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
	■	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
	■	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
	■	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
	■	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
	?	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
	?	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
		■		⬢		△		●		□
		?		⬢		△		●		□
		?		⬢		△		●		□
17	□	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	□	□
		□		⬢		△		●		□
18A	■	■	⬢	⬢	▲	▲	○	●	□	□
18B	□	□	⬢	⬢	▲	△	○	●	□	□
	□	□	⬢	⬢	▲	△	○	●	□	□
	□		⬢		▲		○		□	
	□		⬢		▲		○		□	
	□		⬢		▲		○		□	
19	■	■	⬢	⬢	△	△	○	●	■	■

GENERAL

- L Statues «according to life»
 C Conventional statues
 × Destroyed
 ? No information on the feature
 ? No information on the existence of the statue
 □ Statue never existed

NAME

- Present □ No name

GARMENTS

- ⬢ Long ◇ Short
 ⬢ Short (sitting or squatting statue)

EYES

- ▲ Inlaid △ No inlay

WIG

- Present ○ No wig

MATERIAL

- Stone □ Wood

So the iconography can be traced with confidence, while exceptions are very infrequent and their range is limited. Of interest is also the attitude toward the eyes of the statues which in the best samples can be inlaid to make their appearance more animated. Inlay can be found on individualized statues [*St 2a(?)*, *10ab*, *18Ba*] or on both statues forming a pair [*St 4ab*, *5ab*, *6ab*, *18Aab*], but never on the conventional statue if its counterpart «according to life» manages without inlay. This fact proves for certain that a special attention was paid to the statues «according to life»: whenever possible, the eyes of both statues were inlaid, but if it was not feasible, the Egyptians confined themselves with the eyes of the individualized statue which, thus, was regarded as a more vital one. However, although these are important characteristics of the pair statues, they do not tell us anything about ancient understanding of these two types of statuary.

First of all, we should clearly define whether the individualization degree of the statues «according to life» allows us to consider them portraits. Some of them (*R^c(w)-hṭp(-w)*), «Sheikh el-Beled», «Louvre scribe», «Cairo scribe», *R^c(w)-nfr(-w)*) have been known for over a century, and from the very beginning they were regarded as portraits; respectively, such an interpretation was extended to other statues of the same type. Unfortunately, the term «portrait» was used for many years quite uncritically. It was a short article by J. Capart [1920] which marked the turning point in the development of the problems concerning Old Kingdom portraiture. Capart was the first to pay attention to the pair statues of the two types and to note some of their peculiarities in both iconography and the attitude toward rendering of individual features. The paper by Capart raised a discussion on Egyptian portraiture which spread in the 1920^s and 1930^s and was devoted mainly to private monuments of the Old Kingdom.⁴²

Subjectivism of the former opinions caused a sharp criticism of the interpretation of the statues wearing long clothes as portraits. R. Engelbach [1934] defended the extremist point of view: proceeding from the results of his experiment with the statues of *R^c(w)-nfr(-w)* (footnote 25) he refused to see any real difference in the conveying of individual features in the two types of statuary. He was followed by A. Scharff [1940, 41–42] who cast this suggestion in absolute form and came to the conclusion that the Egyptians had no portrait as such. Accordingly, Scharff offered the theory according to which Egyptian art was entirely based on the same principles as the hieroglyphic script and operated only with conventional signs [Scharff, 1939, 491–497]. Although this view is reasonable in many respects and is shared by many scholars (see [Bianchi, 1988, 55]), it is good only for interpretation of conventional representations, but proves unable to explain the meaning of individualization.

⁴² This was but natural, for the private Old Kingdom statuary proves to be the most convenient for such a discussion. It not only reflects all the ideas in their purest state – the above-mentioned processes of the Middle and New Kingdom influenced first of all the individualization of features; Amarna and post-Amarna art is a specific phenomenon having very indirect relation to the preceding tradition; late sculpture was not sufficiently studied by the moment of the discussion. As to the royal statuary, it imprints the mark of the notion of the dual – human and divine – nature of the king (for instance, in spite of individualization of the face, the body always remains utterly conventional).

Elucidating the meaning of the name *twt/\$zp r 'nh*, H. Junker [Junker, 1951-2] demonstrated that the Egyptians considered some statues made «according to life», i. e., rendering some real features of the persons represented. Although differing from Junker in some details, J. Vandier [1958, 116–143] and M. E. Matthieu [1961, 80–106] supported his idea in their works summing up the discussion in a sense. However, unreservedly recognizing statues «according to life» as real portraits, they failed to define the specificity of Egyptian portraiture.

In the following years, the problems of the portrait were re-oriented mainly toward late (Saite, Ptolemaic and Roman) materials [Vandersleyen, 1982]. In spite of great success in the field of «pure» art history (the name of B. V. Bothmer should be mentioned first of all) and probably because of it, the ideology of Egyptian portrait was never touched in these studies.

The situation is paradoxical: the objective history of individualization in Egyptian sculpture is studied much better now than fifty or forty years ago, but as for the subjective aspect of the problem – the ancient perception of the statues «according to life» – we have made almost no headway as compared with pre-war Egyptology. The traditions of recognition and complete negation of portrait in Egyptian art do coexist, and we should agree with D. Spanel [1988, 1-3] that «cogent arguments for and against the existence of portraiture have been made, the consensus being that we cannot be sure».

This is no surprise. Portraiture is an extremely vague idea because of an impossibility to say how accurately a representation of a person we do not know conveys its features. As a rule, the criteria are of utterly emotional nature: the man is shown «as if he were alive», his face is «obviously individual», etc. Still all these definitions (apart from their subjectivity) can characterize only the skill of the master, the distinction of his creations from the works of other sculptors, but do not touch upon the main point – the personality of the represented. The craftsmanship is the most important factor making us regard some representations as portraits: «the spectator is confident in the likeness, he is convinced by the portrait itself that he looks at the image of a real person» [Zhinkin, 1928, 40]. Indeed, «as there is no other figurative evidence, we cannot judge how accurately the Leonardo's portrait of Mona Lisa renders the features of the wife of the Florentine Gioconda. Nonetheless, this work of art is one of the greatest portraits among European paintings» [Tarabukin, 1928, 164].

Thus, we should admit that representations do not have immanent objective characteristics allowing us to consider them portraits (cf. [Shaposhnikov, 1928, 77]). It is senseless to talk about an image being a portrait if taken by itself, apart from a spectator, but it «will come to be a portrait, if we wish it to be so» [ibid., 84]. After all, of importance is not the likeness of an image to the reality, but only the desire of the spectators to see it as a portrait. These general tenets are fully applicable to the Egyptian monuments with all their specificity. If looking at the face of *'nh(.w)-h3.f*, we distinguish him among thousands of faces, recognize him as an individuality, this means that we are entitled to call his bust a portrait (the conventional character of the devices used by the sculptor does not matter at all, and so, for instance, the fact that the manner of treating the shape of the head used by the creator of the bust of *'nh(.w)-h3.f* was still employed in the Ptolemaic Period [Bianchi, 1988, 57–59], carries little weight here).

Of course, this approach with the stress on the outer likeness or, more exactly, on the readiness to see such a likeness, is far from exhaustive,⁴³ but it is quite acceptable to pursue our object. Indeed, if we, people of quite a different epoch, cultural affiliation, mode of life and world outlook, cannot help falling under the charm of these monuments and involuntarily believe them, the same had to be true of the Egyptians for whom these monuments were created and for whom they were much more significant than for us.

All the statues «according to life» of Dyn. IV–V and some later samples are very individual. Anyone who saw them once, will always remember and never confuse the energetic face of *Hm(w)-jwn(w)*, the tired eyes of *ḥnh(-w)-ḥ3.f*, the firm look of *K3j*, the imperiousness of *K3(.j)-ḥpr(-w)*, the weakness of *Mttjj*. However, starting from the middle of Dyn. VI, the conveying of individual features steadily comes to naught. The traditional iconography is kept, but the faces grow standardized and stoutness remains the only specific feature of the body to be shown – it no doubt becomes a merely conventional sign looking rather ridiculous sometimes: the breast and the abdomen are corpulent, while the arms and legs have the ideal proportions. Can it be that also in the golden age of the statues «according to life», the iconography was more important than individualization?

This question must receive a definitely negative answer. Any decline of skill is injurious in the first place to the conveying of individuality, and the processes taking place in late Old Kingdom can be explained proceeding from merely technical reasons. In the times of decline, iconography was the only link between the new mediocre sculpture and the excellent earlier statues. The very possibility of degradation from individual traits to conventional signs is an important basic characteristic of Egyptian art⁴⁴ and we cannot help agreeing with Scharff in this respect, but in spite of the great significance of iconography, it would be wrong to explain everything proceeding only from it. Thus, although Egyptian art could – and usually did – manage without any individualization, we have no serious arguments against some representations being real portraits, no matter how rare or even exclusive these cases may be.

So we must elucidate, why the portrait statues «according to life» were necessary in some cases, although the majority could do without them. We have a clue to the problem which consists, as usually, in departures from the norm. The Egyptians created numerous standardized monuments, but sometimes, deviating from the rules, they «let out their secret» and unintentionally informed us on the considerations they were guided by. It is the attitude toward the names of the persons represented which gives us such a clue to the problem of portraiture.

⁴³ On the general problems of portrait see, e.g. [Buschor, 1960; Breckenridge, 1968, 3–14; Spanel, 1988, 3–17].

⁴⁴ We have already discussed similar phenomena as concerns the murals. However, a serious difference should not be disregarded: transformation into a sign occurs much more slowly in sculpture which has, so to say, a higher inertia. This is to be expected: being more conventional as compared to a three-dimensional statue, a flat picture is closer to a sign by its very nature.

The fact that in most Egyptian representations the absence or smoothing away of individual features was compensated by inscribing the name(s) of the owner is obvious and generally accepted [Altenmüller, 1980, 560]. Egyptian representations are even qualified as «portraits by name» (*Benamungsporträt*) [ibid., 581], but no proper interpretation of the phenomenon as related to the notion of the Double has ever been offered. As a result, the observations on the importance of the name have long ago become a commonplace without making any significant contribution to our apprehension of both Egyptian art and *Weltanschauung*.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, as soon as we turn to the pair statues, we see that the attitude of the Egyptians toward carving on them the names of the persons represented was fairly specific and utmost deliberate.

As a rule, the name is obligatory on the base of a statue (of course, there are many uninscribed statues as well, but usually they are either unfinished or poorly executed, their number increasing with deterioration). Thus, we are dealing here with quite a natural situation when the presence or absence of the name(s) correlate with the quality of work. However, the greatest masterpiece of Old Kingdom art – the bust of *ḥḥ(·w)-ḥ3·f* [*St 3a*] – is uninscribed, although ready in full. This is by no means a matter of chance. Turning to Tbl. 5, we can easily find a number of pairs where the statue «according to life» is uninscribed, while the conventional statue bears the name [*St 5a↔5b, 13a↔13b, 16a↔16hijklmnor, 17a↔17b*]; it is also probable that the absent conventional statue of *ḥḥ(·w)-ḥ3·f* originally placed in the serdab was also inscribed, thus constituting an analogous pair. It is of utmost importance that there are no pairs with the inscribed individualized and uninscribed conventional statue – most probably, this was just impossible.⁴⁶

An interesting variant of this practice can be observed at Giza in the period of the «style of *Hw(j)·f-w(j)*» (see Chapter 1, § 7). The requirements of the style resulted in the reduction of the number of representations and, respectively, of the records of the tomb owner's name: as a rule, they were present only on the slab-stela. The risk of its destruction was quite real, and therefore individualized «reserve heads» were placed in the substructure to compensate the lack of decorations in the chapel. Most slab-stelae were indeed destroyed, and as a result we know by name only four owners of the «reserve heads» (*Nfr*, G 2110; *Mr(j)·t(j)t(w)·s*, G 4140; *Snfr-w(j)-snb(·w)*, G 4240; *3ḥ·t(j)-htp(·w)*, G 7650), still we know them all by sight. As for the owners of the traditional tombs with no individualized statues, we have no idea of their appearance, but instead, their names are repeatedly recorded in the chapels. One way or another, the Egyptians reached the eternal fixation of individuality which was their only aim.

Now Egyptian perception of the portrait comes to be obvious. Conventional representation is imperfect because of the absence of individual features, therefore it must

⁴⁵ For example, in one of the latest reviews of opinions on the Egyptian portrait, only two lines are devoted to the name [Vandersleyen, 1982, 1074].

⁴⁶ In the pair [*St 6ab*], the name is absent on both statues, but the tomb of the «Cairo scribe» was not completed. According to Maspero, the walls of the chapel were prepared to receive murals, but they were never executed for some reason [Capart, 1921, 190]. It seems likely that the statues also remained unfinished – uninscribed.

bear the owner's name compensating the lack of figurative information by information of a qualitatively different nature. On the other hand, an individualized representation is informatively self-sufficient and does not require inscriptions to identify the represented person. It is true that in order to provide additional guarantees, most statues «according to life» were inscribed, but the exceptions to this rule are more significative: the best samples of individualized Old Kingdom statuary can manage without the name. Sadly, the bases of many statues are lost – had they survived, such exceptions would have been much more numerous.

It means that the Egyptians regarded both conventional representations with the name and those uninscribed but exactly rendering individual features as enjoying absolutely equal worth and rights. From our everyday viewpoint, these two types of representations are different in essence, but the Egyptian «portrait by name» is not so exotic as it might seem and modern man has not moved far away from the ancient perception. A nouveau riche decorating his residence with portraits of his non-existent noble ancestors acted just as an Egyptian might have done: a picture of a man in old-fashioned costume became a portrait because his name was written on the frame or, at least, was implied, the fictitious nature of the image and even of the name being of no importance [Shaposhnikov, 1928, 84]. The same «Egyptian way» was and is used by our artists representing historical persons of whose appearance nothing is known. Thus, for instance, a bearded man with a sword represented at a battle-piece in the Versailles Gallery of War comes to be, say, Chlodwig due to this very name being mentioned in the title of the picture. Such «pseudoportraits» are proper of various peoples and historical epochs, and if we believe that a «real» portrait is «better» than *Benamungsporträt*, this is but a result of centuries-old European artistic tradition and not an eternal and universal rule.

The name accompanying a conventional representation made it effective and permitted most Egyptians – even the richest and of the highest standing – to be content with «portraits by name». In a conventional representation the Double was fixed young, which corresponded to its very nature (see Conclusion) and guaranteed even elderly and weak men an eternal existence in the most desirable condition. However, as we have already seen, the Egyptians were never satisfied with the degree of their preparations for eternity and so they constantly improved them, sometimes even contradicting (from the modern point of view) to the original idea.

The identity of the *k3* and the *rn* which secured the effectiveness of the «portrait by name», was not in doubt in the ontological sense, but at the level of everyday life, the striking difference between the person and its conventional representation could have resulted in the desire to ameliorate it in some way. Under Dyn. IV a brilliant artistic school took shape accumulating great experience in both model studies and treating stone and wood, which allowed to solve the problem by means of «real» portraits depicting humans just as they were alive.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Strange as it may seem, according to the measurements of the bones of *3h-t(j)-htp(.w)*, his height was to amount to 174,7 cm, while the height of one of his statues «according to life» [*St 8a*] is 175 cm and that of the other (see footnote 27) is reconstructed by an anatomist as 175 cm [Batravi, 1948, 493]. The height of the wife (?) of *3h-t(j)-htp(.w)* is reconstructed after her skeleton as 156,4 cm, whereas the

The best statues «according to life» exactly convey individual traits as well as those of age. At the same time, they do not affect the main property of the Double – its youth – which gives them the right to exist. Indeed, side by side with the individualized statue representing an elderly man, there always was a conventional one showing him as a person at the ideal age. The only case when the statue «according to life» certainly had no conventional counterpart – $R^c(w)-h\dot{t}p(\cdot w)$ [St 1] – is also quite explicable: in spite of all the individualization, $R^c(w)-h\dot{t}p(\cdot w)$ was shown young – as young as he was in the moment of making the statue, and so his real appearance did not contradict the age of the Double.

It is fairly probable that the statues of the two types had some functional differences, but it still cannot be proved. M. E. Matthieu [1947-1, 47–48; 1961, 82] suggested in her time that the material and size of some statues (wood, about 1 m high) were caused by their role in one of the funeral rituals when the relatives of the deceased lifted them upward several times, which is well documented by New Kingdom murals. It would be tempting to link this rite to the statues «according to life», but facts do not agree with this suggestion. Although «Sheikh el-Beled» [St 4a] meets this hypothesis, the statue of $R^c(w)-n\dot{f}r(\cdot w)$ [St 7a] which also stood openly in the chapel and, thus, had the same functions, is carved of stone and is almost 2 m high – it could not be easily lifted. The same is true of the statues of $R^c(w)-h\dot{t}p(\cdot w)$ and $Hm(w)-jwn(w)$ [St 1a, 2a]. Moreover, the pair statues were usually manufactured of the same material – either both of stone or both of wood (see Tbl. 5); only in some exceptional cases, large series of wooden statuettes could be complemented by extra statuettes made in stone [St 16r] (cf. also [St 12abc] and footnote 38). Neither does the location of the statues of the two types allow us to establish some functional difference between them, for both could be placed in the serdab as well as in the chapel. Finally, we should not forget that the statues «according to life» are rather scarce among countless numbers of conventional statuary and so they cannot be regarded as obligatory attributes of some specific rituals. Thus, the relation to the cult practice was far more complicated and indirect than it might seem at the first glance.

All these problems could form the subject of quite another study. However, proceeding from our interpretation of the two types of statuary, we can explain why murals are rather often absent in the chapels of Dyn. IV – early Dyn. V. The classical example is the chapel of $K3(\cdot j)-\dot{c}pr(\cdot w)$ (Saqqara C 8) where there are no representations on the walls and on the false door which bears only one short line of hieroglyphs: «Chief lector-priest $K3(\cdot j)-\dot{c}pr(\cdot w)$ » [Murray, 1905, pl. 3]. No other decoration was necessary since the pair statues of $K3(\cdot j)-\dot{c}pr(\cdot w)$ stood openly in the chapel [Capart, 1920, 232]. They offered exhaustive information on the owner's personality, and therefore it was possible to do without any murals. The case was the same in other chapels: in $K3j$ (Saqqara

height of one of her statues with rather individualized features [Zayed, 1958, pl. 7, 9, 11, 17; Batrawi, 1948, pl. 2–3] was 156 cm [Batrawi, 1948, 492–494]. The statues of $R^c(w)-h\dot{t}p(\cdot w)$ [St 1a], $\dot{c}nh(\cdot w)-h3:f$, [St 3a] and $R^c(w)-n\dot{f}r(\cdot w)$ [St 7a] are also close to a possible height of a man. Unfortunately, the bone remains of these persons being lost, no comparison is possible here.

C 29) and in $R^c(w)-nfr(\cdot w)$ (Saqqara C 5) their pair statues were found *in situ* in the chapels without murals [Capart, 1921; Mariette, 1889, 122–123].

Thus, pair statues placed openly in the chapel could substitute other kinds of decorations. It is noteworthy that all these cases date to the period not later than early Dyn. V. Could it be a manifestation of influence exerted on Saqqara by the «style of $Hw(j)-f-w(j)$ » which led to the reduction of murals and simultaneously required some compensation? If it holds true, some Dyn. IV chapels having no murals could be decorated with statues which did not survive – as distinct from reliefs inseparable from the walls, free-standing statuary could perish or disappear tracelessly. Perhaps, all these chapels should be regarded as a specific type (and incidentally, typological resemblance of the chapels of $K3(j)-pr(\cdot w)$ and of $R^c(w)-nfr(\cdot w)$ was noted by Capart as early as 1920 [227–228]).

* * *

Problems concerning Egyptian notions of the statues are very far from their final solution. Even the terms related to statuary are uncertain, and we cannot be sure how the Egyptians discerned various types of statues. Our study concerns only one, albeit the most important question – the conveying of individual features. Of course, the conclusions must be complemented from the viewpoints of both art historian and specialist on Egyptian ideology, but they are quite sufficient for the further discussion of the $k3$ problem.





CHAPTER 12

THE DOUBLEWORLD OF THE OLD KINGDOM TOMB

While all the above conclusions are based on more or less direct evidence, now we are turning to analysis of much more indirect information, and some deductions offered in this chapter are more hypothetical than before (except § 2). Nevertheless, the manner how the results obtained fit the already shaped picture confirms to some extent their reliability, thus allowing us to include them into this book along with more tenable theses.

Up to now, we studied the Double as an independent entity taken apart from any correlations; with this, only the Double of the tomb owner was treated, for it is best documented by murals and statuary. However, we should not disregard that the Double considered by itself, without some milieu, is a pure abstraction to be dealt with only within certain limits. Now we must overstep this boundary and try to include the Double into the context of its surroundings.

Both we and ancient Egyptians can conceive existence only as existence *some-where*, absolute isolation of an object being nonsense not only from scientific or philosophical viewpoint, but also from that of common sense. In the final analysis, life is activity, and therefore most religions cannot manage without some – although described in different manners – environment for the dead (the idea of nirvana is the rarest exception). «Existence *in vacuo* seems neither intelligible nor profitable. And, accordingly, the immortalists have usually given their imagination free rein in assigning to the future life surroundings ample for the most varied employments... That environment is, of course, a necessity, for the surviving personality must do something and it cannot be expected to function as a doer in a total vacuum. Moreover, what it does and the general background of its doings must be described sufficiently to seem worth-while and imaginable to the average man. For it is impossible to escape the fundamental consideration that the survival must be of certain *kind* if it is to be desirable, or even bearable» [Lamont, 1959, 31, 127].

The life of the Double with all its specificity had also to be inevitably imagined as life in a certain world. This world had to exist at least because the Double had to eat and to drink something. The whole complex of needs could be satisfied only by an extension of the milieu where the Double lived, through transferring into it a good deal of useful and pleasing objects and events. To describe the Double's world in the notions of the Egyptians we must reveal its basic characteristics, first of all its spatial and temporal parameters.

§ 1. Spatial Characteristics of the Doubleworld: The Issue Stated

Qualitative uniformity must be the most important property of the Double's world: all its components must be the Doubles of the respective objects in the earthly world, for otherwise it cannot exist as an integral whole. Thus, if there is, at least, a single table scene in a tomb, according to the well-known logical principle «if ghosts have garments, garments must have ghosts», besides the owner's Double, the Doubles of the chair he sits on, of the table placed before him and of the food lying on it must exist as well. Does it mean, however, that all the objects on the earth plane have their Doubles?

We have already touched upon this question in the preceding chapters and the answer quite logically following from our observations seems to be positive. It is quite evident that not only noblemen had Doubles, but also their servants, for the owner's Double can be attended only by Doubles of menials. This is supported by the interpretation of purchasing servants' representations as buying their *k3-w*; by people depicted addressing one another using «*die Anrede mit k3*»; by the fact that the Double eats not the food offerings themselves, but their *k3-w*, etc. Thus, it would be tempting to deduce that in order to produce food stuffs to feed the owner's Double, the *k3-w* of peasants ploughed the *k3* of land, sowed it with the *k3* of corn and cut the *k3* of crop with the *k3-w* of sickles, etc.; the Doubles of craftsmen worked the *k3-w* of wood, stones and metals to manufacture the *k3-w* of tables, vessels, sickles and other objects.

Besides this purely logical deduction, we have some expressive (although indirect) records, both written and archaeological. First of all we should pay attention to funeral monuments of animals (not sacred individuals, but usual pets favored by their owners); with this, Ptolemaic and Roman periods when entire species were adored and solemnly buried are of little interest as contrary to earlier epochs. Monuments of great importance are known as early as the very beginning of dynastic history. Among archaic Abydos stelae there are several dedicated to royal (?) dogs and exactly copying human monuments [Amélineau, 1889, fig. 53–54, pl. 34, 36–37; Petrie, 1900-1, pl. 32:10–12]. If we admit that the emergence of stelae reflects the formation or, at least, manifestation of the notion of the Double's world, we must recognize that this idea concerns not only human beings, but also animals. Since both the names and representations of dogs are present on the stelae, their Doubles – as those of the people – are fixed twice, as *rn-w* and *k3-w*.

Old Kingdom provides us with another illustrative evidence – an inscription about the burial of a dog (JE 67573) [Reisner, 1936-2, fig. on p. 96; Fischer, 1966, fig. 2]. Unfortunately, the block bearing this inscription was re-used in the mastaba G 2188 (late <?> Dyn. VI), and so both its original provenance and exact dating remain uncertain. The inscription is devoted to the «dog who was the guard of his *hm(w)* /i. e., of the king/, *bwtjw* by name». The king whose name is not mentioned ordered to construct a tomb for *bwtjw*, to deliver a coffin from the treasury as well as incense, gum and a large quantity of linen. Although the tomb of this guard dog was never found, it is ob-


vious that *ḥwtjw* had been buried after the human pattern,¹ which means that it could contain pictorial decoration, the Cairo block being its fragment.² Interestingly, the coffin of *ḥwtjw* was not ordered for the present instance, but offered from the treasury and, thus, a certain number of coffins for animals were kept there as a reserve, such funerals of dogs (at least, of royal guard dogs) being a common occurrence.

As contrary to the case of *ḥwtjw*, where the burial goods are enlisted but no artifacts are preserved, fragments of a wooden coffin made for a bitch have survived from the Middle Kingdom [Capart, 1908]. The bitch is called «blessed in front of the Elder God» and an offering-formula inscribed for her is analogous to those written for people. Of even more importance is the limestone sarcophagus in which the favorite feline of prince *Dḥw-tj-ms(·w)*, the son of *Jmn-ḥtp(·w) III*, was buried (CG 5003). It bears an offering-formula and a representation showing it at a table loaded with food, the scene borrowed from human monuments [Borchardt, 1908; Fischer, 1977-2, fig. 5; Hildesheim, 1979, Kat. Nr. 28; Eggebrecht, 1984, Abb. an S. 271; Berlandini-Keller, 1993, fig. on p. 21; Gabolde, 1993, fig. 1; Málek, 1993, fig. 101]. However, unlike the Middle Kingdom coffin, this sarcophagus mentions no name, the pet being called just a «blessed cat» (for more detailed treatment see Chapter 12, § 2).

Strange as it may seem, in spite of the utmost clarity of these records (see [Fischer, 1980; Brunner-Traut, 1980]), they were never used as a source for studying the problem of the Double. Only G. A. Reisner [1936-2, 98] stated that the construction of a tomb for *ḥwtjw* meant that animals were supposed to have *k3·w*, but his idea did not attract any attention, especially given that his understanding of the *k3* was oversimplified. Nevertheless, it is obvious now that Reisner's idea is correct in general³ and the burials of animals (principally dogs) should be interpreted proceeding from the notions of the Double.

We can hardly find reliable evidence proving the same as concerns inanimate objects, but nonetheless, some facts can be interpreted in that spirit. The custom of inscribing the name of an object by its representation is most illustrative in this regard. This rule manifests itself particularly well in decoration of burial chambers of Dyn. VI and in the *frises d'objets* on the coffins of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. Fixation by means of both representations and the name no doubt should be interpreted as creation of the *k3* and the *rn* (see Chapter 8, § 5).

One might well suppose that every human being, every living thing and every inorganic object have the Doubles of their own. If so, besides the earthly world there is its exact and complete duplicate – not simply a world of the Double, but an actual *Doubleworld*.

¹ The word *iz* – «tomb» is spelled with a determinative of mastaba: .

² According to G. A. Reisner, although favored by the king, *ḥwtjw* had belonged to some of the courtiers and, accordingly, the inscription came from the tomb of that nobleman. This is not impossible, but more probably it comes from the tomb of *ḥwtjw*. In any case, either interpretation does not radically change the point of the problem.

³ Reisner [1936-2, 98] rightly suggested that the *k3* of the dog would exist in a canine form, but he incorrectly assumed that it would serve the king as the «original» did. A king needs nothing earthly in his future divine life (see Chapter 12, § 2), and if he erects a tomb for his dog, it is just a *beau geste* of love and gratitude, but not a desire to resort to the service of its Double.

That was how the Egyptian hereafter was understood by G. Maspero. In 1888, he summed up the results of his studies of the *k3*, stating that «...not only human beings, but gods and animals, stones and trees, natural and artificial objects, everybody and everything had its own double – the doubles of oxen or sheep were the duplicates of the original oxen or sheep, the doubles of linen or beds, of chairs or knives, retained the same appearance as the real linen and beds, chairs and knives» [Maspero, 1893-4, 389]. It is noteworthy that his article is entitled «The Egyptian souls and their worlds» – Maspero had no doubts that the *k3* was a universal property of any object and the totality of the *k3-w* formed an entire world. The resulting picture proves exciting, approximating to the philosophy of Plato; although Maspero himself never made such a comparison, it inevitably occurs to every reader of his works.

Most probably, this consistency and philosophical completeness was especially attracting for Maspero who was notable for his strict logic and exactness of conceptual constructions. At the same time, this was most characteristic of that stage of development of Egyptology, when it seemed that very soon a harmonious picture of Egyptian culture would be created, lying at least within the logic of classical philosophers, if not within the common sense of modern Europeans. Nonetheless, all the attempts of such interpretation of the monuments were frustrated by the monuments themselves giving no evidence for the existence of a consistent and uncontradictory picture of the world in ancient Egypt. This may be why the followers of Maspero who shared his interpretation of the essence of the *k3* preferred not to treat the problem of the Doubleworld at all. The more than a century-old article cited above is still the only attempt to approach it.

It is obvious nowadays that the Egyptians' ideological notions are most specific and do not keep within any of our analogies, while their consciousness is very far from our philosophical generalization and development of logically perfect systems. Thus, both imperfection of Maspero's theory and the reason of his delusion are evident, but it would be wrong to disregard his concept as a whole. Maspero had a very keen insight and, as we previously illustrated, his contribution to the study of the *k3* is of great importance. His gravest error consisted in an extremely radical stand (which was quite natural for the founder of a school), but it should not be regarded as devoid of a core sense to be brought up to modern standards. Of course, only that aspect of his concept should be dealt with, the quintessence of which is revealed in the above cited passage. Later [Maspero, 1893-4, 389–390] he turns to the «density» of the substance of the *k3* and other very inconsistent matters, thus deviating from the core of the problem.

We should proceed from the correlation between the Double of an individual and the Doubleworld as that of the particular and the general, extrapolating to the latter what we know of the former. As demonstrated above (Chapter 10, § 1), the *k3* is born with its «original», but exists in a very vague, almost imperceptible form. To become a reliable guarantor of eternal life, the *k3* must be revealed and fixed by means of representations. The *k3* and representations prove related to one another so intimately that, probably, the «second birth» of the *k3* could often have been apprehended as the principal one. If the *k3* is not revealed, people forget the respective person very soon, no memories of him remaining after one or two generations. Therefore, although the *k3* is

an innate property of any man, it remains forever only if fixed by representations; from the momentary viewpoint it is universal and natural, while from the viewpoint of «eternal» continuation of life it is exceptional and artificial.

If the dependence of the *k3* of a man on representations is so considerable, it is needless to say about the *k3-w* of other objects. Indeed, the very physical and mental activity of man proves that his *k3* exists even if it is not revealed (although no special proof is needed in this case, for the presence of some immortal component in any individual was always and everywhere regarded as a quite natural and undubious fact); as for other creatures and all the more inanimate objects, there can be no such proof and such a conviction. Therefore we must be very prudent when telling about the *k3-w* of any objects besides people before their revealing – creation of the respective representation is practically equal to the emergence of their *k3-w*. The Doubleworld as a whole proves more artificial, much more dependent on the artist than the Double of the man itself.

Thus, *any object may have a k3, but this is not obligatory*: the *k3* appears only whenever the relevant representation is present. Maspero was definitely right when postulating that any object can be duplicated, no matter what its nature might be, but he failed to advance the conditions under which that probability could have been realized. The Doubleworld of Maspero is too philosophized, it is absolutely disengaged from the man as a bearer of cultural tradition and so independent of him that if recognizing its existence, in order to be consistent one should suggest as the next step that it could have existed even if there were no here-now. However, ancient man could never apprehend reality out of touch with himself, he was linked to it by numerous unbreakable ties, both man and the world around him being impossible one without the other. Given the dependence of the Doubleworld on human activities – on the manufacture of representations – we must introduce an important amendment.

Although the Doubleworld is a copy of the earthly world which is very exact in details, it is by no means a complete copy. It comprises only the *k3-w* of the objects wanted by the tomb owner, of the items represented on the tomb walls, of some fragments of reality. The Doubleworld proves thereby to be «constructed» artificially, which might seem strange on the face of it; however, in any religion the notion of the future life is but an absolute expression of social ideals, the next world being built of real elements selected to provide the man with all the goods appreciated in his culture and, at the same time, to avoid everything undesirable. In spite of great differences, on this common principle are based paradises of Christians and Moslems, Valhalla of the Vikings and hereafters of most ancient and modern religions. Exceptions to this rule are only some civilizations which do not see anything attractive in the posthumous existence and do not pay much attention to its abode. Aralu of Babylonians and the Hebrew Sheol, Greek Hades and Orcus of Romans do not imitate the earthly reality, but it should be explained by the fact that they are too featureless in general because of these peoples' pessimistic view of their next life. On the other hand, whenever there is an optimistic interest in the posthumous being, it results in attributing to it some elements of earthly life selected according to the respective system of values; thus, any next

world is but «constructed». For this reason, although very specific, the Egyptian Doubleworld is created according to the same universal rules, unusual being only the method of «constructing» it by means of representations.

Our conclusion can be postulated as follows now: the existence of the *k3* is not merely a property of any object, but a property of a wanted object; the Doubleworld created by representations consists of the *k3-w* of only those beings and things which its owner needs, which he liked in lifetime and wishes to keep forever.⁴ As repeatedly stated above, only the household of its owner is depicted in the tomb. Now we may paraphrase this statement: the Doubleworld reproduces reality within the limits of the owner's household. This is no wonder, for enormous Old Kingdom households provided their owners with practically everything needed. These were economically independent units rather faintly connected with the surrounding world. The cases when the

⁴ An interesting parallel can be drawn between these notions and the doctrine of spiritualism. According to famous British spiritualist Sir Oliver Lodge, the spirit of his deceased son Raymond described the nature of his world as follows: «Everything that is necessary to man, everything that man in a sense makes his own, has an etheric duplicate. Take a chair as illustration. It may be that the chair you see at home, your material chair, and the chair that we see, which is your chair on our side, the etheric chair, are one and the same thing really... You can mold an etheric body of a thing – a piano, a clock, a desk – by loving and liking to have it with you. You imbue it with a kind of etheric life, you provide the pattern, the mental pattern, which gives it etheric form. Your thought about a thing provides a kind of pattern upon which the ether is formed and molded» [Lodge, 1928, 104–106]. «People here try to provide everything that is wanted. A chap came over the other day who *would* have a cigar... He thought that they would never be able to provide that. But there are laboratories over here, and they manufacture all sorts of things in them... It's not the same as on the earth plane, but they were able to manufacture what looked like a cigar» [Lodge, 1916, 197]. These ideas so witty ridiculed by Jerome Jerome in his «Told After Supper» are most vividly expounded in a message from the spirit of Lester Coltman, the chemist. In his story realism is carried to the point of absurdity: «My work is continued here as it began on earth, in scientific channels, and, in order to pursue my studies, I visit frequently a laboratory possessing extraordinarily complete facilities for carrying of experiments. I have a home of my own, delightful in the extreme, complete with library filled with books of reference – historical, scientific, medical – and, in fact, with every type of literature... I have a music-room containing every mode of sound expression. I have pictures of rare beauty and furnishing of exquisite design... From my windows undulating country of great beauty is seen, and at a short distance away a house of community exists, where many good souls working in my laboratory live in happy concord» [Walbrook, 1924, 32–34]. It is enough to replace the «etheric body» by the *k3* in these descriptions, and we shall obtain something very much like the Egyptian Doubleworld. This striking similarity of the concepts separated by five millennia is of typological nature. God played very insignificant role in theory and practice of spiritualism, and whatever Christian some adherents of that teaching could be, the creator was very distant from the future life as they imagined it («Spiritualism is a system of thought and knowledge which can be reconciled with any religion... Spiritualism alone supplies all that man needs» [Conan Doyle, 1926-2, 246–247]). Old Kingdom Egyptians also did not include gods in their Doubleworld, which, as a result, proved quite realistic. Although the next world is usually constructed after the earthly pattern, the presence of the god or gods never allows it to be an exact copy – the nearness of the deity dramatically changes the status of the deceased as compared with the here-now and puts him in positions impossible in the lifetime. In absence of divinity, as in the cases of the Old Kingdom Egyptians and spiritualists, the next world can be a much more precise copy of reality, since it includes solely objects and phenomena the deceased was in touch when alive and his interests are the same as those of the living ones.

household was unable to provide some specific services (for instance, to build and decorate a tomb) were fairly infrequent. Thus it was quite sufficient to construct the Doubleworld as an imitation of the owner's household – it could guarantee the Double of the nobleman that it would be provided with everything needed.

Being exact and minute, tomb representations are by right regarded as the most important source for studying almost all the aspects of life in the Old Kingdom. Nevertheless, although accurate even in slightest details, they often seriously deform many aspects of key importance. The Doubleworld is not only narrower than the real one – sometimes it also gravely differs from reality. Therefore we never will be able to understand this world, unless we shed light on the admissible limits of these distortions of reality and reveal the rules they obey.

§ 2. Distortions of Reality in the Doubleworld

Specific interpretation of the artist's role in the creation of the Doubleworld led the Egyptians to a conscious improvement of their hereafter. Were the *k3* born with the man, were it exclusively primary as related to representations, the following picture could be outlined: an artist has no freedom in his creative work – he can but servilely reproduce the already existent *k3*, his «copy» only following the «original». However, prior to be represented, the Double exists in a very vague form in which it cannot considerably outlive the man. Representation reveals and fixes the Double, thus conditioning it for an eternal life. When fixing the *k3*, some divergence of details as compared with the «original» is inevitable and quite natural, especially given that the *k3* cannot be an absolute duplicate due to the very nature of human psyche (see Chapter 11, § 1).

Hence an intention to improve the «copy», to perfect the Doubleworld, which gives rise to numerous departures from reality in Egyptian tomb decoration. Strange enough, the consequences of that practice remained unnoticed for a long time; only O. D. Berlev [1978, 18] has demonstrated that «Egyptian artists created in tombs the world based on an indisputable and true reflection of reality, but not confined to it and not explainable exclusively by it. Thus, in order to understand this reality by means of the present source... one should look at it through the eyes of the people who created this in many respects precious source. We have tried to compare the objective and the subjective aspects <of tomb representations>... and immediately ascertained that the Egyptians did not equate them. Moreover, regarding the objective aspect as given, Egyptians were concerned about the subjective one as well. If he ignores this, the modern scholar... overlooks an important historical and cultural phenomenon essential for the description of Egyptian society in general». These words are an excellent introduction to the discussion of the problem undertaken in Berlev's book from the position of social history. In our turn, we must scrutinize the ideological slant of the same problem proceeding from the notion of the Double (cf. [Bolshakov, 1987-1, 31–32; 1994-1, 25–29]).

Distortions of reality may be conventionally subdivided in two groups. Distortions of the first kind leave unpictured all harmful, dangerous, unpleasant, or just useless aspects of reality and, thus, exclude them from the Doubleworld. On the contrary, distor-

tions of the second kind consist in representing something, which, although absent in reality, can improve the Doubleworld, and so is transformed into its integral part. Combining these two groups of distortions makes it possible to essentially alter many features of the Doubleworld as compared with the real life.

Spatial scantiness of the Doubleworld is the most significant distortion of the first kind. Since in life the nobleman needed almost nothing outside his household, he strove for eternal withdrawing within the limits of his domains: the rest of the world was so unnecessary that it was not represented. Consequences of vital importance follow from this attitude.

State service is never shown in Old Kingdom tombs, although their owners were but officials;⁵ occupations of these men, positions they reached and success they scored are known only from the lists of their titles and sometimes from their (auto)biographical inscriptions. However, biographies describe only the past events worth and pleasant to be recalled, but having nothing to do with the future life. As to the lists of titles, they were recorded to define more precisely the name of the tomb owner, but we have not a slightest hint that they reflect his desire to hold the same posts in the Doubleworld.

Characteristically, we know a good deal of scribe statues, but mural reliefs never represent the tomb owner as a scribe. M. Eaton-Krauss [1984, 20] offered an excellent explanation of the phenomenon: «The attitude of the squatting scribe documents the tomb owner's service for some superior authority, but in the decoration of Old Kingdom tombs, the tomb owner is the highest ranking person depicted. The scribe attitude is not in keeping with the rank of the tomb owner evinced in the reliefs and paintings of the tomb». Statuary portraying the nobleman as a scribe was possible since it was usually isolated in the serdab and existed by itself; in the murals creating a whole world with some fragments of social structure, the scribe attitude had to be avoided.

State service which occupied the entire life of an Egyptian official was complicated, troublesome, sometimes even dangerous, and so a desire to get rid of it in the hereafter was quite natural.⁶ However, only service gave the right to possess a household in reality, independent private property playing insignificant role in the life of even the richest people in the Old Kingdom. Thus, a very serious distortion springs up – in his Doubleworld, the nobleman receives all the goods the state service can give, although he does not serve.

⁵ Badly damaged representation of a pyramid and a temple (?) have survived near the entrance to the tomb of *Jntj/Šdw* at Deshasha [Petrie, 1898, pl. 24; Kanawati, McFarlane, 1993, pl. 44]. It might be interpreted as a unique scene of priestly service performed in a pyramid temple, but the poor state of preservation makes any definite conclusions out of question. Much more intelligible are the scenes of besieging fortresses in the tombs of *Jntj* (Deshasha) [Petrie, 1898, pl. 4; Capart, 1930, fig. 154; Kanawati, McFarlane, 1993, pl. 27] and of *K3(.j)-m-hz-t* (Saqqara) [Quibell, Hayter, 1927, frontisp.; Capart, 1930, fig. 152]. Since military actions could be undertaken only by the king's order, these scenes represent the state service. Probably, capturing these fortresses was such a great success in the life of both *Jntj* and *K3(.j)-m-hz-t*, that in order to immortalize it they ignored the general rule of avoiding the scenes of official duties.

⁶ Some analogy to this may be seen in the later practice of escaping king's works by means of ushabti statuettes. The method of improving the next life – making «deputies» – is different, but the sense is quite the same.

Changing a single element – the attitude toward service – dramatically alters the life in the Doubleworld in comparison with reality. Almost in every book on ancient Egypt we are told that the Egyptians believed the dead highest officials to form the same court around the deceased king as in the lifetime. However, as we can see, they essentially preferred to give up their service in the next life. The only argument in favor of a certain «posthumous court» is concentration of mastabas by pyramids. However, this pursued a purely practical object: it is much easier to secure a cult when the tombs are arranged in compact groups. Indeed, very often the metropolitan noblemen built their tombs far from the pyramids of their sovereigns. Most probably, the choice of the place depended much on the holiness of certain localities and on their proximity to the domiciles of the descendants. For instance, near the pyramids of the kings of Dyn. VI at the remote and uninhabited Saqqara South, mostly their priests are buried, whereas their more or less high ranking contemporaries (except the viziers of *Pjprj II*) preferred the populous region in the proximity of the city and the Step Pyramid, one of the greatest sacred objects of the Old Kingdom. Of importance were also some family traditions which are quite unintelligible now; for instance, many courtiers and even viziers of the kings whose pyramids stand at Saqqara were buried at Giza, their tombs constituting extensive family complexes.

This independence did not displease kings and was considered admissible. For example, when *W3š-pth*, the vizier and architect of *Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r'(w)* died, his son – by reasons unknown – erected for him a mastaba near the pyramid of *S3h-w(j)-r'(w)*, and the king not only did not blame *W3š-pth* for the «betrayal», but even made him a great favor granting him a sarcophagus and providing his cult [*Urk.* I, 43–45]. This is to be expected: after his death, the king does not need the former court anymore – upon losing the human component of his nature, he lives among gods in the realm inaccessible to the courtiers. The noblemen's desire to get rid of their service coincides with the uselessness of the officialdom for the dead king. Cemeteries around the pyramid of *Hw(j)-f-w(j)* constructed according to a common plan cannot contribute to the theory of the «posthumous court», although they are repeatedly referred to by the defenders of that concept – having erected burial edifices for his retinue, *Hw(j)-f-w(j)* had to take upon himself also the provision of their cult,⁷ and compact accommodation of the tombs was the best way to do it; an aspiration to create an architectural framing worthy of the Great Pyramid should not be underestimated as well. Other kings preferred to manage without such expensive projects, therefore the ensemble of *Hw(j)-f-w(j)* remains unique.⁸

Turning to the distortions of the second type, we should stress that the household is always depicted somewhat different from reality. In life (of course, only in the case of

⁷ It should not be forgotten that the offering-formula mentioning the king as a giver of the boon was introduced under *S3fi-w(j)* and its contents no doubt corresponded to reality not only under *Hw(j)-f-w(j)*, but at least during the whole Dyn. IV.

⁸ It seems that an attempt to create something similar was made at a smaller scale by *Ddf-r'(w)* [Bisson de la Roque, 1925, pl. 1–3], but because of the brevity of his reign and the political situation unfavorable for Abu-Rawash, it was unsuccessful.

the elite whose tombs are our main source though) it consisted of numerous estates being independent units located far from one another, which allowed it to produce all kinds of goods within its limits and which made it self-providing and self-sufficient. Formulae of seeing and the titles of the delivery scenes frequently mention that offerings are brought to the tomb owner «from his estates of Upper and Lower Egypt». Sometimes these records are rendered concrete in the legends to representations of personified estates mentioning the nomes where these estates are encountered – they may be spread all over the country.⁹ Nevertheless, within the system of tomb decoration, all these units form an integral and compact whole which never existed in reality. This distortion made it possible to show all the estates at once and, at the same time, did not deviate too far from reality – the world of representations eliminated solely the inessential spatial remoteness of separate estates, but for it their much more important economical unity was stressed.

The tightness of the Doubleworld and its artificial concentration results in a very significant distortion of the second kind, which, by the way, illustrates the conventional character of their division in two groups. This is the alteration of the owner's place in the Doubleworld as compared with the real life. Since the Doubleworld is reduced to the household of the nobleman, the latter is its absolute lord. It was the same in reality, but there any man, no matter how high his position was and how unrestricted his power might be, was worthless in front of the king. When the limits of the household turn into those of the Doubleworld, the situation changes radically. The tomb owner becomes the center of an entire world where everything and everybody exist only for his sake – just because there is no other lord in it.

With this, not only the king's power proves non-existent, but also any other authority over the tomb owner. The Doubleworlds of people standing at different levels in the official hierarchy are constructed upon the same model. Provided a subordinate was able to build and decorate a tomb, he occupied in his new world the same place as his superior did in his (the only difference is in the sizes of their Doubleworlds). Thus, inequality within the ruling class was leveled. For instance, *Whm-k3(.j)* was «overseer of the house» of prince *K3(.j)-n(j)-n(j)-sw.t I*, in whose tomb (G 2155) he was pictured as a servant [Junker, 1934, Abb. 19, Taf. 7-a]. However, in the mastaba of *Whm-k3(.j)* (Giza D. 117) placed by that of his lord, the Doubleworld is constructed according to the highest standards [Kayser, 1964, Abb. an S. 24–25, 30–33]. *Whm-k3(.j)* is its central figure, his position not yielding to that of *K3(.j)-n(j)-n(j)-sw.t I* in his world: the real status of *Whm-k3(.j)* is reflected only in the lists of his insignificant titles. The latter is an excellent evidence proving that the presence of these lists does not reflect a desire for holding the respective posts eternally – in his Doubleworld, *Whm-k3(.j)* is quite independent and at the same time has more goods than his service could give him.

⁹ This is best recorded in the complex of *3h-t(j)-htp(.w)* and *Pth-htp(.w)* (Saqqara D 64) where processions of personified estates from a number of nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt are depicted [Davies, 1901-1, pl. 4, 10–11, 14; Paget, Pirie, 1898, pl. 34–35].

Of course, the case of *Whm-k3(.j)* is not typical, for usually people of his social standing were unable to construct so imposing tombs, but nonetheless it is illustrative. Most probably, the mastaba of *Whm-k3(.j)* was built and decorated at the expense of *K3(.j)-n(j)-n(j)-sw.t I* as a reward to his faithful servant of modest means. If this deduction is true (and it must be), it means that the lord did justice to the aspiration of his servant for independence in the Doubleworld and could even contribute to the fulfilment of his desire. The state of affairs is nearly the same here as in the case of the king and his courtiers. The lord was not disturbed by the fact that his servants found independence, because it happened only in their own Doubleworlds, while in his world they remained still attendants. Therefore, *K3(.j)-n(j)-n(j)-sw.t I* did not lose anything when creating the Doubleworld for *Whm-k3(.j)*: since representations of *Whm-k3(.j)* showing him as a subordinate person were present in the prince's mastaba, *K3(.j)-n(j)-n(j)-sw.t I* could eternally enjoy his services. All these surprising «divarications of reality» result from the absolute autonomy of different Doubleworlds.

Ridding himself of the need to obey, the owner of the Doubleworld retained the possibility to subordinate. The Doubles of the people whom he takes to his world are related with him in the same manner as their «originals» were in the lifetime. Since the Doubleworld is created for its owner only, the others are taken to it only because they serve him. Thus, their representations are usually uninscribed – the owner is only interested in the power of labor, individuality of the servants being the last thing to think about. The case was the same in reality – owners of enormous Old Kingdom households just could not know the names and faces of all their men; these people were for them but a featureless and nameless mass, whose sole characteristic was a capability to work. This attitude of the owner toward his men had to inevitably be transferred to the Doubleworld. Among subordinate men, those honored with the record of their names were fairly scarce. These are mostly overseers of the household and of its separate units, as well as the «servants of the *k3*»; i. e., people whom their lord knew personally, who were close to him and engaged in activities requiring some initiative, who were, thus, distinguished from the mass and judged as personalities.

Analogous was also the attitude toward the individuality of animals: closeness to the owner played here a decisive part as well. Representations of dogs (starting from the Old Kingdom) and cats (since Dyn. XII) are often in the tombs, but, as a rule, only the names of dogs are recorded. As a result, over seventy canine names are known from all periods of Egyptian history [Janssen J. M. A., 1958; Fischer, 1961; 1977-2; Simpson, 1977], but only one cat is mentioned by name [Davies, 1922, pl. 9; Fischer, 1977-2, fig. 4]. This is no wonder – a dog was «man's best friend», a devoted helper for the hunt, while a cat, with its independent character, kept aloof and therefore a dog's individuality was distinguished much better than that of cats. Accordingly, in the Doubleworld the man wished to see the Double of *his* dog, *his* friend, which was achieved by inscribing its name, while cats remained but cats in general. Even when prince *Dhw-tj-ms(.w)* buried his beloved puss (see above, § 1), the offering-formula on the coffin mentioned only the «blessed cat» without any name. Solemn burials of cats were still rare in Dyn. XVIII, the word «cat» itself being sufficient to identify the buried animal,

and therefore the boon provided by the formula could not fall into the paws of a wrong animal. Attitudes toward other pets (e. g., monkeys) were the same. Thus, the Egyptians recognized mainly individuality of the dogs, although the Doubles of other animals also could exist. All this re-confirms our understanding of the Doubleworld (Chapter 11, § 1).

However, let us return to the representations of working people, who are always shown young, strong, healthy and similar as two peas in a pod. This is another distortion of reality predetermined by the fact that such was the appearance of the Double different from that of man. At the same time, it was fairly advantageous for the tomb owner: although among his menials there were old and weak as well as cripples, in the Doubleworld they were replaced by choice fellows capable of any work. Of course, artists could convey actual features, thus approaching reality, but it was never done, for any violation of the standard would mean a shortcoming of the labor. The only exception to this rule are representations of bold men (e. g. [Dunham, Simpson, 1974, fig. 4; Moussa, Altenmüller, 1977, Abb. 10, 12, 24, Taf. 24; Steindorff, 1913, Taf. 110–113, 116–118; Wild, 1953, pl. 110–113, 115, 117, 119, 120–124; Simpson, 1976-2, pl. C, D; Duell, 1938, pl. 21, 52; Blackman, 1953, pl. 30]), but this defect was not critical enough to cause damage to the tomb owner. Real physical defects appear only in Middle Kingdom representations (the famous shepherds in the Meir tomb of *Wh-htp(.w)* [Blackman, 1915, pl. 6]), but these cases are still extremely rare – tomb owners do not want to damage their eternal well-being.¹⁰

It is probable that the featurelessness of the laborers sometimes might have urged people of modest means to show their servants more numerous than they were in fact. Unfortunately, this cannot be verified since we have no alternative documents irrelevant of the Doubleworld to be compared with tomb representations. It also may be possible that the number of cattle sometimes mentioned in the legends to representations does not conform to reality, but here, too, we can but state our doubts (cf. [Perepelkin, 1988-1, 199–200, 202–203]).

Absence of names by the pictures of servants, i. e., the lack of their individuality, caused another distortion, for this once not related with the original tomb decoration. A man having no means to make a monument of his own constantly saw numerous representations of nameless people in rich tombs. Of course, he conceived a wish to add his name to one or several of such pictures, thus introducing his Double into the world of that tomb. It was not impossible from the viewpoint of morals, since the tomb owner was not concerned at all about concrete people working for him; at the same time, servants represented without indicating their names did not exist as personalities and adding names to such representations was not a crime. These additions demonstrate very well how eager the Egyptians who were unable to create their own Doubleworlds were to occupy subordinate positions in the worlds of somebody else in order not to vanish at

¹⁰ In the scenes of the boatmen jousting, pugnacious fellows are often depicted mutilating each other. Yet the quarrel arises when delivering offerings to the tomb owner, the crew of each boat trying to outdistance and push aside the rivals, thus displaying zeal in making their work. The advantage of pictorial fixation of that zeal was regarded by the owner as exceeding the damage caused by it to the Doubles of his servants [Bolshakov, 1983-1 = 1993-2]. Characteristically, no other scenes of violence are shown in the tombs.

all. This practice is still to be scrutinized in both social and ideological terms, but its meaning is quite obvious in general.

There was another way to penetrate into the Doubleworlds of other people. The Double of a man who was able to make only a humble monument with a single representation was condemned to exist in solitude. On the other hand, if the same picture was placed in the sumptuously decorated tomb of a rich man, the Double entered that world as a subordinate person. Of interest in this respect is the tomb of the Meir nomarch *Pjpi-nh(w)* the Middle. It contains graffiti (representations with legends) of several men calling themselves his «servants of the *k3*» [Blackman, 1924-1, pl. 3]. These graffiti are not synchronous to the tomb: at least one of them, that belonging to a certain *Ffj*, can be dated to Dyn. XII [ibid., 32, note 4] when the cult of the nomarch had no doubt already ceased. Thus, these people were never priests in real life – they just pretended to be so in order to enable their Doubles to join the magnificent Doubleworld of *Pjpi-nh(w)* the Middle. As for the choice of the priestly position, it was made proceeding from moral reasons: making intrusive representations in a tomb is an act of misbehavior, and so in order to justify that act, it had to be made profitable for the tomb owner as well. Since within the framework of Egyptian notions any person bringing offerings performs priestly service (and this is the way the strangers depicted themselves), the nomarch obtains eternal priests for nothing and has no grounds to blame them for intruding into his Doubleworld.

Of course, any man of some wealth tried to provide himself with numerous priests, and here he also sometimes deformed the reality. Interpretation of the artists' remuneration as the price of the Doubles of depicted people is just a distortion of that kind. When *J3r-tj* states in his inscription that he bought the «servant of the *k3*» *Hnm-tj* (Chapter 8, § 2), he resorts to a deliberate fiction: actually such a transaction was impossible for mortuary priests never were slaves, but since it could have provided the cult performance more surely than any ordinary contract and have tied the priest more closely to the tomb owner, it was considered feasible in the Doubleworld.

Distortions concerned also the outer appearance of the tomb owner. Due to its very nature, the *k3* is eternally young and strong, even though in the moment of his death the man could be old and decrepit. Thus, the lord of the Doubleworld not only enjoys material goods, but also exists in the ideal and most desirable state.

The number of illustrations can be increased,¹¹ but it is already evident that the distortions of reality played a very significant role in constructing the Doubleworld. The

¹¹ Another distortion of the first kind should be mentioned, although its nature is somewhat different. Representations of the sun, moon and stars are absent in private tombs, which, of course, could not improve the Doubleworld. Most probably we are dealing here with the notion of the holiness of heavenly bodies not allowing them to be pictured besides the royal monuments (cf. stars on the ceiling of the burial chamber in the pyramid of *Wnjs* [Piankoff, 1968, pl. 4–7]). The properties of the Doubleworld, however, made it possible to do without such pictures. The notion of representations as a source of light and that of the deceased as *Jz-t-jr-t* guaranteed the presence of light in the Doubleworld, thus compensating the absence of the forbidden luminaries. In contrast to this forced distortion, most of them concerned not natural phenomena, but social life – even in the Doubleworld the Egyptians had no claim on changing the laws of nature.

whole complex of such distortions greatly improves the Doubleworld as compared with the real life. Absolute isolation of the Doubleworld is the most important improvement transforming the owner of a household into the lord on a world scale (although the world itself is very tiny) and making him independent of any superiors.

Let us sum up our observations. Since the Doubleworlds of different people are isolated from one another, the hierarchy of their owners which existed in the real life disappears and both a chief and his subordinate hold the same position of unconditional domination in their tiny worlds. Social relations within the household remain unchanged in general, but they are also modified to strengthen the power of its lord. Each world is isolated, but it is possible to penetrate into it – although at the cost of turning into a subordinate person. The practice of adding names to anonymous representations allows us for the first time in the human history to trace some elements of social psychology and to see not only the optimism of the lords whose position and wealth guarantee them a happy eternal existence, but also the despair of the lower strata deprived of that eternity and striving for joining the worlds of wealthy people as their servants.

Of course, all these distortions in social sphere do not mean a conscious desire of noblemen to get rid in their Doubleworlds of the supremacy of the king or of their superiors. In the overcentralized country with the ruling class formed by rigorously stratified officialdom, such an idea was impossible, to say nothing of its embodiment in numerous monuments which most probably were built under supervision of the state. The reason of this distortion is quite different. When the system of tomb decoration was being shaped under Dyn. IV, the lack of space for murals was the decisive factor for selecting only the topics related to the feeding of the tomb owner. The state service was one of the forcedly missing subjects, its deliberate elimination from the Doubleworld being out of question. The repertoire of representations was fixed and, as a result, in the later period, when the quantity of murals drastically increased, the tradition did not allow to introduce new topics, the scenes of the service included. In late Dyn. V – early Dyn. VI, tomb decoration started to imitate the whole household, and the advantages of the absence of these scenes became obvious. This main and unpremeditated distortion gave rise to most distortions of both the first and the second kind. With this, however grave the distortions could be, they gave much to their addressees without depriving anybody of anything. Of course, this practice which was both advantageous for some people and harmless for the others could not help striking root in tomb decoration.

However, although the Doubleworld is not quite adequate to the real one, distortions have some limits which cannot be overstepped. A humble person probably could overstate the number of his servants, but, as far as we know, an unmarried or childless man could not represent a fictive wife or children. Such fiction was impermissible, for it should have meant creation of human beings having individualities – names in the first place – which is radically different from making nameless and featureless servants. Most characteristic is also the complete lack of chapels for the cult of infants who were sometimes buried in the tombs of their parents [Feucht, 1980, 428]. Chapels were made to reproduce the households of their proprietors, whereas infants could not have domains of their own, so that it would have been necessary to invent them in full. As a result, the

Egyptians confined themselves with picturing children in the chapels of their parents: children had no Doubleworlds as they had no households in reality, but, instead, they entered the parents' worlds.¹²

Thus, it is indisputable that reality was deformed in the Doubleworld, but this was made according to certain rules and within certain limitations. So we cannot doubt the tomb representations being a reliable source for studying economics, social relations and ideology; moreover, if we know these rules and limitations, the distortions themselves enable us to understand better the attitude of the Egyptians toward different aspects of their life, to approach their – sometimes unconscious – life ideals they hoped to attain in the Doubleworld.

§ 3. Spatial Characteristics of the Doubleworld: Conclusions

In the course of our study, we have advanced a number of successive definitions of the Doubleworld.

- ◆ The Doubleworld is a *copy of the real world* including the Doubles of all objects existent in reality (interpretation by Maspero).
- ◆ The Doubleworld is an *incomplete copy of the real world*, a copy of a part of it.
- ◆ The Doubleworld is a *part of the real world which is immediately related with the tomb owner*.
- ◆ The Doubleworld is a *copy of the household of the tomb owner*.
- ◆ The Doubleworld is a *copy of the household of the tomb owner improved by numerous distortions of reality*.

Thus, the Doubleworld is a tiny world including the Doubles of everybody and everything in the household of its owner and existing exclusively for the sake of his Double. While in the religions of other cultures, the milieu of the posthumous existence is usually imagined as a certain world where *all the dead* live (at least all those pertaining to the same social status), the Egyptian Doubleworld is intended only for the Double of the tomb owner; the Doubles of other people may enter it only if they are close to the owner (his relatives) or if he needs their services (attendants). The same reasons of personal attachment and comfort are involved when other objects are included into the Doubleworld.

Like the Old Kingdom household, the Doubleworld is closed, but since everything is rendered absolute there, its closeness is absolute as well. In reality the household is a self-providing unit, but this does not mean, of course, that there are no other similar units around it. As for the Doubleworld, its detachment turns into negation of any environment which does not directly concern the owner – practically it does not exist at all

¹² Certainly, whenever a tomb was usurped and the usurper replaced the name of its owner by his name, he appropriated the respective household which did not belong to him in reality: fiction exceeds all admissible limits. However, usurpation is not a norm, but a crime and impermissible is the very way of perversion – not its scale.

(of course, it holds true solely from the viewpoint of the owner, but in the Doubleworld this is the only possible point of view).

Since a great number of tombs function in Egypt at every given moment, each of them having its own Doubleworld, such a negation means that all these tiny worlds are absolutely separated from and independent of one another.¹³ A man wishing the Doubles of his people to be near his Double, simply pictured them in his chapel, thereby including them into his world, even if the persons represented had tombs of their own. If for some reason a person erected and decorated several tombs, in each of them an independent Doubleworld existed. For instance, queen *Htp-hr-s II* had three monuments: the northern chapel and the northern burial chamber in the mastaba of her husband *K3(j)-w' b(-w)* (G 7110), mastaba G 7530+7540 which she granted to her daughter *Mr(j)-s(j)-nh(-w) III* who died suddenly, and, finally, mastaba G 7350 where she was buried [Dunham, Simpson, 1974, 7]. *Htp-hr-s II* is represented in all these chapels and so three Doubleworlds of hers function simultaneously, two of them having nothing to do with her burial place.

Such instances are rather frequent; tombs could be constructed for the same man even in different parts of the country. For example, *Mrjj-r'(w)-nfr(-w)/Pjpp-nfr(-w)/K3r* built his tomb at Giza (BM 1319, 1330, 1341, 1342 [British Museum, 1961, pl. 32–34] + Hermitage □18233 [Bolshakov, 1983-2, fig. on p. 37, 38]). Later, when he was transferred to Edfu, he made there another decorated tomb [Daressy, 1917] in which he was buried [Bolshakov, 1983-2, 39]. Similarly, the famous *Wnj* had a tomb at one of the Memphite cemeteries and another at Abydos (see Chapter 10, § 2). Since the first tombs were not intentionally dismantled in these cases, it is obvious that the existence of their worlds did not hinder their owners and was even advantageous.¹⁴ Of course, all these exceptions are not deliberate – they sprang up from personal affairs of concrete people, but even when following standards, the Egyptians sought for increasing their monuments in number, thus multiplying the Doubleworlds.

This is well demonstrated by the practice of constructing cenotaphs which was initiated in the Middle Kingdom by rapid development of the cult of *Jz-t-jr-t* at Abydos. Everyone wanted to accommodate his Double near the tomb and the temple of that god, and it was possible to realize that desire due to the nature of the Doubleworld.

¹³ Proceeding from the fact that an entrance thickness of the mastaba of *H'(j)-f-hw(j)-f-w(j) I* (G 7140) bears a representation of the tomb owner entering the chapel with his mother [Simpson, 1978, pl. 15c, 16a, fig. 26; bibliography *PM III*², 188] who was buried elsewhere, H. Junker [1954, 171–175] suggested that the dead (i. e., their Doubles) were able to wander around the necropoleis paying visits to one another. This interpretation is probable (although being based on a single monument, it requires some extra corroboration), but even if Junker was quite right, the possibility of such visits means that only some worlds (those of close relatives) were linked and in a single aspect only (meetings of the owners). Moreover, we should bear in mind that going forth from the tomb can be a far more ancient idea adapted to the concept of the Double.

¹⁴ Only tombs of princes who later became kings are an exclusion to this rule – human Doubleworlds of their chapels contradicted the divine nature of the king which manifested itself when he ascended the throne. So these worlds had to be destroyed by dismantling the chapels or, at least, by removing representations and erasing names [Bolshakov, 1994-2; 1995-2].

Egyptian cenotaph is a purely pictorial monument imitating a chapel. It is either an ordinary stela or (very rare) three slabs put at right angle to one another thus modeling a room; representations are the same as on the true stelae. They create a Doubleworld of their own, bearing no relation to the body of the deceased or to the Doubleworld of the tomb chapel.

Since the Doubleworlds were so independent that they did not exist relative to one another, numerous monuments of the same person caused no problems (how one *k3* was related to another? which one of them was «genuine»? etc.), providing at the same time additional guarantees that at least one of the monuments and, respectively, one of the Doubleworlds would survive intact.

An important evidence is provided by the first story of the demotic cycle about prince *H'(j)-m-w3s-t*. Great sage *H'(j)-m-w3s-t* searches in the Memphite necropoleis for the magical book of *Dhw-tj* and finally finds it in the tomb of ancient sorcerer *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ*. In the tomb he meets both *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ* and his wife, converses with them and even plays «draughts» (Ch. I, IV:28–30). What is the hypostasis in which the deceased couple contacts him? Although the beginning of the tale and of the episode is lost, the situation can be certainly reconstructed. The text frankly tells us that only *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ* is buried in the tomb found by the prince (Ch. I, IV:25), whereas his wife and son lie in Coptos (Ch. I, IV:11, 16), 650 km away from Memphis. Nevertheless, according to *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ*, all of them are at the same time in the Memphite tomb: «They are in Coptos and also here, in this tomb, by the skill of a good scribe» (Ch. I, VI:4). There can be no doubt that they are the Doubles.¹⁵ F. Ll. Griffith [1900, 38–39] believed that this had been provided by magic formulae of the Book of the Dead securing free transference anywhere. A. M. Blackman [1935, p. 6, note 6] objected that rather representations are meant («scribe» = «artist»). His opinion seems to be preferable, because despite the vagueness of the notions of the Late Period, the main feature of the concept of the Double – relation of the *k3* and representations – remained invariable. Thus, if recognizing that the Doubles of *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ*, his wife and son are described, we must also admit that their life together was possible just owing to representations. So the first

¹⁵ Some passages may seem to contradict this conclusion. In order to enter the tomb, the prince takes out a stone (Ch. I, IV:36) and goes down somewhere (Ch. I, V:35), which can be regarded as a description of entering the burial chamber. Another point which may seem to confirm this is the fact that once *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ* is mentioned as «rising on his bed» (Ch. I, IV:27) – he appears not as an active Double, but rather as a resting mummy. However, these contradictions should not confuse us. By the time the tale was written, the notion of the Double and its world had already lost its original exactness, and the Old Kingdom opposition of the burial chamber to the chapel had been forgotten (see Chapter 13), so that the author could well accommodate the Doubles not in the cult rooms, but in the substructure. But violent penetrating into the burial chamber contradicts to the image of the sage and, most probably, removing of the stone should be interpreted as the clearing of the tomb entrance buried under debris; in that case *H'(j)-m-w3s-t* entered the chapel. As to *N(3)-nfr-k3-ptḥ* being in bed, it should not be understood too literally: the deceased – even in the hypostasis of the Double – is expected to be seen lying, such a contamination being quite possible in the late text. Finally, we should not forget that the tale appeared among people not aware of ideological conceptions and faintly imagining Old Kingdom cult practice, rough misrepresentations being but natural here (it was A. G. Souschkevsky who called my attention to this detail).

story of the *H(j)-m-w3s-t* cycle vividly confirms that the Doubleworld is quite independent of the burial place and can include the Doubles of other persons, no matter where they might be buried, without getting in contact or merging with their Doubleworlds.

Although the number of illustrations can be increased *ad infinitum*, we already have enough grounds for drawing conclusions concerning the essence of the Doubleworld. This tiny world is a closed improved copy of the nobleman's household needing nothing beyond its borders. Its isolation is absolute and it has no ties with other similar worlds. Any amount of the Doubleworlds can be created for every person; besides, the Double can live in the worlds of other people as well, provided that their monuments bear representations of the «original». The total of these small worlds does not form a larger common world, however discrete by its structure; moreover, it is quite wrong to talk about them as a whole, for if looking from within one of them, the others do not exist at all.

Thus, an Old Kingdom Doubleworld is qualitatively different from the next worlds of other cultures. First, it does not exist from the beginning of the Universe but is *created anew* for each person. Second, it is not a common abode for all dead people, but a domain *created only for its owner*, including his relatives and servants, but closed for strangers. Third, the Doubleworld is *not exclusively posthumous* – it usually starts functioning when its owner is still alive; it can be defined as parallel to the earthly world or, more exactly, to a part of it.¹⁶

§ 4. Egyptian Designation of the Doubleworld

The term «Doubleworld» is invented by the present writer to designate the realm created by means of representations; there is no exact analogy to it in the Egyptian language. Does it mean that our reconstruction has nothing in common with reality and is but a mere fantasy?

It is well known that preference given by the Egyptians to certain terms was not function of their importance, exactness, degree of generalization, etc., but had different reasons making them more handy and vivid from their viewpoint. That peculiarity of ancient apprehension is distinctly revealed, for instance, in Egyptian social terminology. The same phenomenon holds true also in the case of the Doubleworld.

¹⁶ Apropos of this concept, A. G. Soushchevsky remarked that the miraculous island of the «Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor» (pHermitage □1115) is constructed after the pattern of the Doubleworld. First, it is isolated from the outer world. Second, it has only one inhabitant excluded from any social relations. Third, it is a realm of abundance, where there is everything which might be ever desired (and which is offered and represented in the tombs). Fourth, it is somewhat artificial, which results in its disappearance predicted by the Snake. This observation does not exhaust all the problems related to the nature of the island, but allows us to approach the «Shipwrecked Sailor» proceeding from qualitatively new positions and demonstrates that the ideas of the Doubleworld were fairly efficient and could be used as a pattern for modeling other worlds (I am indebted to my colleague for a kind permission to refer to his unpublished idea).

The place of eternal existence was usually designated in the Old Kingdom as *Jmn-t* – «West». This term came from deepest antiquity when it had a concrete geographical contents, but by the period under study that meaning had been forgotten (see Chapter 8, § 2) and *Jmn-t* became a general term for the next world reflecting no spatial characteristics. Thus, *Jmn-t* includes what we call Doubleworld and partly corresponds to it. However, «West» is wider and more general in comparison with the «Doubleworld». We shall demonstrate below (Chapter 13) that the Doubleworld was not the only «next world» of the Egyptians and there were other worlds in the tomb as well. The term *Jmn-t* makes no difference between them, being related in the same measure to each of these worlds. The case is the same as concerns the term *hr(j)-t-ntr* frequently synonymous with *Jmn-t* (Chapter 8, § 2).

Special word for the Doubleworld was absent, perhaps, because in the Old Kingdom that notion was so prevailing over other concepts of the next life that there was no need in a specific term – whenever the hereafter was treated, everybody understood that the Doubleworld was meant. Therefore traditional ancient terms *Jmn-t* and *hr(j)-t-ntr* deprived of their original meaning satisfied the needs of Old Kingdom Egyptians. When serious changes which could require some more exact definitions took place in *Weltanschauung* in the First Intermediate Period (see Chapter 13), the concept of the Doubleworld already lost its original purity and started mixing with the notions of another nature – hence no further need in differentiation of the terms.

§ 5. Doubleworld and the Earthly World

The problem of the size and borders of the Doubleworld logically turns into that of interrelation between it and the earthly world. In the most primitive manner it can be formulated as follows: where is the Doubleworld situated? what place does it occupy? As demonstrated above (Chapter 8, § 2), the West has no definite spatial location within the human world. Now, when we know that the West and the Doubleworld are the same to a great extent, the usage of these terms becomes absolutely clear. The Doubleworld created by representations is qualitatively different from the earth plane and, therefore, it cannot be located anywhere within its limits. These two worlds lie in what might be called «different dimensions», and although components of the former have their Doubles in the latter, they are not linked. The fact that when recollecting a man we see his Double is not such a link, for without representations the Double is too elusive and subjective to be in contact with it. However, there are some individuals who can see Doubles better than other people do and reveal them in the here-now. These are artists. An artist can see and contour the Double, he can fix some part of it in our reality, reveal it for the spectators. Representation is a kind of projection of the Doubleworld onto our reality, a point where the two worlds are contiguous to one another. This property of representations is reflected in their designation as «doors».

Since representations are arranged in the tomb, it – being a point of contiguity of the two worlds – is a very specific place; the same holds true in respect with the whole necropolis. In a sense the tomb and necropolis belong to both worlds, which manifests







itself in the ambivalence of the term *hr(j)-t-ntr*. The dual nature of the chapel is apparent in the rite *jn(j)-t rd*. Known by numerous representations coming from various periods of Egyptian history, this ritual was the last episode of the priestly service in the chapel. Its meaning is fully reflected in its name – «Cleaning /lit. 'removing' / the footprints /lit. 'the foot' /». ¹⁷ The last priest leaving the chapel wiped up footsteps left on the floor with a reed brush. This action is most reasonable. The Doubleworld and the world of men must be separated, should not be mixed together. In order to eliminate everything earthly left after their visit to the realm now passing to the Doubleworld, people must remove the traces of their being in the chapel, namely their footprints.

It must be stressed again that the belonging of the chapel to both worlds should not be understood in the sense that the Doubleworld is placed in it. The planes of our human world and of the Doubleworld are qualitatively different, therefore it is senseless to say that the latter is located somewhere: it would mean to be somewhere *in this world*. The Doubleworld no doubt exists, but it is impossible say where. As for the specific attitude toward the chapel, tomb and necropolis as the places where the two worlds are contiguous, it is quite natural, but it has not an ontological, but rather an emotional character. The place somehow linked to the next world must be apprehended as sacred, however it is senseless to search for any concrete definitions here.

§ 6. Temporal Characteristics of the Doubleworld

Temporal characteristics of the Doubleworld inevitably follow from the above observations. Since it is created as an environment for the tomb owner's Double and has the same nature, both of them should coincide in time. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive that the world existing only for its owner can vanish first, thus leaving him in a vacuum. On the other hand, nonsensical it is to think that this world could have last after the owner's disappearance, for in this case it would be of no use anymore. Thus, the Doubleworld must exist as long as tomb representations are intact.

Of course, representations of the tomb owner can perish prior to the destruction of other scenes, and *vice versa*. However, this is not a norm, but a tragic accident, and the Egyptians were hardly interested in such a casuistry. Moreover, the tomb owner was represented repeatedly, and so with the normal state of things, at least one of his images had to survive as long as the auxiliary scenes. The only instant when all the

¹⁷ This understanding going back to A. H. Gardiner [Davies, Gardiner, 1915, 93] is generally accepted. However, H. Altenmüller [1971] offered another interpretation, according to which *jn(j)-t rd* should be translated as «Herbeibringen des *rd*», where *rd* denotes «Weihwasser». According to him, the rite consists of splashing water to secure a magical protection of the chapel from evil-makers. His opinion can be easily disproved by the spelling of the rite's name as  on a fragment of the coffin of *Hwj-t* (Akhmim) dating to the First Intermediate Period (Moscow, PMFA I, 1a, 5310) [Livshits, 1966, fig. 2]. The  sign is used here instead of , [ibid., 17], while the word , *c* – «footprint» [*Wb.* I, 159:4–5; Livshits, 1966, 16–17] replaces the traditional . Thus, there is no doubt that in the normative orthography  must be understood as *rd* – «foot» > «footprint», Gardiner's interpretation remaining unshaken.

owner's representations disappeared first is their deliberate destruction by enemies or usurpation when the Doubleworld passes to the usurper, but these situations are the gravest violation of the norm. So the Doubleworld exists during the same «conventional eternity» as its lord does.





CHAPTER 13

THE PLACE OF THE DOUBLE IN EGYPTIAN ONTOLOGY AND AXIOLOGY

Notions concerning the Double were among the most important components of Egyptian culture and played a very significant role throughout its history. For this reason, it is expedient now to review briefly their transformations in the general context of the three-millennia-long development of the country. To do this, we should trace back dynamics of the spreading of representations within the tomb as a system and project the results obtained onto the picture of history and spiritual life of Egypt in the third to first millennium B. C.

The history of the Doubleworld began in the Old Kingdom. That was an epoch amazing in all aspects, and its specificity exerted great influence on the whole Egyptian *Weltanschauung*, the notion of the Double included. Rapid growth of productive forces enabled the achievement of wonderful successes in many different fields, thus making the upper strata of the society apprehend the world around and their place in it with the utmost optimism. At the same time, it was an epoch of simple archaic ideals, the attainment of material welfare being the main criterion of success and happiness. State service provided the high-ranking official with everything he might have dreamed of, and absolute dependence on the king when not a single nobleman was secured against corporal punishment [*Urk.* I, 75:14] was not seen as humiliation – punishment coming from the god could not humiliate. As a result, aspirations for the simple joys of life came to be self-contained, leaving behind any doubts of moral or ethical nature and any thought of abstract character. «Good service secures good life» – this was the main wisdom of the epoch.

Efficient organization of social life led to a striking stability maintained over centuries. This unprecedented stability along with the bureaucratization of all aspects of life deprived the Egyptians of the heroic ideal which played such an important role in the earliest stages of other cultures – a lucky careerist arose instead who was content with his position and life [Bolshakov, Soushchevski, 1991]. Nevertheless, this did not eliminate strong and energetic characters: the man could become just a cog in the huge mechanism of the state, but he might start from the lowest steps of the official hierarchy and reach unattainable heights owing to his personal merits.¹ Life itself urged him to fulfill exactly the orders of his superiors, but at the same time to rely upon himself, to display initiative and not to rest on his laurels. This dualism of striving for content and

¹ For instance, the famous *Wnnj* who made an excellent career with his own hands.

comfort by means of tireless lifelong work is reflected fairly well by Old Kingdom art – numberless conventional representations exist alongside portraits that brilliantly convey these active characters and enable us to realize how much passion the Egyptians put in their service in the guise of outward coldness.

Everyday life was so balanced and stable that gods were of little importance for it, although this cast no doubt on their great role in the Universe. «Yes, they were off there somewhere, and they had made this good world, to be sure; but the world was good because man was himself master, without need for the constant support of the gods» [Frankfort et al., 1946, 96 = 1951, 106]. Being entirely dependent on the king and on every superior official, man was not a supplicant before gods, for his aims were simple and prosaic, and they could be attained without the intervention of supernatural forces. Such was the relationship of the individual to the god; as to the world around, it no doubt was submitted to the divine will. However, the function of making the world work was in a large measure transferred to the king, a being of superhuman nature and so sacred that even his highest courtiers had no right to contemplate him. The king, whose principal function consisted in securing and bringing offerings to the gods, i. e., in providing them with sight and life, was in the final analysis considered the organizer and regulator of the world order, the supreme deity excelling and substituting other gods to a certain extent.

Accordingly, the Doubleworld did not require the presence of the gods; more than that, man became independent in it of superiors and the king. Thus, a paradox of earthly life – combination of the universal hierarchical subordination with comprehension of the individual's value – was solved in the ideal world. As a result, eternal life could be not only equivalent to the earthly one but even more joyful. As to the very fact of death, the Old Kingdom *Weltanschauung* almost ignored its existence owing to the lifetime character of the cult of the Double. In fact man did not die at all because long before his death the Doubleworld started its eternal functioning in the properly equipped tomb. Of course, this was an outlook of wealthy people whose optimism was paid for hundredfold with the sufferings of the lower classes; unfortunately, the notions of the poor are concealed from us and hardly are likely to become more intelligible one day.

Thus, the nature of the Doubleworld conformed entirely to the cheerfulness and optimism of the Old Kingdom noblemen and in turn supported this optimism by guaranteeing an eternal continuation of the ideal existence. The Doubleworld may seem to secure the needs of man so completely and to meet his dreams so closely that nothing could compete with it. However, as already stated time and again, down to late Dyn. V, representations could be arranged only in the ground rooms of the tomb, but never in the burial chamber. This fact is of key importance. Whenever the Egyptian had enough means, he tried to fill all the chambers with representations. Murals tended to occupy all «ecological niches», and so if there is a place without them, it means that something did not allow them to be arranged there, that the «niche» had already been taken. Indeed, when murals finally appeared in the substructure, they were treated most cautiously. The fact that originally only inanimate objects were depicted, while the hieroglyphs of living beings were avoided, mutilated or «killed» can have the sole explanation: representations which were quite indispensable in the cult chambers endangered

something in the hypogean rooms. This diametrically opposed attitude toward the two main parts of the tomb should be attributed to some particular notions related to the burial chamber. A great number of monuments demonstrate that another world – specific, independent and essentially different from the Doubleworld – was placed in the burial chamber. It is O. D. Berlev who has recently postulated the need for singling out the notions concerning it and formulated its basic properties [Hodjash, Berlev, 1982, 14–15].

While the Doubleworld was quite realistic and linked to religious theory and practice only by bringing offerings, the world of the burial chamber was the utmost transcendental, fantastic and mysterious. Therefore, it could be described only by texts and not by representations, since nothing fantastic could be depicted on private monuments in the Old Kingdom.² Description by means of texts means creation of this world in the same measure as making representations means creation of the Doubleworld. Regrettably, the character of the publication in which Berlev has set forth his concept (a museum catalogue) did not let him offer a detailed picture, but for our current purposes it would be enough to mention three main characteristics of this world according to Berlev: its location in the burial chamber,³ its transcendental nature and, finally, its creation and fixation by means of texts. Berlev has called it the world of the corpse, but more accurately it could be qualified as the world of *b3*, since this notion was connected not with the mummy as a physical entity, but with man's manifestation which was related to the substructure – with the *b3*. This term will be used hereinafter.

The above peculiarities of the world of the *b3* and even the very fact of its existence are obvious only proceeding from the later monuments (beginning with the Coffin Texts), while the burial chambers of the Old Kingdom containing no religious texts produce the impression that the second «tomb world» was not characteristic of that period. Hence the commonly recognized opinion is that in the Old Kingdom the notion of the *b3* originally concerned gods and kings, and only after the fall of the Old Kingdom did the *b3* become an attribute of every man (e. g. [Žabkar, 1968, 58–61, 90]).

This deduction is without doubt inconsistent. First of all, on the entrance lintel of *Hr(j)-mr-w/Mrrjj* dated to late Dyn. VI, the *b3* is mentioned along with the *k3* [Hassan, 1975-3, pl. 56, fig. 39], so that the link between its «emergence» in private tombs and the so-called «democratization» of the First Intermediate Period is obviously forced (cf. [Altenmüller, 1993]). Second, in the Coffin Texts describing for the first time the world of the *b3*, it springs up at once in such a sophisticated form that we should suppose its long but concealed existence in the Old Kingdom. Probably, the *b3* of private persons was kept in silence in order to avoid profanation of *b3-w* – «power» which was an at-

² Presence of deities in the temples was not a miracle but an everyday reality, and therefore representations of gods were possible there and nowhere else.

³ Localization of the worlds in the tomb should not be understood literally. As stated above (see Chapter 12, § 5), it is senseless to speak of any arrangement of the Doubleworld; the same holds true for the world of the *b3*. So when a certain world is mentioned as placed in a certain tomb chamber, it signifies only that the means of its creation – representations or texts – are arranged there.

tribute of gods and kings.⁴ Thus, the world of the *b3* belonged in the burial chamber already in the Old Kingdom and did not let the Doubleworld in. However, it most probably did not play any significant role – the colorful, intelligible and perceptible Doubleworld moved it to the background.

The two worlds of the Old Kingdom tomb were qualitatively distinct in nature; therefore they were originally separated from one another, each of them having its own location and no contact with the other.⁵ Only at the turn of Dyn. V and VI did a radical change occur which manifested itself in the written fixation of the Pyramid Texts by *Wnjs* and in the simultaneous emergence of murals in the burial chambers of private persons. The late Old Kingdom tendency of drawing the serdab closer to the burial chamber (see Chapter 6, § 3) lies in the same channel. All these innovations had a purely practical reason – the necessity to compensate the unreliability of the pyramid and tomb cult which became evident by that time.⁶ As to the burial chambers of private persons, this innovation marked the beginning of the decline of the harmonious and optimistic *Weltanschauung* of the Old Kingdom: confusion of the two distinct worlds began, which in the later periods defined to a great extent the trends of evolution of the notions concerning the transcendental.

Initially there was still no real confusion: representations traditional for the chapel were just transferred to the substructure; the Doubleworld was enlarged to some extent without any radical changes and probably, without any influence on the world of the *b3*. This process reached its height in the burial chamber of *K3(.j)-m-ḥ* (G 4561) containing all the groups of scenes from the ground part of the tomb. Subsequent expansion of the Doubleworld to the burial chamber might have exerted a great effect on the further development of Egyptian *Weltanschauung* given a protracted political and economical stability of the country. But this did not happen – the First Intermediate Period began.

The collapse of the Old Kingdom, which was later regarded by the Egyptians as the greatest catastrophe in the history of their country (for the very world order going back to the epoch of the gods had been destroyed) exerted great influence upon the notions of the afterlife. Because of the general impoverishment of Egypt, almost nobody was able to afford a great number of representations in his tomb, so that its decoration was usually reduced to a small stela. Of course, even a single representation was sufficient for providing eternal life of the Double, but such a drastic reduction of its world after

⁴ This explanation was repeatedly expressed in personal discussions by Yu. Ya. Perepelkin and it seems to be the most consistent.

⁵ To be precise, one point of intersection of the two worlds did exist – it was the body of the deceased. In the Old Kingdom, the Egyptians still could not preserve corpses and make real mummies, but it did not trouble them at all. The unembalmed body was wrapped by bandages with linen pads inside giving it lifelike appearance, or was covered with a layer of plaster in which the facial features were sculpted. The corpse decomposed under bandages and plaster, but the shape of the body remained. Thus, in both cases not a mummy but an imitation of the body, i. e., a representation was made. So we deal here with a penetration of the Doubleworld into the world of the *b3*. Unfortunately, we cannot assess the significance of this contact of the two worlds.

⁶ However, it is uncertain why the need for such a compensation arose exactly at that time. It must be admitted that we are very far from understanding the details of these processes.

the luxuriousness of Dyn. V–VI required some compensation and led to focusing attention on the world of the *b3* which could be created without considerable expenses. On the other hand, as always happens in difficult political situations, the disturbances of the First Intermediate Period gave a powerful incentive to thought and greatly promoted the development of the ethical element in religion. The so-called «pessimistic literature» which expressed first what we may call a kind of doubt or at least uncertainty in the traditional values, is the most striking manifestation of this process. In the Doubleworld with its utterly pragmatic orientation, there was no room for spiritual life, and so it was possible only in the world of the *b3*. The effect of these two factors resulted in the domination of the world of the *b3* over the Doubleworld. As a consequence the Coffin Texts arose to describe that concealed world for the first time coming to the foreground.⁷

This world has not been studied properly yet, but the characteristics which interest us are quite distinct. As compared with the Doubleworld, it has two main specific features. First, it was destined not for a single person but for everybody; second, the supernatural was possible there, contacts with gods included. As a result of the first circumstance, it imitated the Egyptian state, as a result of the second it had a king – *Jz.t-jr.t*. This function of *Jz.t-jr.t* was predetermined by his very nature. Due to his radiant character, *Jz.t-jr.t* was identified with the sun, but as he was a living dead, that sun was the sun of the beyond. Since the real sun and the king were of the same nature, the other sun – *Jz.t-jr.t* – had to be a king as well – the king of the next world.

Emergence of *Jz.t-jr.t* in the world of the *b3* dramatically changed the status of the deceased. In the Old Kingdom Doubleworld, its owner had been absolutely independent, while in the world of the *b3* every man became but one of the subjects of *Jz.t-jr.t*. Therefore, good and evil deeds acquired importance for the next life which later would give rise to the idea of retribution.

These notions belong entirely to the domain of the world of the *b3*, but this latter did not exist anymore in its pure state as it did in the Old Kingdom. Confusion of heterogeneous elements is especially obvious in the presence of representations (*frises d'objets*) and religious writings (Coffin Texts) on the same coffins.

Kings of the Middle Kingdom managed to stabilize the situation in the country and the times of ancient prosperity – although with a new coloring – returned to Egypt. Decorated tombs revived with ancient decorative pattern reproduced in the richest of them, and the Doubleworld restored its rights. Coffin Texts useless in such a milieu generally disappeared, but remained in undecorated tombs. The fact that the developed pictorial decorations could not go with the Coffin Texts is most significant.

However, the world of the *b3* only retreated and did not vanish in full. This may be clearly illustrated by the rise of the ushabti statuettes in the Middle Kingdom. Since the ushabtis were «deputies» of the deceased at the king's works of the afterlife, they could make sense only in the next world having the scale and structure of the Egyptian state.

⁷ The first Coffin Texts were recorded in the almost undecorated Dyn. VI mastaba of *Mdw-nfr* at Balat [Valloggia, 1986-1, 74–78; 1986-2, pl. 62–63]. This should be interpreted as a provincial phenomenon.

Only the world of the *b3* had such characteristics and ushabtis functioned in it, although due to their figurative nature they pertained in full measure to the world of the *k3*. So the two worlds had been mixed and that confusion was already regarded as natural.

Reinterpretation of the offering-formula resulting in the emergence of the version of it which was in use down to the end of Egyptian history, also testifies to serious alterations in ideology. If in the Old Kingdom the king and some god (usually *Jnpw* and/or *Jz-t-jr-t*) bringing offerings to the deceased had been mentioned in parallelism and thus had been equal benefactors, in the Middle Kingdom this parallelism was abolished. Henceforth the formula stated that the king brought offerings to the god who in his turn would give them to the addressee of the formula. Although the king remained the original giver of the offering, he transferred the function of the immediate provisioning of the deceased to the god. This reinterpretation could occur due to misunderstanding of the ancient formula, but this is next to impossible. The very tendency of this change – stress on the relation of the man and gods proves that we are dealing with a manifestation of a general turn of the culture toward transcendental explanations of the world.

Nevertheless, the Doubleworld of the Old Kingdom still persisted in the chapels of the Middle Kingdom. The crucial change occurred later owing to serious alterations in the life of the country. Expulsion of the Hyksos and the subsequent conquests in Asia radically renewed social morale and mind. Alterations in the attitude toward the gods were one of the most serious results of these changes. While in the Old Kingdom the king was a recluse hidden from people, who could not be seen and still less touched,⁸ in the New Kingdom he became a military leader heading his troops. The pharaoh leading his warriors inevitably came close to his subjects: every soldier could see him in the battle not as a god but as an ordinary mortal with human weakness and human vulnerability. This circumstance could not affect the concept of the king's divinity in general, but it seriously changed the accent, which was important by itself. Moreover, during military campaigns which in the first half of the New Kingdom were almost permanent, the king spent much time outside Egypt and when coming back, he often did not return to his sacred capital – Thebes – preferring to stay in Lower Egypt.

Thus, administration of the country was carried out by his orders but without his direct participation. This also did not damage king's prestige as long as the economical basis of his power was stable, but as a result the picture of the world was gradually changing. At the same time, a considerable part of huge spoils was distributed among temples increasing their wealth and thereby winning more authority; the same object was also achieved by purposeful politics of the priesthood.

As a result, the role of the gods in the life of the Egyptians greatly increased. This is manifest, for instance, in a wide introduction of the practice of judicial oracles at all levels of the society: earlier such a direct applying of a man to gods concerning every-

⁸ In the famous inscription of *R'(w)-wr(-w)* [*Urk.* I, 232; Hassan, 1932, pl. 18] we are told about apologies (= ritual expiation) which *Nfr-jr(j)-k3-r'(w)* had to present to the man whom his scepter had touched by accident.

day matters had been quite unimaginable. Along with the rise of the role of gods, the attitude toward them became much more personal. In the New Kingdom, social activity of the lower classes increased and monuments of their representatives appeared for the first time in abundance, some of them bearing appeals to gods (e.g. [Gunn, 1916; Matthieu, 1926]). For the lower strata oppressed by the perfect system of exploitation, a god with mainly defending function was indispensable. The warriors fighting barbarians in remote and hostile countries also needed such a defender; even the king himself called for god's help when he was in great straits in the battle. Consequently, the concept of god acquired new aspects in the mind of the Egyptians: the god regulating the world order acquired the features of the defender. The first could be revered and feared because of his superhuman might, while the second could be addressed personally and asked for something with a hope that the appeal would be accepted.

Such a change in the place of gods in the earthly life of the man could not but affect the concepts of the afterlife. The god started to be depicted on private monuments entering at last the Doubleworld. This gradual process lasted for many centuries. First representations of gods on private stelae are dated to the Middle Kingdom, yet they did not play any significant role.⁹ Only in the New Kingdom did they start gaining in importance step by step. In Dyn. XVIII, representations of gods dominated only in the tombs of queens, while on private monuments they were placed near daily life scenes of Old Kingdom type. In the Post-Amarna epoch, representations of gods and religious texts began to prevail, perhaps as a reaction to the ideas and drastic practice of *ḥ(.j)-n(.j)-jtn*, and although some traditional everyday scenes were preserved, an irreversible reorientation is quite obvious in the second half of the New Kingdom.

The following events consolidated the ideological *volte-face*. Egypt was not the greatest force at the Near East anymore coming to be a plaything in the hands of foreign conquerors. The bitterness of the lost and humiliated grandeur was softened by Egyptian ideology postulating that there could be no illegitimate king and, accordingly, that any crowned stranger *was* a divine ruler destined for reigning Egypt, but objectively this humiliation was felt and thus, it greatly influenced the social mind. A tendency toward transcendentalism was natural in this situation, and it marked the last millennium of Egyptian history.

As soon as representations of gods arose in private tombs, the man's afterlife suffered a radical change. Formerly his Double had lived in its own world with no supreme force over it, while beside deities he became entirely dependent. Man could be pictured in front of a god only in the posture of praying, and in the Late Period (except the Saite Dynasty with its archaizing tendencies) the scene of adoration came to be almost the only component of pictorial tomb decoration.¹⁰ The original independent and self-sufficient Doubleworld vanished forever. All boundaries became uncertain, concepts of different origin mingled together, thus creating a mixed picture of a syncretic

⁹ In a number of cases it is uncertain if the god himself or his statue is worshipped which makes a great difference.

¹⁰ Ptolemaic tomb of *P3-dj-jz-t-jr-t* (Πετοσυρίς) at Tuna el-Gebel with murals going back to the Old Kingdom tradition [Lefebvre, 1924] is a unique and strange monument.

posthumous world which remains hitherto misunderstood in terms of ontology because of its being treated separately from the process of the preceding development.

One of the major results of the changes was a plain formulation in Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead of the previously vague and unelaborated conceptions of the posthumous judgment and retribution. In the New Kingdom they came to the foreground and played a great role in the Egyptian world-view. Such a strengthening of the ethic component in religion was based on the changes in the life of the society, but on the other hand, it followed from the internal logic of evolution of the Doubleworld. Some elements of the posthumous judgment can be found already in the Coffin Texts and even in the Pyramid Texts, but the very existence of the independent Doubleworld prevented their development: providing the man with another variant of afterlife, it deprived the judgment of inevitability and, accordingly, of any ethical value. It was just the increasing fluidity of the Doubleworld and its mixing with the world of the *b3* that transformed the judgment into the most important element of the concept of the hereafter, for in the absence of any alternative it became inevitable. This great achievement of Egyptian thought most vividly reflected in the second story of the demotic *H^c(j)-m-w3s-t* cycle (Ch. II) and having much in common with the biblical fable of poor Lazarus (Lk. 16:19–27) [Gressmann, 1918] gave everybody, regardless of social status and means for erecting tomb, a hope for retribution, but at the same time it meant the final fall of the Doubleworld. The world of the *b3* now offered more hope than the Doubleworld and overcame its old rival at last.

However, the turn to the new was not without serious losses – forever gone were ancient optimism and joyfulness possible only in the Doubleworld with absolute independence of its owner. Tiny, comfortable and friendly, the Doubleworld where everything was clear, easy and commensurate to the man was replaced by an enormous posthumous universe with gods to be begged for mercy and demons to be rendered harmless by respective spells. In that universe, the man was little and worthless, finding his place and mode of operation only with the help of special «guidebooks» like the Book of the Dead and numerous later compositions of funerary character. Magic, the only weapon which could be used by the deceased against his mighty enemies, became all-embracing. Preponderance of magic resulted in domination in the late Egyptian religion of an extremely sophisticated but highly formal piety which stroke Greek and Roman travelers with its scale and lifelessness. Moreover, erosion of the Doubleworld influenced the attitude toward death. In the Old Kingdom, when the Doubleworld reproduced the earthly life in a detail, death was no tragedy and it was treated quietly and with dignity. The late next world radically differed from the earthly one, it was uninviting, mysterious and even dangerous, so that transition to it was a collapse of everything around the man, death being an enemy to be struggled with [Zandee, 1960]. This circumstance predetermined the tragic coloring of the late *Weltanschauung* not characteristic of the Old Kingdom.¹¹

¹¹ Only notions of the hereafter are meant – in their everyday life the Egyptians remained quite normal cheerful people not inclined to melancholy.

Nevertheless, it would be obviously wrong to believe that at the late stage the Doubleworld died away tracelessly: although being suppressed by the world of the *b3*, it influenced the new concepts in its turn. This can be well illustrated by the spreading of representations in the tomb: with the course of time they approached more and more to the owner's body. Before Dyn. V, they could be located only in the superstructure and were absolutely separated from the world of the *b3*. In late Dyn. V, representations appeared in the burial chambers, but only on their walls. The First Intermediate Period witnessed the appearance of representations on the coffins (*frises d'objets*). In the Middle Kingdom anthropoid coffins appeared for the first time, and thus, the coffin itself became an image of the man. In the New Kingdom, anthropoid coffins with pictures of gods covering both their outer and inner surfaces were prevalent. The sky-goddess *Nw.t* giving birth to the sun was often depicted on the cover making the coffin a model of the world for the deceased. This idea belonged entirely to the world of the *b3*, but was expressed by means of the Doubleworld.¹² The same epoch offered another innovation – the Book of the Dead could be laid into the coffin by the mummy, so that representations (the «vignettes») came closer to the corpse. Finally, in the Roman epoch painted mummy shrouds became widely spread depicting the deceased and gods. These shrouds mark the deepest penetration of representations into the world of the *b3*, so that in the final analysis there remained no domain free of them. Thus, even though the Doubleworld perished in the New Kingdom, the world of the *b3* proved filled with its elements – representations – constituting a mixed and utmost intricate next world of the Late Period differing to a great extent from everything we can find in the earlier times.

Such is the brief outline of the three-millennia-long history of the Doubleworld. It is obvious that its principal stages coincide with the most important landmarks in the history of Egypt, while the whole development of the concept follows the main trend of evolution of Egyptian *Weltanschauung*. Of course, this outline does not claim to be complete, but it is the first attempt to examine Egyptian outlook proceeding from quite a new viewpoint: to isolate the Doubleworld at the stage when it existed in its pure state and to trace back its further development with regard to other groups of notions. The making of a more complete picture is a future task, but in any case it is impossible without strict discrimination of Egyptian «tomb worlds». This differentiation was one of the most important problems raised in the present book and, at the same time, the methodological principle of our study.



¹² In the Old Kingdom, the notion of the sarcophagus as a mother of the deceased, i. e., as *Nw.t*, was recorded twice: in inscriptions of *ḥb(.j)-m-ḥr(w)* [Firth, Gunn, 1926-2, pl. 60-1, 2] and of *Hnt(j)-k3(.j)/Jhhj* [James, 1953, pl. 31]. Difference from the late practice is striking: since the Doubleworld and the world of the *b3* were still separated in the beginning of Dyn. VI, the concept could be only put into words without any representations.

CONCLUSION

The problem of the *k3* is so enormous that one cannot hope to work it out within the framework of a single book, however ample it might be. Properly speaking, it cannot be solved by a single scholar, for its utterly complex and versatile nature requires not only vast knowledge in all fields of Egyptology unattainable in our epoch of specialization, but also individual characteristics incompatible in the same person – different scientific temperaments, different interests, different views, different cultural affiliations, and last but not least, different dispositions, different convictions and different life experience. In short, the *k3* problem can be successfully treated as an integral whole only by a team of scholars having various views but working in a well-coordinated joint project. The present writer can hardly imagine such a team, and thus, any study of the *k3* will inevitably remain fragmentary and incomplete.

All these deficiencies are inherent in this book. The author has chosen one of the most significant aspects of the *k3* which is documented best of all by Old Kingdom tombs – the connection of the *k3* with representations. However, even this single aspect cannot be elucidated in full measure, for almost any Egyptian monument can be used here as a source. As a result, the present study is shaped as a number of essays linked to one another by common subject and logic. Each of them taken separately does not claim to be complete, but along with the others it allows us to trace the main features of the problems. This way is far from ideal, but it combines at least a thorough examination of details with a relative broadness of the approach. Many subjects remained entirely untouched, and some problems we came close to were only outlined in a few words, but the author makes bold to hope that his main task – finding a new approach to the old problem – is fulfilled in general.

Now, regardless of the tradition obliging to devote the conclusion to summing up the results of the undertaken study, we would like to turn to those problems of key importance which were not treated at all here, but the way of elucidating which can be paved by our work.

Any reader slightly aware of ancient Egypt must inevitably feel that our picture of the *k3* concept is not only incomplete, but also too rational, consistent and artificial – already because no other ancient culture is known to engender such ideas. The author entirely concurs with this, only bearing in mind that this artificial picture was created not by him, but by the Egyptians themselves.

The plurality of the modern theories of the *k3* is routed in the discrepancy of the ancient notions whose different aspects never conformed to one another. By the epoch of the Old Kingdom when we can for the first time reconstruct the notion of the *k3*, several genetically different components proved to have merged in it. Two main constituents can be distinguished, both predetermining the specificity of the *k3* at that chrono-

logical section. One of them was studied at length in the present book. When treating the problem «*k3* and representation», we exposed the role of the *k3* as a subject of eternal life. This aspect of the *k3* was external regarding the man, for here the *k3* acted as quite an autonomous creature dependent not on its «original» but on statues and mural pictures. Let us call this creature the «figurative *k3*». However, not a bit less important was the internal aspect of the *k3* which was paid special attention by A. Erman and his followers. This *k3* which can be called «non-figurative» constituted the very basis of the man's existence, regulated his mental and physiological processes, enabled both psychic and corporal activities. No accurate study of the *k3* is possible without careful division of these two intricately interlaced components, and it is the lack of attention to their heterogeneity which predetermines insufficiency of all existent interpretations of the *k3*. On the contrary, if adhering to this division, we can draw closer to the essence of many problems, first of all of the early history of the *k3* concept.

Appearance of representations on the palettes and other votive objects of Dyn. 0 and in the tombs of Dyn. I is an indicator of the notion of the «figurative *k3*» coming to existence. Proceeding only from the material used in this book, one might feel that the *k3* category and the relevant ideas were a relatively late phenomenon which arose due to complication of social life at the stage of a rapid development of the state. However, no concept of such a basic importance could have sprung up in a trice; this *a priori* statement can be supported by the existence of the ancient root **k3* having a wide range of meanings of multitude and augmentation, which is at least as old as the fifth millennium B. C. Moreover, the fact that representations do not create the *k3* but simply fix it forever, proves that the notion of the *k3* could have been in existence long before the emergence of tomb representations.

This is but to be expected. The notion of the «non-figurative *k3*» could and had to be much earlier than that of the «figurative *k3*». The idea that there was something securing the work of the organism was quite natural and arose all over the world in the depth of antiquity. To assume its function of enabling the man to operate, this «something» had to be both opposed to him by its very essence, and at the same time remain most intimately related to him. Such is the «non-figurative *k3*» as the author understands it.

The ancient mind, which is in general inclined to personifications, easily transformed this «internal operator» into a certain being (its extremely personal nature counted most distinctly here). This role could be easily assumed by the placenta which, on the one hand, is a part of the man, but, on the other hand, exists outside him. An analogous idea is recorded for the Baganda people in the Central Africa: they kept the placenta and the umbilical cord of the king in a kind of «reliquary» and believed them to ensure his life; after his death, both of them became cult objects. As early as the beginning of our century, A. M. Blackman [1916-1; 1916-2] suggested that a similar notion existed in Predynastic Egypt as well, thus coming close to revealing the link of the king's *k3* and his placenta. Later on, his idea was developed by H. Frankfort [1948-1 = 1978, 69–78], but unfortunately, it still remains a hypothesis. Meanwhile, it can be re-

liably corroborated, and most probably the *k3* was originally conceived as the placenta, i. e., as the man's twin born with him and then securing his life activities (cf. the practice of determining the newborn child's vitality by his reaction to a drink made of his placenta in milk [Deines et al., 1958, 291]).

Since the mentality of the primitive man is entirely mythological, we should suppose that the ancient most «non-figurative *k3*» was included in the general mythological picture of the world. This can be indirectly confirmed by the fact that the *b3*, the notion of which must also have been shaped in the deepest antiquity, always appeared in Dynastic times in quite evident mythological contexts. This is the basic difference of the «non-figurative *k3*» from the Old Kingdom «figurative *k3*» which, as we could see, had been absolutely extra-mythological and non-mythological. The way of the transfer from the oldest internal *k3* to the quite different later external Double can be understood only considering these conceptions not as such, but within the context of the entire *Weltanschauung* of the Old Kingdom, the royal ideology included.

The rise of the unified and centralized state marked the turning point in the evolution of Egyptian mentality [Bolshakov, 1993-1]. First of all, the idea of king's divinity going back to the All-African cultural substrate was peculiarly transformed. Suppression of all non-state structures by mighty bureaucracy led in the Old Kingdom to the unprecedented concentration of power in the hands of the king. At the same time, owing to the fact that in the Old Kingdom Egypt remained practically isolated from other Near Eastern civilizations, his power over the country was interpreted as power over the whole world. One can easily feel that this interpretation was not unfounded when looking at the endless desert from the edge of the Nile valley. As a result, the king occupied a unique place in the picture of the world (see, e. g. [Posener, 1955; Goedicke, 1960; Barta, 1975]).

The king was not only deified as happened in so many other cultures – he became the only inhabitant of the Earth who, due to his divine nature, could associate with gods and bring them offerings; only impossibility to be present simultaneously in all temples of the country made him transfer the trust of performing the cult to priests. Since according to the Egyptian notion, the Universe existed in unstable equilibrium on the brink of chaos and inevitably slid into it when left to its own devices, while the world harmony – *m3^c.t* – was maintained by bringing offerings to gods, the king grew to be the key figure on whom the very existence of the world depended (e. g., Pyr. 265c, 1775b). Properly speaking, his role in the Universe was more important than that of most of the gods, for he – and only he – prevented the cosmic catastrophe.

Transformation of the king into a Supreme Being¹ and his estrangement from people had inevitably to be accompanied by similarly significant but diametrically opposite changes in the interpretation of the man's place in the world. Within the limits of this tendency man had to be deprived of any contacts with gods and with the supernatural mythical world. And indeed, that is how it was. Prior to the Middle Kingdom, per-

¹ This term proposed by O. D. Berlev [1981] seems to be the most suitable for describing the specific – both human and divine – nature of the Egyptian king.

sonal prayer and bringing offerings to gods by man on his own behalf were impossible. In the Middle Kingdom we know only two records of such actions, both in literary texts describing extraordinary situations. In the «Story of Z3-*nh.t*» it happened in a foreign country (pBerlin 3022, ll. 156–173) and in the «Shipwrecked Sailor» – at a desert island (pHermitage 1115, col. 54–55), i. e., outside Egypt, outside the only possible world order, in the places where the Egyptian system of social roles did not exist and where the man was forced to act on his own.

This conversion of the man into a creature devoid of any relations with the gods had to be promoted in every way by the supreme power, for it was an ideal method of separating itself from the people masses. However, the entire desacralization of man which would be the logical completion of this process, was prevented by the circumstance that no matter how secularized the earthly life might have been, the notions of the next life existed, where – due to its very nature – man inevitably came into immediate contact with the supernatural. Since the notions of the posthumous life took the central place in almost every ancient culture, they always excelled in perfect stability and did not yield to modifications that either could destroy the entire culture or proved unstable themselves (as in the reign of 3*h(.j)*-*n(.j)*-*jtn*). However, an ideal substitute for the original notions of the posthumous life was found in the Old Kingdom, which enabled to make absolute the isolation of the humans from gods.

Most probably, this was incited by the specificity of Egyptian art. Development of the hieroglyphic system gave rise to a rich artistic tradition which for the first time in the world history, already in the epoch of the early state, enabled artists to make representations close to reality (on the correlation of figurative arts and hieroglyphic see, e. g. [Wolf, 1957, 95–97, 203; Smith, 1958, 4; Müller, 1959, 715; 1970, III; Fischer, 1986]). Since the ancient *k3* was a man's twin, while representation raised the image of the depicted person in the mind of the spectator, thereby also creating his «twin», it was more than natural to link the *k3* to representations. With this, representation repeatedly reproduced in eternal stone could ensure the future life much more reliably than the placenta. This discovery amazed the Egyptians and gave impulse to evolution which shaped the notion of the «figurative *k3*» defining to a great extent the main features of the culture of Pharaonic Egypt. Representations turned into the focus point in securing immortality.

Thus the notion of the Doubleworld appeared, entirely based on the figurative decoration of monuments and possible only due to the existence of a powerful artistic school and enormous material sources allowing to create them in abundance.

As soon as the idea of the unbreakable link between the *k3* and representations arose, it became possible to revise the basic ideological concepts. An entire world reproducing in general the earthly life and sometimes even improving it could be made for the Double by means of mural decorations. Of course, in its world the Double remained isolated from the gods just as man was in his everyday life, but this was not disastrous. Since in contrast to the posthumous worlds of other cultures, the Doubleworld was destined to its owner only and was not in touch with other similar tiny worlds, the owner grew to be the central figure around whom the whole world rotated and for whom alone it existed. The man received an entire world as an eternal property and

within its limits his power was absolute, while there was no human, royal or divine power over him. Surely, such a combination of well-being and absolute independence more than compensated for the lack of a link with the gods.²

So the Doubleworld was the best possible substitute for the supernatural posthumous life and its creation made it possible to finally disjoin the man from the king and gods without undermining the very foundations of the culture. Moreover, it not only satisfied the aspiration of every separate person for the ideal eternal life, but was also most beneficial for the society as a whole. This world was feasible only if considerable means were involved into construction of the tomb and, since in Egypt with its all-embracing system of ranks only the state service could enrich the man, striving for immortality in the Doubleworld was the most effective stimulus for honest service and thus, a powerful stabilizer of the whole social structure and of the state.

Of course, the emergence of the «figurative *k3*» neither abolished the «non-figurative *k3*» nor was able to do so; the latter still went on controlling man's vital processes, but due to the specific nature of Old Kingdom monuments its role remains almost entirely concealed from us. Only some slightest hints revealed by Blackman and Frankfort are traceable, but mostly in the conservatively inclined royal ideology. Perhaps the only but very important relic of the notions concerning the placenta in the Doubleworld of private persons is the eternal youth of the Double which cannot be explained without considering the concept of the «non-figurative *k3*». The placenta was born as a man's twin, i. e., as an «infant», but man aged, while it remained the same keeping the original «childish» nature; when the *k3* was associated with representations, the idea of the eternal youth and invariability of the Double was transferred onto them as well.

The notion of the «figurative *k3*» ousted in the Old Kingdom the concept of the *b3* which was not recorded by private monuments until the end of the period. Most probably, this was not a result of deliberate prohibition: the Doubleworld so perfectly substituted the posthumous world of the *b3* that the latter simply lost its significance.

Let us sum up some results. As a rule, only the concepts concerning the king are seen as the state ideology because of their direct relation to the substantiation of the state and power. Now, when in the notion of the *k3* of the private person we see an artificial construction, the substitute compensating for the deliberate isolation of the man from the supernatural in order to make absolute the king's divine nature, it comes to be clear that this concept is the reverse of the royal ideology and, respectively, a component of the state ideology.

² It is appropriate to recall the dispute of Mustapha Mond and the Savage in Huxley's *Brave New World*: «'You can only be independent of God while you've got youth and prosperity; independence won't take you safely to the end'. Well, we now got youth and prosperity right up to the end. What follows? Evidently, that we can be independent of God. 'The religious sentiment will compensate us for all our losses'. But there aren't any losses for us to compensate; religious sentiment is superfluous. And why should we go hunting for a substitute for youthful desires, when youthful desires never fail? A substitute for distractions, when we go on enjoying all the old fooleries to the very last? What need here we of repose when our minds and bodies continue to delight in activity? of something immovable when there is social order?»

The fact that the Doubleworld was constructed artificially can be corroborated by the three following observations. First, since only dignitaries were able to erect tombs, most people had no «figurative *k3*». The notion depriving the overwhelming majority of the eternal life could not have arisen in any natural way, and thus, everything we have dealt with above is but a theory developed especially for the upper class, whereas the lower strata must have had some notions of their own, which no doubt were the legacy of Predynastic times. Second, any concept of the next life presupposes struggle against death, while the Doubleworld, even though fulfilling the functions of the hereafter, had nothing in common with decease. This also cannot be a result of natural evolution of ideas, but our interpretation of the Doubleworld as a substitute of the original posthumous world solves the problem at once. Third, after the fall of the Old Kingdom, when erection of large decorated tombs became impossible because of the general economical decay, the significance of the *k3* declined and the world of the *b3* described in the Coffin Texts came to the foreground. Such a sudden change can hardly be imagined, unless it was the return from an artificial ideology to the original *Weltanschauung*.

Adoption of the concept of the «figurative *k3*» created a factually non-mythological domain in the very center of Egyptian *Weltanschauung*, that is unique in the ancient history. With this, we must admit that the state of things was far more intricate than described in this book. The Doubleworld *was* extremely realistic in what concerns the reproduction of reality, but its many aspects which can be regarded as quite ordinary had a second – symbolic – side. For instance, slaughtering was intended to achieve purely practical ends in the Doubleworld: to provide the tomb owner with food, with those very pieces of meat which were enumerated in the offering-list. However, besides this, the slaughter symbolizes the victory over evil forces embodied in the animals [Eggebrecht, 1973] (for bibliography see [Altenmüller, 1975-1, Anm. 12]). Similarly, libation had to quench the owner's thirst, but on the unique offering-stone of *Stw* (CG 1330 [Borchardt, 1937, Bl. 5; Mostafa, 1982, Taf. 12]), three water levels are marked imitating the levels of the Nile in different seasons. Thus, libation proved related to purely mythological notions concerning the Nile's floods. All these ideas contradicting the concept of the Doubleworld, evidently had come from the times preceding its emergence, but were ousted by it and manifested themselves only as hints, thus proving to be relatively unimportant in the Old Kingdom. At the same time, their vitality and revival in the epochs-to-follow testify to their primordial nature.

So the obvious non-mythological nature of the Doubleworld does not mean the demythologization of Egyptian mentality. The Doubleworld and the mythic world coexisted, but almost did not touch one another. In any case, the very possibility of more or less purposeful creation of an utterly important ideological concept at such an early stage is highly remarkable.

Of course, the above observations are not even a scheme, but only a preliminary outline, so that a comprehensive and laborious study should be made in order to understand the essence of the problems concerning the «non-figurative *k3*» at least to the extent of understanding the «figurative *k3*» offered in this book (to say nothing about the extremely specific theory of the royal *k3*). Many points of this outline are rather inexact

and speculative yet, but the author ventures to publish them, since they explain his approach to some problems of great importance which have not been broached upon in this book. *Faciant meliora potentes.*



BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABOU-GHAZI, 1980

D. Abou-Ghazi. *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches III. Altars and Offering-Tables* (CG 57024–57049). Le Caire, 1980.

ABU-BAKR, 1953

A. M. Abu-Bakr. *Excavations at Giza 1949–1950*. Cairo, 1953.

AKISHEV, KUSHAEV, 1963

К. А. Акишев, Г. А. Кушаев. *Древняя культура саков и усуней долины реки Или*. Алма-Ата, 1963.

[K. A. Akishev, G. A. Kushaev. *Ancient Saka and Wusun Cultures of the Ili River Valley*. Alma-Ata, 1963].

ALDRED, 1978

C. Aldred. *Jewels of the Pharaohs. Egyptian Jewelry of the Dynastic Period*. New York, 1978.

ALDRED, 1980

C. Aldred. *Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs*. New York – Toronto, 1980.

ALLEN, 1994

J. P. Allen. “Reading a Pyramid.” In: *HomLeclant I*, 5–28.

ALTENMÜLLER, 1971

H. Altenmüller. “Eine Neue Deutung der Zeremonie des *INIT RD*.” *JEA* 57 (1971), 146–153.

ALTENMÜLLER, 1972

H. Altenmüller. *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*. Wiesbaden, 1972 (*ÄA* 24).

ALTENMÜLLER, 1975-1

H. Altenmüller. “Apotropaikon.” *LÄ I* (1975), 355–358.

ALTENMÜLLER, 1975-2

H. Altenmüller. “Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie.” *LÄ I* (1975), 1065–1069.

ALTENMÜLLER, 1975-3

H. Altenmüller. “Bestattungsritual.” *LÄ I* (1975), 745–765.

ALTENMÜLLER, 1976

H. Altenmüller. *Grab und Totenreich der alten Ägypter*. Hamburg, 1976.

ALTENMÜLLER, 1980

H. Altenmüller. “Königsplastik.” *LÄ III* (1980), 557–610.

ALTENMÜLLER, 1993

H. Altenmüller. “«Sein Ba möge fortdauern bei Gott».” *SAK* 20 (1993), 1–15.

AMÉLINEAU, 1899

E. Amélineau. *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos 1895–1896*. Paris, 1899.

ANDRÁSSY, 1993

P. Andrassy. “Das *pr-šn* im Alten Reich.” *SAK* 20 (1993), 17–35.

ANTHES, 1941

R. Anthes. “Werkverfahren ägyptischer Bildhauer.” *MDAIK* 10 (1941), 79–121.

ANTHES, 1961

R. Anthes. “Das Sonnenauge in den Pyramidentexten.” *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 1–21.

ARTAMONOV, 1966

М. И. Артамонов. *Сокровища скифских курганов в собрании Государственного Эрмитажа*. Прага – Ленинград, 1966.

[M. I. Artamonov. *Treasures of Scythian Barrows in the Hermitage Museum*. Prague – Leningrad, 1966].

ASSMANN, 1975

J. Assmann. *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*. Zürich – München, 1975.

BADAWY, 1976

A. Badawy. *The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem-ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert at Giza*. Berkeley, 1976.

BADAWY, 1978

A. Badawy. *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1978.

BAER, 1960

K. Baer. *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties*. Chicago, 1960.

BAINES, 1991

J. Baines. "Society, Morality and Religious Practice." In: *Religion in Ancient Egypt. Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice* (London, 1991), 123–200.

BAINES, MÁLEK, 1980

J. Baines, J. Málek. *Weltatlas der alten Kulturen. Ägypten: Geschichte, Kunst, Lebensformen*. München, 1980.

BAKIR, 1952

A. M. Bakir. *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*. Le Caire, 1952.

BALLODIS, 1917

Ф. В. Баллод. "Реализм и идеализация в египетском искусстве как результат представлений о потустороннем бытии." *Сборник в честь проф. В. К. Мальмберга* (Москва, 1917), 57–68.

[F. W. Ballodis. "Realism and Idealization in Egyptian Art as a Result of the Ideas on the Post-humous Existence." In: *Essays in Honor of Prof. W. K. Malmberg* (Moscow, 1917), 57–68].

BARSANTI, 1900

A. Barsanti. "Le mastaba de Samnofir." *ASAE* 1 (1900), 150–160.

BARTA, 1968

W. Barta. *Aufbau und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Opferformel*. Glückstadt, 1968 (*ÄF* 24).

BARTA, 1975

W. Barta. *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs. Ritus und Sakralkönigtum in Altägypten nach Zeugnissen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches*. München – Berlin, 1975 (*MÄS* 32).

BARTA, 1980

W. Barta. "Königsdogma." *LÄ* III (1980), 485–494.

BATRAWI, 1948

A. Batrawi. "Report on the Anatomical Remains Recovered from the Tombs of Akhet-Hetep and Ptah-Irou-Ka, and a Comment on the Statues of Akhet-Hetep." *ASAE* 48 (1948), 487–497.

BECKERATH, 1984

J. von Beckerath. *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. München – Berlin, 1984 (*MÄS* 20).

BELL, 1985

L. Bell. "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka." *JNES* 44 (1985), 251–294.

BERLANDINI-KELLER, 1993

J. Berlandini-Keller. "Amenophis III, Pharaon à Memphis." *DosArch* 180 (1993), 16–27.

BERLEV, 1972-1

О. Д. Берлев. *Трудовое население Египта в эпоху Среднего царства*. Москва, 1972.

[O. D. Berlev. *The Working People of Egypt in the Epoch of the Middle Kingdom*, Moscow, 1972].

BERLEV, 1972-2

O. Berlev. "Table d'offrandes appartenent à un habitant de la ville de la pyramide de Sésostris II." *RdE* 24 (1972), 12–16.

BERLEV, 1978

О. Д. Берлев. *Общественные отношения в Египте эпохи Среднего царства*. Москва, 1978.

[O. D. Berlev. *Social Relations in Egypt During the Middle Kingdom*. Moscow, 1978].

BERLEV, 1979

О. Д. Берлев. "«Золотое имя» египетского царя." В сб.: *Ж.-Ф. Шампольон и дешифровка египетских иероглифов* (Москва, 1979), 41–59.

[O. D. Berlev. "The «Gold Name» of Egyptian King." In: *J.-F. Champollion and the Decipherment of the Egyptian Hieroglyphs* (Moscow, 1979), 41–59].

BERLEV, 1980

O. D. Berlev. "Новое о царе Усеркере (VI династия)." В сб.: *Древний Восток 2* (Москва, 1980), 56–63.

[O. D. Berlev. "New Evidence on the King Userkere (Dyn. VI)." In: *Ancient Orient 2* (Moscow, 1980), 56–63].

BERLEV, 1981

O. D. Berlev. "The Eleventh Dynasty in the Dynastic History of Egypt." In: *StudPolotsky*, 361–377.

BERLIN, 1899

Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse. Berlin, 1899.

BERLIN, 1980

Tutanchamun. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 16. Februar – 16. Mai 1980. S. 1., 1980.

BIANCHI, 1988

R. S. Bianchi. "The Pharaonic Art of Ptolemaic Egypt." In: *Cleopatra's Egypt. Age of the Ptolemies*. The Brooklyn Museum, Oct. 7 1988 – Jan. 2 1989 (S. 1., 1988), 55–80.

BIDOLI, 1970

D. Bidoli. "Zur Lage des Grabes des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu." *MDAIK* 26 (1970), 11–14.

BIRCH, 1899

S. Birch. "Mémoire sur une patère égyptienne du Musée du Louvre." In: F. Chabas, *Oevres diverses I* (Paris, 1899), 225–274.

BISSING, 1903

F.-W. von Bissing. "Table d'offrandes imitant une tombe royale de l'époque archaïque." *RecTrav* 25 (1903), 181–183.

BISSING, 1905, 1911-1

F.-W. von Bissing. *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai I–II*. Leipzig, 1905–1911.

BISSING, 1911-2

F.-W. von Bissing. *Erklärung des Ka'i der alten Aegypter*. München, 1911 (*SBAW*, Jrg. 1911, Abh. 5).

BISSON DE LA ROQUE, 1925

M. F. Bisson de la Roque. *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Abou-Roach II*. Le Caire, 1925 (*FIFAO. Rapports préliminaires* 2/1).

BLACKMAN, 1914, 1915, 1924-1, 1953

A. M. Blackman. *The Rock Tombs of Meir*

I. London, 1914 (*ASE* 22);

II. London, 1915 (*ASE* 23);

IV. London, 1924 (*ASE* 25);

V. London, 1953 (*ASE* 28).

BLACKMAN, 1915

See [Blackman, 1914].

BLACKMAN, 1916-1

A. M. Blackman. "Some Remarks on an Emblem upon the Head of an Ancient Egyptian Birth-Goddess." *JEA* 3 (1916), 199–206.

BLACKMAN, 1916-2

A. M. Blackman. "The Pharaoh's Placenta and the Moon-God Khons." *JEA* 3 (1916), 235–249.

BLACKMAN, 1916-3

A. M. Blackman. "The Ka-House and the Serdab." *JEA* 3 (1916), 250–254.

BLACKMAN, 1918

A. M. Blackman. "The «House of the Morning»." *JEA* 5 (1918), 148–165.

BLACKMAN, 1924-1

See [Blackman, 1914].

BLACKMAN, 1924-2

A. M. Blackman. "The Rite of Opening the Mouth in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia." *JEA* 10 (1924), 47–59.

BLACKMAN, 1935

A. M. Blackman. "The Stela of Nebipusenwosret: British Museum, No. 101." *JEA* 21 (1935), 1–9.

BLACKMAN, FAIRMAN, 1941

A. M. Blackman, H. W. Fairman. "A Group of Texts Inscribed on the Facade of the Sanctuary in the Temple of Horus at Edfou." In: *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Vatican, 1941), 397–428.

BLACKMAN, FAIRMAN, 1946

A. M. Blackman, H. W. Fairman. "The Consecration of an Egyptian Temple According to the Use of Edfou." *JEA* 32 (1946), 75–91.

BLAUBERG, YUDIN, 1976

И. В. Блауберг, Э. Г. Юдин. "Системный подход." *БСЭ* 23 (1976), 476–477.

[I. V. Blauberg, E. G. Yudin. "System Approach." *BSE* 23 (1976), 476–477].

BOGOSLOVSKI, 1983

Е. С. Богословский. *Древнеегипетские мастера*. Москва, 1983.

[E. S. Bogoslovski. *Craftsmen of Ancient Egypt*. Moscow, 1983].

BOLSHAKOV, 1982

А. О. Большаков. "Из истории египетской идеологии Старого царства." *ВДИ* 161 (1982, № 2), 97–101.

[A. O. Bolshakov. "Correlation of Chapel and Burial Chamber in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom." *VDI* 161 (1982, No. 2), 97–101].

BOLSHAKOV, 1983-1

А. О. Большаков. "Сцена драки лодочников в староегипетских гробничных изображениях." *СЭ* 1983, № 3, 105–112.

[A. O. Bolshakov. "The Scene of the Boatmen Jousting in Old Kingdom Tomb Representations." *SE* 1983, No. 3, 105–112].

BOLSHAKOV, 1983-2

А. О. Большаков. "Фрагмент староегипетского рельефа № 18233." *СГЭ* 48 (1983), 37–39.

[A. O. Bolshakov. "Fragment of an Old Kingdom Relief No. 18233." *SGE* 48 (1983), 37–39].

BOLSHAKOV, 1984

А. О. Большаков. Рец. на S. A. El-Fikey, *The Tomb of the Vizier Re-Wer at Saqqara*. *ВДИ* 170 (1984, № 3), 155–157.

[A. O. Bolshakov. Rev. of S. A. El-Fikey, *The Tomb of the Vizier Re-Wer at Saqqara*. *VDI* 170 (1984, No. 3), 155–157].

BOLSHAKOV, 1985-1

А. О. Большаков. *Роль изображений в мировоззрении египтян эпохи Старого царства*. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук. Ленинград, 1985.

[A. O. Bolshakov. *The Role of Representations in Egyptian Weltanschauung of the Old Kingdom*. Abstract of Thesis. Leningrad, 1985].

BOLSHAKOV, 1985-2

А. О. Большаков. "О диалогизме «Спора Человека и Ба»." В кн: *Культурное наследие Востока* (Ленинград, 1985), 17–29.

[A. O. Bolshakov. "On the Dialogue Form of the «Dispute of a Man with his Ba»." In: *Cultural Legacy of the Orient* (Leningrad, 1985), 17–29].

BOLSHAKOV, 1985-3

А. О. Большаков. "Староегипетская гробница как комплекс." *ПППИКНВ* 18/1 (1985), 97–103.

[A. O. Bolshakov. "Old Kingdom Tomb as a Complex." *PPPIKNV* 18/1 (1985), 97–103].

BOLSHAKOV, 1985-4

А. О. Большаков. "Герман Юнкер и его «Гиза». Проблемы методики." *ВДИ* 174 (1985, № 3), 170–175.

[A. O. Bolshakov. "Hermann Junker and his «Giza»: Problems of the Method." *VDI* 174 (1985, No. 3), 170–175].

BOLSHAKOV, 1985-5

А. О. Большаков. "Египетский рельеф Старого царства из собрания Государственного Эрмитажа." *ЭВ* 23 (1985), 3–11.

[A. O. Bolshakov. "Old Kingdom Egyptian Relief in the State Hermitage." *EV* 23 (1985), 3–11].

BOLSHAKOV, 1986-1

А. О. Большаков. "Системный анализ староегипетских гробничных комплексов." *ВДИ* 177 (1986, № 2), 98–137.

- [A. O. Bolshakov. "System Analysis of Tomb Complexes in Old Kingdom Egypt." *VDI* 177 (1986, No. 2), 98–137].
- BOLSHAKOV, 1986-2**
 A. O. Болышаков. "Фрагмент староегипетской плитки для умащений." *СТЭ* 51 (1986), 46–48.
 [A. O. Bolshakov. "Fragment of an Old Kingdom Ointment Slab." *SGE* 51 (1986), 46–48].
- BOLSHAKOV, 1986-3**
 A. O. Болышаков. Реп. на S. Hodjash, O. Berlev. *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. *ВДИ* 176 (1986, № 1), 159–162.
 [A. O. Bolshakov. Rev. of S. Hodjash, O. Berlev. *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. *VDI* 176 (1986, No. 1), 159–162].
- BOLSHAKOV, 1987-1**
 A. O. Болышаков. "Представление о Двойнике в Египте Старого царства." *ВДИ* 181 (1987, № 2), 3–36.
 [A. O. Bolshakov. "Le rôle du Double dans la religion égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire." *VDI* 181 (1987, No. 2), 3–36].
- BOLSHAKOV, 1987-2**
 A. O. Болышаков. "Староегипетский портрет и староегипетское мировоззрение." *ПППИКНВ* 21/1 (1987), 66–70.
 [A. O. Bolshakov. "Old Kingdom Portrait and Old Kingdom *Weltanschauung*." *PPPIKNV* 21/1 (1987), 66–70].
- BOLSHAKOV, 1988**
 A. O. Болышаков. "Египетские жертвенники Старого царства из собрания Государственного Эрмитажа." *ЭВ* 24 (1988), 10–22.
 [A. O. Bolshakov. "Old Kingdom Offering-Stones in the Hermitage Museum." *EV* 24 (1988), 10–22].
- BOLSHAKOV, 1990**
 A. O. Bolshakov. "The Ideology of the Old Kingdom Portrait." *GM* 117/118 (1990), 89–142.
- BOLSHAKOV, 1991-1**
 A. O. Bolshakov. "What Did the Bust of Ankh-haf Originally Look Like." *JMFA* 3 (1991), 4–14.
- BOLSHAKOV, 1991-2**
 A. O. Bolshakov. "Some Observations on the Early Chronology of Meidum." *GM* 123 (1991), 11–20.
- BOLSHAKOV, 1991-3**
 A. O. Bolshakov. "The Old Kingdom Representations of Funeral Procession." *GM* 121 (1991), 31–54.
- BOLSHAKOV, 1991-4**
 A. O. Bolshakov. "The Moment of the Establishment of the Tomb-Cult in Ancient Egypt." *AoF* 18/2 (1991), 204–218.
- BOLSHAKOV, 1992**
 A. O. Bolshakov. "Princess *Hm-t-r'(w)*: the First Mention of Osiris?" *CdE* 67 (1992), 31–38.
- BOLSHAKOV, 1993-1**
 A. O. Болышаков. "О специфике государства и идеологии в Египте Старого царства." В сб.: *Эрмитажные чтения памяти Б. Б. Пиотровского (14.II.1908 – 15.X.1990). Краткое содержание докладов* (Санкт-Петербург, 1993), 5–8.
 [A. O. Bolshakov. "On the Specificity of the State and Ideology in Old Kingdom Egypt." In: *Hermitage Museum Session in Commemoration of B. B. Piotrovski (14.II.1908 – 15.X.1990). Abstracts of Papers* (St. Petersburg, 1993), 5–8].
- BOLSHAKOV, 1993-2**
 A. O. Bolshakov. "The Scene of the Boatmen Jousting in Old Kingdom Tomb Representations." *BSEG* 17 (1993), 29–39.
- BOLSHAKOV, 1994-1**
 A. O. Bolshakov. "Hinting as a Method of Old Kingdom Tomb Decoration, I." *GM* 139 (1994), 9–33.
- BOLSHAKOV, 1994-2**
 A. O. Болышаков. "Стоит ли искать гробницы египетских царевичей, ставших царями?" В сб.: *Эрмитажные чтения памяти Б. Б. Пиотровского (14.II.1908 – 15.X.1990). Тезисы докладов* (Санкт-Петербург, 1994), 12–15.
 [A. O. Bolshakov. "Should we Search for the Tombs of Egyptian Princes who Became Kings?" In: *Hermitage Museum Session in Commemoration of B. B. Piotrovski (14.II.1908 – 15.X.1990). Abstracts of Papers* (St. Petersburg, 1994), 12–15].

BOLSHAKOV, 1995-1

A. O. Bolshakov. "New Observations on the Functions of the So-called «Reserve Heads»." In: *Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995. Abstracts of Papers* (Oxford, 1995), 21-23.

BOLSHAKOV, 1995-2

A. O. Bolshakov. "Princes who Became Kings: Where are their Tombs?" *GM* 146 (1995), 11-22.

BOLSHAKOV, SOUSHCHEVSKI, 1991

A. O. Большаков, А. Г. Сушевский. "Герой и общество в древнем Египте." *ВДИ* 198 (1991, № 3), 3-27.

[A. O. Bolshakov, A. G. Soushchevski. "Hero and Society in Ancient Egypt." *VDI* 198 (1991, No. 3), 3-27].

BONNET, 1952

H. Bonnet. *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*. Berlin, 1952.

BORCHARDT, 1907

L. Borchardt. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re*. Leipzig, 1907.

BORCHARDT, 1908

L. Borchardt. "Ein Katzensarg aus dem Neuen Reich." *ZÄS* 44 (1908), 97.

BORCHARDT, 1911, 1925

L. Borchardt. *Statuen und Statuetten im Museum von Kairo I-II* (CG 1-653). Berlin, 1911-1925.

BORCHARDT, 1937, 1964

L. Borchardt. *Denkmäler des Alten Reich (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo I-II* (CG 1295-1808). Berlin - Le Caire, 1937-1964.

BOSTON, 1975

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Illustrated Handbook. Boston, 1975.

BOSTON, 1988

Mummies & Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Wilmington (Mass.), 1988.

BOTHMER, 1948

B. Bothmer. "A Wooden Statue of Dynasty VI." *BMFA* 46 (1948), 30-36.

BOTHMER, 1982

B. Bothmer. "On Realism in Egyptian Funerary Sculpture of the Old Kingdom." *Expedition* 24 (1982), 27-39.

BOTHMER, 1988

B. Bothmer. "Egyptian Antecedents of Roman Republican Verism." In: *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato* (Roma, 1988), 47-65.

BREASTED, 1901

J. H. Breasted. "The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest." *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 39-54.

BREASTED, 1906

J. H. Breasted. *Ancient Records of Egypt I*. Chicago, 1906.

BREASTED, 1912

J. H. Breasted. *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. London, 1912.

BREASTED, 1946

J. H. Breasted. *The Dawn of Conscience*. New York - London, 1946.

BRECKENRIDGE, 1968

J. D. Breckenridge. *Likeness. A Conceptual History of Ancient Portraiture*. Evanston, 1968.

BRITISH MUSEUM, 1904

British Museum. A Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms. London, 1904.

BRITISH MUSEUM, 1912, 1913, 1961

British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.

II. London, 1912;

III. London, 1913;

I. London, 1961.

BRITISH MUSEUM, 1964

A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collection of the British Museum. S. 1., 1964.

BROOKLYN, 1952

Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum Collection. Brooklyn, New York, 1952.

- BROOKLYN, 1956**
The Brooklyn Museum. Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art. Brooklyn, New York, 1956.
- BROOKLYN, 1984**
W. Needler. Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in The Brooklyn Museum. Brooklyn, New York, 1984.
- BROVARSKI, 1984**
Ed. Brovarski. "Serdab." *LÄ* V (1984), 874–879.
- BROVARSKI, 1988-1**
Ed. Brovarski. "Reserve Head." In: [Boston, 1988, 82–83].
- BROVARSKI, 1988-2**
Ed. Brovarski. "Serdabs." In: [Boston, 1988, 88].
- BRUGSCH, 1868, 1882**
H. Brugsch. Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch
 IV. Leipzig, 1868;
 VI. Leipzig, 1882.
- BRUNNER, 1936**
H. Brunner. Die Anlagen der ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittlern Reich. Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York, 1936 (*ÄÄ* 3).
- BRUNNER, 1937**
H. Brunner. Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut. Glückstadt, 1937.
- BRUNNER, 1983**
H. Brunner. Grundzüge der altägyptischen Religion. Darmstadt, 1983.
- BRUNNER-TRAUT, 1975**
E. Brunner-Traut. "Chenti-irti." *LÄ* I (1975), 926–930.
- BRUNNER-TRAUT, 1977**
E. Brunner-Traut. Das altägyptische Grabkammer Seschemnofers III. aus Giza. Mainz, 1977.
- BRUNNER-TRAUT, 1980**
E. Brunner-Traut. "Lieblingstier." *LÄ* III (1980), 1054–1056.
- BRUYÈRE, 1927, 1948, 1952**
B. Bruyère. Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh
 (1926). Le Caire, 1927 (*FIFAO, Rapports préliminaires* IV/3);
 (1935–1940, fasc. 1). Le Caire, 1948 (*FIFAO* 20/1);
 (1935–1940, fasc. 2). Le Caire, 1952 (*FIFAO* 20/2).
- BUDGE, 1890**
E. A. W. Budge. The Book of the Dead. The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum. London, 1890.
- BUDGE, 1898-1, 2, 3**
E. A. W. Budge. The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day I–III. London, 1898.
- BUSCHOR, 1960.**
E. Buschor. Das Porträt. Bildniswege und Bildnisstufen aus fünf Jahrtausenden. München, 1960.
- CAIRE, 1949**
Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Le Musée du Caire. [Paris], 1949.
- CAIRO, 1969**
Cairo: The Thousandth Anniversary of the City. 969–1969. Leipzig, [1969].
- CAPART, 1905**
J. Capart. Recueil de monuments égyptiens II. Bruxelles, 1905.
- CAPART, 1906**
J. Capart. Chambre funéraire de la VI^e dynastie aux Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire. Bruxelles, 1906.
- CAPART, 1907-1, 2**
J. Capart. Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah I–II. Bruxelles, 1907.
- CAPART, 1908**
J. Capart. "Un cercueil de chien du Moyen Empire." *ZÄS* 44 (1908), 131.
- CAPART, 1920**
J. Capart. "Some Remarks on Sheikh el-Beled." *JEA* 6 (1920), 225–233.

CAPART, 1921

J. Capart. "The Name of the Scribe in the Louvre." *JEA* 7 (1921), 186–190.

CAPART, 1930

J. Capart. *Memphis à l'ombre des pyramides*. Bruxelles, 1930.

CARTER, MACE, 1927

H. Carter, A. C. Mace. *Tut-ench-Amun*. Leipzig, 1927.

CASE, PAYNE, 1962

H. Case, J. C. Payne. "Tomb 100: The Decorated Tomb at Hierakonpolis." *JEA* 48 (1962), 5–18.

ČERNÝ, 1935

J. Černý. *Ostraca hiératiques* (CG 25501–25832). Le Caire, 1935.

ČERNÝ, 1936

J. Černý. "Datum des Todes Ramses' III. und der Thronbesteigung Ramseses IV." *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 109–118.

ČERNÝ, 1958

J. Černý. *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection*. Oxford, 1958.

ČERNÝ, 1973

J. Černý. *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*. Cairo, 1973 (*BdE* 50).

ČERNÝ ET AL., 1949

J. Černý, B. Bruyère, J. J. Clère. *Répertoire onomastique de Deir el-Médineh*. Le Caire, 1949 (*DFIFAO* 12).

ČERNÝ, GARDINER, 1957

J. Černý, A. H. Gardiner. *Hieratic Ostraca*. Oxford, 1957.

CHASSINAT, PALANQUE, 1911

E. Chassinat, Ch. Palanque. *Une campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout*. Le Caire, 1911 (*MIFAO* 24).

CHERPION, 1984

N. Cherpion. "De quand date la tombe du nain Seneb?" *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 35–54.

CHERPION, 1989

N. Cherpion. *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le problème de la datation*. Bruxelles, 1989.

CLARKE, ENGELBACH, 1930

S. Clarke, R. Engelbach. *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*. London, 1930.

CLÈRE, PIANKOFF, 1934

J. J. Clère, A. Piankoff. "A Letter to the Dead on a Bowl in the Louvre." *JEA* 20 (1934), 157–169.

CONAN DOYLE, 1926-1, 2

A. Conan Doyle. *The History of Spiritualism I–II*. London, 1926.

CURTIUS, 1914

L. Curtius. *Die antike Kunst*. Berlin, 1914.

CURTO, 1961

S. Curto. *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale*, ² Bologna 1961.

CURTO, 1963

S. Curto. *Gli scavi italiani a El-Giza*. Roma, 1963.

DARESSY, 1898

G. Daressy. "Le mastaba de Mera." *MIF* 3 (1898), 521–574.

DARESSY, 1901

G. Daressy. *Ostraca* (CG 25001–25535). Le Caire, 1901.

DARESSY, 1916

G. Daressy. "Le mastaba de Khâ-f-Khoufu à Gizeh." *ASAE* 16 (1916), 257–267.

DARESSY, 1917

G. Daressy. "Inscriptions du mastaba de Pepi-Nefer à Edfou." *ASAE* 17 (1917), 130–140.

DASEN, 1988

V. Dasen. "Dwarfism in Egypt and Classical Antiquity: Iconography and Medical History." *MH* 32 (1988), 253–276.

- DAVID, 1982**
A. R. David. *The Ancient Egyptians. Religious Beliefs and Practices.* London, 1982.
- DAVIES, 1900, 1901-1**
Norman Davies. *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqareh I-II.* London, 1900–1901 (ASE 8–9).
- DAVIES, 1901-2**
Norman Davies. *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh-Said.* London, 1901 (ASE 10).
- DAVIES, 1902-1, 2**
Norman Davies. *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi I-II.* London, 1902 (ASE 11–12).
- DAVIES, 1908**
Norman Davies. *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna VI.* London, 1908 (ASE 18).
- DAVIES, 1922**
Norman Davies. *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes I.* New York, 1922.
- DAVIES, GARDINER, 1915**
Norman Davies, A. H. Gardiner. *The Tomb of Amenemhet.* London, 1915.
- DAVIES W. ET AL., 1984**
 See [Saqqara Tombs I].
- DAWN OF ART, 1974**
The Dawn of Art. Paleolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age Remains Found in the Territory of the Soviet Union. The Hermitage Collection. Leningrad, 1974.
- DEINES ET AL., 1958**
Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter IV/1. H. von Deines, H. Grapow, W. Westendorf. Übersetzung der Medizinischen Texte. Berlin, 1958.
- DELANGE, 1987**
E. Delange. *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060–1560 avant J.-C.* Paris, 1987.
- DEPUYDT, 1994**
L. Depuydt. "On the Nature of the Hieroglyphic Script." *ZÄS* 121 (1994), 17–36.
- DIAKONOFF, 1977**
И. М. Дьяконов. "Введение." В кн.: *Мифологии древнего мира* (Москва, 1977), 5–54.
 [I. M. Diakonoff. "Introduction." In: *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (Moscow, 1977), 5–54].
- DIAKONOFF, 1994**
И. М. Дьяконов. *Пути истории.* Москва, 1994.
 [I. M. Diakonoff. *Roads of History.* Moscow, 1994].
- DONADONI ROVERI, 1969**
A. M. Donadoni Roveri. *I sarcofagi egizi dalle origini alla fine dell' Antico Regno.* Roma, 1969.
- DRENKHahn, 1976**
R. Drenkhahn. *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten.* Wiesbaden, 1976 (ÄA 31).
- DRIOTON, LAUER, 1958**
Et. Drioton, J.-Ph. Lauer. "Une Groupe de tombeaux à Saqqareh: Icheti, Nefer-khouou-ptah, Sébek-em-khent et Ankhi." *ASAE* 55 (1958), 207–251.
- DRIOTON, VANDIER, 1952**
Et. Drioton, J. Vandier. *L'Égypte.* ³ Paris, 1952.
- DUELL, 1938**
<P. Duell>. *The Mastaba of Mereruka.* Chicago, 1938.
- DUNHAM, 1943**
D. Dunham. "An Experiment with an Egyptian Portrait. Ankh-haf in Modern Dress." *BMFA* 41 (1943), 10.
- DUNHAM, SIMPSON, 1974**
 See [Giza Mastabas I].
- EATON-KRAUSS, 1984**
M. Eaton-Krauss. *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom.* Wiesbaden, 1984 (ÄA 39).

EDEL, 1955

E. Edel. *Altägyptische Grammatik*. Roma, 1955.

EDGAR, 1907

C. C. Edgar. "Middle Kingdom Tombs in the Delta." *MusEg* 2 (1907), 109–118.

EGGEBRECHT, 1973

A. Eggebrecht. *Schlachtungsbräuche im alten Ägypten und ihre Wiedergabe im Flachbild bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*. München, 1973.

EGGEBRECHT, 1984

A. Eggebrecht. *Das alte Ägypten. 3000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur des Pharaonenreiches*. München, 1984.

EL-FIKEY, 1980

S. A. El-Fikey. *The Tomb of the Vizier Re-Wer at Saqqara*. Warminster, 1980.

EL-KHOULI, KANAWATI, 1989

A. El-Khouli, N. Kanawati. *Quseir el-Amarna. The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*. Sydney, 1989.

EL-KHOULI, KANAWATI, 1990

A. El-Khouli, N. Kanawati. *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*. Sydney, 1990.

EMERY, 1949, 1954, 1958


W. Emery. *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*

- I. Cairo, 1949;
- II. London, 1954;
- III. London, 1958.

ENGELBACH, 1934

E. Engelbach. "The Portraits of Ranufer." In: *Melanges Maspero I* (Paris, 1934), 101–103.

ENGLUND, 1978

G. Englund.  *Akh – une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique*. Uppsala, 1978 (Boreas 11).

EPRON ET AL., 1939

See [Ti I].

ERMAN, 1882

A. Erman. "Zehn Verträge aus dem Mittleren Reich." *ZÄS* 20 (1882), 159–184.

ERMAN, 1890-1, 2

A. Erman. *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westkar I–II*. Berlin, 1890.

ERMAN, 1906

A. Erman. "Die Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen." *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 1–26.

ERMAN, 1911

A. Erman. "Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie." *SPAW* 1911, 916–950.

ERMAN, 1919

A. Erman. *Die Religion der Ägypter*. ² Berlin, 1919.

ERMAN, 1928

A. Erman. *Ägyptische Grammatik*. ⁴ Berlin, 1928.

ERMAN, 1934

A. Erman. *Die Religion der Ägypter*. ³ Berlin – Leipzig, 1934.

FAKHRY, 1961

A. Fakhry. *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II. The Valley Temple, pt.2, The Finds*. Cairo, 1961.

FAULKNER, 1933


R. O. Faulkner. *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*. Bruxelles, 1933.

FAULKNER, 1941

R. O. Faulkner. "Giza II and Giza III by Hermann Junker." *JEA* 27 (1941), 166–169.

FAULKNER, 1962

R. O. Faulkner. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford, 1962.

- FEUCHT, 1980**
E. Feucht. "Kind." *LÄ* III (1980), 424–437.
- FIRCHOW, 1954**
O. Firthow. "Zu den Wörterbindungen mit *s.t.*" *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 91–94.
- FIRTH, GUNN, 1926-1, 2**
C. M. Firth, B. Gunn. *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I–II. Le Caire, 1926.
- FIRTH ET AL., 1935-1, 2**
C. M. Firth, J. E. Quibell, J.-Ph. Lauer. *The Step Pyramid* I–II. Le Caire, 1935.
- FISCHER, 1959**
H. G. Fischer. "A Scribe of the Army in the Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty." *JNES* 18 (1959), 233–272.
- FISCHER, 1961**
H. G. Fischer. "A Supplement to Janssen's List of Dogs' Names." *JEA* 47 (1961), 152–153.
- FISCHER, 1963-1**
H. G. Fischer. "Varia Aegyptiaca." *JARCE* 2 (1963), 17–51.
- FISCHER, 1963-2**
H. G. Fischer. "A Stela of the Heracleopolitan Period at Saqqara: The Osiris *Iti*." *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 35–41.
- FISCHER, 1966**
H. G. Fischer. "An Old Kingdom Monograph ." *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 56–69.
- FISCHER, 1973**
H. G. Fischer. "Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom." *MMJ* 8 (1973), 7–25.
- FISCHER, 1976**
H. G. Fischer. *Egyptian Studies I. Varia*. New York, 1976.
- FISCHER, 1977-1**
H. G. Fischer. "Fackeln und Kerzen." *LÄ* II (1977), 79–81.
- FISCHER, 1977-2**
H. G. Fischer. "More Ancient Egyptian Names of Dogs and Other Animals." *MMJ* 12 (1977), 173–178.
- FISCHER, 1977-3**
H. G. Fischer. "The Evolution of Composite Hieroglyphs in Ancient Egypt." *MMJ* 12 (1977), 5–19.
- FISCHER, 1980**
H. G. Fischer. "Hunde." *LÄ* III (1980), 77–82.
- FISCHER, 1986**
H. G. Fischer. *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne. Quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaonique*. Paris, 1986.
- FISCHER, 1990**
H. G. Fischer. Rev. of Y. Harpur, *Decorations in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*. *BiOr* 47 1/2 (1990), 90–97.
- FISHER, 1924**
C. S. Fisher. *The Minor Cemetery at Giza*. Philadelphia, 1924.
- FRAESER, 1902**
G. Fraeser. "The Early Tombs at Tehneh." *ASAE* 3 (1902), 67–76, 122–130.
- FRANKFORT, 1948-1**
H. Frankfort. *Kingship and the Gods*. Chicago, 1948.
- FRANKFORT, 1948-2**
H. Frankfort. *Ancient Egyptian Religion*. New York, 1948.
- FRANKFORT, 1978**
H. Frankfort. *Kingship and the Gods*. ²Chicago, 1978.
- FRANKFORT ET AL., 1946**
H. Frankfort, H. A. Frankfort, J. A. Wilson, T. Jacobsen, W. A. Irwin. *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man. An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East*. Chicago, 1946.

FRANKFORT ET AL., 1951

H. Frankfort, H. A. Frankfort, J. A. Wilson, T. Jacobsen. *Before Philosophy. The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man.* Baltimore, 1951.

FRIEDMAN, 1985

F. Friedman. "The Root Meaning of *sh*: Effectiveness or Luminosity?" *Sarapis* 8 (1985), 39–46.

GABOLDE, 1993

M. Gabolde. "La postérité d'Amenophis III." *Egyptes* 1 (1993), 29–34.

GABUS, 1967

J. Gabus. *175 ans d'ethnographie à Neuchâtel II.* Neuchâtel, 1967.

GARDINER, 1905

A. H. Gardiner. "Hymnus to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus." *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 12–42.

GARDINER, 1909

A. H. Gardiner. *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin V. Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches II. Die Erzählung des Sinuhe und die Hirtengeschichte.* Leipzig, 1909.

GARDINER, 1912

A. H. Gardiner. Rev. of R. Weill, *Les décrets royaux de l'Ancien Empire égyptien.* *PSBA* 34 (1912), 257–265.

GARDINER, 1915

A. H. Gardiner. "Some Personifications, I. Hike, the God of Magic." *PSBA* 37 (1915), 253–262.

GARDINER, 1917-1

A. H. Gardiner. "An Archaic Funeral Stela." *JEA* 4 (1917), 256–260.

GARDINER, 1917-2

A. H. Gardiner. "Personification (Egyptian)." In: *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* IX (Edinburgh, 1917), 787–792.

GARDINER, 1927

A. H. Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar.* Oxford, 1927.

GARDINER, 1930

A. H. Gardiner. "A New Letter to the Dead." *JEA* 16 (1930), 19–22.

GARDINER, 1931

A. H. Gardiner. *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. 1.* London, 1931.

GARDINER, 1932

A. H. Gardiner. *Late-Egyptian Stories.* Bruxelles, 1932.

GARDINER, 1935-1, 2

A. H. Gardiner. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series: Chester Beatty Gift I–II.* London, 1935.

GARDINER, 1935-3

A. H. Gardiner. *An Attitude of Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead.* Cambridge, 1935.

GARDINER, 1938

A. H. Gardiner. "The Mansion of Life and Master of King's Largess." *JEA* 24 (1938), 83–91.

GARDINER, 1950

A. H. Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar.* ² Oxford, 1950.

GARDINER, 1955

A. H. Gardiner. *The Ramesseum Papyri.* Oxford, 1955.

GARDINER, 1957-1

A. H. Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar.* ³ Oxford, 1957.

GARDINER, 1957-2

A. H. Gardiner. "Hymns to Sobk in a Ramesseum Papyrus." *RdE* 11 (1957), 43–56.

GARDINER, 1961

A. H. Gardiner. *Egypt of the Pharaohs.* Oxford, 1961.

GARDINER, SETHE, 1928

A. H. Gardiner, K. Sethe. *Egyptian Letters to the Dead mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.* London, 1928.

GARNOT, 1938

J. Saint Fare Garnot. *L'appel aux vivantes dans les textes funéraires des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire*. Le Caire, 1938.

GARNOT, 1948

J. Saint Fare Garnot. *La vie religieuse dans l'ancienne Égypte*. Paris, 1948.

GARSTANG, 1904

J. Garstang. *Tombs of the Third Egyptian Dynasty at Raqaqneh and Bêt-Khallâf*. Westminster, 1904.

GAUTHIER, 1913-1, 2

H. Gauthier. *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou I-II (CG 41042-41072)*. Le Caire, 1913.

GAYET, 1886

A. J. Gayet. *Musée du Louvre. Stèles de la XII^e dynastie I*. Paris, 1886.

GAYET, 1894

A. J. Gayet. *Le temple de Louxor*. Le Caire, 1894.

GEORGE, 1970

B. George. *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele*. Bonn, 1970.

GERMAN EXPRESSIONISTS, 1981

Немецкие экспрессионисты (из собраний ФРГ). Дуйсбург, 1981.
[*German Expressionists (from the Collections of FRG)*. Duisburg, 1981].

GESCHENK DES NILS, 1978

Geschenk des Nils. Ägyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz. Basel, 1978.

GIZA MASTABAS

Giza Mastabas

- I. D. Dunham, W. K. Simpson. *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*. Boston, 1974;
- II. W. K. Simpson. *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*. Boston, 1976;
- III. W. K. Simpson. *The Mastabas of Ka-wab, Khafkhufu I and II, G7130-70 and 7150 and Subsidiary Mastabas of Street 7100*. Boston, 1978;
- IV. W. K. Simpson. *The Mastabas of Western Cemetery I*. Boston, 1980.
- V. K. R. Weeks. *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000. Including G 6010 (Neferbaupth), G 6020 (Iymery), G 6030 (Ity), G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)*. Boston, 1994.

GOEDICKE, 1960

H. Goedicke. *Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich*. Wiesbaden, 1960 (ÄA 2).

GOEDICKE, 1967

H. Goedicke. *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich*. Wiesbaden, 1967 (ÄA 14).

GOEDICKE, 1970

H. Goedicke. *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*. Wien, 1970.

GOEDICKE, 1986

H. Goedicke. "«God»." *JSSEA* 16 (1986), 57-62.

GOEDICKE, WENTE, 1962

H. Goedicke, E. F. Wente. *Ostraca Michaelidis*. Wiesbaden, 1962.

GOLÉNISCHEFF, 1913

W. Golénischeff. *Les papyrus hiératiques NN^o 1115, 1116A et 1116B de l'Ermitage Impérial à St.-Petersbourg*. S. l., 1913.

GOYON, 1959

G. Goyon. "Le tombeau de Ankhon à Saqqarah." *Kêmi* 15 (1959), 10-22.

GRDSELOFF, 1941

B. Grdseloff. *Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt*. Le Caire, 1941.

GRDSELOFF, 1943

B. Grdseloff. "Deux inscriptions juridiques de l'Ancien Empire." *ASAE* 42 (1943), 25-70.

GREBAUT, 1875

E. Grebaut. *Hymne à Amon-Ra des papyrus égyptiennes du Musée de Boulaq*. Paris, 1875.

GRESSMANN, 1918

H. Gressmann. *Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus*. Berlin, 1918.

GREVEN, 1954

L. Greven. *Der Ka in Theologie und Königskult der Ägypter des Alten Reichs*. Glückstadt - Hamburg - New York, 1954 (AF 17).

- GRIESHAMMER, 1975**
R. Grieshammer. "Briefe an Tote." *LÄ* I (1975), 864–870.
- GRIESHAMMER, 1980**
R. Grieshammer. "Licht." *LÄ* III (1980), 1033–1034.
- GRIFFITH, 1889**
F. Ll. Griffith. *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr-Rîfeh*. London, 1889.
- GRIFFITH, 1900**
F. Ll. Griffith. *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis. The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas*. Oxford, 1900.
- GRIFFITHS, 1958**
J. G. Griffiths. "Remarks on the Mythology of the Eyes of Horus." *CdE* 33 (1958), 182–193.
- GRIFFITHS, 1966**
J. G. Griffiths. *The Origins of Osiris*. Berlin, 1966 (*MÄS* 9).
- GRIFFITHS, 1980**
J. G. Griffiths. *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*. Leiden, 1980.
- GRIFFITHS, 1982**
J. G. Griffiths. "Osiris." *LÄ* IV (1982), 623–633.
- GUILMOT, 1966**
M. Guilmot. "Les Lettres aux Morts dans l'Égypte ancienne." *RHR* 170 (1966), 1–27.
- GUILMOT, 1973**
M. Guilmot. "Lettre à une épouse defunte." *ZÄS* 99 (1973), 94–103.
- GUNN, 1916**
B. Gunn. "The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt." *JEA* 3 (1916), 81–94.
- GUNN, 1921**
B. Gunn. "«To Have Recourse to» in Egyptian." *RecTrav* 39 (1921), 105–107.
- GUREVITCH, 1972**
А. Я. Гуревич. Категории средневековой культуры. Москва, 1972.
[A. Ya. Gurevitch. Categories of the Medieval Culture. Moscow, 1972].
- H_{AENY}, 1971**
G. Haeny. "Zu den Platten mit Opfertischszene aus Heluan und Gizeh." In: *FsRicke* (1971), 143–164.
- HAENY, 1984**
G. Haeny. "Scheintür." *LÄ* V (1984), 563–574.
- HARPUR, 1985**
Y. Harpur. "The Identity and Positions of Relief Fragments in Museums and Private Collections. Miscellaneous Reliefs from Saqqâra and Gîza." *JEA* 71 (1985), 27–42.
- HARPUR, 1986-1**
Y. Harpur. "The Identity and Positions of Relief Fragments in Museums and Private Collections. Reliefs from a Dismantled Tomb in the Saqqara Necropolis." *SAK* 13 (1986), 107–123.
- HARPUR, 1986-2**
Y. Harpur. "The Identity and Positions of Relief Fragments in Museums and Private Collections. The Identity and Positions of Five Reliefs from Saqqara." *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 59–66.
- HARPUR, 1987**
Y. Harpur. *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*. London – New York, 1987.
- HARRIS, 1955**
J. R. Harris. "The Name of the Scribe in the Louvre." *JEA* 41 (1955), 122–123.
- HARVEY, 1990**
J. Harvey. "Some Notes on the Wooden Statues from the Tomb of Nakht at Assiut." *GM* 116 (1990), 45–50.
- HASSAN, 1928**
S. Hassan. *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*. Le Caire, 1928.

HASSAN, 1932, 1936, 1941, 1943, 1944

S. Hassan. *Excavations at Giza*

- I. 1929–1930. Oxford, 1932;
- II. 1930–1931. Cairo, 1936;
- III. 1931–1932. Cairo, 1941;
- IV. 1932–1933. Cairo, 1943;
- V. 1933–1934. Cairo, 1944.

HASSAN, 1975-1, 2, 3

S. Hassan. *Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938*

- I. *The Mastaba of Neb-kau-Her*. Cairo, 1975.
- II. *The Mastabas of Ny-ankh-Pepy and others*. Cairo, 1975.
- III. *The Mastabas of Princess Hemet-R^c*. Cairo, 1975.

HAWASS, 1988

Z. Hawass. *The Funerary Establishments of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura during the Old Kingdom*. Ann Arbor, 1988.

HAYES, 1946

W. C. Hayes. "Royal Decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptos." *JEA* 32 (1946), 3–23.

HAYES, 1951

W. C. Hayes. "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III." *JNES* 10 (1951), 35–56, 82–111, 156–183, 231–242.

HAYES, 1953

W. C. Hayes. *The Scepter of Egypt* I. Cambridge (Mass.), 1953.

HELCK, 1954

W. Helck. *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*. Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York, 1954 (*ÄF* 18).

HELCK, 1958

W. Helck. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Leiden – Köln, 1958.

HELCK, 1975

W. Helck. "Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu." *LÄ* I (1975), 219–221.

HILDESHEIM, 1976

Echnaton, Nofertete, Tutanchamun. Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 15. Juli – 26. September 1976. Mainz, 1976.

HILDESHEIM, 1979

Götter und Pharaonen. Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 29. Mai – 16. September 1979. Mainz, 1979.

HINTZE, 1967

F. Hintze. "Das Kerma-Problem." *ZÄS* 91 (1967), 79–86.

HODJASH, BERLEV, 1975

S. I. Hodjash, O. D. Berlev. "Several Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Moscow Fine Arts Museum." *AoF* 3 (1975), 5–18.

HODJASH, BERLEV, 1982

S. Hodjash, O. Berlev. *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. Leningrad, 1982.

HOFFMEIER, 1981

J. K. Hoffmeier. "The Possible Origins of the Tent of Purification in the Egyptian Funerary Cult." *SAK* 9 (1981), 167–177.

HOLWERDA ET AL., 1905

A. E. Holwerda, P. Boeser, J. H. Holwerda. *Beschreibung des ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseum der Altertümer in Leiden* I. *Die Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*. Leiden, 1905.

HORNBLOWER, 1923

G. D. Hornblower. "Traces of a Ka-belief in Modern Egypt and Old Arabia." *AE*, 1923, 67–70.

HORNBLOWER, 1929

G. D. Hornblower. "A Further Note on the Ka." *AE*, 1929, 104–107.

IMPRESSIONISTS, 1986

Impressionists and Post-Impressionists in Soviet Museums. Leningrad, 1986.

ISMAGILOV, 1992

Р. Б. Исмагилов. "Об одном сакском обряде." В сб.: *Киммерийцы и скифы. Тезисы докладов* (Мелитополь, 1992), 34–35.
[R. B. Ismagilov. "On a Saka ritual." In: *Cimmerians and Scythians. Abstracts of Papers* (Melitopol, 1992), 34–35].

IVANOV, 1979

Вяч. Вс. Иванов. "Нейросемиотика устной речи и функциональная асимметрия мозга." *УЗТГУ* 481: *Семиотика устной речи. Лингвистическая семантика и семиотика II* (1979), 121–142.
[V. V. Ivanov. "Neuro-semiotics of Spoken Language and Functional Asymmetry of Brain." *UZTGU* 481: *Semiotics of Spoken Language. Linguistic Semantics and Semiotics II* (1979), 121–142].

JACQUET-GORDON, 1962

H. K. Jaquet-Gordon. *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*. Cairo, 1962.

JAKOBSSON, 1939

H. Jakobsson. *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter*. Glückstadt, 1939.

JAMES, 1953

T. G. H. James. *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi*. London, 1953 (ASE 13).

JANSSEN J. J., 1975

J. J. Janssen. *Commodity Prices from Ramesside Period. An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*. Leiden, 1975.

JANSSEN J. M. A., 1958

J. M. A. Janssen. "Über Hundennamen in pharaonischen Ägypten." *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 176–182.

JAYNES, 1976

J. Jaynes. *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind*. Princeton, 1976.

JÉQUIER, 1913

G. Jéquier. *Histoire de la civilisation égyptienne*. Paris, 1913.

JÉQUIER, 1914

G. Jéquier. "Les talismans  et .BIFAO 11 (1914), 121–143.

JÉQUIER, 1928

G. Jéquier. *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*. Le Caire, 1928.

JÉQUIER, 1929

G. Jéquier. *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II*. Le Caire, 1929.

JÉQUIER, 1933

G. Jéquier. *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire*. Le Caire, 1933.

JÉQUIER, 1935

G. Jéquier. "Rapport préliminaire sur les travaux exécutés en 1934–1935 dans la partie méridionale de la nécropole memphite." *ASAE* 35 (1935), 31–34.

JÉQUIER, 1940

G. Jéquier. *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II III*. Le Caire, 1940.

JUNGE, 1973

F. Junge. "Zur Fehldatierung des sogenannte Denkmals memphitischer Theologie oder Der Beitrag der ägyptischen Theologie zur Geistgeschichte des Spätzeit." *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 195–204.

JUNKER, 1910

H. Junker. *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu and Philae*. Wien, 1910 (DAWW 54/1).

JUNKER, 1911

H. Junker. *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien*. Berlin, 1911 (Anhang zu APAW).

JUNKER, 1913-1

H. Junker. *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*. Wien, 1913 (DAWW 56/4).

JUNKER, 1913-2

H. Junker. *Vorbericht über die zweite Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh*. (AAWW, 1913, Nr. XIX).

JUNKER, 1921

H. Junker. *Das nubische Ursprung der sogenannten Tell el-Yahudiye-Vasen*. Wien, 1921 (*SAWW* 198/3).

JUNKER, 1927-1

H. Junker. "Die Stilwandlungen während des Alten Reichs." *ZÄS* 63 (1927), 1–7.

JUNKER, 1927-2

H. Junker. "Die Entwicklung der Mastaba auf dem Friedhof von Gîze." *ZÄS* 63 (1927), 7–14.

JUNKER, 1929, 1934, 1938, 1940-1, 1941-1, 1943, 1944, 1947, 1950, 1951-1, 1953, 1955

H. Junker. *Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza*.

- I. *Gîza* I. Wien – Leipzig, 1929 (*DAWW* 69/1);
- II. *Gîza* II. Wien – Leipzig, 1934 (*AWW*);
- III. *Gîza* III. Wien – Leipzig, 1938 (*AWW*);
- IV. *Gîza* IV. Wien – Leipzig, 1940 (*DAWW* 71/1);
- V. *Gîza* V. Wien – Leipzig, 1941 (*DAWW* 71/2);
- VI. *Gîza* VI. Wien – Leipzig, 1943 (*DAWW* 72/1);
- VII. *Gîza* VII. Wien – Leipzig, 1944 (*DAWW* 72/3);
- VIII. *Gîza* VIII. Wien, 1947 (*DAWW* 73/1);
- IX. *Gîza* IX. Wien, 1950 (*DÖAW* 73/2);
- X. *Gîza* X. Wien, 1951 (*DÖAW* 74/1);
- XI. *Gîza* XI. Wien, 1953 (*DÖAW* 74/2);
- XII. *Gîza* XII. Wien, 1955 (*DÖAW* 75/2).

JUNKER, 1940-1

See [Junker, 1929].

JUNKER, 1940-2

H. Junker. *Die Götterlehre von Memphis (Schabaka-Inschrift)*. Berlin, 1940 (*APAW*, Jrg. 1939, Nr. 23).

JUNKER, 1940-3

H. Junker. "Der Tanz der *Mww* und das Butische Begräbnis im Alten Reich." *MDIAK* 9 (1940), 1–38.

JUNKER, 1941-1

See [Junker, 1929].

JUNKER, 1941-2

H. Junker. *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*. Berlin, 1941 (*APAW*, Jrg. 1941, Nr. 6).

JUNKER, 1942

H. Junker. *Der sehende und blinde Gott (Mhntj-irtj and Mhntj-n-irtj)*. München, 1942 (*SBAW*, Jrg. 1942, H. 7).

JUNKER, 1943

See [Junker, 1929].

JUNKER, 1944

See [Junker, 1929].

JUNKER, 1947

See [Junker, 1929].

JUNKER, 1948

H. Junker. "Zu dem Idealbild des menschlichen Körpers in der Kunst des Alten Reiches." *AÖAW* Jrg. 1947, No. 17 (1948), 171–181.

JUNKER, 1950

See [Junker, 1929].

JUNKER, 1951-1

See [Junker, 1929].

JUNKER, 1951-2

H. Junker. "Das lebensware Bildnis in der Rundplastik der Alten Reichs." *AÖAW* 87, Jrg. 1950, Nr. 19 (1951), 401–406.

JUNKER, 1953

See [Junker, 1929].

JUNKER, 1954

H. Junker. "Mutter und Sohn auf einem Relief des frühen Alten Reichs." *AÖAW* 90, Jrg. 1953, Nr. 14 (1954), 171–175.

JUNKER, 1955

See [Junker, 1929].

KÁKOSY, 1977

L. Kákosy. "Heka." *LÄ* II (1977), 1108–1110.

KAMIL, 1978

J. Kamil. *Saqqara: A Guide to the Necropolis and the Site of Memphis*. London – New York, 1978.

KANAWATI, 1977-1

N. Kanawati. *The Egyptian Administration of the Old Kingdom*. Warminster, 1977.

KANAWATI, 1977-2

N. Kanawati. "The Identification of *Dꜥw*/*Šmꜣj* and *Dꜥw* in the Decoration of their Tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi." *JEA* 63 (1977), 59–62.

KANAWATI, 1980-1, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988-1, 1989

N. Kanawati. *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, the Cemetery of Akhmim*

- I. Sydney, 1980;
- II. Sydney, 1981;
- IV. Sydney, 1983;
- V. Sydney, 1985;
- VI. Sydney, 1986;
- VII. Sydney, 1987;
- VIII. Sydney, 1988;
- IX. Sydney, 1989.

KANAWATI, 1980-2

N. Kanawati. *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*. Warminster, 1980.

KANAWATI, 1988-2

N. Kanawati. *The Tomb and its Significance in Ancient Egypt*. Cairo, 1988.

KANAWATI, 1993

N. Kanawati. *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa I*. Sydney, 1993 (*ACER* 4).

KANAWATI ET AL., 1984, 1988

Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid

- I. by N. Kanawati, A. El-Khouli, A. McFarlane, N. V. Maksoud. Sydney, 1984;
- II. by A. El-Khouli, N. Kanawati. Sydney, 1988.

KANAWATI, MCFARLANE, 1993

N. Kanawati, A. McFarlane. *Deshasha. The Tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others*. Sydney, 1993 (*ACER* 5).

KANSAS CITY, 1973

Handbook of the Collections in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri I, Art of the Occident. Kansas City, 1973.

KAPLONY, 1963

P. Kaplony. *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit I*. Wiesbaden, 1963.

KAPLONY, 1976

P. Kaplony. *Studien zum Grab des Methethi*. Bern, 1976.

KAPLONY, 1977

P. Kaplony. *Die Rollsigeln des Alten Reiches I*. Bruxelles, 1977 (*MonAeg* 2).

KAPLONY, 1980-1

P. Kaplony. "Ka." *LÄ* III (1980), 275–282.

KAPLONY, 1980-2

P. Kaplony. "Ka-Haus." *LÄ* III (1980), 284–287.


KAPLONY, 1980-3

P. Kaplony. "Königsring." *LÄ* III (1980), 610–626.

KAYSER, 1964

H. Kayser. *Die Mastaba des Uhemka. Ein Grab in der Wüste*. Hannover, [1964].

- KEES, 1926**
H. Kees. *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*. Leipzig, 1926.
- KEES, 1933**
H. Kees. *Ägypten*. München, 1933.
- KEES, 1941**
H. Kees. *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*. Leipzig, 1941.
- KEES, 1956-1 = 1977-1 = 1980-1**
H. Kees. *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*. ²Berlin, 1956; ³Berlin, 1977; ⁴Berlin, 1980.
- KEES, 1956-2 = 1977-2 = 1980-2**
H. Kees. *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*. ²Berlin, 1956; ³Berlin, 1977; ⁴Berlin, 1980.
- KEES, 1958**
H. Kees. *Das alte Ägypten. Eine kleine Landeskunde*. Berlin, 1958.
- KELLEY, 1974**
A. L. Kelley. "Reserve Heads: A Review of the Evidence for their Placement and Function in Old Kingdom Tombs." *NSSEA* 5/1 (1974), 6–12.
- KEMP, 1973**
B. J. Kemp. "Photographs of the Decorated Tomb at Hieraconpolis." *JEA* 59 (1973), 36–43.
- KENDALL, 1981**
T. Kendall. "An Unusual Rock-Cut Tomb at Giza." In: *StudDunham*, 104–114.
- KLEBS, 1915**
L. Klebs. *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*. Heidelberg, 1916 (*AHAW* 3).
- KLOCHKOV, 1983**
И. С. Ключков. *Духовная культура Вавилонии: человек, судьба, время*. Москва, 1983.
 [I. S. Klochkov. *Spiritual Culture of Babylonia: Man, Destiny, Time*. Moscow, 1983].
- KMINEK-SZEDŁO, 1895.**
G. Kminek-Szedło. *Catalogo di antichità egizie di Museo civico di Bologna*. Torino, 1895.
- KOCH, 1993**
K. Koch. *Geschichte der ägyptischen Religion. Von den Pyramiden bis zu den Mysterien der Isis*. Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln, 1993.
- KÖLN, 1980**
Tutanchamun in Köln. Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, 10. Juni – 5. Oktober 1980. S. I., 1980.
- KOROSTOVTSSEV, 1976**
М. А. Коростовцев. *Религия древнего Египта*. Москва, 1976.
 [M. A. Korostovtsev. *Religion of Ancient Egypt*. Moscow, 1976].
- KRAUSPE, 1987**
R. Krauspe. *Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*. Leipzig, 1987.
- KREMYANSKI, 1969**
В. И. Кремянский. *Структурные уровни живой материи*. Москва, 1969.
 [V. I. Kremyanski. *Structural Levels of Living Matter*. Moscow, 1969].
- KRISTENSEN, 1896**
W.-B. Kristensen. *Aegypternes forstillinger om Livet efter Døden: forbindelse med guderne Ra og Osiris*. Kristiannia, 1896.
- KROMER, 1991**
K. Kromer. *Nezlet Batran. Eine Mastaba aus dem Alten Reich bei Giseh (Ägypten). Österreichische Ausgrabungen 1981–1983*. Wien, 1991.
- LACAU, 1904, 1906**
P. Lacau. *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire I–II* (CG 28001–28086, 28087–28126). Le Caire, 1904–1906.
- LACAU, 1913**
P. Lacau. "Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires." *ZÄS* 51 (1913), 1–64.
- LACAU, 1926-1, 2**
P. Lacau. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I–II* (CG 34001–34064, 34065–34186). Le Caire, 1926.

- LACAU, 1926-3**
P. Lacau. "Suppressions des noms divins dans les textes de la chambre funéraire." *ASAE* 26 (1926), 69-81.
- LAMONT, 1959**
C. Lamont. *The Illusion of Immortality*.³ New York, 1959.
- LANDA, LAPIS, 1974**
<N. B. Landa, I. A. Lapis> *Egyptian Antiquities in the Hermitage*. Leningrad, 1974.
- LANGE, SCHÄFER, 1902-1, 1908, 1902-2**
H. O. Lange, H. Schäfer. *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo* (CG 20001-20780)
I. *Text zu Nr. 20001-20399*. Berlin, 1902;
II. *Text zu Nr. 20400-20780*. Berlin, 1908;
IV. *Tafeln*. Berlin, 1902.
- LAPIS, MATTHIEU, 1969**
И. А. Лапис, М. Э. Матье. *Древнеегипетская скульптура в собрании Государственного Эрмитажа*. Москва, 1969.
[I. A. Lapis, M. E. Matthieu. *Ancient Egyptian Sculpture in the Hermitage Museum*. Moscow, 1969].
- LAPP, 1986**
G. Lapp. *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*. Mainz, 1986.
- LAUER, 1936-1, 2**
J.-Ph. Lauer. *La pyramide à degrés I-II*. Le Caire, 1936.
- LAUER, 1950**
J.-Ph. Lauer. "Découverte du serdab du chancelier Icheti à Saqqarah." *RdE* 7 (1950), 15-18.
- LAUER, 1956**
J.-Ph. Lauer. "Travaux divers à Saqqarah (novembre 1953 - juin 1954)." *ASAE* 54 (1956), 100-107.
- LECLANT, 1961**
J. Leclant. *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville*. Le Caire, 1961 (*BdE* 35).
- LEEuw, 1916**
G. van de Leeuw. *Godvoorstellingen in de oudaegyptische Pyramidetexten*. Leiden, 1916.
- LEEuw, 1918**
G. van de Leeuw. "External Soul, Schutzgeist und der ägyptische Ka." *ZÄS* 54 (1918), 56-64.
- LEFÉBURE, 1897**
E. Lefébure. "L'impotence du nom chez les égyptiens." *Sphinx* 1 (1897), 93-112.
- LEFEBVRE, 1924**
G. Lefebvre. *Le tombeau de Pétoiris III*. Le Caire, 1924.
- LE PAGE RENOUF, 1867**
P. Le Page Renouf. "Miscellanea." *ZÄS* 5 (1867), 32.
- LE PAGE RENOUF, 1878**
P. Le Page Renouf. "On the True Sense of an Important Egyptian Word." *TSBA* 6 (1878), 494-508.
- LE PAGE RENOUF, 1884**
P. Le Page Renouf. *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion of Ancient Egypt*.² London, 1884.
- LIEBLEIN, 1895**
J. Lieblein. *Le livre égyptien*  "Que mon nom fleurisse". Leipzig, 1895.
- LIVSHITS, 1966**
И. Г. Лившиц. "Фрагмент саркофага из Ахмира." *ЭВ* 17 (1966), 6-17.
[I. G. Livshits. "Coffin Fragment from Akhmim." *EV* 17 (1966), 6-17].
- LIVSHITS, 1979**
Сказки и повести древнего Египта. Перевод и комментарий И. Г. Лившица. Ленинград, 1979.
[*Tales and Stories of Ancient Egypt*. Translated and Commented by I. G. Livshits. Leningrad, 1979].
- LLOYD ET AL., 1990**
See [Saqqara Tombs II].

LODGE, 1916

O. J. Lodge. *Raymond, or Life and Death. With Examples of the Evidence for Survival of Memory and Affection after Death*. London, 1926.

LODGE, 1928

O. J. Lodge. *Why I Believe in Personal Immortality*. London, 1928.

LOURIE, MATTHIEU, 1952

<И. М. Лурье, М. Э. Матье> *Культура и искусство древнего Египта. Путеводитель по выставке Государственного Эрмитажа*. Москва – Ленинград, 1952.

[<I. M. Lourie, M. E. Matthieu> *Culture and Art of Ancient Egypt. Guide-book to the Exhibition of the State Hermitage Museum*. Moscow – Leningrad, 1952].

LORET, 1904

V. Loret. “Quelques idées sur la forme primitive de certaines religions égyptiennes a propos de l'identification de l'hieroglyphe servant a écrire le mot dieu.” *RdE* 11 (1904), 69–99.

LORTON, 1994

D. Lorton. “God: Transcendent, Dead, or Everything?” *GM* 140 (1994), 53–67.

LOUVRE, 1932

Paris. Musée National du Louvre. Département des antiquités égyptiennes. Guide-catalogue sommaire I. Paris, 1932.

LOUVRE, 1935

Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Les antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre. [Paris], 1935.

LUKAS, 1934

A. Lukas. *Ancient Egyptian Materials & Industries*. ² London, 1934.

LYTHGOE, RANSOM, 1916

A. M. Lythgoe, C. L. Ransom. *The Tomb of Perneb*. New York, 1916.

MACE, 1909

See [*Naga ed-Dêr* II].

MACRAMALLAH, 1935

R. Macramallah. *Le Mastaba d'Idout*. Le Caire, 1935.

MÁLEK, 1986

J. Málek. *In the Shadow of the Pyramids. Egypt During the Old Kingdom*. Norman – London, 1986.

MÁLEK, 1993

J. Málek. *The Cat in Ancient Egypt*. London, 1993.

MARIETTE, 1872

A. Mariette. *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq* II. Paris, 1872.

MARIETTE, 1889

A. Mariette. *Les mastabas de l'Ancienne Empire*. Paris, 1889.

MARTIN, 1979

G. T. Martin. *The Tomb of Hetepka and other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animals Necropolis, North Saqqara*. London, 1979.

MARTIN-PARDEY, 1976

E. Martin-Pardey. *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*. Hildesheim, 1976 (*HAB* 1).

MASPERO, 1889

G. Maspero. “Trois années de fouilles dans les tombeaux de Thèbes et de Memphis.” *MMAF* 1 (1889), 133–242.

MASPERO, 1893-1

G. Maspero. “Une formule des stèles funéraires de la XII^e dynastie.” In: *EtMyth* I (1893), 1–34.

MASPERO, 1893-2

G. Maspero. “Histoire des âmes dans l'Égypte ancienne d'après les monuments du Musée du Louvre.” In: *EtMyth* I (1893), 35–52.

MASPERO, 1893-3

G. Maspero. “Le double et les statues prophétiques.” In: *EtMyth* I (1893), 77–91.

- MASPERO, 1893-4**
G. Maspero. "Egyptian Souls and their Worlds." In: *EtMyth* I (1893), 388–406.
- MASPERO, 1902**
G. Maspero. "La toute-puissance de la parole." *RecTrav* 24 (1902), 168–175.
- MASPERO, 1910**
G. Maspero. *Guide to the Cairo Museum*. ⁵ Cairo, 1910.
- MASPERO, 1912**
G. Maspero. *Égypte* (Ars – una, Species – mille. Histoire générale de l'art). Paris, 1912.
- MASPERO, 1913**
G. Maspero. "Le Ka des Égyptiens est-il génie ou un double?" *Memnon* 6 (1913), 125–146.
- MATTHIEU, 1926**
М. Э. Матье. "Религия египетских бедняков." В сб.: *Религия и общество* (Ленинград, 1926), 29–40.
[M. E. Matthieu. "Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt." In: *Religion and Society* (Leningrad, 1926), 29–40].
- MATTHIEU, 1930**
М. Э. Матье. "Формула *m rn-k*." *ЗКВ* 4 (1930), 33–49.
[M. E. Matthieu. "The Formula *m rn-k*." *ZKV* 4 (1930), 33–49].
- MATTHIEU, 1941**
М. Э. Матье. *Искусство Среднего царства (История искусств Древнего Востока I. Древний Египет 2)*. Ленинград, 1941.
[M. E. Matthieu. *Art of the Middle Kingdom (A History of Art of the Ancient Orient I. Ancient Egypt 2)*. Leningrad, 1941].
- MATTHIEU, 1947-1**
М. Э. Матье. "Тексты пирамид – заупокойный ритуал." *ВДИ* 22 (1947, № 4), 30–56.
[M. E. Matthieu. "Pyramid Texts as a Funerary Ritual." *VDI* 22 (1947, No. 4), 30–56].
- MATTHIEU, 1947-2**
М. Э. Матье. "Роль личности художника в искусстве древнего Египта." *ТОВЭ* 4 (1947), 5–99.
[M. E. Matthieu. "The Role of Artist's Individuality in Art of Ancient Egypt." *TOVE* 4 (1947), 5–99].
- MATTHIEU, 1956**
М. Э. Матье. *Древнеегипетские мифы*. Москва – Ленинград, 1956.
[M. E. Matthieu. *The Myths of Ancient Egypt*. Moscow – Leningrad, 1956].
- MATTHIEU, 1958-1**
М. Э. Матье. "Древнеегипетский обряд отверзания уст и очей." *ВИРА* 5 (1958), 344–362.
[M. E. Matthieu. "Ancient Egyptian Ritual of Opening the Mouth and Eyes." *VIRA* 5 (1958), 344–362].
- MATTHIEU, 1958-2**
М. Э. Матье. "К проблеме изучения Текстов пирамид." *ВДИ* 66 (1958, № 4), 14–35.
[M. E. Matthieu. "On the Problem of Studying the Pyramid Texts." *VDI* 66 (1958, No. 4), 14–35].
- MATTHIEU, 1961**
М. Э. Матье. *Искусство древнего Египта*. Ленинград – Москва, 1961.
[M. E. Matthieu. *Art of Ancient Egypt*. Leningrad – Moscow, 1961].
- MATTHIEU, PAVLOV, 1958**
М. Э. Матье, В. В. Павлов. *Памятники искусства древнего Египта в музеях Советского Союза*. Москва, 1958.
[M. E. Matthieu, V. V. Pavlov. *Monuments of Art of Ancient Egypt in the Museums of the Soviet Union*. Moscow, 1958].
- MERCER, 1949**
S. A. B. Mercer. *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*. London, 1949.
- MERCER, 1952-1**
S. A. B. Mercer. *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary IV. Excurses*. New York – London – Toronto.
- MERCER, 1952-2**
S. A. B. Mercer. "The Ka in the Pyramid Texts." *ArOr* 20 (1952), 194–196.
- MEYEROWITZ, 1960**
E. L. R. Meyerowitz. *The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt*. London, 1960.

MILITAREV, 1983

A. Ю. Милитарев. "Об одном общеафразийском земельном термине (новые лингвистические данные о происхождении земледелия)." *ВДИ* 166 (1983, № 4, 97–106).
[A. Yu. Militarev]. "A Common Proto-Afroasian Agricultural Term." *VDI* 166 (1983, No. 4), 97–106].

MILLET, 1981

N. B. Millet. "The Reserve Heads of the Old Kingdom." *StudDunham*, 129–131.

MOGENSEN, 1918

M. Mogensen. *Inscriptions hieroglyphiques du Musée de Copenhague*. Copenhagen, 1918.

MOGENSEN, 1921

M. Mogensen. *La mastaba égyptien de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*. Copenhagen, 1921.

MÖLLER, 1910

G. Möller. "Das Dekret des Amenophis, des Sonnes des Hapu." *SPAW* 47 (1910), 932–948.

MONTET, 1925

P. Montet. *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiennes de l'Ancien Empire*. Strasbourg – Paris, 1925.

MONTET, 1935

P. Montet. "Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh." *Kêmi* 3 (1930–1935), 45–111.

MONTET, 1938, 1946

P. Montet. "Tombeaux de la I^e et de la IV^e dynasties à Abou-Roach." *Kêmi* 7 (1938), 11–70;
Kêmi 8 (1946), 156–224.

MORENZ, 1973

S. Morenz. *Egyptian Religion*. London, 1973.

MORENZ, 1975

S. Morenz. *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten*. Köln – Wien, 1975.

MORET, 1907

A. Moret. "Donations et fondations en droit égyptien." *RecTrav* 29 (1907), 57–95.

MORET, 1913-1, 2

A. Moret. *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite et l'époque Saïte I-II* (CG 41001–41041). Le Caire, 1913.

MORET, 1913-3

A. Moret. "Le Ka des Égyptiens est-il un ancien totem?" *RHR* 67 (1913), 181–185.

MORET, 1913-4

A. Moret. *Mystères égyptiens*. Paris, 1913.

MORET, 1914

A. Moret. "Serdab et maison du Ka." *ZÄS* 52 (1914), 88–89.

MORET, 1927

A. Moret. *Mystères égyptiens*. ² Paris, 1927.

MORGAN, 1895, 1903

J. de Morgan. *Fouilles à Dahchour I-II*. Vienna, 1895–1903.

MORGAN ET AL., 1894

J. de Morgan, U. Bouriant, G. Legran, G. Jéquier, A. Barsanti. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*. I serie, *Haute Égypte I. De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Om-bos*. Vienne, 1894.

MOSTAFA, 1982

M. Mostafa. *Untersuchungen zu Opfertafeln im Alten Reich*. Hildesheim, 1982 (*HÄB* 17).

MOURSI, 1988

M. Moursi. "Die Ausgrabungen in der Gegend um die Pyramide des *Dd-k3-r* 'Jssj' bei Saqqara." *GM* 105 (1988), 65–68.

MOUSSA, 1987

A. M. Moussa. "The Tomb of Thenty the Physician at Giza." *ASAE* 71 (1987), 195–197.

MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1971

A. Moussa, H. Altenmüller. *The Tomb of Nefer and Kahay*. Mainz, 1971.

MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1977

A. Moussa, H. Altenmüller. *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*. Mainz, 1977.

MÜLLER, 1938

H. Müller. *Die formale Entwicklung der Titulatur der ägyptischen Könige*. Glückstadt, 1938 (ÄF 7).

MÜLLER, 1959.

H. W. Müller. *Altägyptische Malerei*. Berlin, 1959.

MÜLLER, 1970

H. W. Müller. *Altägyptische Kunst*. Frankfurt a. M., 1970.

MÜLLER-FELDMAN, 1938

H. Müller-Feldman. "Der Salt-Kopf des Louvre ein Werk der Amarnakunst." *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 132–136.

MÜLLER-KARPE, 1968

H. Müller-Karpe. *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte II. Jungsteinzeit*. München, 1968.

MÜNCHEN, 1976

Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst. ² München, 1976.

MUNRO, 1993

P. Munro. *Das Unas-Friedhof Nord-West I. Topographisch-historische Einleitung. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut*. Mainz, 1993.

MURRAY, 1905

M. Murray. *Saqqara Mastabas I*. London, 1905 (ERA 10).

NAGA ED-DÊR

Naga ed-Dêr

- I. G. A. Reisner. *The Early Dynastic Cemetery of Naga ed-Dêr*. Leipzig, 1908;
- II. A. C. Mace. *The Early Dynastic Cemetery of Naga ed-Dêr*. Leipzig, 1909;
- III. G. A. Reisner. *A Provincial Cemetery of the Pyramid Age*. Oxford, 1932.

NAVILLE, 1876

E. Naville. "La destruction des hommes par les dieux. D'après une inscription mythologique du tombeau de Sêti I à Thebes." *TSBA* 4 (1876), 1–19.

NAVILLE, 1885

E. Naville. "L'inscription de la destruction des hommes dans le tombeau de Ramses III." *TSBA* 8 (1885), 412–420.

NAVILLE, 1897

E. Naville. *Deir el-Bahari II*. London, 1897 (EEF 14).

NAVILLE, 1905

E. Naville. *La religion de l'anciens égyptiens*. Paris, 1905.

NAVILLE, 1913

E. Naville. *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari III*. London, 1913 (EEF 32).

NELSON, 1949

H. H. Nelson. "Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I." *JNES* 8 (1949), 310–345.

OCKINGA, 1984

B. Ockinga. *Die Gottenbildlichkeit im alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament*. Wiesbaden, 1984 (AAT 7).

ORTIZ, 1993

<Дж. Ортис> Коллекция Джорджа Ортиса, Древности от Ура до Византии. Государственный Эрмитаж, Санкт-Петербург, 17 февраля – 11 апреля 1993 г., Государственный музей изобразительных искусств им. А. С. Пушкина, Москва, 5 мая – 27 июня 1993 г. Берн, 1993.

[<G. Ortiz> *The George Ortiz Collection. Antiquities from Ur to Byzantium*. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, February 17 – April 11 1993, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, May 5 – June 27 1993. Bern, 1993].

ORTIZ, 1994

<G. Ortiz> *In Pursuit of the Absolute. Art of the Ancient World from the George Ortiz Collection*. London, 1994.

OTTO, 1960-1,2

E. Otto. *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual I–II*. Wiesbaden, 1960 (ÄA 3).

OTTO, 1962

E. Otto. "Zwei Paralleltexzte zu TB 175." *CdE* 37 (1962), 249–256.

PAGET, PIRIE, 1898

R. F. E. Paget, A. A. Pirie. *The Tomb of Ptah-Hetep*. London, 1898 (ERA 1896).

PAVLOVA, 1984

О. И. Павлова. *Амон Фиванский. Ранняя история культа (V–XVII династии)*. Москва, 1984.
[O. I. Pavlova. *Amon of Thebes. Early History of the Cult (Dyn. V–XVII)*. Moscow, 1984].

PAYNE, 1973

J. C. Payne. "Tomb 100: the Decorated Tomb at Hieraconpolis Confirmed." *JEA* 59 (1973), 31–35.

PEET, 1923

T. E. Peet. "Life and Thought in Egypt under the Old and Middle Kingdoms." In: *The Cambridge Ancient History I* (Cambridge, 1923), 326–355.

PEREPEL'KIN, 1936

Ю. Я. Перепелкин. Академия Наук СССР. Институт книги, документа, письма. Описание выставки «Письменность древнего мира и раннего Средневековья». Путеводитель. Москва – Ленинград, 1936.

[Yu. Ya. Perepelkin. *Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Institute of Books, Documents, Scripts. Description of the Exhibition «Scripts of the Ancient World and of the Early Middle Ages»*. A Guide-Book. Moscow – Leningrad, 1936].

PEREPEL'KIN, 1960

Ю. Я. Перепелкин. «Дом инау» в Старом царстве. Москва, 1960 (XXV международный конгресс востоковедов. Доклады делегации СССР).

[G. J. Perepelkin. *Das «Schnau-Haus» im Alten Reiche*. Moskau, 1960 (XXV. Internationaler Orientalisten-Kongress. Vorträge der Delegation der UdSSR)].

PEREPEL'KIN, 1966

Ю. Я. Перепелкин. Частная собственность в представлении египтян Старого царства. Москва, 1966 (ПС 16).

[Yu. Ya. Perepelkin. *Private Property as Interpreted by the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom*. Moscow, 1966 (PS 16)].

PEREPEL'KIN, 1979

Ю. Я. Перепелкин. Кэе и Семнех-ке-ре. К исходу солнцепоклоннического переворота в Египте. Москва, 1979.

[Yu. Ya. Perepelkin. *Keye and Semnekh-ke-re. On the End of the Sun-Worshippers' Revolt in Egypt*. Moscow, 1979].

PEREPEL'KIN, 1984

Ю. Я. Перепелкин. Переворот Амен-хотпа IV II. Москва, 1984.

[Yu. Ya. Perepelkin. *The Revolt of Amenhotep IV II*. Moscow, 1994].

PEREPEL'KIN, 1986

Ju. Ja. Perepelkin. *Privateigentum in der vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs*. Tübingen, 1986.

PEREPEL'KIN, 1988-1

Ю. Я. Перепелкин. Хозяйство староегипетских вельмож. Москва, 1988.

[Yu. Ya. Perepelkin. *Households of the Old Kingdom Nobility*. Moscow, 1988].

PEREPEL'KIN, 1988-2

Ю. Я. Перепелкин. "Древний Египет." В кн.: *История Древнего Востока* 1/2. Передняя Азия, Египет (Москва, 1984), 295–572.

[Yu. Ya. Perepelkin. "Ancient Egypt." In: *The History of the Ancient Orient* 1/2. *The Near East and Egypt* (Moscow, 1984), 295–572].

PETERSON, 1984

B. Peterson. "Eine wiederentdeckte Statue aus Sakkara." *MedMusBull* 19 (1984), 10–18.

PETERSON, 1985

B. Peterson. "Finds from the Theteti Tomb at Saqqara." *MedMusBull* 20 (1985), 3–24.

PETRIE, 1892

W. M. F. Petrie. *Medum*. London, 1892.

PETRIE, 1898

W. M. F. Petrie. *Deshasheh*. London, 1898 (EEF 15).

- PETRIE, 1900-1**
W. M. F. Petrie. *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty I*. London, 1900 (EEF 18).
- PETRIE, 1900-2**
W. M. F. Petrie. *Dendereh 1898*. London, 1900 (EEF 17).
- PETRIE, 1901-1**
W. M. F. Petrie. *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties II*. London, 1901 (EEF 21).
- PETRIE, 1901-2**
W. M. F. Petrie. *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties II, Extra Plates*. London, 1901 (EEF Special Extra Publication).
- PETRIE, 1902, 1903, 1904**
W. M. F. Petrie. *Abydos*
 I. London, 1902 (EEF 22);
 II. London, 1903 (EEF 24);
 III. London, 1904 (EEF Special Extra Publication).
- PETRIE, 1907**
W. M. F. Petrie. *Gizeh and Rifeh*. London, 1907 (ERA 13).
- PETRIE, 1920-1**
W. M. F. Petrie. *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*. London, 1920.
- PETRIE, 1920-2**
W. M. F. Petrie. "An Early Portrait." *AE*, 1920, 18–19.
- PETRIE, 1930**
W. M. F. Petrie. *Antaeopolis, the Tombs of Qau*. London, 1930.
- PETRIE, 1935**
Shabtis. London, 1935.
- PETRIE ET AL., 1910**
W. M. F. Petrie, G. Wainwright, E. Mackay. *Meydum and Memphis (III)*. London, 1910.
- PETROVSKY, 1978**
Н. С. Петровский. *Звуковые знаки египетского письма как система*. Москва, 1978.
[N. S. Petrovsky]. *The Sound-Signs of the Egyptian Writing as a System*. Moscow, 1978].
- PFLÜGER, 1937**
K. Pflüger. "The Art of the Third and the Fifth Dynasties." *JEA* 23 (1937), 7–9.
- PIANKOFF, 1968**
A. Piankoff. *The Pyramid of Unas*. New York, 1968 (ERT 5).
- PIJOAN, 1945**
J. Pijoan. *Summa artis. Historia general del arte III. El arte egipcio hasta la conquista romana*. Madrid, 1945.
- PIRENNE, 1935**
J. Pirenne. *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l'ancienne Égypte III*. Bruxelles, 1935.
- POSENER, 1955**
G. Posener. *De la divinité du Pharaon*. Paris, 1955.
- POSENER, 1970**
G. Posener. "Sur l'attribution d'un nom à un enfant." *RdE* 22 (1970), 204–205.
- PRIESE, 1984**
K.-H. Priese. *Die Opferkammer des Merib*. Berlin, 1984.
- PUSTOVALOV, RASSAMAKIN, 1990**
С. Ж. Пустовалов, Ю. Я. Рассамкин. "О реконструкции религиозных представлений в эпоху средней бронзы в Северном Причерноморье." В сб.: *Тезисы докладов всесоюзного семинара «Проблемы изучения катакомбной культурно-исторической общности»* (Запорожье, 1990), 78–84.
[S. Zh. Pustovalov, Yu. Ya. Rassamakin]. "Reconstruction of Some Religious Notions in the Middle Bronze Age at the Black Sea North Littoral." In: *The All-Union Seminar «Problems of the Catacomb Cultural Unity». Abstracts of Papers*. Zaporozhye, 1990, 78–84].
- QUIBELL, 1902-1**
J. E. Quibell. *Hieraconpolis II*. London, 1902 (ERA 5).

QUIBELL, 1902-2

J. E. Quibell. "Nécropole de la VI^e dynastie à Koçeir el-Amarnah." *ASAE* 3 (1902), 254-258.

QUIBELL, 1909, 1913, 1923

J. E. Quibell. *Excavations at Saqqara*

[III]. 1907-1908. *Monastery of Apa Jeremias. Mastabas*. Le Caire, 1909;

[V]. 1911-1912. *The Tomb of Hesy*. Le Caire, 1913;

[VI]. 1912-1914. *Archaic Mastabas*. Le Caire, 1923.

QUIBELL, HAYTER, 1927

J. E. Quibell, A. Hayter. *Teti Pyramid, North Side*. London, 1927.

RACHEWILTZ, 1960

B. de Rachewiltz. *The Rock Tomb of IRW-K3-PTH*. Leiden, 1960.

RAMMANT-PEETERS, 1983.

A. Rammant-Peeters. *Les pyramidions égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*. Leuven, 1983 (OLA 11).

RANKE, 1935, 1952

H. Ranke. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I-II*. Glückstadt, 1935-1952.

RANSOM-WILLIAMS, 1932.

C. L. Ransom-Williams. *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-neb*. New York, 1932.

REISNER, 1908

See [Naga ed-Dêr I].

REISNER, 1912

G. A. Reisner. *The Egyptian Conception of Immortality*. London - Boston - New York, 1912.

REISNER, 1914-1

G. A. Reisner. "New Acquisitions of the Egyptian Department." *BMFA* 12 (1914), 9-24.

REISNER, 1914-2

G. A. Reisner. "Excavations at Kerma II. A Report on the Harvard-Boston Excavations 1913-1914." *ZAS* 52 (1914), 40-49.

REISNER, 1915-1

G. A. Reisner. "Accessions to the Egyptian Department during 1914. Excavations at Giza." *BMFA* 13 (1915), 29-36.

REISNER, 1915-2

G. A. Reisner. "Accessions to the Egyptian Department during 1914. Excavations at Kerma. Hepzefa, Prince of Assiut and Governor of the Sudan." *BMFA* 13 (1915), 71-83.

REISNER, 1918

G. A. Reisner. "The Tomb of Hepzefa, Nomarch of Siut." *JEA* 5 (1918), 79-98.

REISNER, 1925-1

G. A. Reisner. "Recent Discoveries at the Giza Pyramids." *BMFA* 23 (1925), 12-14.

REISNER, 1931

G. A. Reisner. *Mycerinus. The Temple of the Third Pyramid at Giza*. Cambridge (Mass.), 1931.

REISNER, 1932-1

See [Naga ed-Dêr III].

REISNER, 1932-2

G. A. Reisner. "The Position of Early Grave Stelae." *StudGriffith*, 324-331.

REISNER, 1934

G. A. Reisner. "The Servants of the Ka." *BMFA* 32 (1934), 2-14.

REISNER, 1936-1

G. A. Reisner. *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops*. Cambridge (Mass.), 1936.

REISNER, 1936-2

G. A. Reisner. "The Dog which was Honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt." *BMFA* 34 (1936), 96-99.

REISNER, 1942

G. A. Reisner. *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*. Cambridge (Mass.), 1942.

REISNER, SMITH, 1955

G. A. Reisner, W. S. Smith. *A History of the Giza Necropolis II: The Tomb of Hetepheres, the*

- Mother of Cheops. A Study of Egyptian Civilization of the Old Kingdom.* Cambridge (Mass.), 1955.
- ROBICHON, VARILLE, 1936**
C. Robichon, A. Varille. *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou I.* Le Caire, 1936 (FIFAO 11).
- ROSSI, PLEYTE, 1876**
F. Rossi, W. Pleyte. *Papyrus de Turin.* Leide, 1869–1876.
- ROTH, 1988**
A. M. Roth. "The Social Aspects of Death." In: [Boston, 1988, 52–59].
- ROTH, 1992**
A. M. Roth. "The *psš-kf* and the «Opening of the Mouth» Ceremony: A Ritual of Birth and Re-birth." *JEA* 78 (1992), 113–147.
- ROTH, 1993**
A. M. Roth. "Fingers, Stars, and the «Opening of the Mouth»: The Nature and Function of the *ntrwj*-Blades." *JEA* 79 (1993), 57–80.
- ROTTERDAM, 1979**
Goden en farao 's. Muesum Boymans – van Beuningen. Rotterdam, 1 maart – 29 april 1979. S. l., s. a..
- ROUGÉ, 1868**
E. de Rougé. *Chrestomathie égyptienne II.* Paris, 1868.
- RUDNITZKY, 1956**
G. Rudnitzky. *Die Aussage über «das Auge des Horus». Eine altägyptische Art geistiger Äußerung nach dem Zeugnis des Alten Reiches.* Kopenhagen, 1956 (*AnÄe* 5).
- RUSCH, 1923**
A. Rusch. "Die Entwicklung der Grabsteinformen im Alten Reich." *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 101–124.
- RUSSMANN, 1989**
E. Russmann. *Egyptian Sculpture, Cairo and Luxor.* Austin, 1989.
- RUSSMANN, 1995**
E. Russmann. "A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom." *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 269–279.
- SAAD, 1943**
Z. Y. Saad. "Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara 1942–1943." *ASAE* 43 (1943), 449–486.
- SAAD, 1947**
Z. Y. Saad. *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan 1941–1945.* Le Caire, 1947 (*SASAE* 3).
- SAAD, 1951**
Z. Y. Saad. *Royal Excavations at Helwan 1945–1947.* Le Caire, 1951 (*SASAE* 14).
- SAAD, 1957**
Z. Y. Saad. *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan.* Le Caire, 1957 (*SASAE* 21).
- SAAD, 1969**
Z. Y. Saad. *The Excavations at Helwan. Art and Civilization in the First and Second Egyptian Dynasties.* Norman, [1969].
- SADOVSKI, 1976**
В. Н. Садовский. "Система." *БСЭ* 23 (1976), 463–464.
[V. N. Sadovski. "System." *BSE* 23 (1976), 463–464].
- SADOVSKI, YUDIN, 1969**
В. Н. Садовский, Э. Г. Юдин. "Задачи, методы и приложения общей теории систем." В кн.: *Исследования по общей теории систем* (Москва, 1969), 3–22.
[V. N. Sadovski, E. G. Yudin. "Aims, Methods, and Applications of the General Systems Theory." In: *Studies on the General Systems Theory* (Moscow, 1969), 3–22].
- SADOVSKI, YUDIN, 1970**
В. Н. Садовский, Э. Г. Юдин. "Система." *ФЭ* 5 (1970), 18–21.
[V. N. Sadovski, E. G. Yudin. "System." *PhE* 5 (1970), 18–21].

SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, 1994

T. Säve-Söderbergh. *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (el-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)*. Stockholm, 1994.

SALEH A.-A., 1965

Abd-Alaziz Saleh. "Notes on the Egyptian Ka." *BFA* 22/2 (1960, published 1965), 1–17.

SALEH A.-A., LIST 1981

List of works by Abd-Alaziz Saleh. *ASAE* 71 (1981), XIII–XV.

SALEH J. M., 1987

J. M. Saleh. "Remarques sur les representations de la peinture d'Hierakonpolis (tombe No. 100)." *JEA* 73 (1987), 51–58.

SALEH M., 1977

M. Saleh. *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*. Mainz, 1977.

SAQQARA TOMBS

Saqqara Tombs

I. W. V. Davies, A. El-Khouli, A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Spencer. *The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu*. London, 1984 (*ASE* 36);

II. A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Spencer, A. El-Khouli. *The Mastabas of Meru, Semdenti, Khui, and Others*. London, 1990 (*ASE* 37).

SAVELYEVA, 1992

Т. Н. Савельева. *Храмовые хозяйства Египта времени Древнего царства*. Москва, 1992.
[T. N. Savelyeva. *The Egyptian Temples Economy in the Old Kingdom*. Moscow, 1992].

SAYCE, 1913

A. H. Sayce. *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*. Edinburgh, 1913.

SCHÄFER, 1896

H. Schäfer. "Die ägyptische Name des «Königsringes»." *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 167.

SCHÄFER, 1902

H. Schäfer. *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*. Berlin, 1902 (Anhang zu *APAW*).

SCHÄFER, 1903

H. Schäfer. *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin I/2*. Leipzig, 1903.

SCHÄFER, 1908

H. Schäfer. *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde vom Ende des Alten Reiches bis zur griechischen Zeit vom Totentempel des Ne-user-Rê*. Leipzig, 1908.

SCHÄFER, 1986

H. Schäfer. *Principles of Egyptian Art*. Oxford, 1986.

SCHARFF, 1932

A. Scharff. "Eine archaische Grabplatte aus Berliner Museum und die Entwicklung der Grabplatten im frühen Alten Reich." In: *StudGriffith*, 346–357.

SCHARFF, 1939

A. Scharff. "Ägypten." In: *Handbuch der Archäologie I* (München, 1939), 433–639.

SCHARFF, 1940

A. Scharff. "On the Statuary of the Old Kingdom." *JEA* 26 (1940), 41–50.

SCHARFF, 1947

A. Scharff. *Grab als Wohnhaus in der ägyptischen Frühzeit*. München, 1947 (*SBAW Jrg.* 1944/46, Heft 6).

SCHENKEL, 1990

W. Schenkel. *Einführung in die altägyptische Sprachwissenschaft*. Darmstadt, 1990.

SCHMIDT, 1991

H. Schmidt. "Zur Determination und Ikonographie der sogenannten Ersatzköpfe." *SAK* 18 (1991), 331–348.

SCHNEIDER, 1977

H. Schneider. *Shabtis. An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden I*. Leiden, 1977.

SCHÜRMANN, 1983

W. Schürmann. *Die Reliefs aus dem Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-nefret*. Karlsruhe, 1983.

SCHWEITZER, 1956

U. Schweitzer. *Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der alten Ägypter*. Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York, 1956 (AF 19).

SECHENOV, 1947

И. М. Сеченов. *Избранные философские и психологические произведения*. Москва, 1947.
[I. M. Sechenov. *Selected Works in Philosophy and Psychology*. Moscow, 1947].

SETHE, 1908, 1910

K. Sethe. *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte I–II*. Leipzig, 1908–1910.

SETHE, 1914

K. Sethe. “Hitherto Unnoticed Evidence Regarding Copper Works of Art of the Oldest Period of Egyptian History.” *JEA* 1 (1914), 233–236.

SETHE, 1928

K. Sethe. *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen*. Leipzig, 1928.

SETHE, 1930

K. Sethe. *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*. Leipzig, 1930.

SETTGAST, 1963

J. Settgast. *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen*. Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York, 1963 (ADAIK 3).

SHAPOSHNIKOV, 1928

Б. В. Шапошников. “Портрет и его оригинал.” В сб.: *ИскПорт*. 76–85.
[B. V. Shaposhnikov. “Portrait and its Original.” In: *IskPort*, 76–85].

SHERIF, 1980

N. M. Sherif. “La Nubie avant Napata (3100 à 750 avant notre ère).” In: *Histoire générale de l’Afrique II: Afrique ancienne* (Paris, 1980), 259–294.

SHORTER, 1931

A. W. Shorter. *An Introduction to Egyptian Religion*. London, 1931.

SIMPSON, 1966

W. K. Simpson. “The Letter to the Dead from the Tomb of Meru (No. 3737) at Nag^ced-Deir.” *JEA* 52 (1966), 39–52.

SIMPSON, 1970

W. K. Simpson. “A Late Old Kingdom Letter to the Dead from Nag^ced-Deir No.3500.” *JEA* 56 (1970), 58–64.

SIMPSON, 1972

W. K. Simpson. “A Tomb Chapel Relief of the Reign of Amunemhet III and Some Observations on the Length of the Reign of Sesostri III.” *CdE* 47 (1972), 45–54.

SIMPSON, 1974

W. K. Simpson. *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: the Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*. New Haven – Philadelphia, 1974.

SIMPSON, 1976-1, 1978, 1980

See [Giza Mastabas II, III, IV].

SIMPSON, 1976-2

W. K. Simpson. *The Offering-Chapel of Sekhem-Ankh-Ptah*. Boston, 1976.

SIMPSON, 1977

W. K. Simpson. “An Additional Dog’s Name from Giza Mastaba.” *JEA* 63 (1977), 175.

SIMPSON, 1980

W. K. Simpson. “Kenotaph.” *LÄ* III (1980), 387–391.

SIMPSON, 1984

W. K. Simpson. “Sesostri III.” *LÄ* V (1984), 903–906.

SIMPSON, 1992

W. K. Simpson. *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Boston, 1992.

SMITH, 1936

W. S. Smith. “Topography of the Old Kingdom Cemetery at Saqqarah.” In: [Reisner, 1936, 390–411].

SMITH, 1937

W. S. Smith. “The Paintings of the Chapel of Atet at Medum.” *JEA* 23 (1937), 17–26.

- SMITH, 1949**
W. S. Smith. *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*. ² London, 1949.
- SMITH, 1952**
W. S. Smith. "Inscriptional Evidence for the History of the Fourth Dynasty." *JNES* 11 (1952), 113–128.
- SMITH, 1958**
W. S. Smith. *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. London, 1958.
- SNEGIREV, 1930**
И. Л. Снегирев. "Магический жест «ка» и названия «душа» и «бык» в древнеегипетском." *ДАН*, 1930, 45–50.
[I. L. Snegirev. "The «Ka» Magical Gesture and the Terms «Soul» and «Ox» in Ancient Egyptian." *DAN*, 1930, 45–50].
- SOTHEBY'S, 1990**
The Breitbart Collection of Ancient Glass, Egyptian, Western Asiatic and Classical Antiquities. Sotheby's Catalogue 6045 «MALKATA». New York, 1990.
- SOTTAS, 1913**
H. Sottas. "Contribution à l'étude de la notion du Ka égyptien." *Sphinx* 17 (1913), 33–42.
- SPALINGER, 1985**
A. J. Spalinger. "A Redistributive Pattern at Assiut." *JAOS* 105 (1985), 7–20.
- SPANEL, 1988**
D. Spanel. *Through Ancient Eyes. Egyptian Portraiture*. Birmingham (Alabama), 1988.
- SPENCER, 1984**
A. J. Spencer. *Death in Ancient Egypt*. Harmondsworth, 1984.
- SPIEGEL, 1939**
J. Spiegel. "Die Grundbedeutung des Stammes hm ." *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 112–121.
- SPIEGELBERG, 1909**
W. Spiegelberg. *Ausgewählte Kunst-Denkmäler der ägyptischen Sammlung der Kaiser Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg*. Strassburg, 1909.
- SPIEGELBERG, 1911**
W. Spiegelberg. "Zu Ka – «Schutzgeist»." *ZÄS* 49 (1911), 126–127.
- SPIEGELBERG, 1930**
W. Spiegelberg. "Ntr-w «Götter» = «Bilder»." *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 119–121.
- STAEHELIN, 1966**
E. Staehelin. *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*. Berlin, 1966 (*MÄS* 8).
- STEBLIN-KAMENSKI, 1971**
М. И. Стеблин-Каменский. *Мир саги*. Ленинград, 1971.
[M. I. Steblin-Kamenski. *The World of Saga*. Leningrad, 1971].
- STEBLIN-KAMENSKI, 1976**
М. И. Стеблин-Каменский. *Миф*. Ленинград, 1976.
[M. I. Steblin-Kamenski. *The Myth*. Leningrad, 1976].
- STEBLIN-KAMENSKI, 1984**
М. И. Стеблин-Каменский. *Мир саги. Становление литературы*. Ленинград, 1984.
[M. I. Steblin-Kamenski. *The World of Saga. Formation of Literature*. Leningrad, 1984].
- STECKEWEH, 1936**
H. Steckeweh. *Die Fürstengräber von Qâu*. Leipzig, 1936.
- STEINDORFF, 1897**
G. Steindorff. "Zur Ägyptische Religion." In: K. Baedeker. *Ägypten. Handbuch für Reisende* (⁴Leipzig, 1897), CXXXVII–CLI.
- STEINDORFF, 1903**
G. Steindorff. "La religion égyptienne." In: K. Baedeker. *Égypte. Manuel du voyageur* (¹²Leipzig, 1903), CXI–CXXV.
- STEINDORFF, 1905**
G. Steindorff. *The Religion of Ancient Egyptians*. New York – London, 1905.
- STEINDORFF, 1911**
G. Steindorff. "Der Ka und die Grabstatuen." *ZÄS* 48 (1911), 152–159.

STEINDORFF, 1913

G. Steindorff. *Das Grab des Ti*. Leipzig, 1913.

STRUDWICK, 1984

N. Strudwick. "Some Remarks on the Disposition of Texts in Old Kingdom Tombs with Particular Reference to the False Door." *GM* 77 (1984), 35–49.

STRUDWICK, 1985

N. Strudwick. *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Offices and their Holders*. London, 1985.

ТАКHTADJAN, 1971

А. Л. Тахтаджан. "Тектология: история и проблемы." *СИ* 3 (1971), 200–277.
[A. L. Takhtadjan. "Tectology: History and Problems." *SI* 3 (1971), 200–277].

TARABUKIN, 1928

Н. М. Тарабукин. "Портрет как проблема стиля." В сб.: *ИскПорт*, 159–193.
[N. M. Tarabukin. "Portrait as a Problem of Style." In: *IskPort*, 159–193].

TEFNIN, 1991-1

R. Tefnin. *Art et magie au temps des pyramides. L'enigme des têtes dites «de remplacement»*. Bruxelles, 1991 (*MonAeg* 5).

TEFNIN, 1991-2

R. Tefnin. "Les têtes magiques de Gizeh." *BSFE* 120 (1991), 25–37.

TERRACE, FISCHER, 1970

E. L. B. Terrace, H. G. Fischer. *Treasures of the Cairo Museum*. London, 1970.

THOMAS, 1920

N. W. Thomas. "What is the Ka?" *JEA* 6 (1920), 265–273.

Ti

Le tombeau de Ti

- I. Dessins de L. Epron, F. Daumas, G. Goyon, P. Montet. Le Caire, 1939 (*MIFAO* 65/1);
- II. Dessins de H. Wild. Le Caire, 1953 (*MIFAO* 65/2);
- III. Dessins de H. Wild. Le Caire, 1966 (*MIFAO* 65/3);

TOBIN, 1989

V. A. Tobin. *Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion*. New York – Bern – Frankfurt a. M. – Paris, 1989.

TOBIN, 1990

V. A. Tobin. "The Bicameral Mind as a Rationale of Egyptian Religion." In: *StudLichtheim*, 994–1018.

VALLOGGIA, 1986-1, 2

M. Valloggia. *Balat I. Le mastaba de Medou-Nefer*. Fasc. 1, *Text*; fasc. 2, *Planches*. Le Caire, 1986 (*FIFAO* 31).

VANDERSLEYEN, 1975-1

Cl. Vandersleyen. *Das alte Ägypten*. Berlin, 1975 (*Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 15).

VANDERSLEYEN, 1975-2

Cl. Vandersleyen. "Objectivité des portraits égyptiens." *BSFE* 73 (1975), 5–27.

VANDERSLEYEN, 1975-3

Cl. Vandersleyen. "Ersatzkopf." *LÄ* III (1975), 11–14.

VANDERSLEYEN, 1982

Cl. Vandersleyen. "Porträt." *LÄ* IV (1982), 1074–1080.

VANDERSLEYEN, 1983

Cl. Vandersleyen. "La date du Cheikh el-Beled." *JEA* 69 (1983), 61–65.

VANDIER, 1949

J. Vandier. *La religion égyptienne*. Paris, 1949.

VANDIER, 1954, 1958, 1964, 1969

- J. Vandier. *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*
- II. *Les grandes époques*. Paris, 1954;
 - III. *La statuaire*. Paris, 1958;
 - IV. *Bas-reliefs et peintures*. Paris, 1964;
 - V. *Bas-reliefs et peintures*. Paris, 1969.

- VARILLE, 1938**
A. Varille. *Le tombe de Ni-Ankh-Pepi à Zâouyet el Mayetîn*. Le Caire, 1938.
- VARILLE, 1968**
A. Varille. *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou*. Le Caire, 1968 (*BdE* 44).
- VERNER, 1993**
M. Verner. "The Mastaba of Kaaper." *ZÄS* 120 (1993), 84–105.
- VERNUS, 1980**
P. Vernus. "Name." *LÄ* III (1980), 320–326.
- VILÍMKOVÁ, 1977**
M. Vilímková. *Starověky Egypt*. Praha, 1977.
- VIREY, 1910**
Ph. Virey. *La religion de l'ancien Égypte*. Paris, 1910.
- WADLEY, 1986**
[N. Wadley]. *Gauguin. 116 oeuvres choisies et présentées par Nicolas Wadley*. Paris, 1986.
- WALBROOK, 1924**
L. Walbrook. *Case of Lester Coltman*. London, 1928.
- WALLE, 1930**
B. van de Walle. *Le mastaba de Neferirtenef aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles. Notice Sommaire*. Bruxelles, 1930.
- WALLE, 1973**
B. van de Walle. *Le mastaba de Neferirtenef*. Bruxelles, 1973.
- WEEKS, 1994**
 See [*Giza Mastabas V*].
- WEILL, 1908**
R. Weill. *Les origines de l'Égypte pharaonique I. La II^e et la III^e dynasties*. Paris, 1908 (*AMG* 25).
- WEILL, 1912**
R. Weill. *Les décrets royaux de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*. Paris, 1912.
- WEST, 1969**
St. West. "The Greek Version of the Legend of Tefnut." *JEA* 55 (1969), 161–183.
- WESTENDORF, 1968-1**
W. Westendorf. *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufs auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*. Berlin, 1968 (*MÄS* 10).
- WESTENDORF, 1968-2**
W. Westendorf. *Das alte Ägypten*. Baden-Baden, 1968.
- WESTENDORFF, 1977**
W. Westendorff. "Zu frühformen von Osiris und Isis." *GM* 25 (1977), 95–113.
- WESTENDORF, 1980**
W. Westendorf. "Der Wortstamm *k3(j)* «heben, tragen» > «hervorbringen, erzeugen»." *BSEG* 4 (1980), 99–102.
- WEYNANTS-RONDEY, 1926**
M. Weynants-Rondey. *Les statues vivantes. Introduction à l'étude des statues égyptiennes*. Bruxelles, 1926.
- WIEBACH, 1984.**
S. Wiebach. *Die ägyptische Scheintür. Morphologische Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Hauptkultstelle in den Privatgräbern des Alten Reiches*. Hamburg, 1984.
- WIEDEMANN, 1890**
A. Wiedemann. *Die Religion der alten Ägypter*. Münster, 1890.
- WIEDEMANN, 1895**
A. Wiedemann. *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*. London, 1895.
- WIEDEMANN, 1897**
A. Wiedemann. *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*. London, 1897.
- WIEDEMANN, 1901**
A. Wiedemann. *The Realms of the Egyptian Dead. According to the Beliefs of the Ancient Egyptians*. London, 1897.

WIEDEMANN, 1910

A. Wiedemann. *Die Toten und ihre Reiche im Glauben der alten Ägypter*. Leipzig, 1910.

WIEDEMANN, 1920

A. Wiedemann. *Das alte Ägypten*. Heidelberg, 1920.

WIEDEMANN, PÖRTNER, 1906-1

A. Wiedemann, B. Pörtner. *Aegyptische Grabreliefs aus grossherzoglichen Altertümer-Sammlung zu Karlsruhe*. Strassburg, 1906.

WIEDEMANN, PÖRTNER, 1906-2

A. Wiedemann, B. Pörtner. *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus verschiedenen Sammlungen III. Bonn, Darmstadt, Frankfurt a. M., Genf, Neuchâtel*. Strassburg, 1906.

WILD, 1953, 1966

See [Ti II–III].

WILDENSTEIN, 1964

G. Wildenstein. *Gauguin I: Catalogue*. Paris, 1964.

WILDUNG, 1969

D. Wildung. *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt I. Posthume Quellen über die Könige der erster vier Dynastien*. Berlin, 1969 (MAS 17).

WILDUNG, 1977-1

D. Wildung. *Egyptian Saints. Deification in Pharaonic Egypt*. New York, 1977.

WILDUNG, 1977-2

D. Wildung. *Imhotep und Amenhotep. Gotterwendung im alten Ägypten*. München – Berlin, 1977 (MAS 36).

WILDUNG, 1982

D. Wildung. “Privatplastik.” *LÄ IV* (1982), 1112–1119.

WINLOCK, 1930.

H. E. Winlock. “The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes.” *The Egyptian Expedition 1929–1930. Supplement to BMMA 25* (1930), 3–28.

WOLF, 1957

W. Wolf. *Die Kunst Ägyptens. Gestalt und Geschichte*. Stuttgart, 1957.

WOOD, 1978

W. Wood. “A Reconstruction of the Reliefs of Hesy-re.” *JARCE 15* (1978), 9–24.

WRESZINSKI, 1936

W. Wreszinski. *Atlas zur altägyptische Kulturgeschichte III*. Leipzig, [1936].

ŽABKAR, 1968

L. Žabkar. *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*. Chicago, 1968.

ZANDEE, 1960

J. Zandee. *Death as an Enemy. According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*. Leiden, 1960.

ZAYED, 1958

Abd el-Hamid Zayed. “Le tombeau d’Akhti-hotep à Saqqara.” *ASAE 55* (1958), 127–137.

ZDANOVITCH, HABDULINA, 1987

Г. Б. Зданович, М. К. Хабдулина. “Кургan Темир.” В кн.: *Ранний железный век и Средневековые урало-иртышского междуречья* (Челябинск, 1987), 45–65.
[G. B. Zdanovitch, M. K. Habdulina. “Temir Barrow.” In: *Early Iron Age and Middle Ages on the Territory between Ural and Irtysh Rivers* (Chelyabinsk, 1987), 45–65].

ZHINKIN, 1928

Н. И. Жинкин. “Портретные формы.” В сб.: *ИскПорт*, 7–52.
[N. I. Zhinkin. “The Forms of Portrait.” In: *IskPort*, 7–52].

ZIEGLER, 1990

Ch. Ziegler. *Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités égyptiennes. Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire*. Paris, 1990.

ZIEGLER, 1993

Ch. Ziegler. *Le mastaba d’Akhethetep. Une chapelle funéraire de l’Ancien Empire*. Paris, 1993.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE LIST OF CITED WORKS

AAWW	<i>Abhandlungen der Keiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse.</i> Wien.
ACER	<i>The Australian Centre for Egyptology. Reports.</i> Sydney.
ADAIK	<i>Abhandlungen der Deutscher Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe.</i> Glückstadt.
AE	<i>Ancient Egypt.</i> London – New York.
ÄA	<i>Ägyptologische Abhandlungen.</i> Wiesbaden.
ÄF	<i>Ägyptologische Forschungen.</i> Glückstadt.
AHAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse.</i> Heidelberg.
AMG	<i>Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'études.</i> Paris.
AnAe	<i>Analecta Aegyptiaca.</i> København.
AÖAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse.</i> Wien.
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen.</i> Berlin.
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse.</i> Berlin.
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalní.</i> Praha – Paris, Stuttgart – Paris.
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte.</i> Le Caire.
ASE	<i>Archaeological Survey of Egypt.</i> London.
AWW	<i>Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse.</i> Wien.
BÄBA	<i>Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde.</i> Wiesbaden.
BdE	<i>Bibliothèque d'Étude.</i> Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Le Caire.
BFA	<i>Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University.</i> Cairo.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.</i> Le Caire.
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis.</i> Leiden.
BMFA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.</i> Boston.
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts.</i> New York.
Boreas	<i>Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations.</i> Uppsala.
BSE	See BC3.
BSEG	<i>Bulletin de la société d'égyptologie de Genève.</i> Genève.
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie.</i> Paris.
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte.</i> Bruxelles.
DAN	See DAH.
DAWW	<i>Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse.</i> Wien.
DFIFAO	<i>Documents et fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.</i> Le Caire.
DÖAW	<i>Denkschriften der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse.</i> Wien.
DossArch	<i>Dossiers d'archéologie. Documents.</i> Paris.
EEF	<i>Egypt Exploration Fund.</i> London.
Egyptes	<i>Egyptes. Histoires et cultures.</i> Avignon.
ERA	<i>Egyptian Research Account.</i> London.

- ERT** *Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations*. New York.
- EtMyth I** G. Maspero. *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes* I. Paris, 1893.
- EV** See **ᎅB**.
- Expedition** *Expedition. The Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia.
- FIFAO** *Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*. Le Caire.
- FsRicke** *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke*. Wiesbaden, 1971 (*BÄBA* 12).
- GM** *Göttinger Miszellen*. Göttingen.
- HÄB** *Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge*. Hildesheim.
- HomLeclant I** *Hommages a Jean Leclant* I. Le Caire, 1994 (*BdE* 106/1).
- IskPort** See *ИскПорт*.
- JAOS** *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*. New York – New Haven.
- JARCE** *The Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. Boston.
- JEA** *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London.
- JMFA** *The Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Boston.
- JNES** *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago.
- JSSEA** *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*. Toronto.
- Kēmi** *Kēmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes*. Paris.
- LÄ** *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I–VI. Wiesbaden, 1975–1986.
- LD I–III** R. Lepsius. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*.
I. Berlin, 1849;
II. Berlin, s. a.;
III. Berlin, s. a.
- LD Text I** R. Lepsius. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Text I*. Leipzig, 1897.
- LD Erg.** R. Lepsius. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Ergänzungsband*. Leipzig, 1913.
- MÄS** *Münchener ägyptologische Studien*. München – Berlin.
- MDAIK** *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*. Wiesbaden, Mainz (ab 1956).
- MDIAK** *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*. Wien (bis 1944).
- MedMusBull** *Medelhavsmuseet, Bulletin*. Stockholm.
- Memnon** *Memnon. Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur-Geschichte des Alten Orient*. Berlin – Stuttgart – Leipzig.
- MH** *Medical History*. London.
- MIE** *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*. Le Caire.
- MIFAO** *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*. Le Caire.
- MMAF** *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*. Le Caire.
- MMJ** *Metropolitan Museum Journal*. New York.
- MonAeg** *Monumenta Aegyptiaca*. Bruxelles.
- MusEg** *Le Musée égyptien. Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte*. Le Caire.
- NSSEA** *Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*. Toronto.
- SÖAW** *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*. Wien.
- OLA** *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*. Leuven.
- Or** *Orientalia. Nova Series*. Roma.

- PhE** See $\Phi\Theta$.
- PM I², III², IV, V** B. Porter, R. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*
 I² *The Theban Necropolis*, pt. 1–2. Oxford, 1960–1964;
 III² *Memphis*, pt. 1–2. Oxford, 1974–1981;
 IV. *Lower and Middle Egypt*. Oxford, 1934;
 V. *Upper Egypt: Sites*. Oxford, 1937.
- PPPIKNV** See ПППИКНВ.
- PS** See ПС.
- PSBA** *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. London.
- RAr** *Revue archéologique*. Paris.
- RdE** *Revue d'égyptologie*. Paris.
- RecTrav** *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*. Paris.
- RHR** *Revue d'histoire des religions*. Paris.
- SAK** *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*. Hamburg.
- Sarapis** *Sarapis. The American Journal of Egyptology*. Chicago.
- SASAE** *Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Le Caire.
- SAWW** *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse*. Wien.
- SBAW** *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*. München.
- SE** See СЭ.
- SGE** See СГЭ.
- SI** See СИ.
- SPAW** *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*. Berlin.
- Sphinx** *Sphinx. Revue critique*. Uppsala.
- StudDunham** *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham at the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980*. Boston, 1981.
- StudGriffith** *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*. Oxford, 1932.
- StudLichtheim** *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*. Jerusalem, 1990.
- StudPolotsky** *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*. Beacon Hill, 1981.
- TOVE** See ТОВЭ.
- TSBA** *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. London.
- Urk. I** K. Sethe. *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*. Leipzig, 1932–1933.
- UZTGU** See УЗТГУ.
- VDI** See ВДИ.
- VIRA** See ВИРА.
- Wb. I–V** A. Erman, H. Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache I–V*. Leipzig, 1926–1931.
- ZÄS** *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig, Berlin.
- ZKV** See ЗКВ.
- БСЭ** Большая Советская Энциклопедия I–XXX. ³ Москва, 1969–1978.
 [Big Soviet Encyclopedia I–XXX. ³ Moscow, 1969–1978].
- ВДИ** Вестник древней истории. Москва.
 [The Journal of Ancient History. Moscow].
- ВИРА** Вопросы истории религии и атеизма. Москва.
 [Problems of History of Religion and Atheism. Moscow].

ДАН	Доклады Академии Наук СССР. Москва. [<i>Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS</i> . Leningrad, Moscou].
ЗКВ	Записки Коллегии востоковедов. Ленинград. [<i>Memoirs of the Collegium of Orientalists</i> . Leningrad].
ИскПорт	Искусство портрета. Москва, 1928. [<i>The Art of Portrait</i> . Moscow, 1928].
ПППИКНВ	Письменные памятники и проблемы истории культуры народов Востока. Москва. [<i>Written Monuments and Problems of the History and Culture of the Peoples of the Orient</i> . Moscow].
ПС	Палестинский сборник. Москва – Ленинград. [<i>The Palestine Review</i> . Moscow – Leningrad].
СГЭ	Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград. [<i>Reports of the State Hermitage Museum</i> . Leningrad].
СИ	Системные исследования. Москва. [<i>Systems Studies</i> . Moscow].
СЭ	Советская этнография. Москва. [<i>Soviet Ethnography</i> . Moscow].
ТОВЭ	Труды Отдела Востока Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград. [<i>Proceeding of the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage</i> . Leningrad].
ЭВ	Эпиграфика Востока. Ленинград. [<i>Oriental Epigraphy</i> . Leningrad].
УЗТГУ	Ученые записки Тартуского государственного университета. Тарту. [<i>Memoirs of the Tartu State University</i> . Tartu].
ФЭ	Философская энциклопедия I–V. Москва, 1960–1970. [<i>Philosophic Encyclopedia</i> I–V. Moscow, 1960–1970].

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

BC	Burial chambers, see Chapter 6, footnote 10.
BD	Book of the Dead, see [Budge, 1890, 1898-1, 2, 3].
BM	The British Museum, London.
BrM	The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York.
Ch. I, II	<i>H'(j)-m-w3s-t</i> cycle, first and second tales, see [Griffith, 1900].
ChG	Chapels of Giza, see Chapter 3, footnote 10.
ChS	Chapels of Saqqara, see Chapter 3, footnote 11.
CG	Catalogue général du Musée du Caire.
DM	Deir el-Medina.
EP	Ethiopian Period
FIP	First Intermediate Period.
FP	Funeral processions, see Chapter 4, footnote 32.
FS	Saqqara, numbering of C. M. Firth.
G	Giza.
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo.
JE	Journal d'entrée du musée du Caire.
LG	Giza, numbering of R. Lepsius.
LP	Late Period.
LS	Saqqara, numbering of R. Lepsius.

MeM	Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.
Memph. Theol.	«Memphite Theological Treatise», see [Junker, 1940-2; 1941-2].
MEN	Musée d'ethnographie, Neuchâtel.
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
MK	Middle Kingdom.
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
MRAH	Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.
NK	New Kingdom.
O	Ostrakon.
OK	Old Kingdom.
p	Papyrus.
Pal. St.	The Palermo Stone, see [Schäfer, 1902].
pBerlin 10499	See [Gardiner, 1909].
pBerlin 3022	See [Gardiner, 1909].
pBoul. XVII	Papyrus Boulaq XVII, see [Mariette, 1872; Grebaut, 1875; Hassan, 1928].
pBr. Rh.	Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, see [Faulkner, 1933].
pCh. B. I	Papyrus Chester Beatty I, see [Gardiner, 1931; 1932].
pCh. B. IV	Papyrus Chester Beatty IV, see [Gardiner, 1935-1.2].
PDP	Preynastic Period.
PelM	Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim.
pHermitage □1115	See [Golénischeff, 1913].
pHermitage □1116B	See [Golénischeff, 1913].
PMFA	Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.
pLeid. 1350	Papyrus Leiden 1350, see [Gardiner, 1905].
PP	Ptolemaic Period.
pRam. VI	Papyrus Ramesseum VI, see [Gardiner, 1955].
pWestc.	Papyrus Westcar, see [Erman, 1890-1, 2].
Pyr.	Pyramid Texts, see [Sethe, 1908, 1910].
QS	Saqqara, numbering of J. E. Quibell.
R	Relief, see Chapter 11, footnote 12.
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
S	Saqqara, numbering of Egypt Exploration Society.
St	Statues, see Chapter 11, footnote 19.
Sup	Superstructures, see Chapter 4, footnote 1.



- 21 Malte Römer
Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches
Ein religionsgeschichtliches Phänomen und seine sozialen Grundlagen
1994 XXXVII, 621 Seiten
(ISBN 3-447-03217-0),
br, DM 168,- / öS 1226,- / sFr 149,-
1: Text. IX, 283 Seiten, 12 Abb.
2: IX, 3 Seiten, 457 Tafeln
1995 (ISBN 3-447-03776-8),
br, DM 268,- / öS 1956,- / sFr 239,-
- 22 Günter Burkard
Überlegungen zur Form der ägyptischen Literatur
Die Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen als literarisches Kunstwerk
1993 VII, 128 Seiten
(ISBN 3-447-03345-2),
br, DM 68,- / öS 496,- / sFr 62,-
- 23 Ahmad El-Sawi und Farouk Gomaà
Das Grab des Panehsi, Gottesvaters von Heliopolis in Matariya
1993 VII, 173 Seiten, 32 Abb.
(ISBN 3-447-03346-0),
br, DM 88,- / öS 642,- / sFr 80,-
- 24 Irene Shirun-Grumach
Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle
1993 XXX, 228 Seiten
(ISBN 3-447-03347-9),
br, DM 98,- / öS 715,- / sFr 89,-
- 25 Hans Fischer
Der Ägyptologe Georg Ebers
Eine Fallstudie zum Problem Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit im 19. Jhdt.
1994 XVI, 447 Seiten, 53 Abb.
(ISBN 3-447-03458-0),
br, DM 148,- / öS 1080,- / sFr 131,-
- 26 Karl Jansen-Winkeln
Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit
Vorarbeiten zu einer spätmittelägyptischen Grammatik
1994 XX, 452 Seiten
(ISBN 3-447-03577-3),
br, DM 98,- / öS 715,- / sFr 89,-
- 27 Hans-Ulrich Onasch
Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens
1: Kommentare und Anmerkungen
XIX, 164 Seiten, 10 Tafeln
2: Texte in Umschrift. VII, 191 Seiten
1994 (ISBN 3-447-03581-1),
br, DM 148,- / öS 1080,- / sFr 131,-
- 28 Stefan Wimmer
Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie
1: Text. IX, 283 Seiten, 12 Abb.
2: IX, 3 Seiten, 457 Tafeln
1995 (ISBN 3-447-03776-8),
br, DM 268,- / öS 1956,- / sFr 239,-
- 29 Ludwig D. Morenz
Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit
1996. Ca. 235 Seiten
(ISBN 3-447-03382-9),
br, ca. DM 118,- / öS 861,- / sFr 105,-
- 30 Meilenstein
Festgabe für Herbert Donner
Hrsg. von Manfred Weippert und Stefan Timm
1995 XVIII, 361 Seiten, 10 Abb.
(ISBN 3-447-03713-X),
br, DM 158,- / öS 1153,- / sFr 141,-
- 31 Günter Burkard
Spätzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien im Corpus der Asasif-Papyri
Übersetzung, Kommentar, formale und inhaltliche Analyse
1995 XI, 330 Seiten
(ISBN 3-447-03715-6),
br, DM 94,- / öS 686,- / sFr 85,50
- 32 Manfred Görg
Die Tochter Pharaos
In Vorbereitung
- 33 Akten der ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen
Hrsg. von Horst Beinlich, Rolf Grundlach, Dieter Kurth und Steffen Wenig
1: 3. Tagung, Hamburg 1.-5. 6. 1994
Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration
Hrsg. von Dieter Kurth
Redaktion W. Waitkus/S. Woodhouse
1995 VIII, 340 Seiten, 109 Abb.
(ISBN 3-447-03783-0),
br, DM 188,- / öS 1372,- / sFr 168,-
- 34 Karl Jansen-Winkeln
Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit
1996 XXXIX, 556 Seiten
(ISBN 3-447-03800-4),
gb, DM 228,- / öS 1664,- / sFr 202,-
- 35 Wege öffnen
Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag
Hrsg. von Mechthild Schade-Busch
1996. Ca. 446 Seiten, 85 Abb.
(ISBN 3-447-03879-9),
br, ca. DM 198,- / öS 1445,- / sFr 176,-
- 36 Tagung Königsideologie
Mainz 1995 (Arbeitstitel)
Hrsg. von Rolf Gundlach
1997
in Vorbereitung