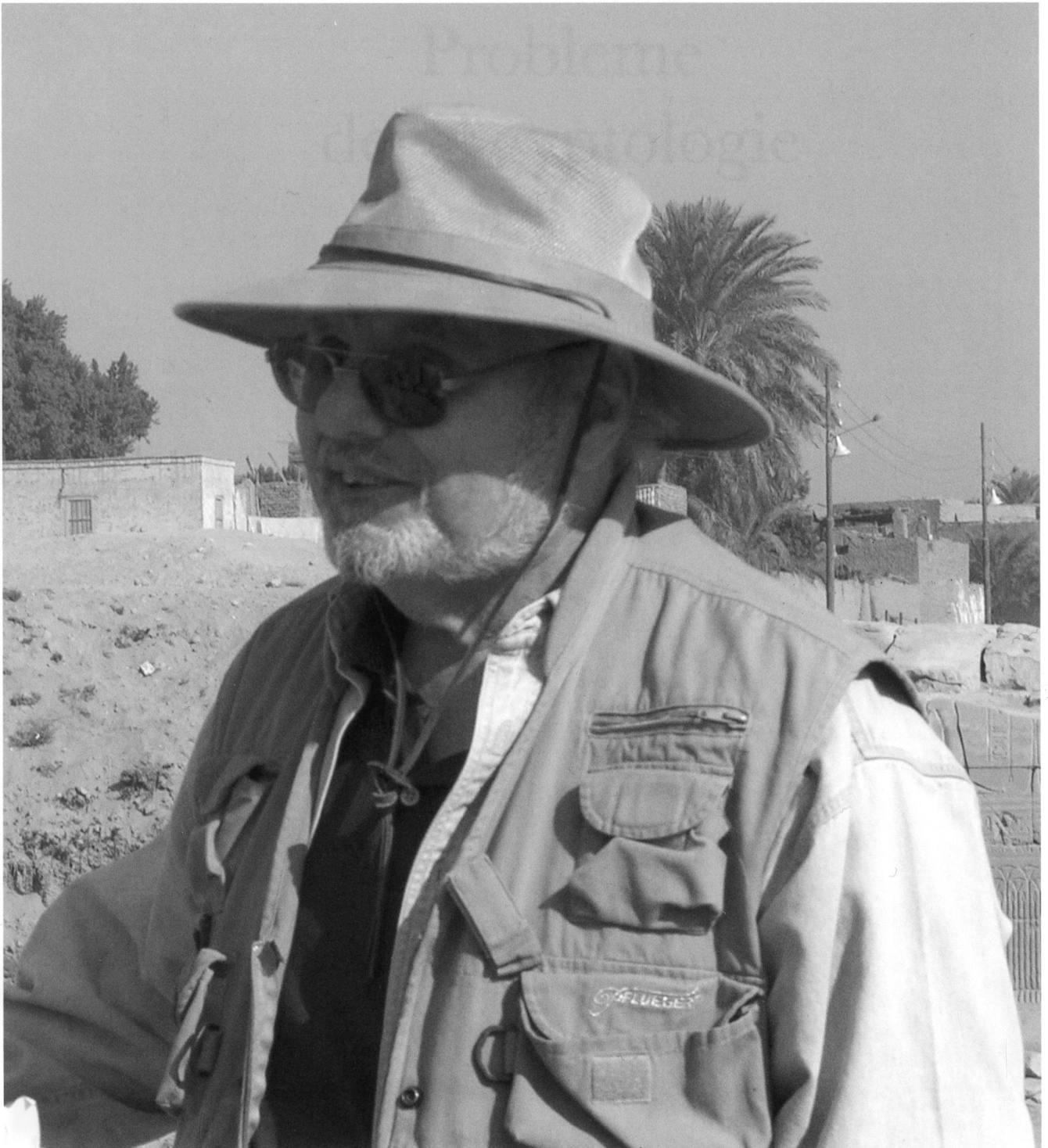


Probleme der Ägyptologie

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Wolfgang Schenkel
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Antonio Loprieno

28. BAND



Richard A. Fazzini

Servant of Mut

Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini

Edited by

Sue H. D'Auria



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PREFACE

It is both an honor and a pleasure to present this volume of studies as a tribute to Richard A. Fazzini. We, his colleagues, believe his contributions and commitment to the field of Egyptology, as well as his generosity in facilitating the work of others, have earned Richard a unique position among us, and view this Festschrift as a small way of acknowledging and thanking him. The fact that most of his career, first as a curator, and then chairman of the Department of Egyptian, Classical and Ancient Middle Eastern Art in the Brooklyn Museum involved administrative responsibilities which demanded much of his time and energy, particularly in the present-day atmosphere where fund raising is a necessary adjunct, makes his substantial scholarly accomplishments all the more remarkable.

While his interests in Egyptology are far ranging, two are particularly noteworthy. One is centered in his knowledge of the religious iconography of the Third Intermediate Period, an arcane and complicated time about which his book, *Egypt Dynasty XXII-XXV*, clarified many difficult issues. The second is his long-standing excavations at the Mut precinct in Karnak, where he has shed new light on the significance of this important monument. These endeavors, one purely academic, the other "dirt archaeology," demonstrate, in part, his eclectic mastery of the discipline. To this list of Richard's interests, anyone who has had the pleasure of visiting his house would surely add Egyptomania. There, every room is decorated with all manner of things Egyptianizing, ranging from rare Napoleonic medals to pure kitsch, including posters from every Cleopatra movie ever produced. Richard and his wife, Mary McKercher, have elevated a hobby to a serious discipline, and both are acknowledged authorities on Egyptian Revival.

Richard's comprehensive knowledge of bibliography is equaled only by that of his former teacher, Bernard V. Bothmer, and his generosity in sharing this knowledge with others is unsurpassed. Richard takes obvious pleasure in assisting anyone who questions him about any Egypto-

logical topic, no matter how obscure or tedious the inquiry might be.

His good humor and easy manner have made him many friends and admirers as well as an "easy mark" for difficult, and often unappreciated, tasks. He was, for example, a board member, member of the Executive Committee, vice president, and president of the American Research Center in Egypt. How he so skillfully managed those activities while running a large museum department and publishing numerous books and articles bears testimony to his extraordinary capabilities and energy.

While serving as ARCE's president, he suffered the first of two life-threatening illnesses, namely lung cancer. Its dire prognosis caused him to resign his ARCE position because he did not expect to survive very long. The second, a brain aneurysm, came close to destroying his remarkable intellect. Although the principal credit for his extraordinary recoveries must be given to his sturdy constitution, an equal amount should be ascribed to his wife, Mary, whose sheer willpower and devotion made it possible for him to regain his mental acuity in record time. We can never forget the remark made by his late friend and colleague, James Romano, after Richard's miraculous recovery from an extremely malignant form of cancer: "In a hundred million years the only survivors left on earth will be cockroaches and Richard Fazzini."

We wish Richard many more years of happiness, good health, discoveries at Mut, and publication, and will always be grateful for the opportunity to have him as a friend and colleague. May the following articles serve as a testament to our admiration of Richard and his accomplishments. We are grateful to Jaap Van Dijk, who was instrumental in obtaining the cooperation of Brill Academic Press, publisher of this volume, and to an anonymous donor who assisted with its funding. Finally, we would thank the editor, Sue D'Auria, who, with great skill and patience, made its publication possible.

Rita E. Freed and Jack A. Josephson

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RICHARD A. FAZZINI

MARY McKERCHER

Richard Fazzini was born in the Bronx, New York in 1942. Although he claims he was an indifferent student, he graduated from high school at 16 and went on to earn undergraduate and graduate degrees in art and art history (the City College of New York) and in ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern art and archaeology (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University).

Richard's main Egyptological interests are ancient Egyptian art, religious iconography, and archaeology, particularly of the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. He has also developed an abiding interest in the ways Egypt has been viewed by the West from Roman times to the present, known as Egyptomania. He has written extensively on Egyptian art and art history, religious iconography, archaeology and Egyptomania; has taught ancient history and art at the college level; and has lectured in North America, Europe, and Egypt on a variety of Egyptological subjects. He is also a talented artist, designing the Brooklyn Museum's first and very successful hieroglyph t-shirt and the t-shirt for the exhibition *Cleopatra's Egypt*, and contributing line drawings to several publications.

Richard has spent most of his professional life at the Brooklyn Museum, whose staff he joined as assistant curator in 1969. He became curator-in-charge of the museum's Department of Egyptian, Classical and Ancient Middle Eastern Art (ECAMEA) in 1983 and chairman in 1989. In July 2006, he retired as curator emeritus but remains with the museum as director of the museum's archaeological expedition to the Precinct of Mut at Karnak, which he inaugurated in 1976. While he was responsible for significant additions to the Egyptian collection, Richard is equally proud of making the resurrection of important objects from storage a departmental priority. He has overseen several museum installations, including the critically acclaimed 1993 re-installation that incorporated art from the Amarna through early Roman Periods; a thematic gallery, *Temples, Tombs and the Egyptian*

Universe, exploring the links between "funerary" and "temple" art; and 31 Gallery Guides on various aspects of ancient Egyptian history, civilization and art, several of which he wrote. He exercised general oversight of the 2003 installation *Egypt Reborn*, for which the late James Romano was coordinator. Richard was the principal author of *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (1989), showcasing 100 major works in the museum's collection, and has also published a number of scholarly articles on Brooklyn objects.

Over the years, Richard has assisted with or been responsible for many special exhibitions, including *Art of Ancient Egypt. A Selection from The Brooklyn Museum* (Hofstra University, 1971) for which he was curator and catalogue author; *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (Brooklyn and Detroit, 1973); *Images for Eternity: Egyptian Art from Berkeley and Brooklyn* (San Francisco, 1975) for which he was guest curator and author; *Neferut net Kemit: Egyptian Art from The Brooklyn Museum* (Tokyo, Osaka, Saga and Kagoshima, 1983–1984), of which he was curator-in-charge and the main author; and *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies* (Brooklyn Museum, 1988), which traveled to Detroit and Munich. In 1995–1996, he was a consultant and author for the Cincinnati Art Museum's *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, and the organizer of the exhibition's 1997 Brooklyn venue.

Richard is also a field archaeologist. He was a member of the New York University-Brooklyn Museum Expedition to Mendes in Egypt's northern Delta (1965, 1966, 1976), and the New York University-Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Al-Hiba (ancient Lagash) in Iraq (1975). In 1972, he was field investigator for an American Research Center in Egypt-sponsored "Study of the Reliefs and Paintings of Dynasties XXI–XXIV," and in 1975 was field investigator for a Brooklyn Museum study of the tomb of Rameses II. In 1976, he initiated the Brooklyn Museum's archaeological expedition to the Precinct of the goddess Mut at South Karnak, a project

he continues to lead. The Mut Expedition has focused on elucidating the site's history, the interrelationships of its buildings, and the preservation and restoration of its monuments. Since 2001, the Brooklyn expedition has shared the precinct with an expedition led by Dr. Betsy Bryan of Johns Hopkins University. The two expeditions work independently but collaborate on conservation and restoration efforts, thereby increasing the scope of work possible at this important site.

Richard has served as a consultant to several academic institutions and has been active in many professional organizations, most notably the American Research Center in Egypt, on whose board he served from 1982 to 2001. He was elected vice president in 1996 and president in 1999, resigning in the fall of 2001 when diagnosed with lung cancer. During his tenure as vice president and president, Richard spearheaded efforts

to reorganize and revitalize the organization. In recognition of his work, ARCE presented him with its Distinguished Service Award in 2004.

Richard has been married twice, first to Barbara Giella, an architectural historian, and then to Mary McKercher, his present wife, whom he first met in 1979 when she was the photographer for the Mut Expedition, a role she continues to fill.

A ruptured brain aneurysm almost killed Richard in 2003, and for awhile it was unclear if he would ever resume a normal life. However, using the same courage, humor, and determination he applies to everything he does, he was able to make a full recovery. He continues to study, write, and work on the Mut Expedition, and is looking forward to many more productive years in the field he loves.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	Ägyptologischen Abhandlungen
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ArOr	Archiv Orientální
ASAÉ	Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen / Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo
BÄ	Bibliotheca Ägyptiaca
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BeitrageBf	Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BiAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
BSÉG	Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève
BSFÉ	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
CAA	Corpus Antiquitatum Ägyptiacarum
CdÉ	Chronique d'Égypte
DFIFAO	Documents de fouilles, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
EA	Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES)
EtTrav	Études et Travaux
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
GM	Göttinger Miszellen
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
KÄT	Kleine Ägyptische Texte
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie, ed. Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, Wolfhart Westendorf, 7 vols., 1972–1992
LD	Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, ed. Richard Lepsius, 6 vols., 1849–1859
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
MMAF	Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire
MMJ	Metropolitan Museum Journal
NARCE	Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OEAE	Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, ed. Donald B. Redford, 3 vols., 2001

OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, The University of Chicago
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
PAM	Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean
PM	<i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , ed. Bertha Porter, Rosalind L.B. Moss, and Jaromír Málek, 7 vols., 1960–1981
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
RdÉ	Revue d'Égyptologie
RecTrav	Recueil de Travaux
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SDAIK	Sonderschrift, Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo
TAVO	Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens
Urk.	Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, ed. Kurt Sethe et al, 8 vols., 1927–1958
VA	Varia Aegyptiaca
Wb.	Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, ed. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, 7 vols., 1926–1931
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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DECORATION AND ARCHITECTURE: THE DEFINITION OF PRIVATE TOMB ENVIRONMENT

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The conception of Old Kingdom mastabas as the afterlife environment for the soul of the deceased and a place of ritual for the living rests on a complex, planned interplay between text, image and architecture.¹ The fact that it is often difficult to identify far-reaching, general patterns in the layout of the decoration of complex tombs is not contradictory.² By the 5th Dynasty, the monuments were commissioned by the tomb owners themselves and *individually* designed to function on their behalves.³ Specific case studies into the design of individual tombs have successfully identified the existence of a “grammar” governing the structural, decorative, and functional components of the monuments.⁴ In the tomb of Ti at Saqqara,⁵ it has been accurately demonstrated that iconographic motifs were located and oriented so as to complement the architectural setting, and function both as a processional guideline for the living and as an embodiment of the deceased’s daily circumlocution.⁶

The present paper considers how the decoration technique in the portico of the mastaba of Ti integrates into the tomb discourse to create a three-dimensional ritual environment. Evidence will be presented showing how the combined use of raised and sunk relief generally defined visually the exterior, secular vs. the interior, sacred parts of monuments.⁷ The exclusive (but for the pillars) use of raised relief in the portico of Ti suggests that other considerations came into play in the design of this space, such as the presence of a *serdab* squint in the southeast corner, transfiguring this open space into an “interior” place of ritual.

The technical ability to carve sunk relief in stone was mastered early in the Old Kingdom.⁸ Yet this medium was at first only sporadically used, and essentially for the carving of hieroglyphs.⁹ The earliest figurative sunk reliefs recorded by W.S. Smith¹⁰ come from the rock-cut chapels of Meresankh and Debehen, both dated to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th Dynasty.¹¹

¹ Jürgen Brinks, *Die Entwicklung der königlichen Grabanlagen des Alten Reiches: eine strukturelle und historische Analyse altägyptischer Architektur*, HÄB 10 (Hildesheim, 1979), 46.

² Yvonne Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (London: Kegan Paul, 1987), 106–110.

³ Violaine Chauvet, *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom* (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2004); René Van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Private Elite Tombs*, Mémoires de la Société d’Études Orientales “Ex Oriente Lux” 35 (Leiden: Peeters, 2005), 58.

⁴ Martin Fitzcnreiter, “Grabdekoration und die Interpretation funerarier Rituale im Alten Reich,” in *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms*, ed. Harco Willems, OLA 103 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 67.

⁵ *PM* 3²/2, 468–478 (no. 60, D22).

⁶ Nathalie Beaux, “Le mastaba de Ti à Saqqâra. Architecture de la tombe et orientation des personnages figurés,” in *Études sur l’Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*, ed. Catherine Berger and Bernard Mathieu, *Orientalia Monspeliensia* 9 (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1997), 89–98.

⁷ I would like to dedicate this study to Richard Fazzini in recognition of his significant contribution to the study

of raised and sunk relief. Richard Fazzini, *The use of Sunk Relief in Egyptian Art* (MA thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, 1967); Fazzini, “Some Egyptian Reliefs in Brooklyn,” *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), 33–70, part. pp. 48–49; Fazzini, *Images for Eternity: Egyptian Art from Berkeley and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1975), xxiv.

⁸ As noted by Yvonne Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum* (Oxford: Oxford Expedition to Egypt, 2001), 164–165, though different in nature, the craftsmanship for the paste-filled reliefs in the early 4th dynasty chapels of Nefermaat and Atet at Meidum is the same as that used for sunk relief.

⁹ William Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), 162.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 166–167, 250–251.

¹¹ Respectively *PM* 3²/1, 197–199, and *PM* 3²/1, 235–236. Cherpion’s assignment of the mastaba of Tjetji (*PM* 3/2: 302) to the reign of Khafre (Nadine Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d’Ancien Empire: Le problème de la datation* [Bruxelles: Connaissance de l’Égypte Ancienne, 1989], 100–102) might push the *terminus post quem* back to that reign (Claude Vandersleyen, “Relief,” in *LÄ* 5, 227). This mastaba is otherwise

The increasing use of sunk relief in the 5th Dynasty may well have been motivated by economic reasons. The fact that this medium was adopted later in the tombs of "the most important [thus wealthier] individuals" suggests as much.¹² The influence of financial constraints can also be identified in the quality of tomb construction (cost efficient use of mud brick and decoration in sunk relief), all the more so when a son came to be responsible for providing a tomb for his father after his untimely death.¹³

The idea that sunk relief became increasingly popular to ensure the preservation of one's name¹⁴ also derives from economic considerations: monument usurpation to acquire a tomb at lesser cost. The increasing occurrence, in the 5th and 6th Dynasties, of curses meant to prevent degradation of the tombs¹⁵ indicates that this phenomenon had become a problem and that the "ownership" needed to be protected by all available means.

The combined use of sunk and raised relief, side by side, in many monuments suggests that an elaborate rationale governed those technical choices. The differentiation in the layout of sunk or raised figures acting as determinatives¹⁶ shows that the two mediums were not interchangeable but marked a semiotic distinction between hieroglyph and figurative representation. Evidence of artistic experimentation at that time has been recognized in scenes integrating both mediums, as a means to utilize the three-dimensional modeling

capacity of relief carving.¹⁷

It is also in the course of the 5th Dynasty that we start seeing a semantic distinction being made in the carving of relief between scenes set on the outside and those on the inside of a monument. This pattern is actually often identified as a landmark of the decoration of Old Kingdom monuments.¹⁸ Moreover, Lacau's study of Old Kingdom false doors has revealed that, by the end of that period, this configuration had been developed into a concept: sunk relief was used for scenes or parts of tombs that were *considered* exterior, regardless of their actual locations in or outside the tomb.¹⁹

The architectural context thus becomes a determining factor in the layout of the decoration.²⁰ The development of new architectonic features in private tombs, such as open courtyards, stairways to the roof, multiple serdabs and entrance porticoes, further coincide with a redefinition of the functionality of the monument.²¹ The tomb was not only the eternal abode of the deceased, thus a private and protected space; it became a place of ritual and worship, and so needed to be designed to be somewhat public and open to visitors. This tension between accessibility and restriction is particularly sensible in the design of entrance porticoes.

Nineteen private tombs in the greater Memphite area are known to have been fronted by pillared entrances.²² Whether a distinction should be made between porches supported by square

dated to the 5th Dynasty (Hermann Kees, "Zur Datierung von Grabteilen im British Museum," *OLZ* 57 (1962): 345–346; Dietrich Wilding, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, vol. 1, *Posthume Quellen über die Könige der ersten vier Dynastien*, MÄS 17 [Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1969], 201, n. 9).

¹² Nigel Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1985), 24.

¹³ The examples of Washtpah and Duare cited by Strudwick (*Administration*, 24) are only two of at least 50 similar instances documenting this pattern (Chauvet, *Private Tombs*).

¹⁴ Strudwick, *Administration*, 24; the idea being that inscriptions in sunk relief were more difficult to erase or modify than raised relief.

¹⁵ The curse from the tomb of Tjetu Kanesut is very specific in this regard: "As to any man who will take or tear out a stone or brick from this tomb, (I) will be judged with (him) in the court of the great gods, (I) shall put an end to him on account of it for the living ones who are upon earth to see" (William Kelly Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, Part 1, Giza Mastabas 4 [Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1980], 8, fig. 15, pl. 17). Scott Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt: A Study of the History, Structure and Use*

of Threats and Curses in Ancient Egypt (Baltimore: Halgo, Inc., 1991), 38–40.

¹⁶ Fazzini, *Miscellanea*, 49; Fazzini, *Images for Eternity*, xxiv.

¹⁷ Fazzini, *Miscellanea*, 49; Claude Vandersleyen, "De l'usage du relief dans le creux à l'époque ramesside," *BSFE* 86 (1979): 16–36.

¹⁸ M.F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa II: The History and Archaeology of the Site* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), xiii; Jean Leclant, "Les colonnades-propylées de la XXVe dynastie à Thèbes," *Les Cahiers Techniques de l'Art* 10 (1957): 40, n. 93.

¹⁹ Pierre Lacau, "Le tableau central de la stèle-porte égyptienne," *RdÉ* 19 (1967): 39–50.

²⁰ Henry G. Fischer, "Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and Palaeography," in *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 31–33.

²¹ Peter Jánosi, "The Tombs of Officials: House of Eternity," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 34–37.

²² Inkaf-Giza, Ef (*PM* 3/1, 214); Ankhisese/Isesiankh (no. 85)—Saqqara (*PM* 3/2, 489); Ptahshepses—Abusir (*PM* 3/1, 340); Ptahhotep I (D 62)—Saqqara (*PM* 3/2, 596);

pillars or entrance porticoes with columns remains to be determined.²³ Columns are certainly predominant at Giza;²⁴ the use of limestone lotus columns in the complex of Ptahshepses at Abusir is unparalleled,²⁵ while only square pillars are found in Saqqara. Though visually different, the choice of pillars or columns in entrance porticoes does not appear to reflect an essential difference in character. The size and layout of the tombs are not determining factors²⁶ and, when decorated, common themes can be identified regardless of the shape of the support.²⁷

It has long been argued that the introduction of entrance porticoes in private tombs was an emulation of royal funerary architecture, such as it is first attested during the course of the 5th Dynasty in the Valley Temple of the pyramid complex of Sahure at Abusir, or the Sun Temple of Nyuserre at Abu Gurob.²⁸ The term "Temple d'accueil," used in French to designate the Valley Temple, best translates the nature of this edifice: a place of reception.²⁹ The decoration program sets it as the stage for ritual meetings between the deceased king and visiting divinities.³⁰ As the sole point of entrance to the mortuary complex, the Valley Temple was also the point of transit for all people, goods, supplies and offerings necessary for the funerary cult. The presence of apotropaic scenes—griffins trampling enemies, depictions of bound prisoners, marsh scenes—meant to magically protect the complex from evil

incursion contribute to defining the liminality of the Valley Temple as a point of transition between the world of the living and the world of the dead, the secular vs. sacred spheres, the public vs. private realms, the pure vs. impure/evil states.³¹

We find expression of that same dichotomy embedded in the design of the porticoes in private tombs. As a structural composition, the portico is a liminal point,³² an architectural compromise between open/public and protected/private space. The iconography further contributes to reflect the transitional nature of the space.³³ Similarly, the decoration technique strengthens the syntax of the portico by providing an additional visual definition of the monument for the benefit of an audience that was not necessarily educated and literate.

The design of the entrance portico in the mastaba of Senedjemib Inti at Giza is quite informative in this regard. While the decoration on the façade is carved in sunk relief and the scenes and inscriptions on the back wall of the portico are in raised relief, both types of carving are used, side by side, on the lateral walls: sunk relief in the front section, raised relief at the rear.³⁴ The carving technique is clearly used to mark a meaningful distinction in the program of the portico.

The rationale behind the choices made for the modeling of the decoration goes beyond

Ptahhotep Desher and Ptahhotep (no. 41–43 / C6–7)—Saqqara (*PM* 3/2: 462); Meruka—Giza, WF (*PM* 3/1, 118); Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep—Saqqara, Unas causeway (*PM* 3/2, 641); Neferbauphtah (G6010)—Giza, WF (*PM* 3/1, 169); Neferked (G 1151)—Giza, WF (*PM* 3/1, 56); Nekhebu (G2381)—Giza WF (*PM* 3/1, 89); Rower—Giza CF (*PM* 3/1, 265); Rashepses (LS 16)—Saqqara (*PM* 3/2, 496); Hesi—Saqqara, Teti Cemetery (Naguib Kanawati and Mahmoud Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 5, *The Tomb of Hesi* [Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1999], 17, pl. 2, 47–48); Senedjemib Inti (G 2370)—Giza WF (*PM* 3/1, 85); Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378)—Giza WF (*PM* 3/1, 87); Seshemnefer IV (LG 53)—Giza, GIS (*PM* 3/1, 223); Kaemtjenent (G 7411)—Giza EF (*PM* 3/1, 195); Kaemtjenent (no. 84)—Saqqara (*PM* 3/2, 489); Ti (no. 60)—Saqqara (*PM* 3/2, 468).

²³ Edward Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, Giza Mastabas 7 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2001), 12, accurately points out that "portico chapels," i.e., open chapels protected by a portico (George A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942], 285–288), are different in character from the entrance porticoes discussed here.

²⁴ The tomb of Meruka is not a "portico chapel" and therefore should not be set aside (Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 12,

n. 25). G 1151 is another tomb with an entrance portico supported by square pillars.

²⁵ János, in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 36.

²⁶ Entrance porticoes are primarily associated with multi-roomed funerary complexes. Yet this feature is also found in front of single-room chapels such as Inkaf and Meruka at Giza and Hesi at Saqqara.

²⁷ Harpur, *Decoration*, 52, 56–57.

²⁸ Friedrich W. von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, Band 1: Ludwig Borchardt, *Die Bau*, (Berlin: Duncker, 1905), 8–10, 19–24; Hermann Junker, *Giza 11*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 74. Band, 2. Abhandlung (Wien: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1953), 100–105.

²⁹ Dorothea Arnold, "Royal Reliefs," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 94.

³⁰ Dieter Arnold, "Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms," in *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Byron E. Shafer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 51–52.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 63–65.

³² Catherine Smith, "Looking for Liminality in Architectural Space," in http://limen.miz.hr/limen1-2001/catherine_smith.html (with extensive bibliography).

³³ Harpur, *Decoration*, 52, 56–57.

³⁴ See Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, pl. 18.

physical,³⁵ economic, chronological,³⁶ or even semiotic³⁷ considerations. The carving technique physically breaks up the decoration of the portico, setting aside the elements pertaining to the life of the tomb owner from those contributing to the afterlife of the deceased. The texts and scene in sunk relief are historical in nature: they consist of (auto-)biographical narratives relating to the career of the tomb owner,³⁸ letters written by King Izezi to Senedjemib Inti,³⁹ and biographical statements by Senedjemib Mehi on behalf of his father⁴⁰ relating his involvement in the construction of the monument and the favors that his father earned from the king. The episode relating the royal gift of a sarcophagus is accordingly illustrated in sunk relief.⁴¹ In contrast, the scenes and captions carved in raised relief are ritual/funerary in nature: Senedjemib Inti is depicted as the recipient of rituals performed by his son on the rear of the side walls, in conjunction with marsh scenes; the back of the portico presents a “fishing and fowling” scene spread symmetrically on each side of the doorway.⁴² The symbolism of this type of scene is multifaceted.⁴³ Whether an allusion to eroticism, fertility, and ultimately rebirth, or the idealized depiction of an aspired afterlife, an apotropaic representation of the repelling of evil, or even a “manipulative image” symbolically securing food for the deceased and his family, the “fishing and fowling icon” functions in a funerary setting and on behalf of the deceased tomb owner.⁴⁴

In conclusion, we see in the design of Senedjemib Inti's portico that the architecture, the iconographic program, and the decoration technique all participate in the creation of a liminal environment that echoes the physical transition of the visitor from the outside, secular world of the living into the inside, sacred funerary setting of the deceased tomb owner.

Evidence of a similar interaction between architecture, decoration, and the audience is visible in the design of the mastaba of Khenu, at the top of the Unas causeway in Saqqara.⁴⁵ The decorative program of the west wall of the chapel is divided in two sections (fig. 1). On the right, the offering table scene facing towards the false door is carved in raised relief. The left portion of the wall, which includes a long address to visitors at its far end, is carved in sunk relief.⁴⁶ Even though the chapel is not structurally divided, the decoration technique conveys the dual nature/function of that space, such as determined by the icons framing the wall: the false door on the north is the sacred place of ritual intended for the deceased; the “address to the living” on the south, as its name indicates, speaks to the public. Thus the decoration technique translates the dichotomy between public and private space, accessibility and restriction: sunk relief on the south, raised relief on the north.

The monument, which was cleared by the Antiquities Service during the winter of 1939/40, remains largely unpublished.⁴⁷ The tomb as it

³⁵ The use of sunk relief in areas not touched by direct sunlight in other porticoes indicates that the impact of the sun on the reading of the decoration was no longer a determining factor (Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 21).

³⁶ There is evidence that Senedjemib Mehi brought modifications to the original decoration of the portico (for depictions of Mehi in surcharge, see Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 39–40). An argument could thus be made that the front section of the portico, attributed to Senedjemib Mehi, was made at a later date, using a faster and cheaper carving technique.

³⁷ The use of sunk relief for inscriptions is a feature that has already been mentioned. Yet, the distinction between figurative art and writing does not here follow the divide established by the decoration technique.

³⁸ Text A1 (Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 90–92), inscribed on the façade of the mastaba to the north of the portico.

³⁹ Texts A2 (Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 92–94), also on the façade, north of the portico; B1, B2 (Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 94–101) carved on the front part of the north side-wall of the portico.

⁴⁰ Text C (Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 101–108), inscribed on the façade, south of the portico; and D (Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 108–110).

⁴¹ Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, text figure 4 (before p. 105),

figs. 21–22, pls. 75–80.

⁴² Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 38–42, pls. 14–18, figs. 17, 22–27, 29–30.

⁴³ Though most studies focus on New Kingdom scenes, the symbolism applies to Old Kingdom private tombs as well. See extensive references in: Melinda Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE*, *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* 10 (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 2004), 103–106.

⁴⁴ The lack of realism in the depictions of these outdoor sports invalidates their identification as actual representations of daily-life activities (Hartwig Altenmüller, *Darstellungen der Jagd im alten Ägypten* (Hamburg: Parey, 1967), pls. 14–15; Dimitri Laboury, “Une relecture de la tombe de Nakht,” in *La peinture égyptienne ancienne: un monde de signes à préserver*, ed. Roland Tefnin, *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* 7 (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1997), 68–71.

⁴⁵ *PM* 3/2, 625 with incorrect plan on pl. lxiv.

⁴⁶ Hartwig Altenmüller, “Zur Vergöttlichung des Königs Unas im Alten Reich,” *SAK* 1 (1974): 6–8; Nigel Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, *Writings from the Ancient World* 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 291–292 [217].

⁴⁷ Zaki Y. Saad, “A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Saqqara, 1939–1940,” *ASAÉ* 40 (1940): 675–714, mentions the discovery in this area of false doors “some

stands today (fig. 2) has been significantly reconstructed, and the accuracy of the current architectural layout remains undocumented. Yet, rare published photographs⁴⁸ seem to confirm that the south end of the chapel was, in its original state, only closed by a screen wall. This architectural configuration is not only in compliance with the above-mentioned decorative program of the chapel, but moreover directly contributes to the design of the chapel as a public yet private place of ritual. The screen wall gives direct access to the text meant to be read by passers-by (in sunk relief), yet prevents physical intrusion into the sacred space of the chapel. The public rituals requested in the text could be performed for the benefit of the figures of the deceased facing outward (also carved in sunk relief) in the open court without requiring the officiant to actually enter into the chapel, thus preserving its purity.

Finally, the mastaba of Ti in north Saqqara presents a configuration which *a priori* contradicts the conceptual patterns that have been identified in the previous case studies. But for the figure of the tomb owner on the front pillars, the decoration on the walls of the entrance portico is carved exclusively in raised relief. Though not unique,⁴⁹ this configuration nonetheless raises questions, since this portico is otherwise identified as an outside space.

The defining feature is the “appeal to the living” written on the east thickness of the entrance doorway, at the back of the portico.⁵⁰ One of the components of the text is an invitation for any passer-by to carry out the rituals; the second element is a curse or threat meant to dissuade any visitor in an impure state or with impure intention to enter the tomb. Thus,

thrown out of their original places” and “some found in situ” (681–683) without, however, any specific reference to the tomb of Khenu.

⁴⁸ Wolfgang Helck, *Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), pl. 2, no. 7; Ursula Schweitzer, “Archäologischer Bericht aus Ägypten: Saqqara,” *Orientalia* 17/2 (1948): 264, pl. 19, fig. 4.

⁴⁹ The entrance to the final stage of Nianhkhnum and Khnumhotep’s tomb in Saqqara is similarly decorated (Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianhkhnum und Khnumhotep* [Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1977]: 46–65). Interestingly, the original portico (now “Vestibul des Felskammer”, 115–125) was decorated using both raised and sunk relief.

⁵⁰ *Urk.* 1, 173–174; Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, *L’appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens des origines à la fin de l’Ancien Empire* (Cairo: IFAO, 1938), 5–6; Elmar Edel, “Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches,” *MDAIK* 13 (1944): 59–70; Henri Wild, “L’adresse

this document is a literary embodiment of the dichotomy discussed in this paper: the tension between accessibility and restriction. The location of these inscriptions within the architectural setting is very significant: they are placed at a liminal point to identify the boundary between the outside/public/impure world and the inside/private/sacred sphere.

The consistent use of sunk relief for the carving of “appeals to the living” in most monuments is meaningful.⁵¹ Those texts were designed for public viewing; therefore the space in which they were displayed was considered public, which consequently called for that decoration technique. This feature is noticeable in the tomb of Hesi in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara,⁵² which is fronted by a portico supported by square pillars.

Why, then, is the portico in the mastaba of Ti, including the “appeal to the living,” decorated in raised relief, when it was in fact not only identified as a public space, but was architecturally an outside, open area, without any structural access limitation? What differentiates the entrance of the tomb of Ti from the other porticoes in which we see the dual use of sunk and raised relief?

The answer, I would suggest, lies in the presence of a serdab squint at the south end of the east side-wall in the portico. The evidence indicates that this feature determined the functionality of this space, and affected the decoration program and technique accordingly. By design, a serdab operates in conjunction with an offering place;⁵³ *de facto* the opening of a serdab squint in the entrance portico of the tomb of Ti transfigures this architectural space into a place of ritual. As such, the portico required the same considera-

aux visiteurs du tombeau de Ti,” *BIFAO* 58 (1959): 101–113; Strudwick, *Texts*, 235–237 [150].

⁵¹ This configuration has already been noted in the tomb of Khenu. Also noteworthy is the fact that Ti’s “appeal to the living” was copied at the entrance of the tomb of Mereruka in the Teti Cemetery, in sunk relief (Edel, “Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie,” 59–70). The examples that do not conform to this pattern are: the text from the tomb of Inti from Deshasha (Garnot, *Appel*, 11–18 [3]), located on the right wall of the shrine; Nihetepptah in Giza (Garnot, *Appel*, 19–20 [no. 4], carved on an inside pillar and the false door of the portico-chapel of Mehuakhet (G 2375 Edel, “Inschriften des Alten Reichs” *MIO* 1 (1953): 327–333 to be published by Brovarski). The location of those inscriptions in relation to the place of cult is likely a key factor in the choice of medium.

⁵² Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *The Tomb of Hesi*, 38, pls. 33a, 59a.

⁵³ Edward Brovarski, “Serdab,” in *LÄ* 5, 874–879.

tion as a chapel or sanctuary. While the purity of the open outside space could not be structurally guaranteed, the sanctity of the place of ritual was symbolically implemented by adopting the same decorative technique as would be used in a sacred space.

But for the mastaba of Ti, all recorded examples of serdabs opening on the outside of a tomb are from Giza.⁵⁴ The tomb of Qednefer (G 1151) is the only parallel in which a serdab is linked to an entrance portico. The discovery of a statue of the tomb owner and his wife in that portico confirms the function of the space as a place of cult.⁵⁵ But for an occasional line of text giving the name and title of the tomb owner,⁵⁶ no decoration is otherwise associated with outside serdab squints. The mastaba of Ti thus stands out as a unique creation. The extent to which the decoration program of this portico was impacted by the presence of the serdab squint will now be examined.

The architects who designed the tomb of Ti were interested in creating several "stations" in the tomb for the performance of statue rituals. The serdab squint in the portico is one of five such features in the tomb: one in the open court, and three in the south wall of the chapel. The easternmost serdab in the chapel was found intact. It offers a rare opportunity to ascertain that the decoration directly adjacent to the squint was complementary.⁵⁷ two vignettes depict the presentation of incense offerings to the serdab squint

(fig. 3). It has also been argued that the orientation of the figure of the tomb owner at the east end of the wall was meant to underline the presence of the serdab.⁵⁸ The impact of this feature on the decoration program of the north wall in the open court is even more pronounced: the rows of offering bringers converge towards the serdab squint instead of steadily moving forward towards the chapel.⁵⁹

The disposition of the serdab squint in the east wall of the portico is somewhat similar: it opens at the end of three rows of an estate procession (fig. 4).⁶⁰ A matching scene decorated the bottom of the east wall. The depiction of estate processions is unquestionably reminiscent of the decoration of royal monuments, going back to Snefru's "Statue Temple."⁶¹ However, this motif is rarely seen on the outside or at the entrance of a private tomb. It belongs to the inside repertoire of the tomb, and is most often found associated with the false door.⁶² Consequently, the use of raised relief for the decoration of the entrance portico of Ti is not unwarranted. On the contrary, it is in keeping with the interior setting in which the iconographic motif was usually found in private tombs.

In the mastaba of Ti, we find extensive evidence that the monument was designed as a structured environment shaped to accommodate the interaction between the dead and the living. In every aspect, the portico reflects the dichotomy

⁵⁴ Idu (G 7102): *PM* 3/1, 185; Menhebu (LG 30): *PM* 3/1, 168; Messa: *PM* 3/1, 254; Nimaatre Neferisre: *PM* 3/1, 282; Rawer (*PM* 3/1, 265), Rawer [I] (G 5270): *PM* 3/1, 158; Rawer [II] (G 5470): *PM* 3/1, 162; Khumbak (Babac) (G 5230): *PM* 3/1, 155; Seneb: *PM* 3/1, 101; Seshemnefer: *PM* 3/1, 249; Qedfy: *PM* 3/1, 75; Qednefer (G 1151), *PM* 3/1, 56; Kahif (G 2136): *PM* 3/1, 76; Kaswedja (G 5340): *PM* 3/1, 149; Tjczet (G 2097): Ann M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, Giza Mastabas 6 (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1995), 136, fig. 74; G 6027: Kent Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, including G 6010 (Neferbaupah); G 6020 (Iymery), G 6030 (Ity), G 6040 (Shepsekafankh), Giza Mastabas 5 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1994), fig. 2.

⁵⁵ The Giza Archives Project, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: www.gizapyramids.org. Expedition photo, negative numbers: A10883_/OS, A10884_/OS, A10885_/OS.

⁵⁶ Rawer I, frieze text JE 43963: Hermann Junker, *Giza 3* (Wien: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky A.G., 1938), 119–122, pl. 13[a], figs. 11, 42[a]; Alexandre Moret, "Serdab et maison de Ka," *ZAS* 52 (1915): 88–89.

⁵⁷ *PM* 3/2, 473–474 (36IV). In the mastaba of Senedjemib Inti, the figures of the men censuring on either sides of the serdab squints are inserted in a program otherwise devoted to fieldwork (Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 63, fig. 53).

⁵⁸ Beaux, *Études Lauer*, 90.

⁵⁹ Georg Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (Leipzig: Hinrichs,

1913), pl. 14; Lucienne Épron, *Le tombeau de Ti*, fasc. 1, *Les approches de la Chapelle*, MIFAO 65 (Cairo: IFAO, 1939), pl. 15 (bottom); Harpur, *Decoration*, 55.

⁶⁰ Épron, *Ti*, pl. 4. The immediate vicinity of the slot is destroyed, but there is not enough space to envision a vignette with incense-offering.

⁶¹ Ahmed Fakhry, *Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur* 2/1 (Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing: 1961), pls. 12–15; Rainer Stadelmann, *Die Ägyptischen Pyramiden* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1997), 98–99; Arnold, in *Egyptian Art*, 84–85. Processions of royal estates have been located in the entrance portico of the complex of Sahure (Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sâhure* vol. 2, *Die Wandbildern*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 7 [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913], 105–111, pls. 26–28, 31), and along the causeway in the complex of Unas (Audran Labrousse and Ahmed M. Moussa, *La chaussée du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, BdE 134 [Cairo: IFAO, 2002], 87–107, figs. 120–160, pls. 17–21) and Pepy II (Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pépi II*, vol. 3, *les approches du temple* [Cairo: IFAO, 1940], 14–17, pls. 21–28).

⁶² Helen Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, BdE 34 (Cairo: IFAO, 1962), 32–34.

between outside vs. inside, secular vs. sacred, public vs. private. On the one hand, the open form of the architecture and the location of the “appeal to the living” identify the portico as an

“exterior” space. On the other hand, the serdab squint, the iconography, and the use of raised relief are tantamount to the setting of an interior chapel or ritual environment.



Fig. 1. Chapel of Khenu (Saqqara, Unas Cemetery), west wall.



Fig. 2. Mastaba of Khenu (Saqqara, Unas Cemetery).



Fig. 3. Chapel of Ti (Saqqara), south wall, vignettes framing the east *serdab* squint.

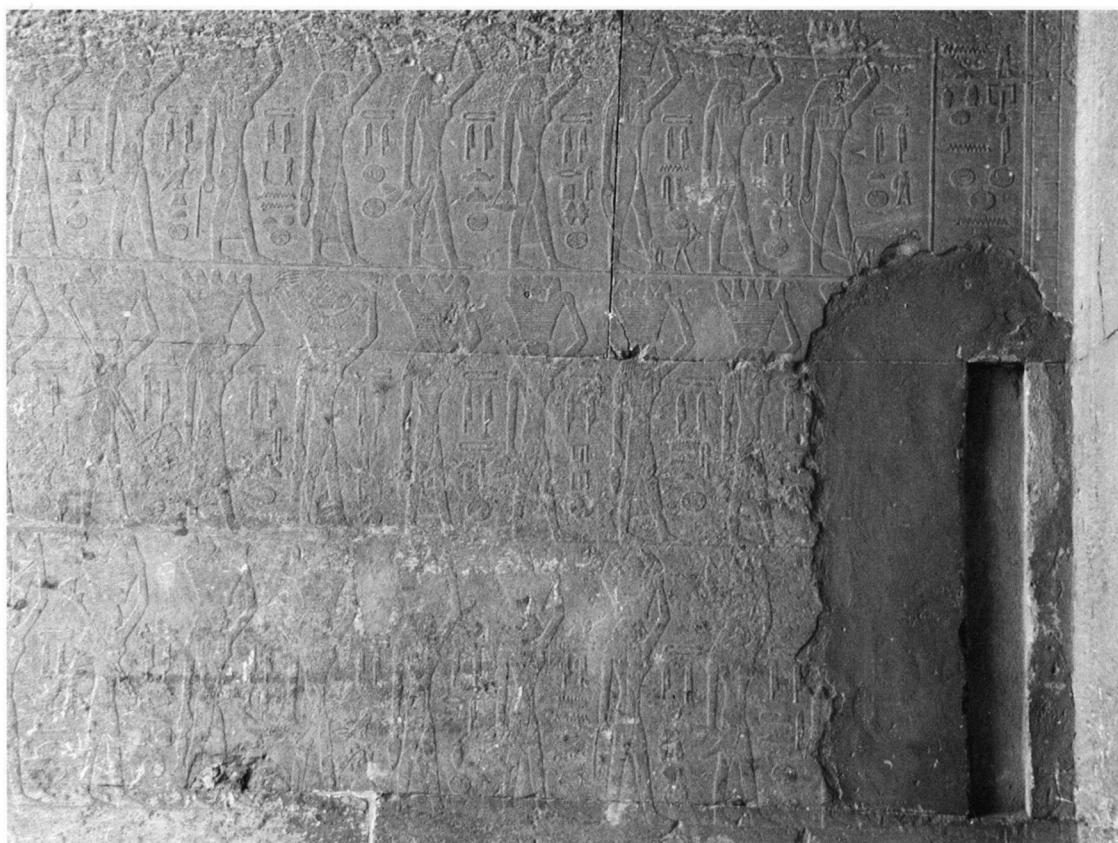


Fig. 4. Portico of Ti (Saqqara), east wall, *serdab* squint and associated decoration.