

The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Egyptian Expedition

RE-USED BLOCKS  
FROM THE PYRAMID  
OF AMENEMHET I  
AT LISHT

Hans Goedicke

*The Johns Hopkins University*

Publications of  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Egyptian Expedition

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# Preface

**T**he limestone reliefs termed "Lisht Blocks" presented in this volume were found by the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition, which was active at Lisht from 1906 to 1934. They had been removed from earlier, probably already dilapidated, buildings by Amenemhet I, founder of the XII Dynasty, and used in the construction of his own pyramid and funerary temple. With the passage of time both pyramid and temple fell into disrepair; these blocks became accessible, as they had been placed near the surface of the pyramid, in the lining of its corridors, and in the foundations of the temple.

When the excavation of the northern part of the site was concluded in 1922, the work of publishing the Lisht Blocks was undertaken by Caroline Ransome Williams; Lindsley Foote Hall made the line drawings that appear in the present volume under Mrs. Williams's direction. Mrs. Williams, however, found it necessary to retire before the completion of the work. The project was revived when William C. Hayes became Curator and entrusted the publication of the blocks to Hans Goedicke. Dr. Goedicke has divided the reliefs into two groups, those antedating, or probably antedating, Amenemhet I, and those contemporary with him or later. Only the first group is treated here.

The importance of the Lisht Blocks is universally recognized by Egyptologists, and it is gratifying that these unique antiquities are, in this publication, becoming generally available.

NORA SCOTT

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# List of Blocks by date

	NUMBERS		NUMBERS
LATE III OR EARLY IV DYNASTY		VI DYNASTY	
Private tomb	92	A building of Pepi II (?)	9, 25-27
IV DYNASTY		VI DYNASTY (?)	
Valley Temple of Khufu	1	A funerary temple	45
Valley Temple (?) of Khufu	2-6	An unidentified building	47
Funerary Temple of Khufu	10-22, 29, 30	V OR VI DYNASTY	
Funerary Temple (?) of Khufu	53	An unidentified building	83
Funerary Temple of Khephren	7	V OR VI DYNASTY (?)	
An unidentified building	74	An unidentified building	84
IV DYNASTY (?)		VI DYNASTY OR LATER	
Valley Temple of Khufu (?)	56-59	An unidentified building	46
A building of Khufu (?)	60	LATER THAN THE VI DYNASTY (?)	
An unidentified building	79-82	An unidentified building	55
V DYNASTY		OLD KINGDOM OR LATER	
Causeway of Unas at Saqqara	8	An unidentified building	91
Funerary Temple of Unas (?)	31-42, 44, 49-52; see also 55	OLD KINGDOM (?)	
V DYNASTY (?)		Unidentified buildings	54, 85-90
A funerary temple	24	LATER THAN THE OLD KINGDOM (?)	
An unidentified building	23	Unidentified buildings	72, 77-78
IV OR V DYNASTY		XII DYNASTY (?)	
An unidentified building	43, 61-68	An unidentified building	28
IV OR V DYNASTY (?)		A building of uncertain date and origin	48
An unidentified building	69-71, 73, 75, 76		



## THE BLOCKS

The modern town of Lisht, the ancient *'Ity-t3wy*, is located approximately forty miles south of Cairo, west of the Nile. It was in the early XII Dynasty that the site enjoyed its greatest prosperity, when the kingship had again become firmly established after a period of internal conflict. At this time, especially in the reigns of the kings Amenemhet I, the first ruler of the dynasty, and his successor, Sesostris I, Lisht was the favorite residence of the monarch, and it can justly be said to have been the capital of Egypt, although the ancient metropolis of Memphis still retained some of its importance as the traditional and spiritual center of the Egyptian state.

The ancient prominence of Lisht was not only due to the fact that, as the royal residence, it was the administrative center; it was also because, as had been the case in the Old Kingdom, the king's earthly domicile was in close connection with the preparations being made for his eternal resting place, his pyramid. The two rulers under whose reigns Lisht reached the peak of its importance erected their pyramids at the edge of the nearby desert overlooking the town and cultivated area, the pyramid of Amenemhet I, named "Beautiful Height of Amenemhet," being about a mile north of the funerary monument of Sesostris I.

A first reconnaissance of the site was conducted by Maspero in 1882, and as a result the builders of the two monuments were identified. Maspero penetrated both pyramids, and it was he who first announced the existence of re-used building material in the structure of Amenemhet I. His operation, which was limited in its scope, was continued in a more extensive excavation by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in 1894–1895. The survey of the two pyramids of the site and also of some of the adjoining private tombs was the chief task to be accomplished. The presence of re-used material in the monument of Amenemhet I was mentioned in the published report (p. 94), but with no descriptions of the individual blocks, which were noted particularly along the sloping entrance passage and the tunnel forced by ancient plunderers into the building. It is especially regrettable that no further observations were published, since it appears that this part of the building was subsequently disturbed.

In the years 1906–1934 Lisht with its pyramids, temples, and the surrounding tombs was the site of a large-scale excavation by the field expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The operations yielded a rich harvest of important results, part of which is published in this volume. The existence of the re-used building material in the North Pyramid was proved by the discovery of a considerable number of architectural blocks which, either by the inscriptions they bear or the reliefs with which they were decorated, were undoubtedly not contemporary with the monument in which

they were found but belonged originally to other, more ancient, structures. The core of the pyramid turned out to be an almost inexhaustible source of such material. However, since a thorough investigation of the funerary monument of Amenemhet I would have involved its total demolition, the search for re-used blocks had to be limited to the surface and to those places where their extraction could be carried out without interfering with the structure of the Middle Kingdom building.

Thus the material presented in this volume does not comprise the sum total of re-used blocks in the pyramid of Amenemhet I but rather the selection available to the excavators, while other blocks, the number of which cannot even be estimated, still rest where the workmen of the XII Dynasty embedded them.

The number of royal reliefs from the period before the Middle Kingdom that have been found in their original position is very limited, as is our knowledge of the decoration of the royal monuments of this period. Despite their fragmentary state, the blocks re-used in the pyramid of Amenemhet I fill an important gap in our knowledge of the development of Egyptian art. Coming as they do from many different monuments, they cannot by themselves give us a well-rounded picture of any particular structure; but a single fragment may serve to throw light on an element or style, and a number of such fragments together may form a pattern of the decoration of the royal monuments of the Old Kingdom. Thus we may be able to trace some scenes farther back than before, and once in a while the earlier representation may provide us with a new understanding. Therefore, although the re-used material gathered during the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum at Lisht is limited in its quantity as well as its scope, a volume devoted to making these blocks available seems justified.

As already stated, the majority of the blocks of relief presented here come from the interior of the North Pyramid and the foundations of its temple. Some, however, come from other structures in the pyramid complex that were not an integral part of the royal monument. Still others, picked up in the heaps of debris, are included as apparently not belonging to Amenemhet I. Here at once is one of the difficulties that must be taken into account in the discussion of the individual blocks: Amenemhet's temple, the walls of which were originally covered with reliefs, was extremely dilapidated, its once splendid decorations broken and littering the site, mixed with pieces that had been used as filling material for the pyramid. The reliefs for which a Middle Kingdom date appears unquestionable for definite reasons of style, subject, or inscription, will not be considered here. Those for which the available criteria were not enough to allow any obvious conclusion as to their date are, however, included and represent a substantial and important part of the material presented.

Stylistic criteria form our chief instrument for the critical investigation of these reliefs. They include the manner in which the sculpture is executed, the form and details of the scenes depicted, and, as far as available, paleographic evidence. Thus not only is the equipment for tackling our project rather limited, but its value is decreased by the fact that the artists responsible for the decoration of the temple of Amenemhet I diligently imitated the style, content, and composition of the splendid monuments of the earlier periods. Their success is remarkable and sometimes it is impossible to arrive

at any definite conclusion as to date, particularly when dealing with small fragments decorated with formal elements of a rather general nature. As far as possible those details which point to one or another way of dating will be indicated. This volume, however, is primarily a catalogue designed to make the blocks available and to suggest their original position. It is not within its scope to draw any general conclusions from these reliefs.

The difficulties in dealing with this material arise not only from the intermingling of re-used Old Kingdom fragments with relief of the Middle Kingdom and the intentional copying of the earlier style by the artists of the time of Amenemhet I but also, as pointed out above, from our limited knowledge of the decoration of royal monuments of the time before the XII Dynasty—not only the monuments of the Old Kingdom but even more those of the period between the end of Memphite rule and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, of which, except for the later part of the XI Dynasty, our knowledge is negligible. Only in recent years has a substantial amount of royal temple relief of the Old Kingdom been unearthed, notably in the temples of Weserkaf, Djedkare<sup>6</sup>, and Unas of the V Dynasty, and that of Snofru of the IV Dynasty at Dahshur. Most of the results of these excavations are at present either unpublished or available only in preliminary reports. The fully published royal reliefs of the Old Kingdom belong to only two periods, the middle of the V Dynasty and the end of the VI Dynasty (the monument of Pepi II); in addition, there are a small number of blocks from Teti's temple. Most of these reliefs are available only in line drawings, which give the pattern of the decoration but do not show the details of the style, which we must know before discussing them fully. The material at hand for comparison (ending the Old Kingdom in the traditional way with the VI Dynasty) is therefore most unevenly distributed as regards date, our knowledge apart from the two periods mentioned above being more or less restricted to isolated finds which lack any connection. And if the situation is unsatisfactory in regard to the Old Kingdom it is even more precarious for the subsequent period. The almost complete lack of any remains of royal buildings of these dynasties has resulted in the generally accepted assumption that this was a time of disorder and poverty accompanied by artistic decline, without royal monuments. This assumption is questionable, based as it is on an argument *ex silentio*, and is contradicted by what we know of the intellectual life of the time from the literature, which reached a peak hardly ever matched again. It would be bewildering, to say the least, if Egyptian culture were to have been limited to the production of literary texts. The date *ante quem* resulting from the re-use of the blocks in the pyramid of Amenemhet I requires that any possible origin before the XII Dynasty be taken into consideration, including the Heracleopolitan Period. Nevertheless, because of the gaps in our knowledge of royal art before the Middle Kingdom, a piece will more often than not have to be assigned to a period in general rather than to the reign of any particular pharaoh.

Thus the aim of this volume is threefold: first, to give an account of the material; second, to identify the blocks that are earlier than the Middle Kingdom; and third, to assign this re-used material as far as possible to its correct position in the evolution of

Egyptian art. To achieve this goal those reliefs which can be assigned to a specific date because they bear royal names are placed at the beginning of the following catalogue, in order to form a basis for the discussion of those whose date is uncertain. The latter follow, grouped according to subject matter, as this arrangement at least gives the opportunity of comparing scenes of the same or similar nature. As for the inscriptions, a philological discussion of them has been restricted to the points essential to the context; their paleographical features, so far as they furnish any clue to dating, are used as stylistic criteria, but as we have no paleography of the hieroglyphic signs their value is rather limited. A long fragment of an inscription of private origin containing part of an agreement with funerary priests is not included here but is being published by the present author in another connection (*Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*).

The "Lisht blocks," as the re-used reliefs found in the pyramid of Amenemhet I are commonly called and as they will be called in the following pages, pose two principal problems: where they came from and why they were incorporated into the Middle Kingdom structure.

To answer the first question, only the material which, by the help of inscriptions, can be assigned with certainty to a specific date can be used. Monuments of four monarchs, Khufu, Khephren, Unas, and Pepi II, are identified in this way. The funerary monuments of these four rulers are well known to us: Khufu's and Khephren's being at Giza, while Unas erected his pyramid at North Saqqara near that of Djoser. The pyramid of Pepi II lies at South Saqqara, but because of stylistic divergencies it is not certain if the fragment inscribed with his name came from there. The Lisht blocks appear, therefore, to have been dragged from at least three different sites for their re-use in the structure of Amenemhet I.

The cost of such an undertaking prompts the question whether these re-used blocks were actually transported upstream the considerable distance of twenty to thirty-five miles or whether they were not taken from a building closer at hand, say in the neighborhood of Lisht. Even disregarding stylistic features which, as in the case of the block of Unas, do not leave any room for doubt that the provenance was the funerary monument of the pharaoh whose name is given, the latter assumption would prove implausible for other reasons. It would presuppose the existence of a structure in whose building a number of rulers of the Old Kingdom and the Heracleopolitan Period (several blocks in all probability date from this time) had taken part at different times. No such structure can be attested in the early part of Egyptian history; we have no monuments before the New Kingdom that are the products of successive rulers, and those of the New Kingdom were almost all at Thebes.

This brings us to a further argument against the Lisht blocks being part of a more or less uniform structure; such a building would have had to be a temple dedicated to a deity, since the participation of several pharaohs could only have been accomplished for a cause which required each to subordinate his own individuality. But our material itself speaks against this. Although highly fragmentary it consists of scenes whose subject matter belongs unequivocally to decorations of temples dedicated to the king

himself. And last, but most important, is the improbability of a major sanctuary of the Old Kingdom having been at Lisht. We have no indication that Lisht was the center of any distinguished cult in the Old Kingdom such as a presumably large temple would presuppose, nor indeed that the settlement at Lisht played any significant role whatsoever at that time. Indeed it appears doubtful that *'Itꜣ-tꜣwy* existed as a town at all during the Old Kingdom: all indications point to its having been founded by Amenemhet I. A small number of rock-cut tombs of a poor kind are all the architectural remains of a date before the Middle Kingdom. Therefore no reasonable doubt can remain that the blocks re-used in the construction of the pyramid of Amenemhet I were extracted from the funerary monuments of previous pharaohs and intentionally brought to this place.

Thus, while it can be considered certain that the Lisht blocks originated from various older royal monuments, we are confronted with the further and critical question, namely why these blocks were transported to Lisht and used there as building material in the pyramid of Amenemhet I. The obvious answer would seem to be that the XII Dynasty king irreverently looted the monuments of his predecessors for suitable and cheap building material. But is the situation really as simple as this? If Amenemhet I were to be credited with only notions of economy in his re-use of blocks of earlier royal temples, a number of other pressing questions would arise. The quarrying of stone presented no problem whatsoever to the Egyptian masons. Suitable stone was available at Lisht in a sufficient amount, as is proved by the pyramid of Sesostris I, Amenemhet's successor, which is largely built of local limestone. One even wonders if it would not actually have been considerably cheaper to quarry local stone for the core of Amenemhet's pyramid. Transporting a block weighing tons, say from Giza to Lisht, meant dragging it down from the *gebel* to the Nile, loading it on a vessel, shipping it upstream to a point close to the site of the pyramid, and pulling it to its final resting place. Even if there was a tendency to avoid quarrying new blocks and to seize upon material already prepared, it would appear only natural for Amenemhet to have gone to the nearest place where suitable material was known to be available. The Old Kingdom site of Meidum is only ten miles to the south of Lisht, and there a pyramid of considerable size, with the great advantage of downstream transportation, would have been available for the "irreverent" zeal of the pharaoh. But no, this convenient monument was not utilized, as far as can be determined; the objective was rather the principal cemeteries of the Old Kingdom and their monuments, twenty to thirty-five miles downstream from Lisht.

The theory of Amenemhet's "irreverent economy" is still further shaken by the fact that the material for re-use was not collected from one particular site, as would be expected if economy had been the chief consideration. We have already seen that, on the basis of the inscriptions, some of the Lisht blocks must have come from Giza (Khufu and Khephren) and Saqqara (Unas and possibly Pepi II); still other places of origin are necessitated by stylistic differences among the uninscribed pieces. This means that the gathering of the material was not restricted to one specific place, as any impious demolition of structures would seem to suggest, but was spread over a large



area, although appropriate material was unquestionably plentiful in any site. Therefore, for all these reasons it seems probable that the collecting of blocks from older monuments was not prompted by utilitarian principles but rather by ideas of an entirely different character.

As was pointed out above, the sculptors of Amenemhet's temple imitated the style of the Old Kingdom in their work. But bringing the Old Kingdom blocks to Lisht primarily as models for the stonecutters seems so impractical that it can be disregarded. Imitation of the Old Kingdom, in fact, was not limited to the field of art. The general tendency becomes clear when we consider the peculiar position of Amenemhet I as the first ruler of the XII Dynasty, according to Manetho, who shows that even in the Ptolemaic Period his reign was considered to have opened a new era, the Middle Kingdom. It was separated from what in those days must have seemed the golden age by a period of internal conflict, after which the unity of the Egyptian state had to be re-established. The reign of the founder of the XII Dynasty thus marked an attempt to return to the splendor of the past. But there could be no real return, and this preoccupation with the Old Kingdom as an ideal was not a slavish imitation. It was rather an intentional return to sources still strong enough, despite the intervening years, to inspire the new flowering we call the Middle Kingdom and to give it strength and an appearance of continuity.

Viewed in this way, the re-use of blocks taken from the monuments of Amenemhet's predecessors appears in a completely different light. No longer can there be any accusation of looting for suitable building material. Amenemhet's action, on the contrary, appears due to a desire to incorporate blocks from the funerary structures of his predecessors on the throne into his own monument, thus asserting that he had founded the new state on the traditions of the past, symbolized by the monuments of the Old Kingdom pharaohs.

Thus there seems to be no practical reason for the re-use of the blocks in the North Pyramid at Lisht, and the explanation apparently lies in the spiritual concept which created this monument as its manifestation and for which the blocks from the monuments of predecessors formed a vital basis, expressing the link between Amenemhet I and the kings of the past. As the state re-established under this pharaoh was founded on ideas developed in the Old Kingdom, so too, in a material way, was his pyramid. Furthermore, by incorporating among its individual elements those drawn from older monuments, a participation in the power of the Old Kingdom pharaohs was believed to take place. This spiritual participation is, I think, convincingly proved by Alexandre Varille (*Quelques caractéristiques du temple pharaonique*, Cairo, 1946). The idea is twofold, material substitution and application of the principle of *pars pro toto*. Nevertheless, although we may consider the re-use as basically a participation, it does not seem possible to attribute special significance to the decoration and location of the re-used blocks, as Varille proposes to do. Our knowledge is not sufficient—particularly in the case of the monument under discussion—to prove whether or not any such significance existed.

Two further questions now arise: can we see any discrimination in the choice of

buildings from which the blocks were taken and were these already destroyed when the blocks were removed? A definite answer cannot be given to the first, as the material available represents only a portion of the re-used blocks. It is likely, however, that the material was collected according to certain principles. Only four rulers of the Old Kingdom are actually named on the blocks discussed here, but structures of other pharaohs have to be assumed on the strength of the styles of other blocks. It is possible that the aim was to collect material belonging to each of the rulers of the past, but this is extremely unlikely. It would rather appear that the choice was limited to monuments of rulers with whose political ideas Amenemhet could identify himself.

The second question is even more difficult to answer. None of the blocks shows any clear indication of having been forcibly removed from its setting, though most of them are too fragmentary for this to be apparent if it had been the case. We possess a literary tradition, however, which mentions the destruction and looting of the pyramids of the Old Kingdom pharaohs as an event that happened at the beginning of the First Intermediate Period.<sup>1</sup> Thus it appears probable, although it cannot be proved, that the destruction of the relevant Old Kingdom monuments occurred before the reign of Amenemhet I. This was also the case with the later structures from which material was taken, if, as is possible, their destruction was connected with the fighting preceding the re-establishment of unity at the end of the XI Dynasty. If this conjecture is correct, that is, if the structures concerned were in a partly dilapidated state in the reign of Amenemhet I, then the material involved was really "re-used," as the blocks had lost their original function and were employed in a new way. Assuming that this is true, appropriating the earlier blocks was not an act of vandalism, and the Egyptians themselves would not have considered it so.

<sup>1</sup> Pap. Leiden 344, 7, 2 (Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 54). Despite the literary form of the document its historical basis seems unquestionable, but the precise date of the event alluded to is highly *sub judice*, except that it is to be placed between the end of the VI and the beginning of the XI Dynasty.

# CATALOGUE

## I

### Blocks Inscribed with Royal Names

The material that originally belonged to the monument of the IV Dynasty pharaoh Khufu is the most conspicuous among the Lisht blocks, both numerically and for its quality. Moreover, more pieces can be assigned to Khufu than to any other ruler because of the actual mention of the name in the inscriptions.

Although Herodotus<sup>2</sup> described the reliefs on the causeway of Khufu's pyramid in graphic terms, it has only recently been established that this causeway was indeed decorated with fine reliefs carved in Tura limestone. As is frequently the case, information supplied by the Greek traveler that was based on his personal observation proves to be correct; only when he repeats the tales of some eloquent dragoman does his report not coincide with the facts.

Another recent achievement has been Lauer's reconstruction<sup>3</sup> of the plan of Khufu's funerary temple. Although the site is so thoroughly destroyed in parts that the outline of the foundations can scarcely be traced, this reconstruction, except for the sanctuary, is probably correct. The temple, surrounded by a high wall measuring 3.15 m. (6 cubits) at the base, consisted of a rectangular court surrounded by granite pillars—14 front and back and 7 each at the north and south ends—behind which lay a building approached by two steps, the upper narrower than the lower, supporting respectively 8 and 4 pillars similar to those around the court. A narrow doorway in the center of the upper colonnade led to the sanctuary, the layout of which is still questionable, Lauer<sup>4</sup> believing it to have been an oblong room with one or two false doors in its west wall while Ricke<sup>5</sup> proposes instead five small niches to enshrine the statues of the king, a possibility admitted by Lauer. In view of the results of the recent excavation of the the Valley Temple of Snofru, Khufu's predecessor, at Dahshur, Ricke's reconstruction appears the more convincing, as the west wall of this temple contains five small shrines.<sup>6</sup>

2 "It took ten years' oppression of the people to make the causeway for the conveyance of the stones, a work not much inferior, in my judgement, to the pyramid itself. This causeway is five furlongs in length, ten fathoms wide, and in height, at the highest part, eight fathoms. It is built of polished stone, and is covered with carvings of animals."

3 *ASAE*, XLVI (1947), 245-259; and XLIX (1949), 111-123.

4 *ASAE*, XLIX (1949), 111 ff.

5 H. Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur Baukunst des alten Reiches*, II, 44.

6 In the royal temple of the Old Kingdom this quintuple group of shrines, connected with the different aspects of kingship as reflected in the royal titulary, generally forms the center of the sanctuary; cf. Junker, *Gtza VI*, 9 ff., and Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur Baukunst des alten Reiches*, II, 36.

There is this difference, however, that the niches of the earlier temple opened directly into the court, whereas Khufu's, if they existed, were in a separate room connected with the court by a narrow entrance. An important step seems reflected in this change of plan. In Snofru's temple the conception of the door as a place for worshipping the deceased has been abandoned in favor of direct communication, but in the reign of Khufu the ancient idea is again dominant and incorporated by an ingenious solution into the royal temple. The entire west wall with the quintuple representation of the pharaoh—if Ricke's reconstruction is correct—absorbs the functions of the door. Its recessed plan is typical of the doorway, and there is still direct access to the statues of the king, as in Snofru's temple. At the same time their partial seclusion is an intermediary step leading ultimately to the serdab, the fully secluded statue chamber behind the false door.

In the center of the east wall of the court a passage opens into the causeway leading down to the still unexcavated Valley Temple. Our ignorance of the plan of this building is particularly unfortunate, as it appears probable that some of the re-used blocks came from this part of Khufu's funerary monument. A comparison with Khephren's Valley Temple (the only Valley Temple of this period so far known) is dangerous, and only excavation can settle the point.

This short description of the plan of Khufu's funerary monument has been given to enable the reader to visualize the various parts of the structure to which the reliefs have been assigned. The fact that the causeway was decorated, as Herodotus says, can be considered certain, and he gives us valuable indications of the scenes depicted. As for the temple, the most suitable place for reliefs is on the surrounding wall, and the columns in front of it when roofed over would have formed a colonnade around the court and protected any decorations against weathering. Further possible locations for reliefs were the west façade facing the court and the sanctuary, though the decoration of this part of the temple is problematic in view of the possibility of its representing an enlarged false door. Finally, the Valley Temple was presumably decorated with reliefs, but any suggestion concerning their distribution is questionable, though we may hazard a guess by referring to later structures of this kind.

In addition to the blocks of relief belonging to the funerary monument of Khufu that were excavated by the Metropolitan Museum at Lisht, a number were found at Giza. The major pieces are: (1) the upper part of a representation of the king wearing the Red Crown, behind him two small figures of attendants; (2) a head of the king, with four lines of inscription in front; (3) part of a ceremonial scene depicting the enthroned king.<sup>7</sup> Another important fragment of a scene showing the *Sed*-festival with a white hippopotamus was built into the wall of a staircase inside the Bab el Futûh, Cairo.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, a number of small fragments were found either in the causeway or in the neighborhood of the small pyramids G I–III which might have been removed

7 Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, figs. 5, 6 A, pl. VIII; J. Capart, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XI (1926), 468 f. and plate. Cf. also Lauer, *ASAE*, XLIX (1949),

8 M. S. Drower, *Antiquity*, IX (1935), 350 f., 114 ff.

from their original place in or near the court of the temple.<sup>9</sup> In all likelihood a block found during the German excavation of the pyramid complex of Khephren is to be added to this list of reliefs of Khufu. The exact circumstances of its discovery are not related, but it seems from the context<sup>10</sup> that the block was found in the debris of the Valley Temple. In its style it corresponds so closely to the reliefs from the Khufu temple that it does not seem possible to question its provenance. In addition, there are no signs whatsoever that the Khephren Valley Temple was ever decorated.<sup>11</sup> This supports the conjecture that the block was removed purposely to the place of its discovery. As it was found in the Valley Temple I should like to propose as a hypothesis that it was brought there for shipment to some other place (a theory supported by the completeness of the block) but that it was left behind, perhaps in error. Since the discovery that Khufu's temple at Giza was decorated, it is unnecessary to explain its presence, as Steindorff<sup>12</sup> has done, by the suggestion that it was brought from Abusir, possibly from the temple of Sahure, as building stone. The complete lack of any re-used blocks that could be ascribed to the V Dynasty temples at Abusir is also against this suggestion, as are stylistic criteria. The block is carved in the very low relief typical of the IV Dynasty,<sup>13</sup> and its style is quite distinct from that of the monuments of Abusir. It consists of parts of two registers; the upper, of which only the bottom is preserved, shows the legs of four male figures proceeding to the left. In the center of the lower register an Egyptian soldier and a bound captive of Asiatic type face each other.

This store of fragments of the decoration of the funerary monument of Khufu is substantially increased by the re-used blocks from the pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht, which we shall now proceed to describe, commencing with those actually inscribed with the name of Khufu. In the following catalogue the place of discovery is described as the *provenance*; *origin* refers to the building and dynasty to which the piece is to be attributed. When the dimensions are not given they are not available. The material is limestone unless otherwise noted. *Record numbers* are of two kinds: those which give the accession numbers of the pieces in the various museums among which they have been distributed and those (introduced by *L*) which refer to the photographs of the field expedition of the Metropolitan Museum at Lisht, used when the piece in question is not part of any collection.

9 Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, fig. 7; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, x, pls. v-vii.

10 G. Steindorff in Hölscher, *Chephren*, 110, figs. 162, 163.

11 Junker (*Giza X*, 38 ff.) found in the cemetery south of the pyramid of Khephren a fragment of relief showing a goddess, which he was inclined to regard as having come from the causeway of this pyramid. Apart from the fact that the distance at which the block was found is against its having come from Khephren's causeway, the assumption (though possible now that we know that Khufu's causeway was decorated) is unlikely because of the style of the carving—high and very crude, with no

modeling, and far inferior to Khufu's delicate reliefs. Moreover, this difference in style is not reflected in the private mastabas of the time, where one would expect to find a similar difference. Thus it seems improbable that the piece is to be connected with Khephren's monument, an attribution to the IV Dynasty being unsupported. In view of the crudeness of the carving it should no doubt be dated much later, and its origin is possibly the late sanctuary of Isis located in this section of the cemetery.

12 Steindorff, in *Chephren*.

13 See Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, 157 ff.

## *Khufu*

### I. Titulary of Khufu.

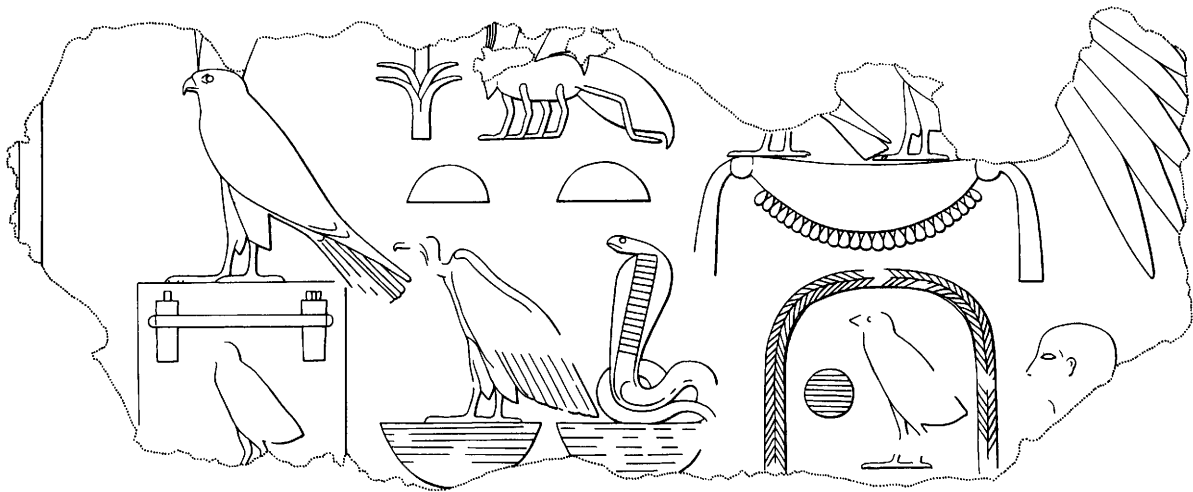
SIZE: 61 × 25 cm.

PROVENANCE: West side of pyramid.


ORIGIN: Valley Temple of Khufu at Giza, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.19.

This block is almost complete at its uppermost and right edges, while the left and lower edges are broken. It once belonged to a larger scene, of which it presumably formed the left part. At its extreme left are remains of a wide line which most likely indicated a border, either separating the scene from a preceding one or, more probably,



indicating the end of the decorated area. The fact that the decoration faces left throughout implies that the block was originally at the right of some kind of passage.

Most of the surface is covered by the titulary of Khufu, which is inscribed in three vertical columns. At the left the Horus name, *Mḏdw*,<sup>14</sup> in its rectangular enclosure is almost undamaged. The falcon stands directly on the enclosure; it wears the united crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, of which only part of the front is preserved. As usual in the depiction of the Double Crown in the Old Kingdom the two diadems are not combined in one unit, but the outline of the White Crown is fully indicated even where it is supposedly covered by the Red.<sup>15</sup> The royal bird, carved in delicate relief, is given in a rather simplified form, the outlines being emphasized at the expense of detail. Only the head shows modeling, particularly around the eye.<sup>16</sup> The second column consists of the royal title *nswt-bit*, its extreme top now destroyed, and the *nbtj* name, with only the two goddesses remaining. The name itself, , has to be restored underneath, since the three columns were apparently of identical length. The obviously roughly chiseled line around the picture of the snake, following its outlines but not interfering with it, deserves special attention. It undoubtedly was executed before the re-use of the stone and seems to show an attempt to neutralize the dangerous power of the animal. It is thus comparable to the cutting in half of the hieroglyphs depicting animals.<sup>17</sup> The vulture, whose beak is destroyed, was possibly mutilated for the same reason; except for the royal hawk, the other birds show the same mutilation. The third column, at the right, has the Golden Horus name of Khufu,<sup>18</sup> above and under it a cartouche containing the royal nomen, of which the two initial hieroglyphs remain.

In the upper right corner are parts of some of the large feathers of a hawk's wing, belonging to a bird hovering over the group of royal names. For the arrangement, compare no. 2.

Close to the cartouche is a rather badly weathered head with un-Egyptian features. A protruding lock on the forehead shows that the man is a Libyan.<sup>19</sup> The figure is too close to the name to be that of a normal upright man. The only explanation possible is that it represents a bound captive, standing with his arms tied behind his back.<sup>20</sup> This figure would thus belong to a scene of the bringing in of prisoners, a subject that occurred on Khufu's monument, as we see from the fragment found in Khephren's Valley Temple.<sup>21</sup> This explanation, however, would seem to contain certain difficulties. It would be unusual, for instance, for a prisoner to be placed under the wing of the royal bird, although lack of space might necessitate this. We should normally expect

<sup>14</sup> For the name, see K. Sethe, *ZÄS*, LXII (1927), 1 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Abubakr, *Untersuchungen über die altägyptischen Kronen*, 60; A. Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII (1954), pl. XI B; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. XXXVIII.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the representation on Snofru's large stela, stylistically similar but without the vigor of our example (Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII, 1954, pl. III A).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. P. Lacau, *ZÄS*, LI (1914), 1 ff.; S. Schott,

*Hieroglyphen*; Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, 171 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Hugo Müller, *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, VII, 58.

<sup>19</sup> W. Hölscher, *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, IV, 14; Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. VI.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. also no. 88, which shows the same subject.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. above, p. 10.

that the list of royal names would introduce a representation of the king himself, facing left as they do. This is not the case—and even if it were, prisoners behind the king would contradict the purpose of the scene, namely to show the presentation of captives to the pharaoh, who should be facing them. Therefore I should like to propose as a hypothesis that the king was not depicted in relief but that a statue of him was placed against the wall under his names. The combination of relief and sculpture was used in the temple of Khephren, so that a similar arrangement is possible in the case of Khufu's temple.

Stylistically the relief shows the fine, low carving typical of the fully developed Giza style. There is a certain lack of the emphasis on detail sometimes found in reliefs of this time,<sup>22</sup> apparent only in the rendering of the double cord around the king's name. This shortcoming was probably made good by paint, of which no trace remains.

Assuming that the block under discussion belongs to a scene showing the presentation of prisoners, its original position can be reconstructed with relative certainty. The subject is shown in the funerary monuments of Sahure,<sup>23</sup> Nywoserre,<sup>24</sup> and Pepi II.<sup>25</sup> In all these monuments it appears at the lower end of the causeway. In view of such a consistent arrangement it seems most probable that this block did not come from the funerary temple of Khufu. On the other hand, if the conjecture above that it was connected with a statue of the king is correct, it cannot be from the causeway. But in the monument of Pepi II the presentation of captives is also shown on the south wall of the vestibule,<sup>26</sup> a section of the building which largely repeats the functions of the Valley Temple within the funerary temple. It thus appears feasible that our block was taken from the Valley Temple of Khufu. As we have seen, this assumption is based on the fact that the subject was not part of the decoration of the funerary temple, and also on its proposed connection with a statue of the king similar to the statues found in the Valley Temple of Khephren. As the plan of Khufu's Valley Temple is unknown a precise attribution is impossible, but if the plans of the two buildings were similar the block might have been placed on the west wall of the north wing of the antechamber.

## 2. Parts of two scenes: personified estates bringing offerings; the royal palace.

SIZE: 123 × 43 cm.

PROVENANCE: Foundations of the mastaba of Reḥu-er-djer-sen.<sup>27</sup>

ORIGIN: Valley Temple(?) of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 58.322.<sup>28</sup>

This rectangular block, almost completely preserved, contains parts of two unconnected scenes, separated by a wide marginal line. The section at the right shows a corner of the royal palace; the larger section at the left depicts three persons bringing

22 Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, 161 f.

23 Borchardt, *Saḥu-re*, II, pl. v.

24 Borchardt, *Ne-user-re*, pl. VIII.

25 Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl. XII.

26 Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. XXXVI.

27 Hayes, *Scepter*, I, 117.

28 Smith, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Annual Report*, 1958, 43 f.





“. . . the shrine of Upper and Lower Egypt (and ?) the house of the Great God (?) in the horizon.” The significance of this incomplete text is obscure. It is possibly to be linked to an annotation found in the temple of Sahure<sup>32</sup> and if so is to be restored, “royal offering for the shrine of Upper and Lower Egypt, the house of the Great God in the horizon,” which would agree with the scene of the bringing of offerings depicted next to it. It should be noted that *zht* was the name of Khufu’s pyramid, to which an allusion seems to be made by the word “house,” i.e., tomb, of the king. Below this line there remains the isolated hieroglyph *šm*’, “Upper Egypt,” which perhaps belongs to a label showing the locality from which the offerings come. The beginning of the Golden Horus name can be seen under the falcon, which probably also protected the rest of the royal titulary, arranged in the same way as on block no. 1. The presence of the royal name makes it necessary to assume a representation of the king, facing right if depicted in relief. It is unlikely that other reliefs would have been placed above a representation of the royal palace, and so this block was probably from the uppermost register of a wall.

The three offering-bearers in the left section face left. The first two are female, the third male. A fragment of the headdress of the first remains, and by this all three can be recognized as personifications of estates, or rather of the tributary foundations of the royal funerary endowment.

The two women, represented in exactly the same way, are standing still. They are dressed in the long, tight gown supported by shoulder straps tied together with knots. Both wear the long wig with a small strand falling over the left shoulder and the larger part hanging behind. Traces above the first woman prove that each was supporting a “standard” on her head. Two narrow ribbons hang from this, following the curve of the wig and exceeding it in length. The headdress thus corresponds to the example shown in no. 3, which is better preserved. The male figure, dressed in the short kilt, is walking. His headdress, including the large wig, is like that of his female companions. Of particular interest is the fact that the man is adorned with the long ceremonial beard curved at the end.

The three figures carry identical attributes, characteristic of personified estates. In the left hand each holds a slim libation vase by its lower end, slanting it slightly forward. Each supports an offering mat with a conical loaf on it on the outstretched right arm, from which three ♀-signs are suspended by short ties, and grasps the *w3š*-scepter between thumb and palm of the right hand.

The manner in which the donations they carry are represented is halfway between that of Snofru’s Valley Temple<sup>33</sup> and the later form found in the temple of Sahure<sup>34</sup>. While the latter tends to dilute the principal elements by the introduction of additional donations, the figures in the temple of Snofru are shown in the most abstract way, the basically symbolic value of the representation being thus emphasized.<sup>35</sup> These figures, all female, carry the offering mat with libation jar and bread placed upon it and hold

32 Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re*’, II, 127, pl. LXVII.

33 Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII (1954), pls. VIII–X.

34 Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re*’, II, pl. XXXI; and *Ne-user-re*’, pls. XIV, XV.

35 Junker, *Giza XII.*, 114 ff.

an 'nh-sign in one hand. In Khufu's reliefs this pattern is extended by the addition of the *w3s*-scepter and the multiplication of the 'nh-sign. This is the fundamental form for all later representations of the scene, in spite of further additions.

As we can see from no. 3, the royal name in the cartouche was mounted on a standard carried on the head, with the name of the estate represented behind it. Remains of such an estate name are visible in the upper left corner of our block; this must have belonged to a preceding figure. The appearance of a male figure here is of particular interest. Only female offering-bearers are shown on the reliefs of Snofru, Sahure', and Pepi II,<sup>36</sup> while male and female figures alternate in the Nywoserre' representation. In similar scenes in private tombs male figures occur from the time of Snofru<sup>37</sup> onward, although female predominate.<sup>38</sup>

We can only guess the original setting of this block. In the earlier instance from the temple of Snofru the representation of the royal estates covers the walls of the roofed portico and central hall.<sup>39</sup> The later Sahure' example flanks the side entrance, which has to be considered as a gateway to the storerooms connected with the temple. The late VI Dynasty scene, that of Pepi II,<sup>40</sup> frames the upper part of the causeway. As none of these examples is in the funerary temple but in some part of the funerary monument leading to it, it seems necessary to assume a similar position for the piece under discussion. The presumably closer relationship with Snofru's reliefs suggests an assignment to the Valley Temple, but as we are ignorant of its plan we cannot confirm this suggestion. Unlike the Snofru scene, however, that from Khufu's temple appears to have been interrupted by representations of the king, either in sculpture or relief, as necessitated by the scene on the right side of the block.

### 3. Head of a female personification of an estate.

SIZE: 22 × 27 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: Valley Temple (?) of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.7.

This fragment<sup>41</sup> shows part of a female figure from a procession of estates similar to that on no. 2 but facing in the opposite direction. The head is surmounted by a standard from which two ribbons are suspended, hanging over the hair. The cartouche of Khufu, the lower part of which is preserved, rests upon the standard. This makes it certain that the piece originated in a royal temple, as representations of private estates never show such a support, even when the place name is compounded with the royal

<sup>36</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl. xxiv.

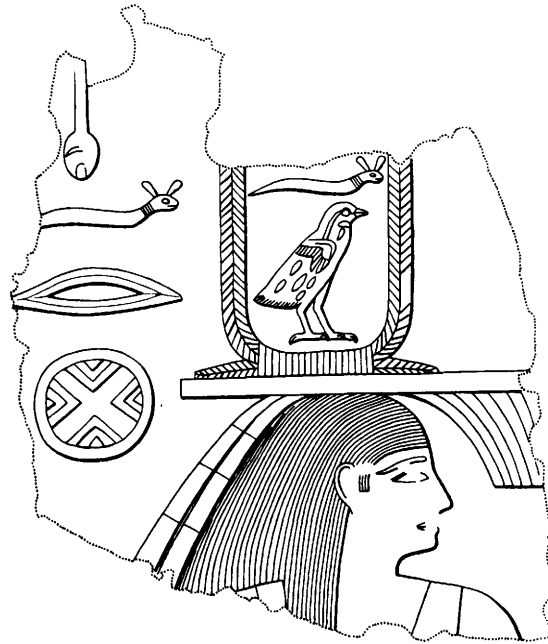
<sup>37</sup> Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII (1954), pl. xxi.

<sup>38</sup> See L.D., II, pl. XLII, where only men are shown.

<sup>39</sup> Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII (1954), 577 f.

<sup>40</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pls. XIX-XXVIII. A similar scene occupies the same position in the funerary monument of Unas.

<sup>41</sup> See also Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 54, pl. xxxiii.



nomen. In addition, the low relief reflects in its style and quality the features characteristic of the funerary monument of Khufu.

This particular foundation is called *Hwfw-nfr*, "Khufu is Beautiful."<sup>42</sup> The writing of the name shows some alteration from the earlier form found in the Snofru reliefs. There the royal name framed in a rectangle surmounts a ☉-sign upon a standard, and in addition it is repeated in the cartouche as part of the designation of the foundation. In later occurrences of the formal representation of the estates, when the royal name is carried upon the head it always appears in a rectangular setting, thus characterizing the estate specified as a *hwt*, "ezbeh."

The close relationship between this piece and no. 2 makes it probable that they originated in the same building. As the figures on the two blocks face in different directions they probably come from opposite walls. An origin in the Valley Temple of Khufu was proposed for no. 2, and so this must be assumed for the present block also.

<sup>42</sup> The district is also mentioned in *L.D.*, II, pl. xxxii.

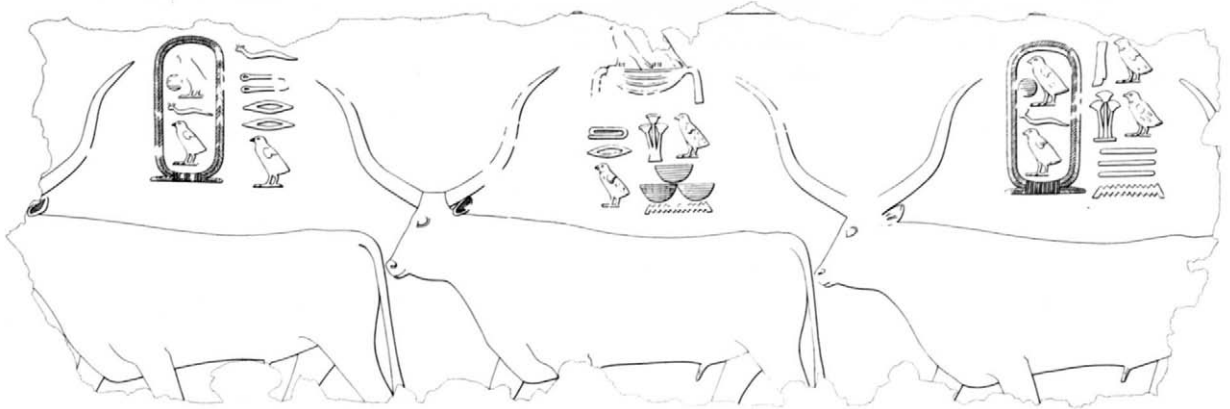
4. A procession of oxen.

SIZE: 129 × 43 cm.

PROVENANCE: Foundation of the "French Mastaba."

ORIGIN: Valley Temple (?) of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.3.



This block is almost completely preserved except for some battering on its upper edge similar to that of no. 2. The latter presumably was originally placed at the top of a wall, and the same is probably true of this block. It shows three oxen moving to the left, with a short inscription above each. The animals, with long, spreading horns, belong to the breed called *ng(j)* by the Egyptians.<sup>43</sup> They follow each other closely without any kind of halter. At the right edge of the block the horn of a fourth is visible.

Above the back of each animal is a short inscription compounded with a designation of Khufu, that in the middle using the Golden Horus name, the other two the royal nomen in a cartouche. The short labels, not paralleled elsewhere, seem to express the

<sup>43</sup> P. Montet, *Kémi*, XIII (1954), 43 ff.

significance of the animals. The first, reading *Hwfw frrw* is obscure, a word *ftr* being otherwise unknown.<sup>44</sup> The text above the second animal reads *phr h3w-nbw n Hwfw*, “The surrounding territories (*h3w-nbw*) serve<sup>45</sup> Khufu,” and the last *whmw h3w-t3w n Hwfw*, “The surrounding lands (*h3w-t3w*) act for Khufu.” The significance of the docket is not entirely clear; the animals could be taken either as material tribute or, as appears more likely, as expressing the submission and tributary status of foreign countries to the Egyptian king. In this connection the mention of the *h3w-nbw* is of particular interest as it occurs again in Sahure’s temple,<sup>46</sup> also as a parallel to *h3w-t3w*, but we cannot discuss it further here except to point out that, whereas in later periods the term is applied to the inhabitants of the Greek islands, in its early application it does not seem to refer to any specific ethnographical group but to be used in a rather general way.<sup>47</sup>

The representation as found here has no direct parallel among the reliefs of the later royal temples. A somewhat similar scene was found in the Sahure’s reliefs,<sup>48</sup> but it is not certain if there was any direct relation between the two. As for its position in the funerary monument there seem to be two possibilities. It can be connected either with the presentation of captives or with the endowments supporting the royal temple. Both scenes should in all likelihood be assigned to the Valley Temple, and this origin may be proposed for the present block.

The date of the block is established by the twice repeated mention of the name of Khufu, and in addition the stylistic features leave no doubt that it originated in Khufu’s monument at Giza.

## 5. Part of an inscription.

SIZE: 37 × 32 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: Valley Temple (?) of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.25.

A small section of three columns of large hieroglyphs, each 12.5 cm. wide, facing right: “. . . in the [Horizon-of]-Khufu<sup>49</sup> . . . building the sanctuaries of the god(s) . . . of *dw3*<sup>50</sup> . . .” The fragment seems to be part of a record, either historical or

44 Montet (*Revue archéologique*, XLVIII, 1956, 3 f.) sees in the word a metathesis for *tfrrw*, which he connects with the land from which the Egyptians received lapis lazuli, and proposes as possible translations, “Cheops est de Tefrer,” “Cheops est lapis lazuli,” “Cheops est bleu.” In view of the two parallel expressions a rendering, “The-One-of-Tefrer of Khufu,” in the sense, “The tribute of payment of Tefrer belonging to Khufu,” is possibly preferable.

45 For this meaning of *phr n*, see *Wb.*, I, 547, 4 and Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 202.

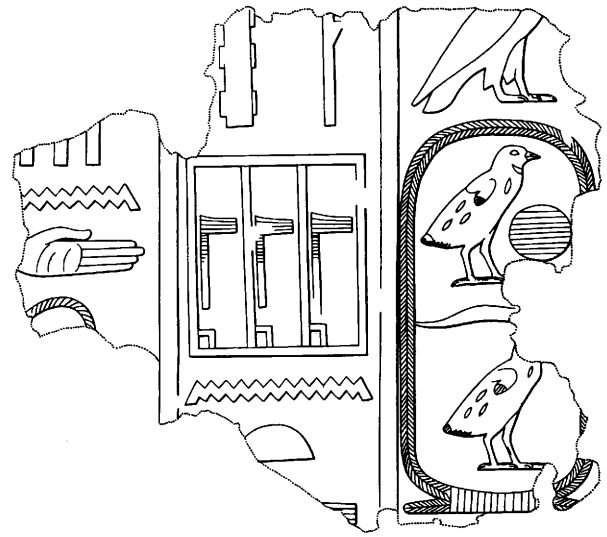
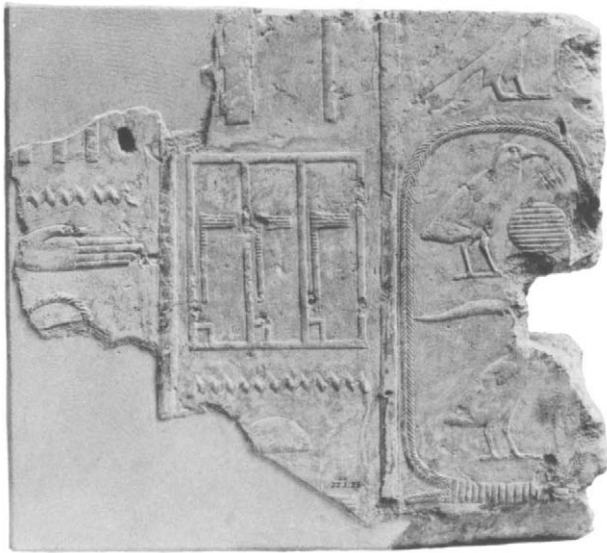
46 Borchardt, *Sa3hu-re*, II, pl. XIX (*Urk.*, I, 169, 4).

47 Cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 206; Vercoutter, *BIFAO*, XLVIII (1949), 169 ff.

48 Borchardt, *Sa3hu-re*, II, pls. XXXI, LV.

49 The name of Khufu’s funerary monument.

50 Illegible traces before *n dw3* may represent plural strokes or are possibly the indication of a number.



dedicatory. The mention of *zhty-Hwfw*, the most likely restoration of line 1, suggests that this fragment was once part of an inscription in the temple of Khufu at Giza that presumably referred to the pious activity of the king. In view of the royal name and the stylistic characteristics, the origin of the piece seems certain, but any suggestion concerning its original setting has to be considered problematical. But the discovery of minute traces of a dedicatory inscription in the Valley Temple of Sahure<sup>51</sup> makes it appear at least possible that our fragment came from Khufu's Valley Temple, a conjecture that seems to be supported by the fact that the other pieces assigned to Khufu presumably came from this part of his funerary monument.

## 6. An inscription and part of a papyrus boat.

SIZE: 89 × 36 cm.

PROVENANCE: Platform in front of the entrance to pyramid.

ORIGIN: Valley Temple (?) of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

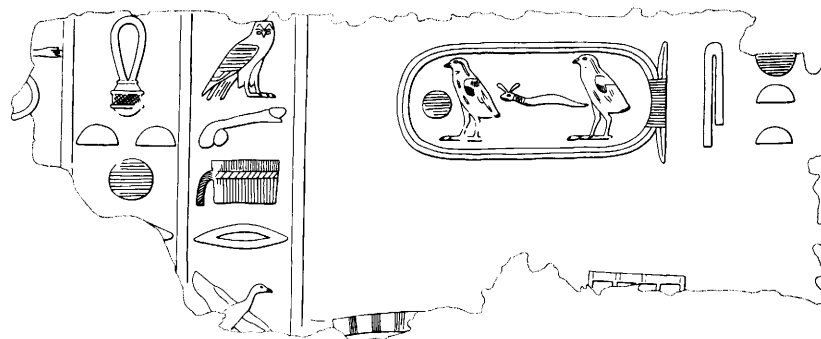
RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.6.

The left part of this fragment, re-used as a pavement block, is covered with the remains of three columns of inscription; on the right, at the bottom, are traces of a boat with a hieroglyphic label above. There was a marginal line on the upper edge of the piece, showing that this was the top of the scene, but it was not necessarily the uppermost register of a wall; conceivably other, unconnected, scenes could have appeared above it. Enough of the boat remains for us to recognize it as a kind of raft with slightly upturned ends made of bundles of rushes tied together; some of the roping on what is presumably the bow is preserved. The traces at the right belong to a cabin-

<sup>51</sup> Borchardt, *Sa zhu-re'*, II, 131 and pl. LXXII.

like structure consisting of a horizontal roof beam resting on upright supports.<sup>52</sup> This kind of boat, but without the cabin, is frequently represented among the reliefs of the Old Kingdom mastabas and was the favorite one for hunting in the marshes. Only very little can be lost below the remains of the raft, which must have rested on some kind of supporting line, most likely in the form of a “strip of water.” Thus it appears probable that the register to which this block belonged was a narrow one and that it is almost completely preserved, a feature that is of significance in connection with the inscription at the left.

The short horizontal docket above the vessel, facing left, is in all likelihood not quite complete, a final determinative probably being missing. It apparently indicated the name of the vessel, which may be read *šht(y)t-Hwfw*, “(bird-)catching boat of Khufu.” *Šht(y)t* as the designation of a boat is not known elsewhere, but the verb *šht* from which the term is presumably derived appears in the Old Kingdom with the meaning “to catch birds.”<sup>53</sup> Thus the boat seems to have been the one used by the



52 For this type of vessel, cf. Junker, *Giza II*, 158 and fig. 22. A cabin such as the one on our block is shown only when a traveling ship is represented, not in hunting scenes. This is presumably due to the artistic convention that always shows the sports-loving tomb-owner as a large figure occupying the entire vessel and leaving no room

for a cabin; cf. Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 35 ff. That a cabin did exist on the sporting boats is proved by models, although these are later than the Old Kingdom; cf. H. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*, pl. LI.

53 *Wb.*, IV, 262.



monarch for his sporting excursions into the marshes;<sup>54</sup> it is somewhat surprising that it should have been made of bundles of rushes like the boats of commoners.

The inscription on the left part of the block faces right, opposing the boat scene. As the block seems to be preserved almost to its full height, very little of the inscription can be missing at the bottom. This is borne out by the sequence, reading from left to right, of the columns. The reversed order can be considered certain, as the column at the right starts with an adverbial phrase, which cannot be placed at the beginning of a sentence. The three columns are part of a longer text, the remaining part containing only the conclusion. The restored text reads:  $\text{ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ}^{55}$   $[\text{ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ}]^{56}$   $\text{ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ} [\text{ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ}]$   $\text{ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ} [\text{ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ}]$ , “Never [happened?] the like to [a king?] before since primeval times.” What this unprecedented event was, significant enough to be recorded in the funerary monument, remains a mystery.

The attribution of the block to Khufu does not present any difficulties; the date is suggested by the style of the carving and confirmed by the occurrence of the royal name. The original position of the piece among the decorations of the funerary monument is, however, problematical. Although the text could be interpreted to refer to a royal activity, it is more likely that this fragment belonged to an inventory of the royal vessels. It would thus be comparable to the scene showing Sahure’s ship of state, which was represented in his Valley Temple.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, fragments belonging to a scene showing Sahure’s fowling in the marshes were found in his funerary temple<sup>58</sup> in the passage north of the court, a feature not present in Khufu’s temple.<sup>59</sup> The situation in Sahure’s monument was due to the attempt that probably began at the commencement of the V Dynasty<sup>60</sup> to increase the number of royal activities illustrated beyond his ceremonial appearances. The representation of the royal vessel was undoubtedly not part of the decoration of the funerary temple but belonged to the Valley Temple, which was primarily reserved for the secular activities of the king. This seems to be confirmed by the type of subject found in the earlier, fully decorated mastabas at Giza, where the representation of boats was restricted to the space above the entrance door, inside the cult chamber.<sup>61</sup> This would mean that it was an essential element in the decoration but was not one of the subjects originating in the funerary temple. So it seems likely that the scene originally shown in the limited space above the entrance of the funerary temple was eventually moved to a less restricted area in the Valley Temple. The lack of any plan of this structure, however, makes it impossible to assign

54 Fowling as a form of royal entertainment is illustrated by the scene shown in Borchardt, *Sahure-re*, II, pl. xvi. A similar representation was found at Weserkaf’s unpublished monument (Dr. Smith kindly supplied me with this information). It is also reflected in the Middle Kingdom literary text, “The Sporting King,” published by Dr. R. A. Caminos in his *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, 22 ff.

55 The spelling of *sp* is unparalleled, but cf. Junker, *Giza V.*, 64. For *dr pjt*, see *Wb.*, I, 496, 6,

only documented, however, since the New Kingdom.

56 The restoration of *hpr*, parallel to *Urk.*, I, 138, 16, is not certain although likely; *pjw* would also be possible, as in *Urk.*, I, 100, 1.

57 Borchardt, *Sahure-re*, II, pl. IX.

58 Borchardt, *Sahure-re*, II, pls. xv, xvi.

59 Lauer, *ASAE*, XLVI (1947), 247.

60 The subject appears first in the monument of Weserkaf, as Dr. Smith informed me.

61 Junker, *Giza II.*, 66.

it to any precise location. Thus an attribution of our block to the Valley Temple appears logical but cannot be proved on account of inadequate documentation.

To sum up, six of the re-used blocks found in Amenemhet's pyramid at Lisht are inscribed with the name of Khufu; as far as can be established they all come from his Valley Temple at Giza. At least three of them appear to be from the uppermost register of a wall and thus would be among the first either to fall or to be removed. The carving is uniformly of extremely good quality, with the fine, low relief characteristic of both royal and private monuments of the period.<sup>62</sup> Additional pieces belonging to Khufu's monument are undoubtedly among the Lisht blocks, but as they do not bear the royal name they must be attributed on the strength of stylistic details. These will be discussed later.

### *Khephren*

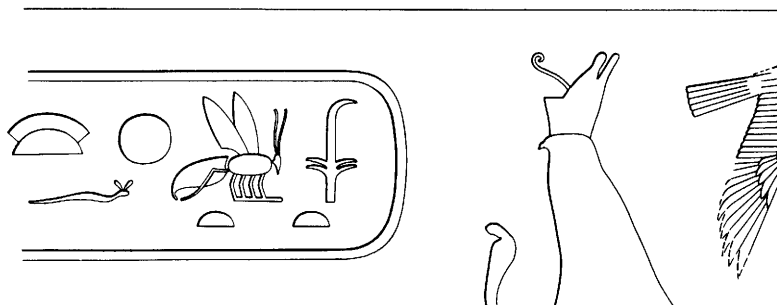
#### 7. An architrave.

SIZE: 217 × 94 cm.

PROVENANCE: *In situ* in the lining of the plunderers' passage, north side of pyramid. Red granite.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khephren at Giza, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: No photograph.



This large block was sighted by Maspero<sup>63</sup> during his survey of the pyramid. It was measured by the Metropolitan Museum expedition and a copy was made of its inscription, as it proved impossible to remove it. The left end bears the cartouche of Khephren facing right, not only the nomen but also the royal title *nswt-bit* being

<sup>62</sup> Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, 157 ff.

*logie égyptiennes*, I, 148 f., and *BIE*, 2nd ser., IX

<sup>63</sup> G. Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie* (1885), 6.

enclosed. Facing left is the upper part of a falcon wearing the double crown,<sup>64</sup> and in front of this the erect body of a uraeus. The falcon is part of the Horus name, which must have continued downwards and rested on a columnar support similar to that on a fragment of relief with the Horus name found at Bubastis;<sup>65</sup> this fragment presumably originated at Giza and was taken away at some indefinite time for re-use. Another, with the inscription facing right, was discovered during the excavation of Khephren's<sup>66</sup> funerary temple; it is inscribed with the title *nswt-bit*, which presumably followed the Horus name.

There can hardly be any doubt that the block originated in the funerary temple of Khephren and that it was used there as an architrave. This is in agreement with Ricke's<sup>67</sup> reconstruction of the court of this temple, which is to be accepted for the most part. Contrary to his opinion, however, it must be assumed that the *srh*-frame not only contained the Horus name *wsr-ib* but also the royal nomen *H'f-R'*, to conform with the Bubastis fragment.<sup>68</sup>

Two similar blocks were sighted during the excavation of Amenemhet's pyramid, but their inscribed surfaces were not accessible and they could not be moved. And it is likely that even more blocks from Khephren's temple are still buried at Lisht.

## *Unas*

### 8. Part of an inscription.

SIZE: 91 × 49 cm.

PROVENANCE: Foundation trenches at southeast corner of temple.

ORIGIN: Causeway of the temple of Unas at Saqqara, V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.4.

The block is covered with nine columns of inscription facing right, which were part of a longer text. In view of the fact that *dd-mdw* occurs at the top of the next-to-last line, introducing an independent section in the form of a quotation, it is tempting to

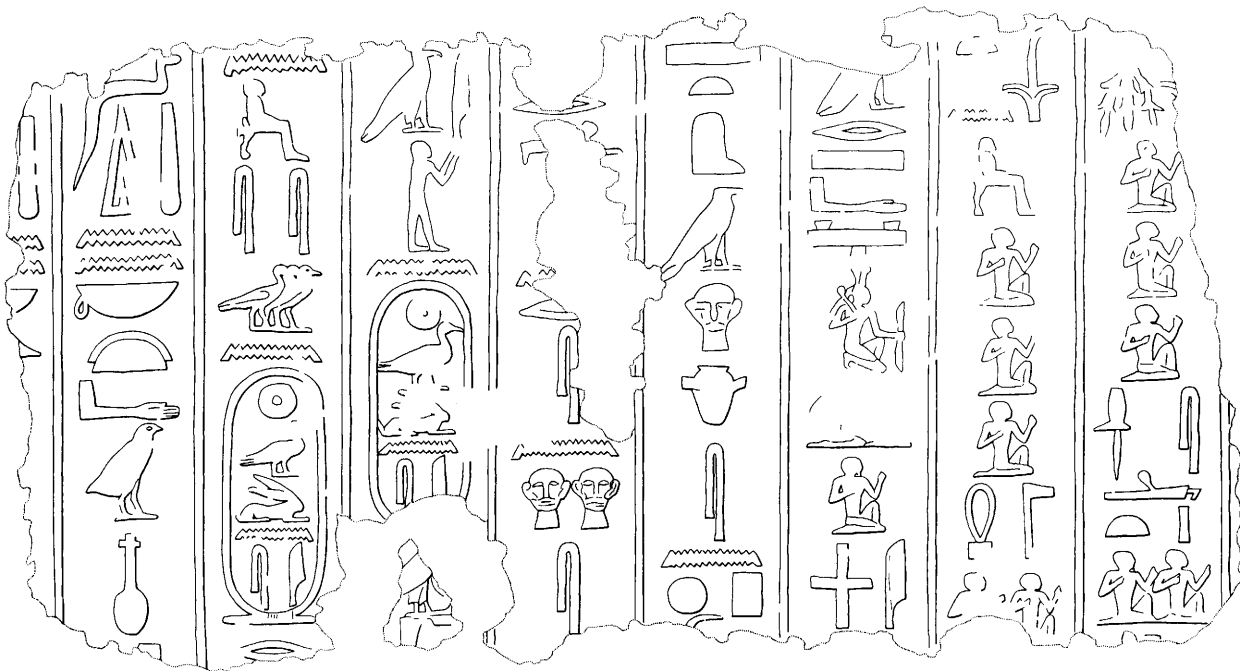
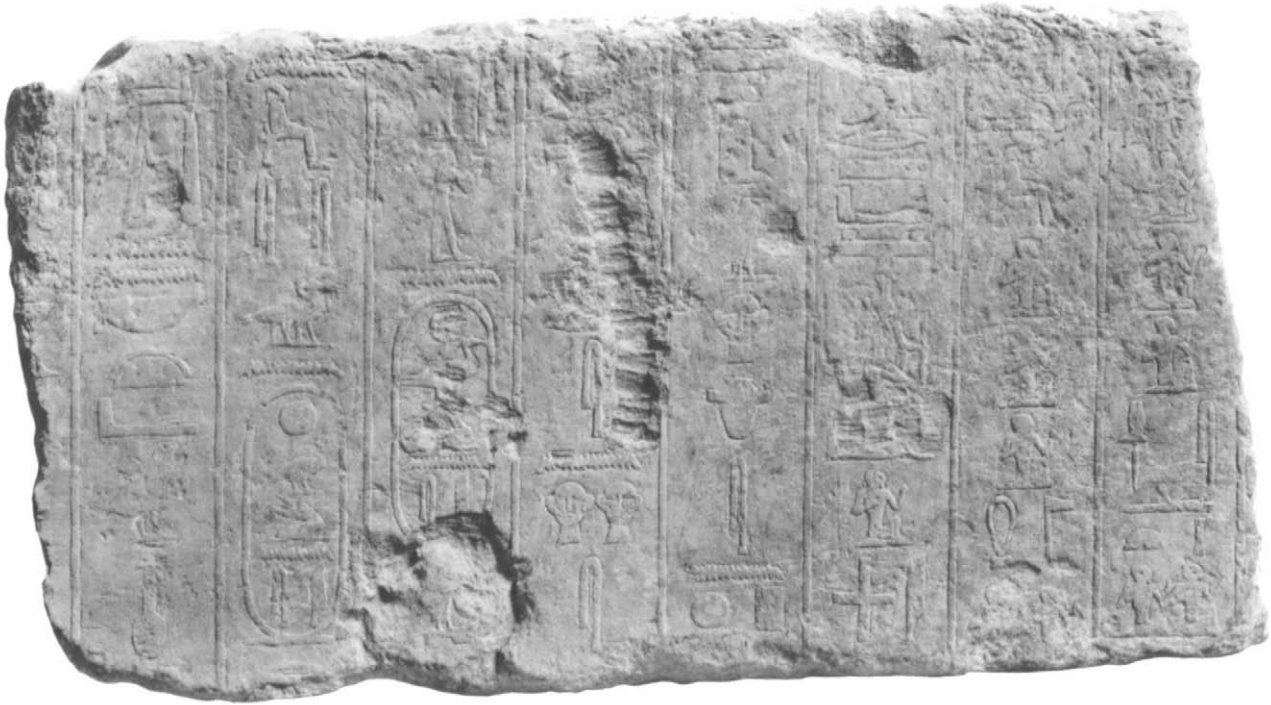
64 This arrangement, rare in the early Old Kingdom, is attested by the inscription of Snofru in the Wadi Maghâra (Gardiner-Peet-Černý, I, pl. II [*Urk.*, I, 7, 17]), and the canopy of Queen Hetep-heres (Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, pl. VIII).

65 E. H. Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. XXXII B. Mr. T. G. H. James was kind enough to measure the block, now in the British Museum (no. 1098). His results conform with the dimensions of our inscription.

66 Hölscher, *Chephren*, 55, fig. 45.

67 Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur Baukunst des alten Reiches*, II, 50 ff.


68 For the arrangement, cf. also the diorite offering stand which possibly came from Khephren's funerary monument, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 07.228.24: Hayes, *Scepter*, I, 64, fig. 41).



assume that the block belonged at the top of a wall, an indeterminable amount of text therefore being missing underneath. This assumption is supported by the fact that the top words in all the columns, almost completely preserved, are in alignment.

The text itself seems to be part of a historical record, but the missing lower section makes the passage as a whole difficult to understand. What remains reads:

“<sup>1</sup>The royal suite, the friends of the Unique, . . . <sup>2</sup>the king’s noblemen, the bearer of the divine seal, . . . <sup>3</sup>the overseer of the fighters, *imy* . . . <sup>4</sup>difficult in their heart, opening (?) . . . <sup>5</sup>they fall, indeed, upon their face . . . <sup>6</sup>praise to ‘the Son of Re’, Unas’ . . . <sup>7</sup>truly august is the might of ‘the Son of Re’, Unas’, more than . . . <sup>8</sup>Words to say: I gave to you righteous appearance as (?) . . . <sup>9</sup>Words to say: I gave to you might . . .” The name Unas occurs twice in the text, both times with the title *s3-R* included in the cartouche. According to the preliminary report of the excavation of the funerary monument of Unas<sup>69</sup> (the definitive publication not having yet appeared), this way of writing the royal name appears to be characteristic of the inscriptions of this king.<sup>70</sup> The carving of the hieroglyphs is of rather poor quality, lacking elegance of form and indication of details.

NOTES ON THE TEXT. *Line 1*: *mšw-nšwt*, usually rendered “royal children,” is probably more correctly to be understood as “royal suite,” i.e., the people in personal contact with the king; cf. *Urk.*, I, 41, 8, 16 (in the latter instance followed by *šmrw*, as here) and the well-known passage in Sinuhe (B 264). *Šmr-w’ty*, a frequent title in the Old Kingdom, is generally translated as “unique friend.” The unsuitability of this translation is obvious when it is applied to a crowd of people, as in our inscription. *Šmr-w’ty* occurs in parallelism to a simplex *šmr* (so in *Urk.*, I, 41, 16), thus suggesting that *w’ty* is not an adjective modifying *šmr* but that it refers to the person to whom the *šmr* stands in relationship, namely the king; consequently it should be rendered, “The Unique.” *Line 3*: For the spelling of the title *imy-r’ (m)š’*, cf. Petrie, *Medum*, pl. ix (*R’-hṯp*) and *’It-mry* (Junker, *Giza*, I, 255). The significance of *imy* at the end of the column is uncertain; it could be part of another title or else introduce the relative clause “which are there.” *Line 4*: For *ššt3 hry ib-šn*, cf. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 77, 8 and *Wb.*, IV, 553, 3. The meaning of the following  is uncertain; as a verb it is not attested in the Old Kingdom (cf. *Wb.*, I, 542). *Line 5*: For *ḥr ḥr*, “to fall upon the face,” cf. *Wb.*, III, 320, 14 and *ASAE*, XLIII (1943), 450. The emphatic *r.sn* is not documented elsewhere, but the meaning is clear (cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 252). *Line 6*: For *i3w n*, cf. *Urk.*, I, 169, 13–17 (Sahure’). It is impossible to be sure of the identity of the bird on the standard behind the royal name, but it may be the ibis of Thoth (cf. *Urk.*, I, 169, 13). Cf. also the related passage in *Urk.*, I, 39, 16.

It is difficult to assign this block to a definite place in the funerary monument of Unas. It is unlikely that it came from the funerary temple, as an inscription of the length this must have been is unparalleled in any of the better-known Old Kingdom temples. Traces of a historical text were found in the Valley Temple of Sahure’,<sup>71</sup> so that such an origin is at least possible, but it cannot be confirmed, as no information is available whether or not the Valley Temple of Unas was decorated. It can be considered certain, however, that the block came from the funerary monument of Unas, on account of both the occurrence of the royal name and the similarity in style to that monument. This is the only one among the Lisht blocks that can definitely be attributed to Unas, but we can assume that other pieces also came from his funerary monument, as it is unlikely that this one block alone would have been taken from it for re-use in Amenemhet I’s pyramid.

69 S. Hassan, *ASAE*, xxxviii (1938), 519 ff.

70 A. Barsanti, *ASAE*, II (1901), 254 f.

71 Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re’*, II, pl. LXXII.

## *Pepi II (?)*

### 9. Part of the titulary of Pepi II (?).

SIZE: 29 × 28 cm.

PROVENANCE: East side of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of Pepi II (?), VI Dynasty.





RECORD NO.: L 6-7:317.



The left part of this small, battered fragment shows the snake goddess of Lower Egypt facing right, represented as an erect cobra upon a basket. In front of the distended hood are the *sn*-ring and *wjs*-scepter, not very successfully combined in one group. The basket rests upon the middle umbel of a papyrus plant, the heraldic emblem of Lower Egypt. At each side of the central stalk are two shorter ones, those on the outside bent over and presumably ending in a bud. The umbels are shown with little detail; the small leaves at the bottom are indicated by roughly incised lines while a band at the top indicates the florets.

Near the top of the right side of the fragment are traces of a large bird's claw and below this an almost fully preserved *sn*-sign, which undoubtedly belonged to the Golden Horus name. The direction in which the bird faced cannot be established with certainty from what remains. Under this group is the upper part of a cartouche with the name *sn-R' Ppy*. Thus the block originally belonged to a pharaoh named Pepi, and we are faced with the question whether this was Pepi I or Pepi II. The form *sn-R' Ppy* was used by both kings, so the cartouche itself gives no decisive evidence.<sup>72</sup> The Golden

<sup>72</sup> For Pepi I: Berlin 7715 (*Urk.*, I, 97, 4); *Berytus*, I (1934), 21, pl. IV; MMA 23.10.11 (Hayes, *Scepter*, I, 127, fig. 77). For Pepi II: *Urk.*, I, 114, 6; Quibell, *Hieraconpolis*, I, pl. XLIV; H. H. Nelson, *Jéquier, Pepi II*, II, pl. XLIV.

Horus name, however, helps us reach a decision, its form being  for Pepi I and  for Pepi II. Since the -sign is of normal size and in proportion to the claw over it, and since the claw is too far to the left to leave space for other birds of the same size, the only possible reconstruction seems to be ; in this case the block must be attributed to Pepi II.

By analogy with other re-used blocks inscribed with the name of a pharaoh of the Old Kingdom we might assume that this fragment was taken from the funerary monument of Pepi II. Here, however, we encounter certain difficulties. The carving of our piece differs entirely from that found in Pepi's temple at Saqqara. There we find strong, very deep cutting with pronounced modeling, while this relief is flat and low. Furthermore, the form *s3-R' Ppy* is not known at Saqqara, the prenomen *Nfr-k3-R'* being used throughout.

The arrangement of the details in our relief also differs from that of similar representations at Saqqara. In Pepi II's monument goddess and royal name never face in the same direction but always confront each other, as far as we know. Furthermore, the snake goddess is always confronted by the Horus name and never, apparently, by the Golden Horus name. This point is not absolutely decisive, as it is possible that we have here a fragment of a different arrangement, in which the royal name in its various forms was flanked on either side by one of the representative goddesses of the two parts of the country. Such an arrangement would be unusual but not impossible.

Finally, the differences in the representations of the heraldic plant of Lower Egypt have to be noted. In the majority of occurrences in the funerary temple of Pepi II (no example of the group is preserved from the Valley Temple) two short stalks ending in buds are inserted or included.<sup>73</sup> The arrangement without these additions, however, as found in our piece also occurred in the same building,<sup>74</sup> so that this feature cannot be considered decisive. Nevertheless, in view of the differences of style and iconography, we must assume that in all probability our block did not originate in the funerary monument of Pepi II but presumably came from another building of this pharaoh<sup>75</sup> (see, however, the discussion on p. 155).

73 Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. XXXIII, XXXI, LIX.

74 Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. LXXXIII, LXXXIV, CVIII.

75 There is at least one other building of Pepi II from which the block could have been extracted.

It is documented by an isolated block (Cairo CG1747) showing a scene of the *Sed*-festival alleged to have been found at Saqqara; cf. Kees, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*, pl. LI.

## II

### Blocks from Ceremonial Scenes

#### *The Sed-Festival*

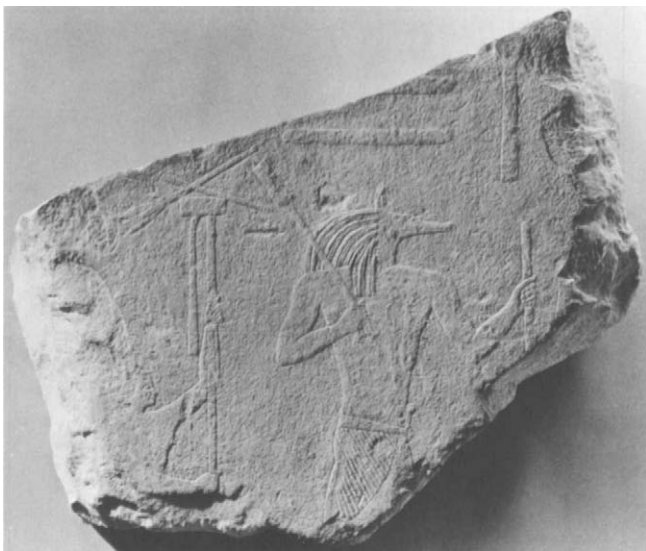
10. Wep-wawet.<sup>76</sup>

SIZE: 43 × 42 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.2.



A representation of Wep-wawet occupies the center of this relief. He is depicted in therio-anthropomorphic form, as a man with the head of a canine animal. The transition between the two elements is not as smooth as usual in compositions of this kind, the widely curving stripes of the locks attached to the animal face being particularly unfortunate. A distinct line around the neck separates the head from the human body. The attitude is not a customary one for the representation of deities but quite usual for human dignitaries;<sup>77</sup> therefore it is quite probable that the figure is that of a priest wearing an animal mask. The use of masks in the performance of cult acts can only be

<sup>76</sup> Cf. C. R. Williams, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 525-527.

<sup>77</sup> For representations of deities with canine

heads, see Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. xxiii, and *Ne-user-re'*, pl. xvi, fig. 71; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. XLV, LIII, cviii and iii, pl. v.



proved for the late period of Egyptian history but most likely was the habit at all times, although the reliefs rarely reflect such customs.<sup>78</sup>

His only garment is the short kilt, the overlapping end of which is diagonally pleated. In his forward hand is, not the *w3s*-scepter customary for deities but a long walking stick such as officials carry. His other hand, held before his breast, grasps the long handle of a *šhm*-scepter that rests on his shoulder, like the walking stick not a usual mark of deities. A few hieroglyphs remain at the top of the block; they state that the name of the figure is *hrp-t3wy*, "Leader of the Two Lands," a frequent epithet of Wep-wawet.<sup>79</sup>

Another figure, of which only traces of the shoulder remain, preceded Wep-wawet, and following him is still another, much smaller in scale, holding up a kind of standard with a small crossbar upon which a pair of crossed arrows rests. Arrows and Wep-wawet, the latter usually upon a standard, belong close together at the front of representations of the procession of the king.<sup>80</sup>

A therio-anthropomorphic representation of Wep-wawet is not known from the Old Kingdom. Reliefs of this period represent the god in his animal form, sometimes accompanied by the standard with the crossed arrows.<sup>81</sup> The arrangement found here is, as far as I am aware, unparalleled. It seems to be part of a large scene showing a royal ceremonial procession in a factual way; priests impersonating the gods, not the gods themselves, precede the king, whose figure we must assume to the left. The scene undoubtedly illustrates a ritual act, presumably connected with the celebration of the *Sed*-festival.<sup>82</sup>

A number of fragments of the scene to which our piece belongs are preserved among the Lisht blocks. Their carving is uniformly of good quality, of a rather low cut with clean, precise outlines. Unfortunately the cracked, rough surface makes it difficult to appreciate their original quality. A feature common to the group is the archaism of the details, which makes it tempting to assign them to the Old Kingdom. If this attribution is correct they must belong to the early part of this period because of the severity of the line: a date in any other part of the Old Kingdom or the early Middle Kingdom does not seem possible. Therefore, for this and other reasons to be discussed later, it appears that the fragments of the scene of the *Sed*-festival, among them the present piece, should be assigned to the IV Dynasty, and to the monument of Khufu.<sup>83</sup>

78 M. A. Murray, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 251-255; Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 95.

79 This rendering follows a suggestion by Gardiner (*Onomastica*, II, 75), which seems superior to *šhm-t3wy* as proposed in *Wb.*, IV, 244, II. Cf. further *JEA*, XXIV (1938), 192.

80 Borchardt, *Re-Heiligtum*, I, 59 ff.

81 Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, pl. I, no. 108; cf. also Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl. XL.

82 Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, pl. I, no. 102 A.

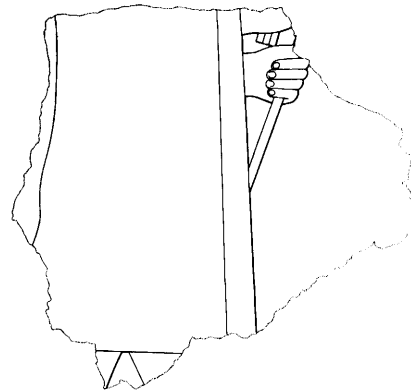
I I. A king in a short coat.

SIZE: 37 × 36 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:66.



What remains of this block shows the figure of a king proceeding to the right; only the torso is preserved, head, shoulders, and legs having been lost. He is wrapped in the short coat worn by the king of Upper Egypt as ceremonial attire.<sup>84</sup> His two hands, protruding from the garment hold the royal insignia: the right, lifted higher than the left, grasps a short object, presumably the flagellum, of which only the very end is preserved; the left carries a long staff which is partly covered by the body. This presumably is to be considered as the royal scepter with bent upper end, the primary form of the  $\uparrow$ -scepter.<sup>85</sup>

In representations of the king the ceremonial coat is restricted to certain occasions. It was part of the royal panoply<sup>86</sup> in the ritual connected with the coronation and was also worn at the celebration of the *Sed*-festival;<sup>87</sup> so it is impossible to determine which particular act of the celebration the fragment represents. Stylistically as well as in subject the piece is connected with no. 10 above; it is not unlikely that the two blocks were part of the same scene.

83 Cf. further below, p. 49.

84 Kees, *Opfertanz*, 164 ff.

85 For the insignia, cf. Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII (1954), pl. XII B.

86 It is found regularly in early representations of the king, cf. Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pls. I A, II C, D, and fig. 50. For Snofru, see Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII (1954), pl. III B. For Khufu, cf. Lauer, *ASAE*, XLIX (1949), pl. II, and Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. XLV.

87 Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, frontispiece and pls. I-XXIV, passim; Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, 17 f., and pls. IV (no. 132), VI (no. 158), VII (nos. 170, 173, 174), XII (nos. 219-224). In the XI Dynasty the coat is found, as in early times, as part of the costume of the enthroned king (Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*, pl. XIX A).

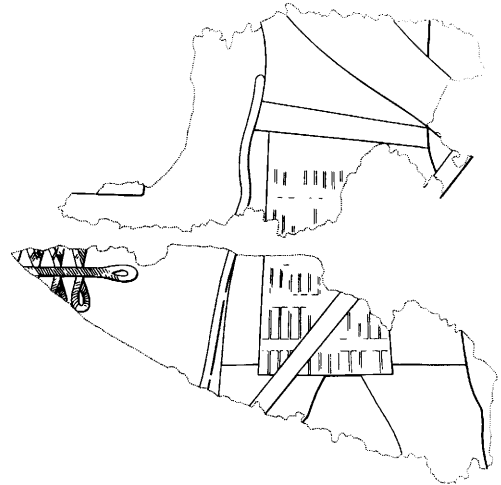
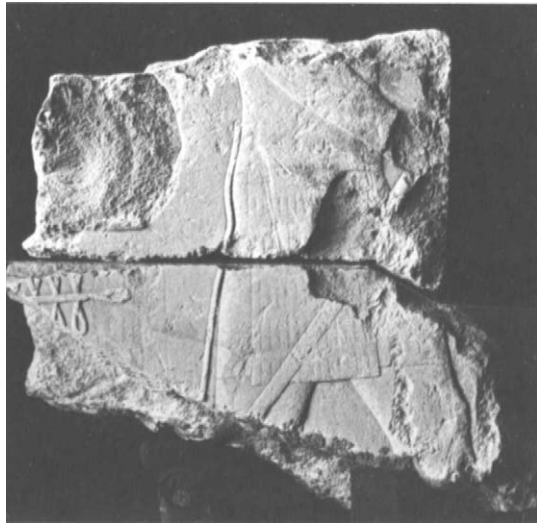
**I 2. Fragments of a representation of a king.**


SIZE: 35 × 35.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NOS.: L 8-9:68; L 12-13:40.



These two fragments, found at different times, join. They show part of the figure of a king dressed in the ceremonial kilt with rectangular apron. The garment is held by a belt from which the ceremonial tail is suspended at the back.<sup>88</sup> Part of the long scepter which the king carried before him is preserved. Behind the figure are the remains of an inscription, traces of only two hieroglyphs, the lower being .

The king is undoubtedly shown at a ceremonial occasion, possibly the jubilee, more probably the coronation.

**I 3. Fragment of a standing king.**

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:86.

This small fragment shows one human leg, undoubtedly part of a king facing right. Behind the leg is the lower end of the ceremonial tail. The leg is vertical; thus the figure is not moving but standing still.

At the bottom of the fragment a small section of a lower register is preserved, headed by a band of stars like those on the fragments of the *Sed*-festival. This and the

<sup>88</sup> For this style of garment, see Firth-Quibell, pl. XII; Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII (1954), pl. XV B; *The Step Pyramid*, pl. XVII; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. XXXIX.



style of carving show that the piece belonged to the group of *Sed*-festival fragments, though the event depicted cannot be determined. It is unfortunate that the scale of the photograph is not known, as the piece may possibly belong with the two fragments no. 12 above.

14. A king with a member of his suite.

SIZE: 32 × 54 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 21-22:146.

This fragment shows parts of two figures, both facing right. The lower one is recognizable as the king by its size and its costume. Originally it must have extended to the height of the three sub-registers filled with the personnel of the royal suite.<sup>89</sup> Only part of one leg and one hand are preserved. The king wears a short kilt, the lower hem of which has a scalloped edge. The surface is rather severely weathered at this place, so that the precise form of the costume cannot be established with certainty, but it appears most probably to have included a bead net; this was originally an article of clothing in itself but was worn over the short kilt in historic times, particularly as ceremonial attire of the king. The ceremonial tail is attached to the kilt.<sup>90</sup>

The hand of the king is hanging free at his side; this seems to imply that the pharaoh of this particular representation was not carrying any of his insignia, since these are held by both hands simultaneously; cases where only one hand is used, which in this particular instance would have been the left one, are extremely unusual.

The space behind the royal figure must have been divided into at least three sub-registers filled with the smaller figures of the king's followers.<sup>91</sup> Only part of one man

89 For the arrangement, see Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, *Ne-user-re'*, 39, fig. 18, and *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. xxxvi; II, pls. xxxiii, xxxiv. Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets*, 110 ff.

90 Bonnet, *Ägyptische Tracht*, 12; Borchardt, 91 No. 15 also belongs to this scene.

in the central register remains on this block, facing right and walking slowly. He is dressed in the ceremonial garment of a high-ranking priest, the leopard skin over the short kilt. A long narrow part of the costume, apparently the tail, is held in the hand, a gesture typical of this kind of functionary.<sup>92</sup> The other hand grasps a small piece of cloth or rope. Although the accompanying text is missing the man is probably to be recognized as a *semet*-priest.

The significance of the scene cannot be established with certainty, except that it showed the king performing a ceremonial act in the presence of his suite. Because of this and because of its style it belongs to the group of blocks we are discussing.



**I 5. Officials in the king's suite.**

SIZE: 28 × 17 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:84d.

<sup>92</sup> Among frequent occurrences see, for instance, Borchardt, *Šaḏhu-re'*, II, pl. XLII.

The top edge of this block is preserved, while the other edges are broken. The surface is reduced to a small portion showing the legs of two male figures proceeding to the right. In front of the first a long strip of a soft material is represented, only traces of which remain. This was presumably the tail of the leopard skin in which the *semet*-priest was dressed at ceremonies. If this is so, it is unnecessary to assume any further person preceding this man, and there are, in fact, no more traces at the right. Subject, carving, and condition of the relief suggest that the piece belongs with no. 14, which shows the beginning of a line of attendants in the royal suite. Since we have here the upper edge of a block it must be placed in the third sub-register of the scene, as the second sub-register is preserved to its full height.


### 16. *Sed*-festival scenes with the goddess Meret.


SIZE: 77 × 64.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, north side.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.1.

This block, broken on all sides, shows parts of three registers, but only the middle one extends to its full height, the uppermost and the lowest being reduced to narrow strips. The top register shows at its right side the legs of a man walking towards the left; behind him are traces of an ascending staircase, more of which is preserved on no. 18. In front of the man is the hieroglyphic group  and on the other side of it traces of the foot of a man facing right. The hieroglyphs appear to express the fact that a recitation spoken by the two opposing figures was delivered four times by each, but I am unable to make any suggestion as to how this statement was worded.<sup>93</sup> Although on a different level, this fragment most likely belongs to the same scene as the fully preserved register underneath; both were connected with the large representation of the king that must have been to the left, presumably extending several registers in height.

The two lowest registers are separated by a wide line and a band of stars. The bottom one was not directly connected with the scene above it. Only the hieroglyphs , “coming forth from . . .,” remain of the label, not enough to establish what subject was represented.

The fully preserved central sub-registers can be divided into three sections: at the left a quickly moving man facing right, a central group facing left with a representation of the sky above, and at the right part of a man facing left but apparently not part of the other scenes. Of this man only one shoulder and the forward arm remain on this block, the rest of the figure being on the adjoining block, no. 17. Above the man is the hieroglyph *h*, while the sign *b* of the title *hry-hbt* is on no. 17.

<sup>93</sup> Possibly *rdi šht sp 4*, which occurs in this connection in the XVIII Dynasty in the temple of Hat-shepsut (Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, VI, pl. CLVII) or *phr šht: sp 4* (Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. XIII, no. 13 B). Cf. also Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, 7.



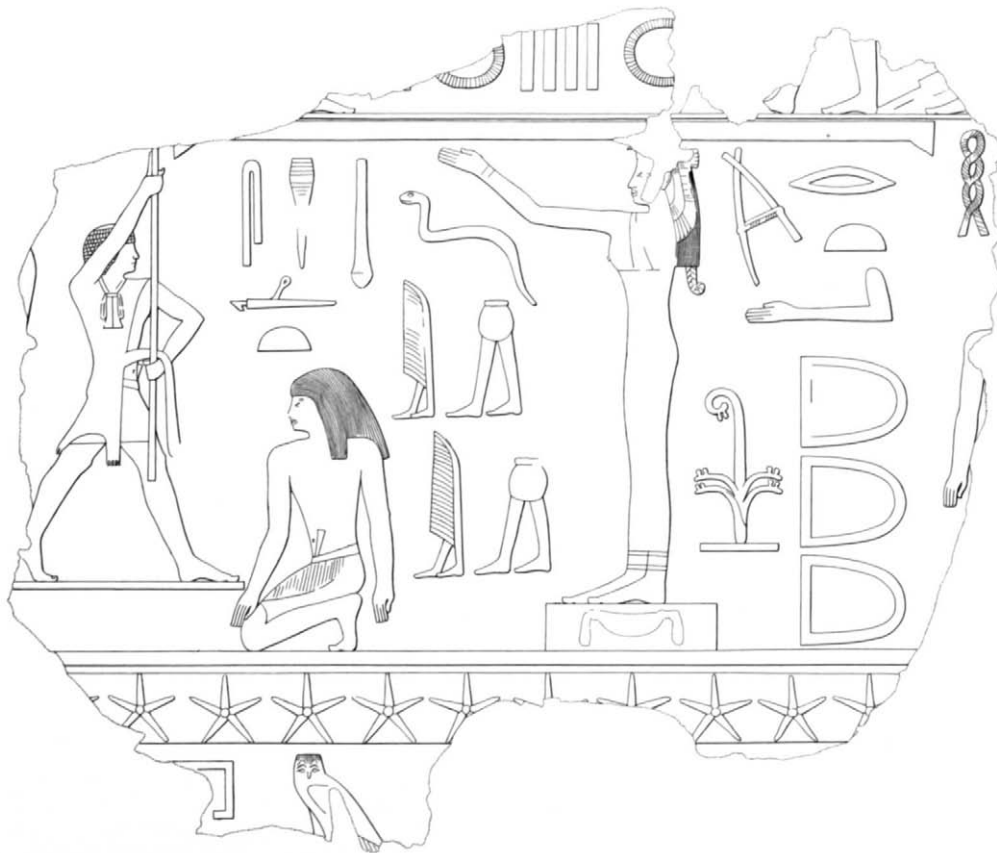
The man at the left is placed on a separate supporting line, slightly above that of the rest of the scene. He carries a long staff in front of him, the upper end of which is not preserved; in all likelihood, however, it was the Wep-wawet standard that preceded the advancing king.<sup>94</sup> In addition to the short kilt the man is clad in a leopard skin, its tail hanging over his left hand. Around his neck he wears an elaborate piece of jewelry resembling the *tit*-sign in shape. The hieroglyphs behind the man are undoubtedly to be restored as the title *hm b3w Nhn*, "Servant of the Souls of Nekhen."

The main group on our fragment, consisting of two persons, is isolated by the  $\equiv$ -sign. In front, that is, at the left of the block, is a kneeling male figure dressed in the short kilt and wearing the long wig, which extends over his shoulder. Both arms are hanging down, the right hand apparently touching the knee.<sup>95</sup> Above the man his title appears as  $\text{||} \text{f} \text{---} \text{---}$ , "Friend of the Unique." The spelling of this designation is not


<sup>94</sup> Cf. in particular the closely related scene in Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. XIII, 33 B; see also Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl. XL, near bottom, and II, pl. XII. The small fragment shown in Borchardt,

*Szhu-re'*, II, pl. XXXII, near upper left, probably shows a man bearing a standard of this type.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. the closely related scene in Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. XIII, no. 33 B.



the usual one of the Old Kingdom and is only found in the IV Dynasty.<sup>96</sup> In the only extensive representation of the *Sed*-festival preserved from the Old Kingdom the title *šmr-w'ty* does not occur, only the elliptical form *šmr*.

At the right of the kneeling man there is a female figure standing on a low pedestal on which the sign  is rather indistinctly incised.<sup>97</sup> Only one arm is indicated, lifted up in an expansive gesture towards the advancing king, who is coming from the left. She is dressed in the long, narrow garment with shoulder strap, her head adorned with the long wig and the vulture hood. A tress with a rolled-up end hangs down lower than the wig behind. Appearance and gesture and the *nwb*-sign all clearly characterize the figure as that of the goddess Meret, and this is confirmed by the label behind her, describing her as *Mrt Šm'w*, "Meret of the Upper Egyptian Lands."<sup>98</sup> The address of

96 Junker, *Giza I.*, 149; Cairo CG 51.

97 The striking difference in technique—the piece otherwise being carved in high relief—suggests that the hieroglyph may have been inlaid with metal, possibly gold.

98 For this goddess, see Kees, *Opfertanz*, 103 ff. Representations from the Old Kingdom are in: Borchardt, *Saḏuḥ-re'*, II, pl. xxii; Bissing-Kees,

*Re-Heiligtum*, II, pls. XII, XXXII B; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. VIII, XVIII. A further occurrence of which the significance is obscure is to be seen on a writing board found at Giza; see Reisner, *ZÄS*, XLIV (1910), 114, fig. 2. It is doubtful if *šm'*, which certainly denotes that the goddess was Upper Egyptian, can be regarded as an adjective, as it lacks the ending one would expect. I am inclined



the goddess to the king, written in front of her, reads: *dd-mdw ii ini ii ini*, “Words spoken: ‘Come and bring, come and bring’.”<sup>99</sup>

The arrangement is well known in representations of the *Sed*-festival from the V Dynasty,<sup>100</sup> in the funerary temple of Pepi II,<sup>101</sup> and in numerous later examples.<sup>102</sup> The significance of the scene does not concern us here, as we must concentrate on details of style that may help us to date the piece. When we compare it with the VI Dynasty scene it seems to be much more ancient. There is more similarity to the V Dynasty portrayals. Though all that remains of the Sahure<sup>c</sup> example is a fragment showing the goddess Meret, her headdress has the same combination of tress and wig (later examples have vulture hood and tress but not the long wig). The closest parallel occurs in the sun temple of Nywoserre<sup>c</sup>,<sup>103</sup> where we find the figure of the *šmr-w<sup>c</sup>ty* (denoted only as *šmr*) as a part of the scene; in later representations of the *Sed*-festival he is omitted. While our piece is more closely related to the V Dynasty representations, the style of the relief does not allow such an attribution. The severity of the outline and the way the relief is carved appear to indicate that the piece belongs to the IV Dynasty.

### I 7. Officials at the *Sed*-festival.

SIZE: 68.5 × 69 cm.

PROVENANCE: North side of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO: MMA 09.180.18.

This block adjoins the right edge of no. 16 and continues the central register. As in no. 16 only one register is fully preserved, with remains of an upper and a lower one. In the top register no traces of relief can be detected; this is explained by the other block, which shows the steps of a dais upon which the kiosk with the royal seat must be imagined. The blank space, therefore, is the side of this dais (cf. no. 20).

Of the bottom register only the upper section is left. Its top border consists of a band of five-pointed stars, as in the adjoining piece. Below this are the remains of a winged solar disk—the left wing and a small portion of the disk—not enough for us to identify the scene represented.<sup>104</sup>

In the central register six men are shown walking to the left. Behind the last one is a trace of a broad undecorated band, from which we can assume that the scene is

to consider it as the noun meaning Upper Egypt. The meaning of the three semicircles is obscure, though they are often found among the reliefs; cf. Kees, 113 and 230, n. 50; H. W. Helck, *Orientalia*, xix (1950), 431. Without attempting to discuss this complex question here, I might suggest that the sign may be a variant of *idb*, “piece of land,” “shore,” and considered here as the determinative of *šm<sup>c</sup>*.

<sup>99</sup> Kees, *Opfertanz*, 104, and *Re-Heiligtum*, III,

7; Sethe, “Die Inschriften” in Borchardt, *Šašhu-re<sup>c</sup>*, II, 102.

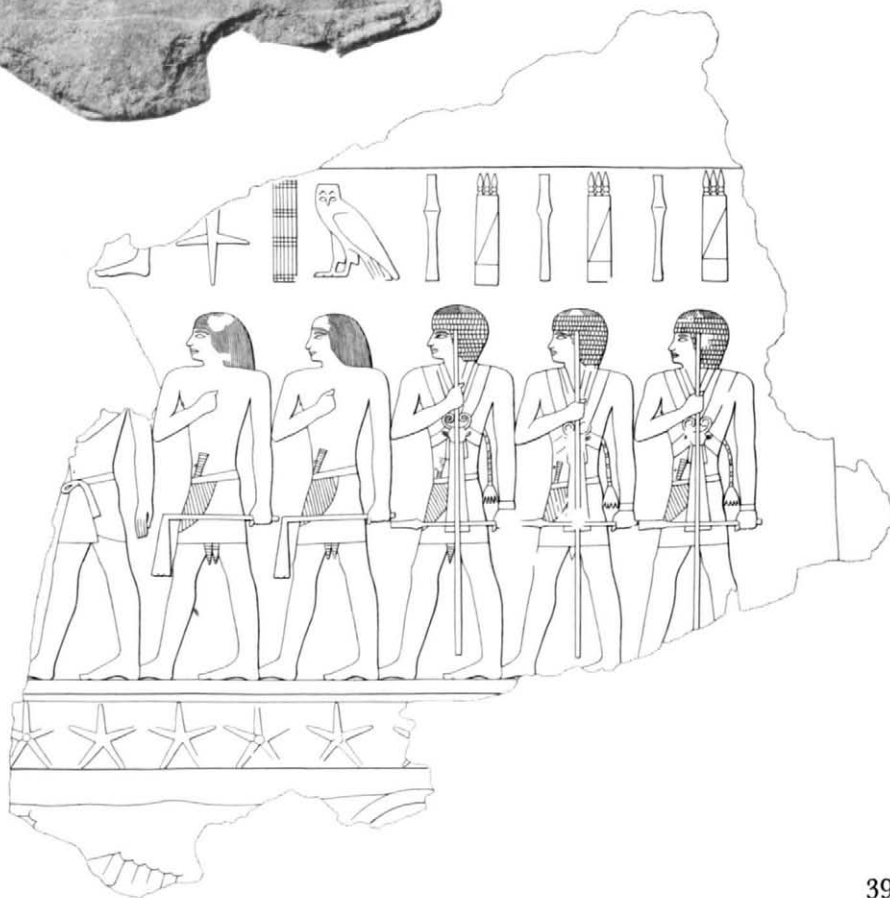
<sup>100</sup> Borchardt, *Šašhu-re<sup>c</sup>*, II, pl. xxii.

<sup>101</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. VIII, xviii.

<sup>102</sup> Kees, *Opfertanz*, 103 ff.; and *ZÄS*, LII (1914), 69 ff.

<sup>103</sup> Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. XIII, no. 33 B.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. the fragment in Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. CVII, top right.



complete. The men follow each other in so close a sequence that the extended right foot of each overlaps the left foot of the man in front. Above each man's head is his title. Three different classes of officials can be distinguished by their costumes. At the right each of three men in one group is specified as  $\dagger \ddagger$ , "Controller of the Palace."<sup>105</sup> They are dressed in the narrow kilt, the open end diagonally pleated. Two bands of cloth cross at the center of each man's chest and an emblem in the form of a Hathor-head, worn on a wide ribbon, rests at the crossing. From this emblem, a stylized cow's head with incurving horns, hang one or possibly two wide ribbons reaching almost to the hem of the kilt.<sup>106</sup> The emblem has a counterpoise behind in the form of a flower or tassel. Each of these men wears a short wig that covers the ear, with lines radiating out from the crown,<sup>107</sup> above horizontal rows of curls. A triangular, horizontally fluted lappet protrudes at the lower hem of the first man's kilt; this is not indicated in the case of the other men of this group but is found in the preceding two groups. The right arms of these three men are bent in front of the chest, and each holds a long staff before his body<sup>108</sup> while his left hand grasps a *šhm*-scepter.

The second group, walking to the left, consists of two men designated as  $\dagger$ , "celebrant," and *imy is*, "chamberlain."<sup>109</sup> In their postures they correspond to the first group and wear the same kind of kilt, except that two triangular lappets protrude between the legs from the hem of the garment.<sup>110</sup> The coiffure is different as they wear the long wig which touches the shoulder. The clenched right fist is pressed against the breast and the left hand holds a kind of scepter ending in a tassel.<sup>111</sup>

A third type is represented by the figure of a *hry-hbt*, "lector-priest," at the extreme left.<sup>112</sup> He is dressed in a kilt with triangular lappet, while a sash crosses his breast; both arms hang down, the hands empty.

The significance of this block can be understood from its connection with the one just described. There the approaching king is greeted by the goddess Meret. The subject is continued here. The king in all probability has ascended to his elevated seat and is surrounded by his officials. We have no parallel for this event in the royal temples of the Old Kingdom, but a closely related scene is shown in Nywoserre's *Sed*-festival reliefs.<sup>113</sup>

105 Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, 21. The *hrp* 'h of the Nywoserre' relief has no particular insignia.

106 For this costume, see Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, 320, fig. 191; James, *Khentika*, pl. XVI; Capart, *Une Rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*, pl. XLVIII; P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I, pl. XXXIII. Cf. also Firth-Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, pl. LXIX; Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. LIII; L. Épron and others, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, pls. XXXVI, XXXVII.

107 For this coiffure, cf. Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pls. XLIII, XLIV C.

108 This attitude is rarely shown; cf. Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, 277. For a Middle Kingdom occurrence, see Newberry, *El Bersheh*, pl. XXXIII.

109 For their presence at the *Sed*-festival, see Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, 21, 23.

110 For the dress, cf. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pl. 1 (*H'-b 3w-skr*); a similar form occurs in Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. XXXII.

111 The type is frequent in the *Sed*-festival scenes of Nywoserre'; cf. for instance, Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. XVI.

112 The forward arm and the hieroglyph h of the man's title are on the next piece, no. 16.

113 Cf. Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. XVI, which, however, refers to Lower Egypt.

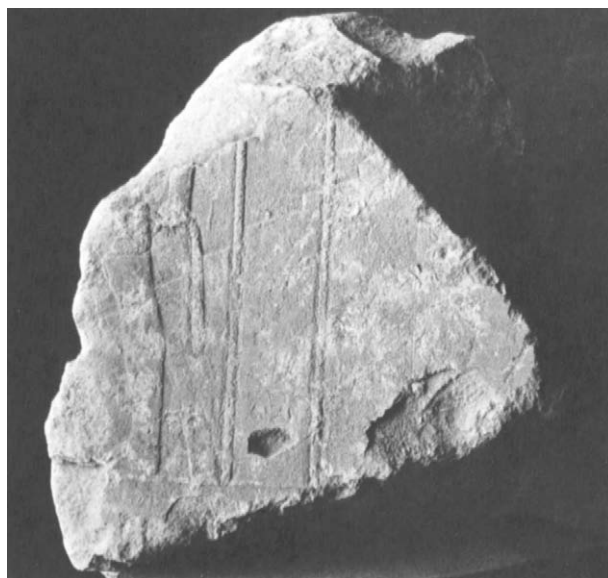
The representation of the figures is of great interest; the stiff posture and the details of dress are apparently archaic and indicate that the block should probably be assigned to an early date in the Old Kingdom. This is corroborated by the connected fragments.

18. A *semet*-priest at the *Sed*-festival.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:57.



This small fragment contains part of the upper register of nos. 16 and 17, which it joins directly. A horizontal line divides the piece, very little of the lower section surviving. Traces of a vertical hieroglyph, the upper part of the sign *b* of the title *hry-hbt* of the first man shown on no. 17 are clearly recognizable. Above it at the left is part of the figure of a man whose extended foot is in the upper register of no. 16. Two vertical lines behind the figure belong to the royal standards planted at the foot of the dais under the king's throne, whose curiously slanting steps, which began on no. 16, are clearly indicated.

The man is in all likelihood a *semet*-priest, an official who stands at the foot of the royal shrine.<sup>114</sup> This is borne out by the long band in his hand, presumably the tail of the leopard skin worn by this class of priest.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. the close parallels in Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. x, nos. 23, 24.

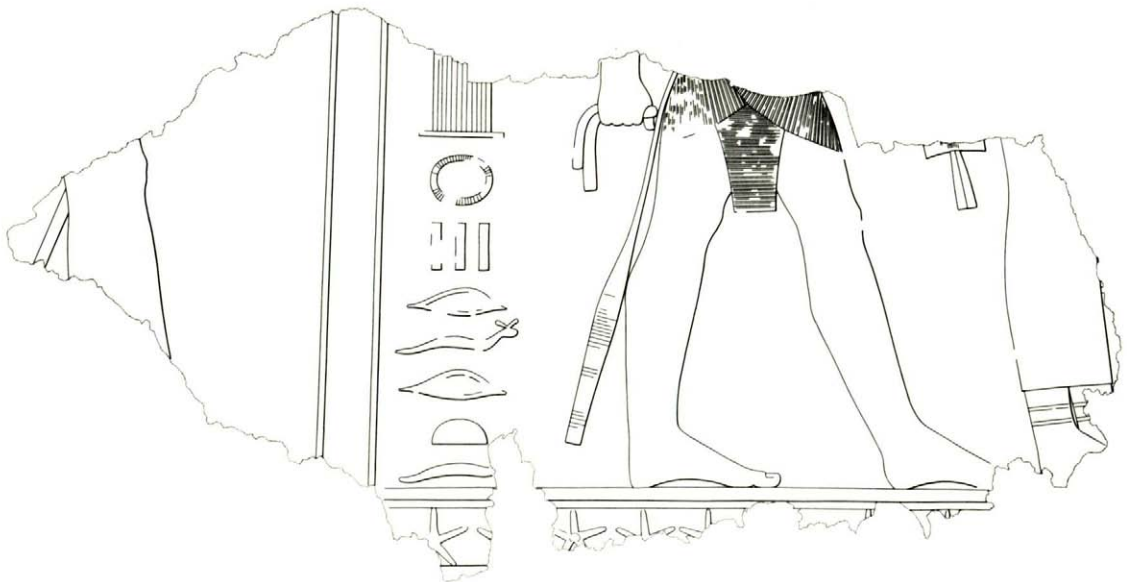
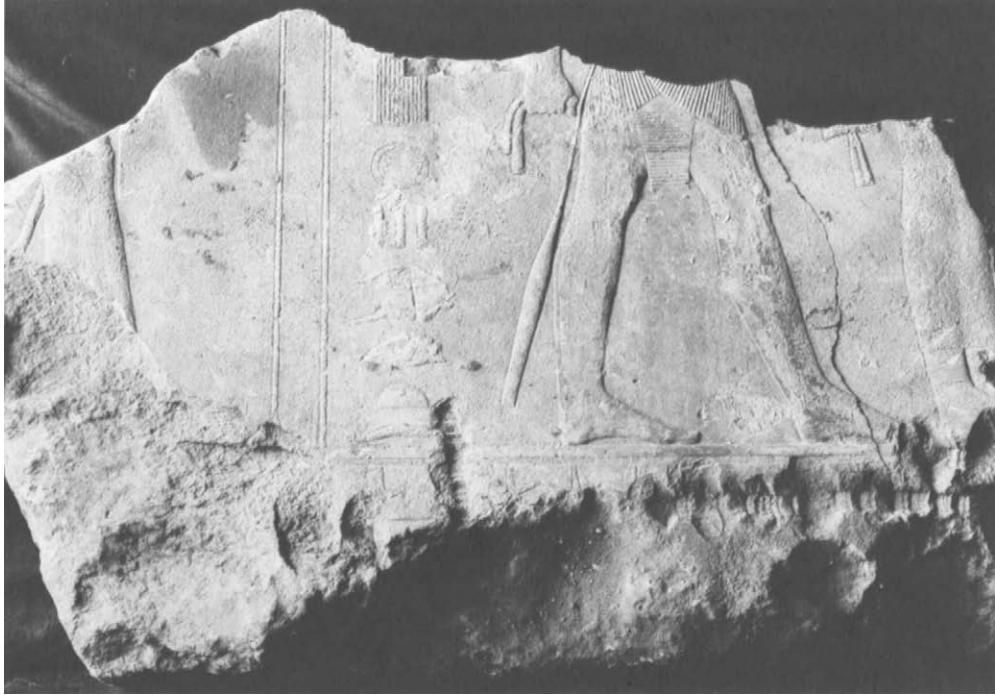
**19. Lower parts of three figures.**

**SIZE:** 103 × 51 cm.

**PROVENANCE:** Core of pyramid.

**ORIGIN:** Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

**RECORD NO.:** L 8-9:21.



In this block a horizontal line divides an upper register from a lower, of which almost nothing remains except a band of stars of the type occurring on nos. 16 and 17. The two sections of the upper register, each only partially preserved, are separated by a double line. Nothing remains of the left section but one leg of a male figure moving to the right. Behind the knee is a trace of what was once a long scepter.

The section at the right shows the lower portions of two figures, both facing right. The one at the right is female, recognizable by dress and posture.<sup>115</sup> She is followed closely by the other, a male figure wearing the pleated ceremonial kilt with pendent tail and holding a folded piece of cloth in his right hand. It is not clear which held the 'nh-sign that is between them, but more probably the male figure; in this case the arms of the female figure would be stretched forward. If, however, she held the sign in her right hand her left arm would be extended in front of her and his left arm would embrace her shoulders. The significance of the scene is rather uncertain and is not elucidated by the remains of an inscription at the left reading, “. . . Lower Egyptian Palace, three times; he does what he has to do.”<sup>116</sup>

The two persons depicted could be the king and a goddess, but if the latter holds the 'nh-sign this is unlikely, as it would be most unusual to find the king standing behind a deity and embracing her. The gesture of placing an arm around the shoulders expresses protection, and this a king would hardly have been able to give a divine being—rather the converse.<sup>117</sup> Thus in this case we probably see in these figures a male and a female deity, the latter holding her arms forward to perform some activity, the former simply accompanying her.

This block, as a matter of fact, should probably be considered along with no. 20, below. Together they seem to represent part of a foundation ceremony, “Stretching the Cord,”<sup>118</sup> performed by a goddess and a king who face each other, each assisted by a male deity. Presumably the opposing group, the king followed by a deity, is that preserved on block 20, which shows two male figures in the same arrangement but facing left. However, since we lack the portion which would connect the two central figures, the goddess and the king, the explanation of the scene as a foundation ceremony must remain unproved.<sup>119</sup>

It appears certain that the piece is connected with the reliefs showing the *Sed*-festival; the related scenes of Pepi II were placed in the corridor of the funerary temple.

115 Although the female figure appears to lean backward in a perplexing way this is probably due to the photograph having been taken at an angle; the piece was reburied at Lisht and this picture is unfortunately the only available record.

116 It is doubtful if there is any connection between this scene and that shown in R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, pl. LV.

117 In representations of the king and queen the latter is likely to follow her more important consort. The scene in Borhardt, *Sazhu-re'*, II,

pl. XLVIII shows the queen being embraced by a goddess who stands in front of her. For the gesture of embrace, cf. also H. G. Fischer, *JNES*, xviii (1959), 247 ff.

118 For the ceremony of “Stretching the Cord,” see Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. XI, XII, XVIII, XXVI; Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. (Blatt) I.

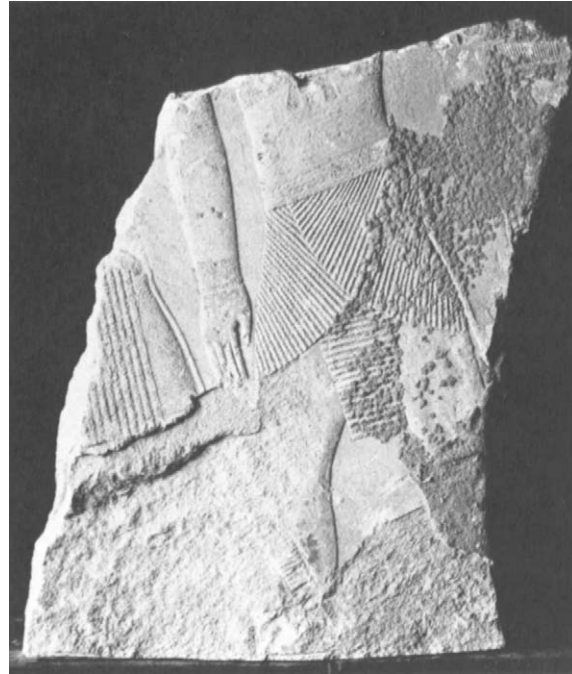
119 The small fragment from Snofru's Valley Temple is the closest parallel (Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII, 1954, pl. XII A); cf. also Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. VIII, XII.

20. Parts of two male figures.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:82.



This badly battered fragment appears to be the companion to no. 19. It shows parts of two large male figures, both facing left. They stand close together, so that their legs must have overlapped. Both figures wear royal ceremonial dress; of the one on the left only his short kilt with strings of beads over it<sup>120</sup> is left. The ceremonial tail is attached behind, its thick end, against the forward leg of the second man, showing an ornamentation of parallel lines. The more complete figure is also dressed in a royal costume, the short pleated kilt with a long, narrow apron in front<sup>121</sup> and the ceremonial tail attached at the back. His kilt is held by a narrow belt that was once decorated, but weathering has made the pattern hardly recognizable.<sup>122</sup> Part of the torso above the belt has been preserved. On it are traces of a wide horizontal band from which hang two short ends. They undoubtedly belong to a kind of garment tied around the chest and well known in two different forms as part of the royal dress; Borchardt has introduced the term “Königsjacke” for it.<sup>123</sup> The more elaborate design, embodying a pair of


<sup>120</sup> Cf. Borchardt, *Ne-user-re'*, 39, fig. 18, and *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. xxxix, top right; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. xvi, xvii.

<sup>121</sup> Certain deities also wear this costume; cf., for instance, Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. XXI.

<sup>122</sup> For an early example, see Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII (1954), pl. XIV B.

<sup>123</sup> Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, 13 ff.; H. Balcz, *Archiv äg. Arch.*, I (1938).

winged falcons in its lower part, is attested since the time of Teti,<sup>124</sup> while the basic style, a short jacket with long ties, has not heretofore been noted before the XVIII Dynasty. Here we undoubtedly have this simple form without decoration.

At the right of the fragment are traces of a column of large hieroglyphs, among which  can be seen.

It is very difficult to interpret this scene and the relationship of the two persons. Only one arm has been preserved, and it could belong to either figure, although it is more reasonable to attribute it to the second. As there is no trace of an arm at the right of the block, the left arm of the second figure must have been raised. A tempting explanation of the two figures, both wearing royal dress, is that the first represents the king and the second a deity standing behind him.<sup>125</sup> But this view, basically acceptable, does not account for the fact that the garment covering the breast of the second is not worn by deities. This garment, however, though definite, is lightly incised, whereas the rest of the carving is in relatively bold relief. We should like to propose that originally the royal jacket was erroneously represented and then erased, the resulting shallow incisions being filled with plaster which has now vanished.<sup>126</sup> This would mean that the figure was first carved as a pharaoh and then altered to represent a god. Although the weakness of this suggestion is obvious, the crudeness of this particular section of the relief, elsewhere of fine quality, is in its favor.

If we accept the explanation of the two figures as a deity embracing the king from behind, the fact that both face in the same direction means that the group on this fragment is not complete in itself but was balanced by opposing figures similarly arranged, presumably those of no. 19. The two blocks together would thus have formed one scene showing either the stretching of the cord in the course of foundation ceremonies or the king being embraced by a goddess<sup>127</sup> on one side and by a god on the other.

## 21. Part of a male figure.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.


ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9: 59.

Of this male figure, facing right, only the forward leg and the hem of the kilt remain. The man appears to carry a long staff, only the lower end of which is preserved. The vertical line at the right is either a divisional indication or, what appears less likely, the man's walking stick. At the right edge are some indeterminate traces.

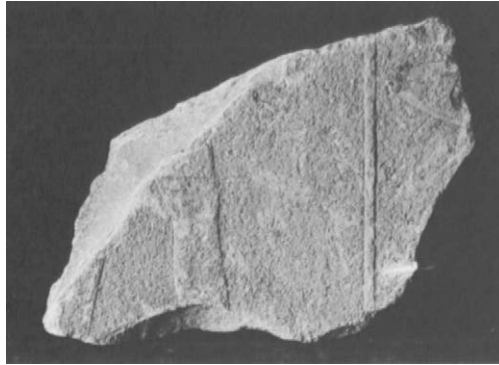
<sup>124</sup> Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1907-08*, pl. LIV, no. 7.

<sup>125</sup> For a similar arrangement, cf. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. CVIII.

<sup>126</sup> It is unlikely that it was inlaid in metal, as was suggested for the  sign of no. 16.

<sup>127</sup> It is not possible to consider the scene as a representation of the king being suckled by a goddess (Borchardt, *Ne-user-re'*, 40 f., figs. 21, 23; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. xxx, xxxII) since the king is the same height as the other figures in the scene; when nursing he is represented as being only the height of the goddess's breast.





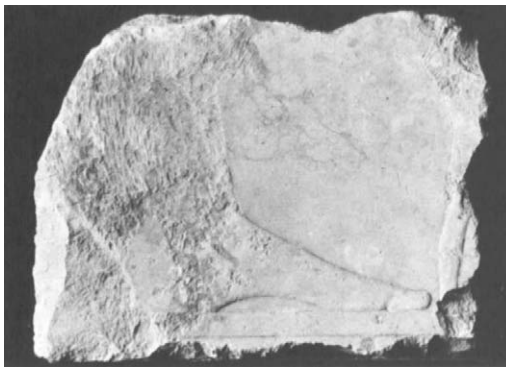
The condition of the surface suggests that the figure belongs to a *Sed*-festival scene, and this is in accordance with the style of the carving. What remains, however, is too incomplete to determine the significance of the piece.

22. Fragment of a *Sed*-festival scene: an approaching king.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:34.



Though much mutilated, the fragment in its present form is nevertheless of interest. A wide marginal line on its lower edge served to support the figures depicted. Of these the forward foot of a large figure and the leg of a smaller figure in front, both facing right, are preserved. From the relationship between the two persons the scene can safely be assumed to show the approaching king with the standard-bearer before him, as does that partly preserved on no. 16, although, unlike the latter, the figures are moving slowly. The particular event to which this piece belonged cannot be determined from its incomplete state.

The execution of the carving is of good quality, the plain background of the relief

finely dressed. In this respect the fragment must be distinguished from other remains of *Sed*-festival scenes among the Lisht blocks, which have a rather coarsely finished and weathered background; nor is it possible to associate it with any of the other scenes preserved on account of the stylistic divergence. A common origin, although from a different, better-finished part of the same building, nevertheless seems most likely.

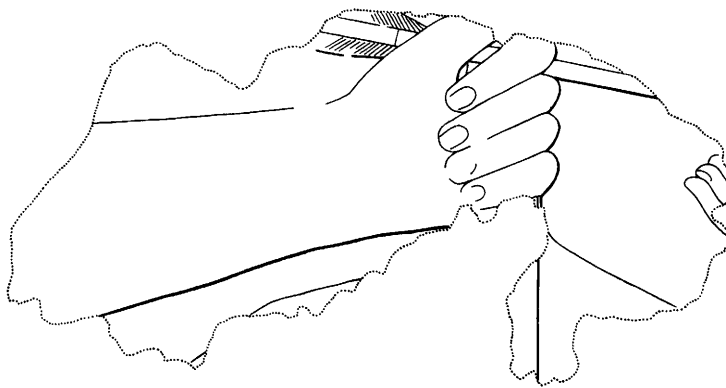
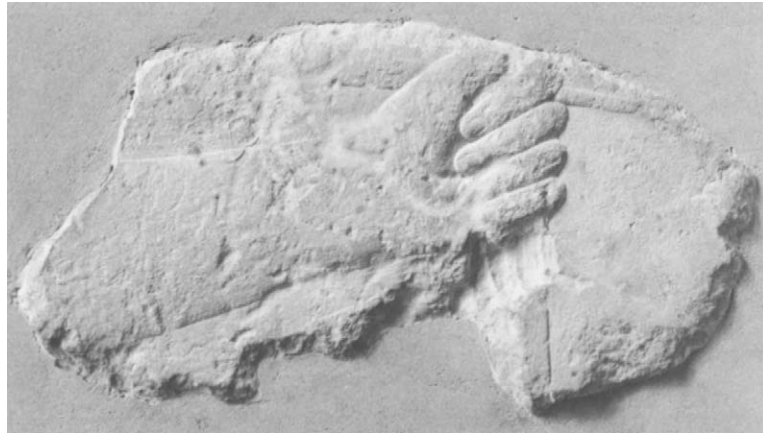
23. A hand with an arrow; an inscription, probably from the same scene.

SIZE: 32 × 16 cm.

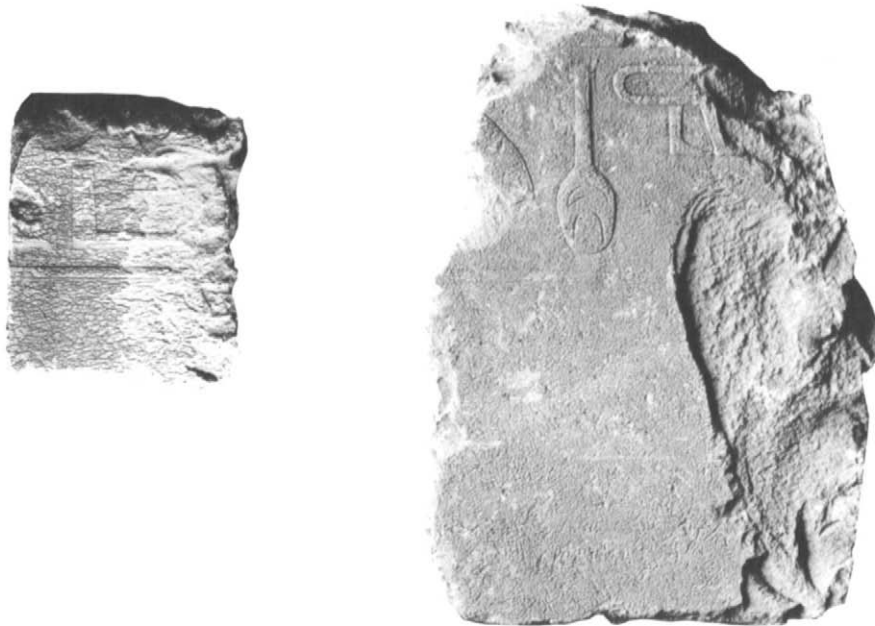
PROVENANCE: Uncertain.

ORIGIN: A building of the V Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.29.



One of these fragments shows the left hand of a man grasping a stick or bow with four fingers, while thumb and index finger hold an arrow by the very end of its shaft, the feathering being immediately behind the thumb. At the right are traces of



an upstretched hand, apparently belonging to a prostrate figure. At the lower edge can be seen part of the hair of two captives held in the position for being smitten.

The closeness of the second hand to the hand with the arrow and the way the arrow is held (it could not be released when so grasped) make it impossible that this is from an archery scene. It appears rather that it must be part of the well-known representation of the king performing the ritual killing of captured foreigners, although the arrangement is somewhat unusual and the occurrence of the arrow in such a scene is not found elsewhere; but no other explanation seems possible. The hand at the right would thus belong to one of the captives, lifted up to beg for pardon.<sup>128</sup>

This scene is frequently attested as part of the decoration of the royal temple. It was found in the court of Sahure's temple,<sup>129</sup> while it is in the corridor of the funerary temple of Pepi II.<sup>130</sup> In the representation in Sahure's temple, to judge by the drawing, the king is not holding the long staff, as is usual in this kind of scene, but a bow, which would explain the otherwise unaccountable arrow in this apparently related block.

As this is so small a fragment any assignment on stylistic grounds is difficult. In general the piece shows the features common to the other fragments pertaining to the royal scenes discussed above, but identical origin cannot be considered certain.

The fragments of scenes depicting the celebration of a *Sed*-festival belong together in all likelihood, with the exception of no. 22, and possibly these pieces. As far as can be judged from the scanty remains, the subject must have covered a considerable area,

<sup>128</sup> For the position of the heads of the captives, cf. Naville, *XIth Dynasty*, I, pl. xv n.

<sup>129</sup> Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. II.

<sup>130</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. VIII.

but the original location in the temple cannot be determined, and the date and origin of the fragments offer certain difficulties. The scraps of inscription, probably part of a label of an event depicted in one of these scenes, are of no assistance. The text, which reads, *iti nfr-(hdt) h' m [nswt]*, "Take the White Crown and appear as [king]," refers to a coronation scene. The expression *iti nfr-hdt* is surprising; according to *Wb.*, II, 262, 7, *nfr-hdt* as a term for the Upper Egyptian crown is attested only from the end of the Middle Kingdom. In the female title *hnmt nfr-hdt* the word is known from the time of Amenemhet II.<sup>131</sup> It is questionable if its occurrence here can be used as a criterion for dating, but at all events it is of considerable interest.

The carving of the *Sed*-festival reliefs is good throughout, but the dressing of the background seems to be of uneven quality, though weathering may be partly responsible for this. As far as parallels exist they are to be found in the *Sed*-festival scenes in the temple of Sahure<sup>c</sup>, though our blocks appear to be earlier than the V Dynasty and contain several details not found in the reliefs of either Sahure<sup>c</sup> or Nywoserre<sup>c</sup>. The only fully decorated temple prior to the V Dynasty in which scenes of the *Sed*-festival are known to have appeared is that of Khufu,<sup>132</sup> and it seems that we must see in this funerary monument the probable origin of the fragments found re-used at Lisht, both because of the facts already pointed out and because of the scantiness of the remains of that building found *in situ*. The forms of the hieroglyphs, most of which can be paralleled in the IV Dynasty,<sup>133</sup> confirm this attribution.

## *Deities*

### 24. A seated goddess.

SIZE: 73 × 36 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A funerary temple of the V Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:36.

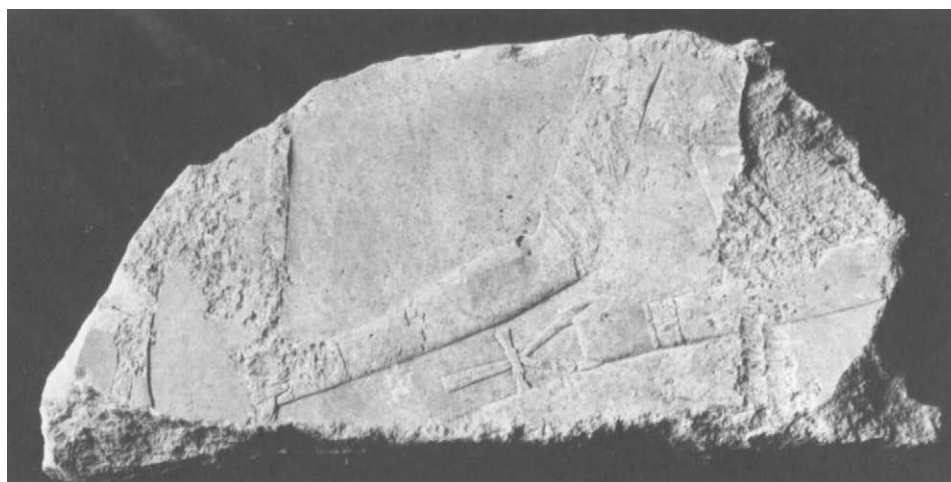
This block, part of a larger scene, shows a seated female figure facing left, dressed in the long, narrow garment that begins just under the breasts; traces of the shoulder strap and possibly also of a collar can be detected on the mutilated surface. There is a bracelet on each wrist, that on the right showing no detail while the other has a border at either edge. The left hand, which rests on the thigh, holds an ♂-sign; the other, stretched forward, grasps the shaft of a scepter, the top of which was probably in the form of a papyrus flower. In view of these insignia the figure presumably represents a goddess. Several female deities such as Hathor, Sekhmet, Bastet, Uto, and Nekhbet<sup>134</sup>

<sup>131</sup> G. Brunton, *ASAE*, XLIX (1949), 99 ff.

<sup>132</sup> Documented by recent finds of Professor Selim Hassan; see Lauer, *ASAE*, XLIX (1949), III ff.; Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, figs. 5, 6.

<sup>133</sup> Junker, *Giza I.*, pl. XXIII.

<sup>134</sup> Isis and Nephthys are not closely related to the kingship in the Old Kingdom but acquire the position subsequently in connection with the rise of the Osiris cult.



stood in close relationship to the king; as the head of this figure is not preserved we cannot determine which, if any, of these is represented here.

At the left of the block are some indefinite traces of carving in which the foot of an offering stand is probably to be recognized. Thus the scene is presumably the presentation of an offering to a goddess, the king possibly officiating. A scene showing the king bringing an offering to Bastet occurs in two royal temples of the V Dynasty<sup>135</sup> but has not been found in that of Pepi II.

The relief shows good workmanship, clear outlines, and careful dressing of the surface. The carving is low, without any strong modeling in the portion preserved. These stylistic features, which are characteristic of the V Dynasty, agree with the date suggested by the design. The fragment therefore seems to belong to a group among the Lisht blocks whose patterns closely resemble those of the V Dynasty, particularly those of Sahure'. As for the original location of the fragment, we must assume that it, like its two parallels, came from a funerary temple.

## 25. A procession of deities.

SIZE: 57 × 19 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of Pepi II (?), VI Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:99.

This relief shows a small section of a procession of deities, a common subject in the decoration of royal temples. Parts of two figures are preserved, both facing left. According to their attire, the left with the ceremonial tail, the right with the short kilt, they are undoubtedly male gods, but as there is no label they cannot be identified. The traces which remain suggest the attitudes of the figures: the right arms outstretched, each grasping a long staff in the hand. Only the shaft of the one belonging to the figure

<sup>135</sup> Borchardt, *Ne-user-re'*, 94, fig. 72, and *Sa zhu-re'*, II, pl. xxxv.

at the right is preserved, but in all probability it is to be restored as a *wꜣs*-scepter. The left hands were represented behind the body, turned outward and holding an *'nh*-symbol. The two deities are separated by a shrine at a scale smaller than that of the figures. The details of the façade of this building are indicated by fine incised lines and without modeling. Part of the arched roof is recognizable, and accordingly a representation of the Lower Egyptian type of sanctuary must be intended. The representations of cult buildings that occur frequently in processions of deities<sup>136</sup> are usually inserted behind the god with whom they are connected. Therefore it is logical to suggest that the god at the left was a deity of Lower Egypt.<sup>137</sup>

A few hieroglyphs in a vertical column are preserved in the space between the shrine and the scepter of the deity behind it. They are presumably to be restored *dd-mdw rdi.n(i) n.k 'nh wꜣs nb mi R' d(t)*, "Words spoken: I give you all life and dominion like Re' eternally."<sup>138</sup>



Although well carved, as can be seen in those places where the surface has not suffered corrosion, the quality of the piece as a whole is not of a high standard. In particular it lacks freshness and strikes us rather as an example of good workmanship than a genuinely artistic creation. The surface of the relief is kept flat and modeling is restricted to a minimum. The use of incised lines to indicate the details of the structure of the shrine is of interest. The forms of the hieroglyphs are not significant enough to be used as a basis for a paleographical dating of the piece. In general the fragment shows features resembling more closely those of the early Middle Kingdom than the Old Kingdom, but a direct connection with the reliefs of Amenemhet I's temple is unlikely, the stylistic divergences being rather wide. Among the re-used blocks this piece approximates most closely the style of the fragment of Pepi II (no. 9). The latter presumably originated in some royal building other than the funerary temple. An attribution of our fragment to this same building appears likely, in which case it may be assigned to the reign of Pepi II, late VI Dynasty.

136 Borchardt, *Šꜣꜣhu-re'*, II, pl. XIX, and *Ne-user-re'*, 92, 93, figs. 70, 71; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. LI, LX.

137 The second deity is probably also a northern one, as processions of divinities are usually divided into two groups, those of the north and those of the south.

138 The proposed restoration can be considered certain in principle; the precise wording of the divine wish—frequently encountered but expressed in a number of different ways—is, however, questionable.

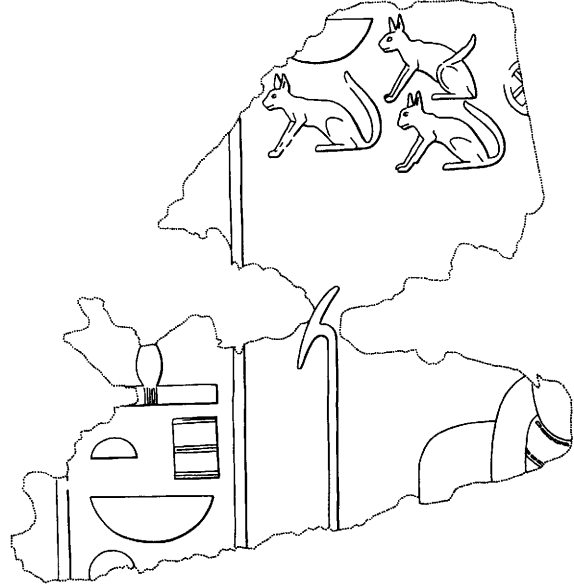
26. "The Lord of Cat-Town."

SIZE: 34 × 34.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: The *radim*.

ORIGIN: A building of Pepi II (?), VI Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 15.3.1708.



This small fragment was part of a representation of deities. At the left a section of vertical column is preserved containing the utterance of the chief deity: "... *htpt nb [mi] R<sup>c</sup> (?)* ...", "... all satisfaction (like) Re<sup>c</sup> ...". At the right are remnants of a deity facing left. Only one shoulder, part of the coiffure, and the upper end of his *w3s*-scepter are preserved. No traces of the head remain. The hair falls in a wide, curved strand over the front shoulder, an arrangement that is found only in the case of therio-anthropomorphic gods; from the way the hair is dressed it appears likely that we have here a male divinity with a falcon head. Above the figure is a short horizontal inscription identifying the deity as lord of a town called *miww*. This town, written with three cats,<sup>139</sup> is not known elsewhere and the reading of the name as well as its location is uncertain.

The carving of the relief is very flat, with some details indicated by incised lines. The form of the hieroglyphs for *htp* and *p* could suggest a Middle Kingdom date for the piece, but it also occurs in reliefs of Pepi II.<sup>140</sup> A certain similarity to the fragment just discussed, which dates from the end of the VI Dynasty, makes a connection likely.

<sup>139</sup> It is uncertain if this place is in any way related to *mm* (*Wb.*, II, 58, 15). For the cat, cf. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. VI.

<sup>140</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. LXXXV, LXXXVI.

27. A *Ka*-figure of a king.

SIZE: 66 × 59 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid (?).

ORIGIN: A building of Pepi II (?), VI Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 20-21:239, 240.



These two connecting fragments show the greater part of a man facing right. He wears the long wig, which falls down on his shoulder with a strand hanging over his chest. His face is completely lost, the mutilation possibly being intentional. A narrow beard with the slight thickening at the end peculiar to divine beings is, however, preserved. Around his neck he wears a collar made of several strands of beads held together by a plain terminal at the shoulder. His dress consists of the short kilt with overlap but without pleating. Upon his head is a standard from which two streamers hang down over his hair. No details are indicated on the standard except for the typical protrusion in front. A *k<sub>3</sub>*-sign rests on it, as shown by the curved line at the right; this



indicates that the figure is the personification of the royal Ka. The right hand, hanging down, carries an ♀-symbol. The left grasps a long staff, presumably decorated at the top with a head from which extended the streamer whose upper end is preserved as a diagonal line in front of the standard. Traces of a vertical line at the extreme right are probably to be understood as a border. Behind the figure are a number of hieroglyphs belonging to a descriptive text. Very fragmentary, they read: “. . . ‘*nh* . . . *ib.f d(t)*,’” “. . . life . . . his heart eternally.”

The representation of the royal Ka appears first in the V Dynasty,<sup>141</sup> where it is not shown as a human being but as a standard to which human arms are attached. It is not until the reliefs of Pepi II that the royal Ka in human form accompanying the representation of the king is known,<sup>142</sup> although in these the design is similar to this one only in its principal features, there being differences in detail, for instance in the form of the two ribbons hanging down on the figure's head and in the streamer suspended from the insignia in his hand.

The block is in low relief of good quality, although the sculptor has not bothered to eliminate certain corrections in the finishing. The shape of the knee, with a sharp edge at the top of the patella, is of particular interest. As for the date, it would be tempting to assign the piece to the early Middle Kingdom had it not been re-used in Amenemhet I's pyramid. There is a close resemblance to the style of no. 9, which bears the name of Pepi II, and it seems likely that the two blocks originated in the same building.

## 28. A royal headdress.

SIZE: 28.5 × 22 cm.

PROVENANCE: North of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the XII Dynasty (?).

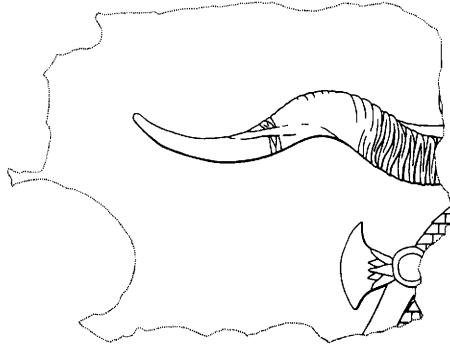
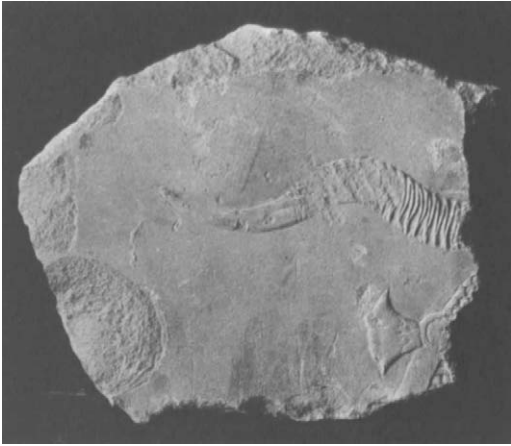
RECORD NO.: L 8-9:96.

This small piece contains part of the royal headdress from a representation of the king. Very little is preserved of the head but enough to show that the short wig with horizontal rows of curls was worn. The headdress consisted of a fillet with a flower and a long streamer behind, a pair of twisted ram's horns, and presumably a pair of feathers. This form of royal headdress is well known in the Old Kingdom reliefs.<sup>143</sup> The carving is of excellent quality, low and very clear. The way in which the twisting of the horns is indicated is of particular interest and without parallel. Origin and date of the fragment are quite uncertain; it was found, however, not in the pyramid but buried in the *radim*, which makes it likely that it belonged to the funerary monument of Amenemhet I, with which it has a close stylistic resemblance.

<sup>141</sup> In a relief of Weserkaf, as Dr. Smith kindly informed me; see also Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pls. xvii, xxxv, xlvi.

<sup>142</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. viii, xxxvi, xlii, lxi, and iii, pls. xix, xxx, xxxvi.

<sup>143</sup> Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pls. xxxvi-xxxviii, and *Ne-user-re'*, 92, fig. 69. The earliest occurrences, although in a somewhat different form, are those of Snofru (Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII, 1954, pl. xi A; Gardiner-Pect-Černý, *Sinai*, I, pl. II, no. 5).

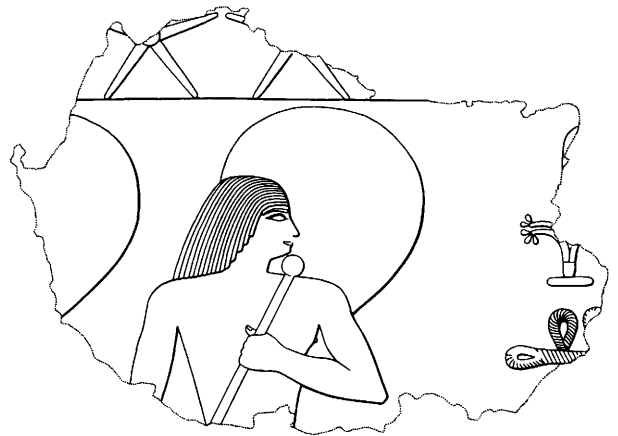


# III

## Members of the Royal Suite

### *Attendants*

29. An attendant with a sunshade.  
SIZE: 40 × 38 cm.  
PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.  
ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.  
RECORD NO.: The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto,  
958.49.2.<sup>144</sup>



At the top of this block was a border of five-pointed stars, of which two are partly preserved. This pattern, well attested as an ornament in the Old Kingdom in general and also among the Lisht blocks, is rather large in comparison with the figure depicted underneath.

The scene to which this piece belonged showed a row of attendants facing right. The upper part of one man and a small section of a second are preserved. The finely carved face is of the exquisite quality matched only in reliefs of the time of Khufu. Especially interesting is the way the eyebrow is indicated as a thick roll tapering at the end and following the curve of the upper lid in a slight bow.<sup>145</sup> The man is wearing the

<sup>144</sup> W. Needler, *The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Art and Archaeology Division, Annual*, 1959, 32 ff.

<sup>145</sup> This form of eyebrow is also to be found on

block no. 3. For further examples, all dating from the IV Dynasty, see Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pls. XL-XLVI, XLVIII; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, pls. xvii-xx.

long wig framing the face.<sup>146</sup> His left arm is bent, the hand resting on his chest and holding an object which gives the impression of being a stick with a knob at the end. This is not a weapon, however, but the handle of a sunshade in the form of a lily pad,<sup>147</sup> whose lower end, tapering to two points, is hidden behind the man's shoulders. This conforms to the principles of Egyptian artistic representation in avoiding the covering of the man's face.

There are many parallels to the "fan-bearer" attending the king, in particular closely related figures from the funerary temples of Nywoserre<sup>148</sup> and Pepi II,<sup>149</sup> though the latter have a more elaborate form of sunshade. The representations from the sun temple of Nywoserre<sup>148</sup> show a slightly different conception and bear the unexplained designation *hry-nws*.

That the origin of this piece was a royal temple appears certain in view of the subject. The style of the carving with its low, clear outlines suggests an attribution to the IV Dynasty. This is supported by the form of the eye and the wig, both paralleled in the reliefs of the early Giza period. In particular, a comparison with the female head discussed above (no. 3) shows such a striking similarity that we feel justified in assuming a common origin for the pieces. As there are a number of fragments among the Lisht blocks which unquestionably come from Khufu's temple at Giza, the assignment of the relief to this temple is well supported.

The exact location of the piece, however, is obscure. The isolated fragment from Nywoserre's funerary temple does not give any help, while the numerous occurrences in the sun temple belong to an entirely different arrangement from that of the royal temple. It can be considered certain that our fragment belonged to a large representation of the king, and it is at least possible that the star border formed the upper limit of the scene.

### 30. A procession of members of the royal suite.

SIZE: 42 × 44 cm.


PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: The Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958.38.<sup>150</sup>

These two fragments, which fit together, show parts of three men walking to the left. The central figure is more or less completely preserved, only a small portion of the two others remaining, but enough to prove that this was part of a larger scene. The

<sup>146</sup> For the same coiffure, although without indication of the individual tresses, see Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pl. XLV B.

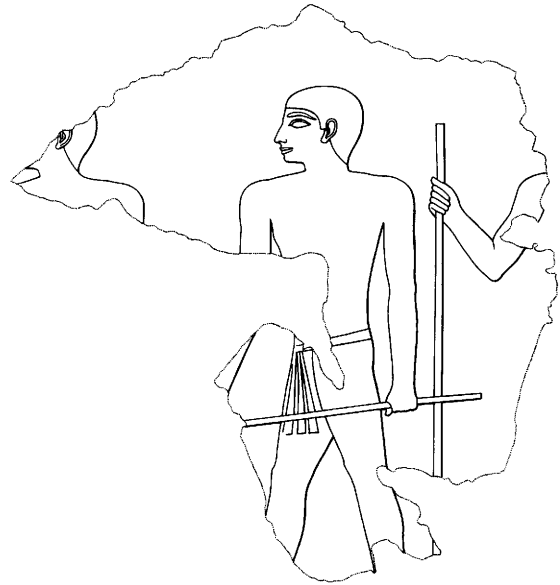
<sup>147</sup> In the form , already found, it early became the standard attribute accompanying representations of the king; in Firth-Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, pls. XL-XLII, it is conceived of as a

symbolic pattern. For the object itself, see Junker, *Gtza II.*, fig. 31 (in litter); Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets*, 254 f.

<sup>148</sup> Borchardt, *Ne-user-re'*, 85, fig. 62 c.

<sup>149</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. XLVII.

<sup>150</sup> Smith, *The Fogg Art Museum, Annual Report, 1958-1959*, 19 ff.



central figure is naked except for a narrow belt from which three strips of cloth hang. His left hand carries a long stick horizontally; the other was probably empty. The shoulders and neck of the first man suggest that this figure was similar to the central one. The right arm of the third man holds a long staff.

The men follow each other closely. This feature is significant in distinguishing this fragment from reliefs with a similar subject but with widely spaced figures. The piece is of fine, low relief with an exquisite outline and fine modeling. Features of particular interest are the eye with the ball slightly emphasized and the indication of the upper lid and the eyebrow, which are in a continuously rounded curve following the shape of the eye. The profile is regular, the nose straight, the lips marked by a sharp edge. The ear is well proportioned, its lobe distinct.

As for the date of the piece, the shallowness of the relief permits two main possibilities, that it belongs either to the IV Dynasty, for which the style is well documented by the fragments from Khufu's funerary monuments, or to the group of blocks carved in low relief. But examples (nos. 31-38) with a similar subject among the latter fragments show a much wider spacing of the figures and, in addition, differences in the manner in which the face is depicted, which prevent an assignment of the present block to this group. It thus seems likely that the relief has to be dated in the IV Dynasty, a suggestion supported by the similarity in style between it and others for which this date is certain. The way the eyeball is rounded seems of particular significance and is peculiar to the IV Dynasty.<sup>151</sup>

We have already identified examples from Khufu's funerary monument among the

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pls. XLI-XLIII, XLVI, XLVIII.

Lisht blocks, and we should like to suggest the same origin for the present fragments. Moreover, part of a possibly related scene found in Khephren's Valley Temple apparently came from the neighboring temple of Khufu.<sup>152</sup> Only the legs of a group of walking men are preserved, but these show the same close grouping as our piece, thus bearing out this attribution.

## *Guards*

### 31. A procession of guards.

SIZE: 64 × 36 cm.

PROVENANCE: Platform behind the temple.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?) at Saqqara,  
V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 15.3.1140.

This almost completely preserved block shows four men proceeding to the right. They walk at a slow pace, with considerable intervals between them. Two types can be identified. One, represented only by the man at the left, is distinguished from the others by his dress and the equipment he carries. Naked except for the streamers attached to a girdle, he holds in his left hand a long staff, grasping it approximately in the center, while in the other he carries a bow case (such as is seen most clearly on no. 41), which rests on his right shoulder. Its slightly curved lower end is crossed by two parallel lines; the upper end is not preserved. The men preceding this figure have basically the same posture, but their dress is different as they wear the short kilt with the open end turned back above and tied with a large knot.<sup>153</sup> They carry only the long staff, the other hand being unoccupied.

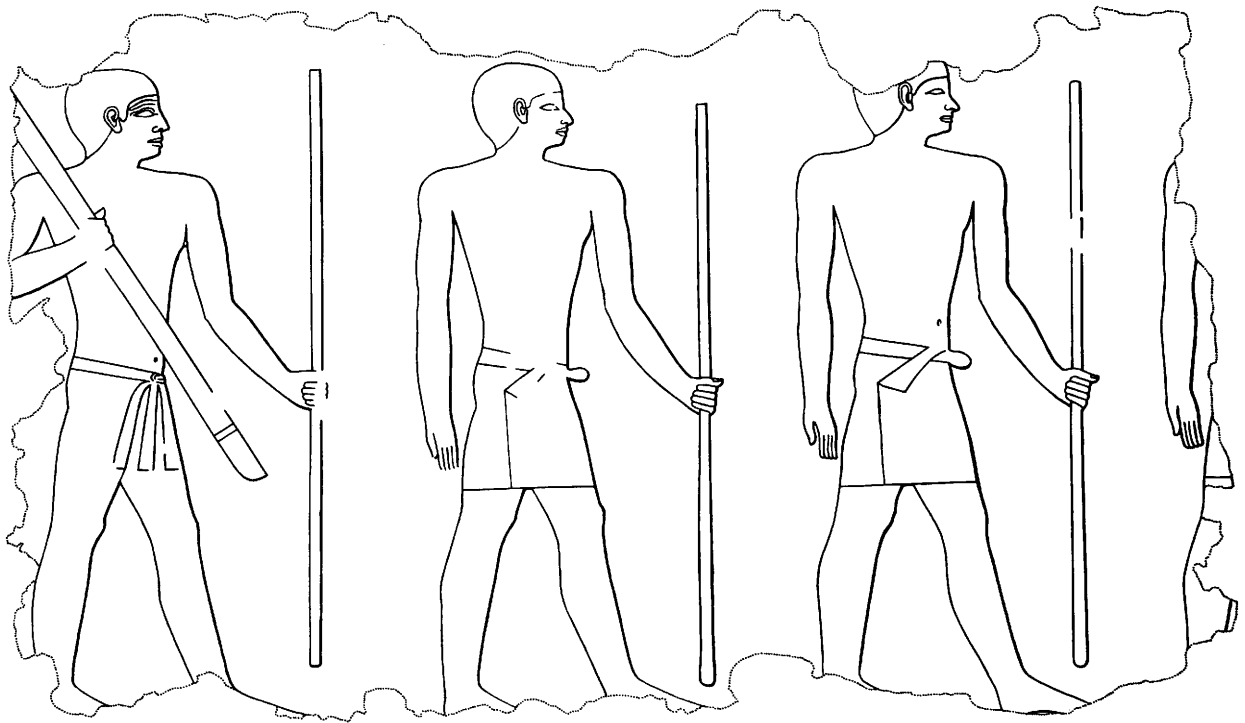
It appears likely that only the figure at the left is finished, the faces of the others being indicated but not completed. The carving is in low relief, the execution technically good but not very lively. There is a certain resemblance to the style of the IV Dynasty, but the conventional treatment of the figures and the loosely knit composition do not match the elegance of blocks for which a IV Dynasty date is certain. Moreover, details like the form of the eye and ear are quite different from that of no. 30, which we have assigned to the IV Dynasty.

The piece undoubtedly belongs with nos. 32–34 below, which probably show the continuation of the scene. Nos. 35–40 are also related but not part of the same scene. The date of this group of reliefs is not certain. The form of the kilt in particular would suggest a date not later than the V Dynasty, and it appears possible that the group originated in the funerary temple of Unas, which, as we know from no. 8, contributed to the Lisht blocks. The style of a fragment from this temple published by Dr. Smith<sup>154</sup> resembles that of the present block, giving this attribution a certain degree of likelihood.

<sup>152</sup> Hölscher, *Chephren*, 110, fig. 162.

<sup>154</sup> Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pl. LIV B.

<sup>153</sup> For the costume, cf. Bonnet, *Ägyptische Tracht*, 27.



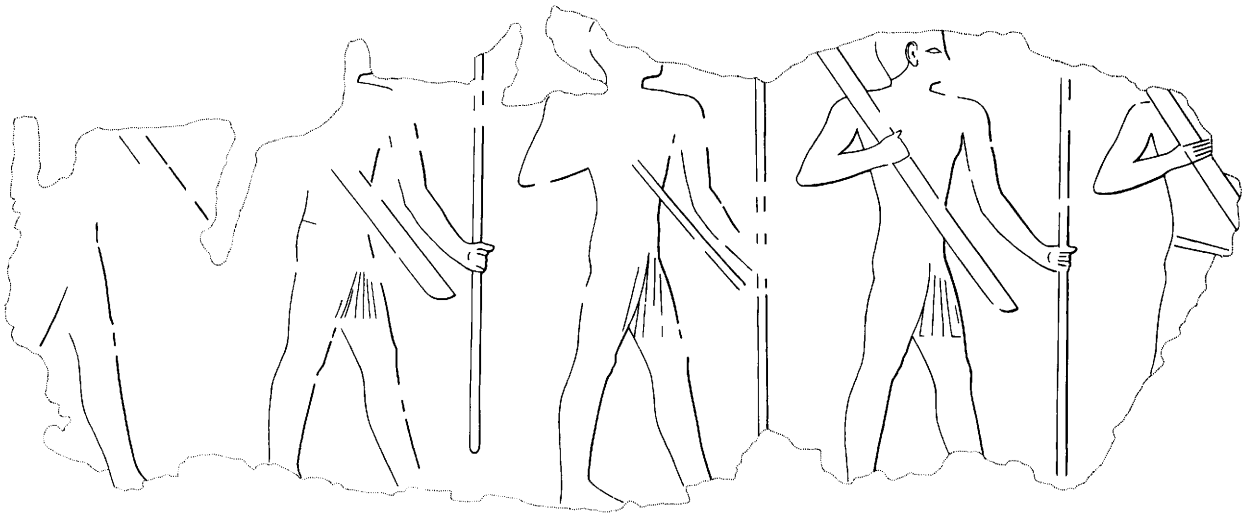
32. A procession of guards.

SIZE: 77 × 32 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.15.



This block, though almost completely preserved, has suffered so severely by erosion that most of its surface is lost. The decoration consisted of five men walking toward the right in identical fashion. Naked except for the belt with streamers around the waist, they each carry a long staff in their outstretched left hands. The right hands each grasp a bow case.

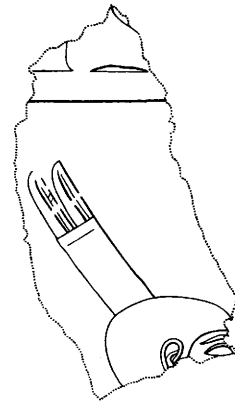


33. A procession of guards.  
PROVENANCE: Uncertain.  
ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.  
RECORD NO.: L 12-13:121.



This fragment shows parts of three male figures of the type above moving to the right and equipped with the long staff and bow case.

34. Head of a guard.  
PROVENANCE: Uncertain.  
ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.  
RECORD NO.: L 12-13:122.



This small fragment shows the upper end of a bow case with the tips of two bows protruding from it and, below, the head of a man facing right. It thus belongs to the above group of scenes showing guardsmen in procession. Its importance lies in a horizontal line near its top above which can be seen traces of a foot belonging to an upper register, apparently with a representation of a similar kind.

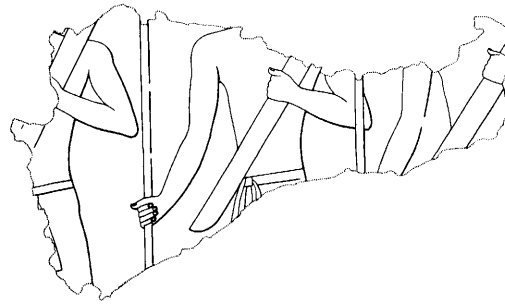
**35.** A procession of guards.

SIZE: 39 × 22 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.16.



This fragment shows parts of the figures of three men who are marching to the left in close formation. Their equipment consists of the long staff held in the forward hand and the bow case in the other. They are thus easily identifiable as members of the guard. The man in the middle can be seen to wear a belt tied in a loop with two loose ends.

The carving of the relief is low and of good quality. It appears to have belonged to the same scene as nos. 36–40. This scene apparently balanced one illustrated by nos. 31–34, in which guards marched to the right.

The date of the piece, accordingly, is fixed by the better-preserved fragments, which suggest an attribution to the funerary temple of Unas.

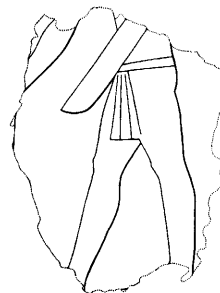
**36.** Fragment of a procession of guards.

SIZE: 15 × 21 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.21.



This small fragment shows the lower part of a man walking to the left. The costume consists of the belt with attached streamers, which fall closely together, being divided only by lines. The bow case, of which the lower end is preserved, characterizes the man as a guardsman of the type that formed the king's suite. In his outstretched right hand the man holds the long staff, of which only traces remain.

The carving of the relief is low and the execution rather poor, the piece, like no. 35, probably being unfinished.

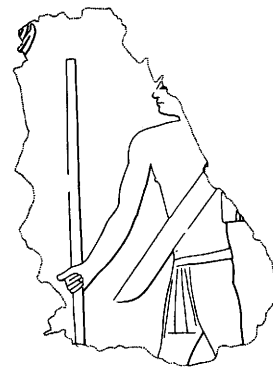
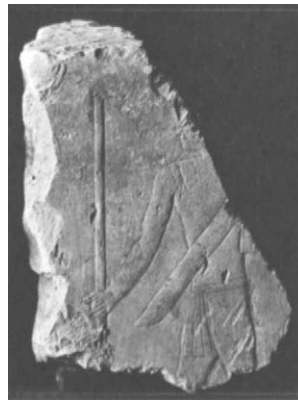
**37.** Fragment of a procession of guards.

SIZE: 19 × 23 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.20.



Another small fragment showing part of a man walking towards the left. Costume and equipment characterize him as one of the king's guards. The stick carried in the forward hand is very thick, the hand that grasps it poorly executed. On the man's back is a squarish mark which may possibly represent the remains of a quiver. In the upper left corner are traces of the tips of two bows that belonged to a similar figure to the left.

The carving and type of figure are identical with no. 35, with which the piece is closely connected; there can be no doubt that they originated in the same scene.

**38.** Fragment of a procession of guards.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:63c.



This fragment shows parts of two men of the type of those of the preceding blocks, also walking to the left. It undoubtedly is from the same scene, but it does not join any other fragment.

39. Head of a guard.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:63a.



This fragment shows only the head of a man, presumably one of the guards already discussed, facing left.

40. Head of a guard.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:63b.



This fragment is similar to the preceding one.

Among the reliefs showing members of the royal suite those depicting men equipped with the bow case and long staff are the most numerous. As mentioned above, they consist of two groups, one showing figures facing right, the other left, parts of two walls, probably flanking a central doorway, presumably in the funerary temple of Unas. This again seems to show that the collecting of blocks was systematically carried out and not a random process.

41. A procession of running guards.

SIZE: 67 × 34.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 58.322.<sup>155</sup>



Almost completely preserved, this block shows a file of men running towards the left, three figures and the elbow of a fourth at the left edge remaining. The men wear only a belt with a loop and two ends hanging down in front. This type of covering is well attested in the Old Kingdom and is worn by members of the lower classes who are accustomed to work in the open, but this particular form with the loop is rare at this period.<sup>156</sup>

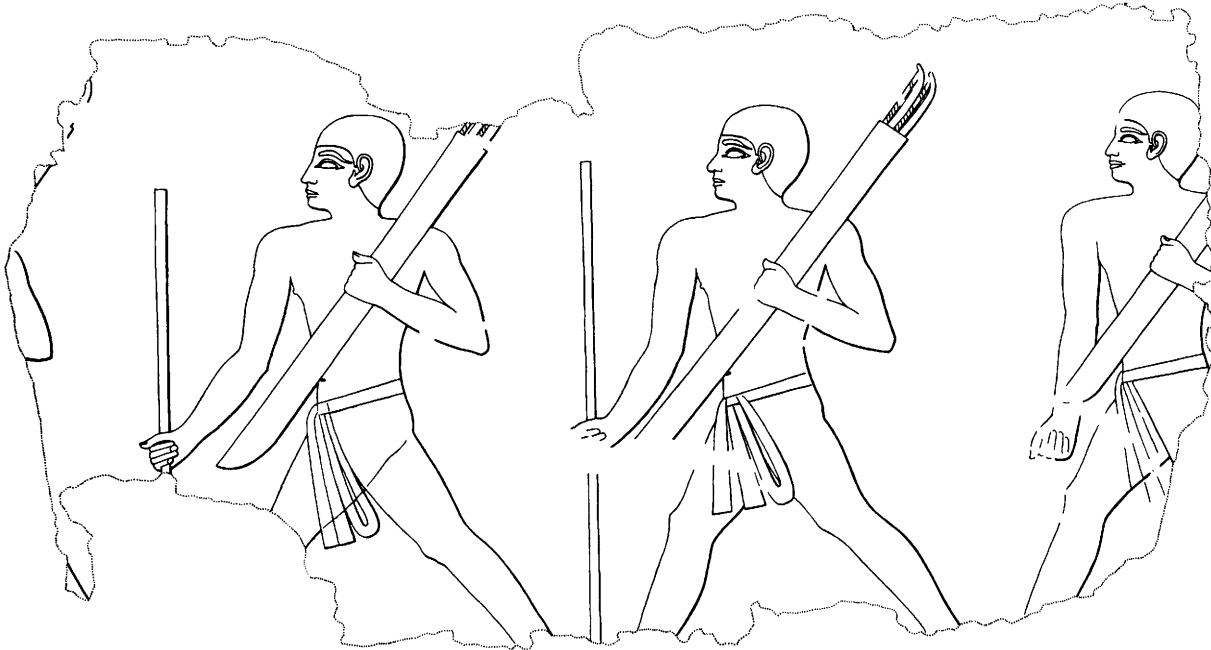
The men are equipped with the long staff carried in the forward hand, while the

<sup>155</sup> Smith, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Annual Report, 1958*, 43 f.

<sup>156</sup> Petrie, *Medum*, pls. x, xi, xviii; and *Deshasheh*, pls. xi-xiii. Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pl. LIX A.

other holds the bow case. The third man, on the right, is identical with the other two except that he carries only the bow case, a long, narrow container the lower end of which is curved like the end of the bow, while the upper end is open. As a rule bows are carried in such a case, as indicated by the hieroglyph  $\text{𓏏}$ , which depicts this object. In the present example two bows with their strings can be clearly seen, although it is uncertain if bows were carried strung or if they were unstrung before being put away, the latter being the more likely.<sup>157</sup>

The carving of the relief is low, the execution uneven, the faces being the best part. These show a number of interesting details not paralleled among the other blocks with which the piece belongs. Not only the upper but also the lower eyelids are indicated. Furthermore, the eye has the same long tear duct at the inner corner, extending into the nose, as can be seen on the small fragment from the temple of Unas mentioned above.<sup>158</sup> The form of the eyebrow with its decided curve and narrow outer end is also



interesting. All the details of the ear are indicated, the central orifice being large and deep. The lobe is fleshy and not very distinct. The fact that the faces shown in nos. 31 and 32 are somewhat different may be explained by the fact that they are not as finished as the block under discussion. As the funerary temple of Unas has been suggested as the probable origin of these blocks and as no. 41 is certainly related to them, the same origin is to be assumed for it.

<sup>157</sup> The picture of a man stringing his bow in Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. v, supports the latter suggestion.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pl. LIV B; Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pl. CLXXXIV.

#### 42. Running troops.

SIZE: 127 × 85 cm.

PROVENANCE: Pyramid, above the entrance of plunderers' shaft.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 15.3.1163.

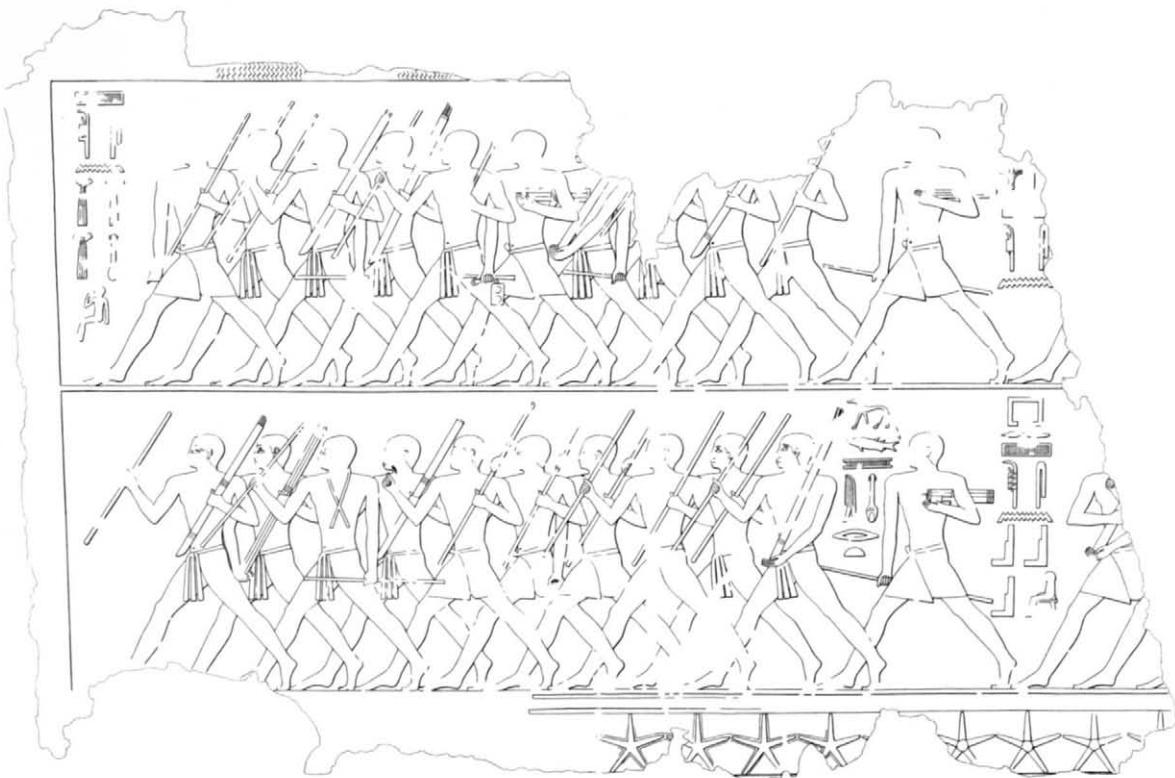
The block is well preserved, showing most of the top, the left, and the bottom edges, though a portion of the right end is broken off; the wide blank space at the left suggests that it once formed the side of a doorway. Since the upper edge is decorated in part with zigzag water lines it appears safe to assume that a naval scene is depicted in the register above. The base consists of a band of five-pointed stars that were probably part of another scene below, though they could also be an ornamental border, an explanation which is, however, unlikely. This section is not completely finished, the stars extending only to the middle of the block as now preserved, the rest, towards the left, being blank. The remaining stars are in different stages of completion, from the rough blocking out to finished outline and finally the finished specimen with the inner details.<sup>159</sup> Whether we must assume, therefore, that this particular part of the decoration was never completed through oversight or whether the block came from an unfinished building cannot be decided from this isolated piece.

The section preserved shows two similarly decorated registers, each with a group of ten men moving quickly toward the left, followed by a single man; after him comes another group of which only part of the first figures is preserved. These squads of ten men are shown in a crowded arrangement with repeated overlappings of legs and arms, only the heads being isolated. There seems to be no particular intention in this arrangement beyond the grouping of the men as closely together as possible and at the same time avoiding monotony. All the figures move in the same way, striding rapidly with only the toes touching the ground, a certain gliding effect being achieved. The arms of most of the men are bent, their hands holding different weapons which indicate that they are soldiers. Most of them are dressed in only a narrow belt from which three strips of cloth hang, covering the privy parts. A few wear the short linen kilt, partly opened by their strenuous movements. Except in the case of the isolated figures following the groups the differences of the dress seem to have no specific meaning, and it is likely that they are largely due to a desire for variety.<sup>160</sup>

Among the objects carried by the men in their hands the long stick, sometimes with a thickening at the end, is the most frequent. Other weapons are bows, carried two together in a case from which their tips protrude at the upper end. The fifth man in the upper line holds a short stick with a twisted line around it. Its end is broken and thus an identification of the object is uncertain. It might be a kind of whip or scourge, the strings tied around the shaft. More probably we must consider it a kind of battle axe

<sup>159</sup> Williams, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-nēb*, 15 ff.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Junker, *Giza XI.*, 48.





or hatchet, represented as a weapon in the temple of Sahure'.<sup>161</sup> In this case the line along the shaft must be either a decoration or, more likely, a device to assure a firm grip. The second man in the lower register carries a bundle of staves,<sup>162</sup> possibly spears, though no pointed heads are indicated. The next man also calls for special attention as he has a short piece of rope or string around his neck. This is hardly to be taken for decoration; it is rather a sling. One of these is represented in the hand of a soldier of Sahure',<sup>163</sup> while a slinger in action is shown in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>164</sup>

The sixth man in the upper register is rather puzzling; in one hand he holds a writing outfit and in the other a bundle of papyrus rolls. This seems to characterize him as a scribe, and one questions his significance among the soldiers surrounding him. Although this identification is suggested by the objects in his hands, I nevertheless wonder if this is not an artistic device to avoid monotony by transferring to this figure the objects belonging to the isolated man behind the group. In the lower register the isolated man carries what appears to be a bundle of papyri under his arm, possibly tied up together with a palette. His importance seems to be shown by his position, and he appears to be the person in command of the troops; it is uncertain whether he is to be linked with the preceding or the following squad, probably the former, which otherwise would lack an officer.

The scene has four short docketts. One is to be found in front of the first group in the upper register and one behind the commanding official in each register, each of these three referring to the following group of men. The fourth is in front of the single man in the lower line. It gives his title and name, *s3b 'd-mr 'Iti-nfrt*. Both title and name are well attested from the Old Kingdom, but it seems impossible to identify this particular man with any degree of certainty.<sup>165</sup>

This block is of great importance for the understanding of the nature of the office of the *s3b 'd-mr*, as it is unique in showing this official performing his duties. To explain it, however, we must first turn to the other inscriptions connected with the troops represented.

161 Borchardt, *Sa3hu-re'*, II, pl. v; Hölscher, *Chephren*, 110, fig. 163. The instrument is also documented both in writing and by actual blades found in excavation; cf. W. Wolf, *Bewaffnung*, 21 ff.

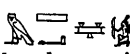

162 Cf. Borchardt, *Sa3hu-re'*, II, pl. XI; Wolf, *Bewaffnung*, 24 f.

163 Borchardt, *Sa3hu-re'*, II, pl. XVII; a sling also occurs on one of the Weserkaf fragments.

164 Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. v (W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, II, pl. x). Wolf's view (56 f.) that the use of the sling was foreign to the Egyptians seems rather questionable, despite the rarity with which it is represented.

165 For the name, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 10, 7. The only case known to me in which this name and title occur together is in the tomb of

*M3w*, in the cemetery north of the Unas causeway, but it is most unlikely that there is any connection between the two people. In addition, there is the possibility that the name on our block—which undoubtedly originated in a royal building—was fictitious, selected as typical of or reflecting the man's profession; this practice is not unparalleled in royal buildings (cf. even the late example in M. F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, II, 65). The name, read here according to Ranke, is probably correctly to be rendered *'Iti-nfrty*, as suggested by the spellings from the New Kingdom (Ranke, 10, 8). In the compound *nfrty* there is presumably a derivative from *nfr* used to denote the profession (E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, I, § 247) and thus to be rendered "he who will be good (i.e., just)."

The first reads *šms n 'prw nfr*, "escort of police troops." It occurs in almost identical form in Sahure<sup>c</sup> as *r3-šms n nfr-'prw*,<sup>166</sup> which Sethe<sup>167</sup> translated, "Mund des Begleitens der jungen Mannschaft der Bemannungen," taking *šms* verbally followed by *n* introducing the agent. The meaning of this passage was elucidated by Junker,<sup>168</sup> who showed that *r3-šms* is a compound with the meaning "escort, service," analogous to the *šms* in the docket we are discussing. The word *'prw* is a widely used term for "troops," applied to gangs of workmen as well as military formations<sup>169</sup> and here modified by *nfr*, identifying them as military troops, is undoubtedly derived from the verb *'pr*, "to provide," and accordingly has to be understood as signifying any group of people receiving a reward for the rendering of services. The expression is particularly significant when it is applied to the militia, since it proves that there were troops who received a compensation for their services while others, apparently conscripted, had to perform military duties without any such reward. The *nfr* of *nfr 'prw* discussed above is certainly identical with *nfrw*, "recruits," "youth," known, according to the *Wörterbuch*,<sup>170</sup> since the Middle Kingdom but occurring also in the Old Kingdom, as Junker<sup>171</sup> has noted. These soldiers are distinguished from the <sup>172</sup> and occur parallel with a category of troops called *idw*.<sup>173</sup> The use of the determinative  leads me to consider *nfr* as having a connotation of youth, but this is not necessarily the case. It rather seems that the concept of "warrior" was connected with youthfulness,<sup>174</sup> so that *nfr* does not have the significance of "recruit" but is rather a general term for "soldier."<sup>175</sup> The particular feature of the men denoted in this way seems to be that they are professional troops who might be used not only in campaigns but also as a police corps, an assumption which seems supported by the fact that their name, *nfr*, is also used as a legal term.

The annotating text in the lower register is probably defective and to be amended to *šms n (tst n) šwt šps (wt) pr-'3*, "escort [of the troops] of the august places of the palace," in view of the related title in Lepsius.<sup>176</sup> The significance of the term *šwt šps(wt)* is uncertain;<sup>177</sup> it is possible that it refers to the burial places of the courtiers,

166 Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re'*, II, pl. LII.

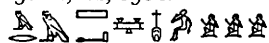
167 In Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re'*, II, 121; cf. 85.

168 *ZÄS*, LXXVII (1941), 3 ff.


169 *Wb.*, I, 181, Junker, *Giza X.*, 79.

170 *Wb.*, II, 258. Cf. R. O. Faulkner, *JEA*, XXXIX (1935), 35.

171 Junker, *Giza V.*, 158 ff., IX, 196 f.

172 As indicated by  for this see Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, V, 237. Hassan reads it "Overseer of the Army of Young Recruits," while Junker (*Giza IX.*, 197) proposes "Vorsteher des Heeres—Befehlshaber der *idw*-Mannschaft" and Faulkner renders it "general of recruits." The correct translation, however, seems to be "Overseer of the 'Army' (*mš'*) and the *nfrw*-Soldiers," *mš'* referring to the members of a specific military organization.

173 The reading *nfr-idw*, proposed by *Wb.*, I, 151, and the title *nfr*, "officer," suggested by

Junker (*Giza V.*, 158 ff.) are highly problematical. In the two occurrences in which the term *idw* is spelled out (A. Mariette, *Mastabas de l'ancien empire*, B 1; and L.D., II, pl. XCIII E) it is used in parallelism to *nfr*. Furthermore, the term is followed by  in both instances, which makes it doubtful that it is in any way related to "youth," and rather indicates that it applies to a special body of troops connected with the royal court. Cf. also the discussion by Fischer, *OMRO*, XLI (1960), 7 ff.

174 Cf. the expression *nds kni*, which occurs frequently, for instance in the graffiti of Hatnüb, where it plainly seems to mean "strong fighter."

175 It is used in the Middle Kingdom, like *šms*, as a title without any qualification.

176 L.D., II, pl. XCIII E.

177 James, *Khentika*, II; Fischer, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, VII (1960), 330, pl. I.

but this is hardly more than a guess. To consider it a geographic term, particularly the name of a pyramid, appears unwarranted since such designations are compounded in a different way, namely with a verb plus *šwt*.

The third inscription, placed in the upper register in front of the second group, is largely destroyed. The group *šm's n* is placed at the end, the only part clearly legible. In view of this it is quite likely that the term contained an element which for reasons of respect was written in front. This was apparently followed by *šw*, next to which another sign was written of which only a negligible trace remains; the group is possibly to be restored  $\downarrow \overline{\square}$ .

According to the annotations, therefore, the figures represent military troops, the title of each man being specified. Each of the groups fully preserved consists of ten men under a commander, as in the temple of Sahure'.<sup>178</sup> It is thus tempting to assume that such groups formed one unit in the military organization.<sup>179</sup>

The military nature of the figures being certain, their specific task needs to be determined. Most of the men are equipped with only the long stick, which makes it very questionable that they are soldiers prepared for fighting. Some do carry bows, but these are tucked away and are certainly not ready for immediate use. The same is true of the other weapons the men carry, while actual battle equipment, like dagger and shield, are entirely lacking. All these features speak against their being companies of soldiers in the strict sense of the term. On the other hand, arrangement as well as equipment reveal that they are organized groups. Accordingly, we seem justified in seeing in them either a kind of guard or, what is almost the same, a semi-military organization entrusted with keeping order, to which the term "police" could be applied.

Strong support of this view comes from the representation of the commander of the squad below. He carries a bundle of papyrus rolls, while a man among the troops in the upper register is equipped with writing equipment. That these are not objects to be found in the hands of a soldier prepared for fighting hardly needs to be pointed out. Since the men apparently have to be recognized as a kind of police force, the title of the commander,  $\downarrow \overline{\square}$ , must be investigated with this in mind. The generally accepted translation is "Judge and Nome Administrator," which conveys the idea of a high-ranking official. The way this official is depicted on our block, however, speaks against this view and suggests a lower rank. This view is supported by the frequency with which the title is met, which makes it doubtful if this official had more than a limited importance. The occurrence of the element *šjb* in the title points to a judicial function. As to the second element, written  $\overline{\square}$ , Grdseloff<sup>180</sup> suggested the reading 'ndi, translating it "douanier." His proposal in regard to the reading seems possible, though there are several objections to his translation which cannot be discussed in full here. The inscrip-

178 Borchardt, *Šašhu-re'*, II, pl. IX.

179 When this motif is taken over for the decoration of private tombs the military character of the men—an aspect reserved for the royal temple—vanishes, and they become sailors carry-

ing various objects related to their trade; cf. *L.D.*, II, pl. XLV. At the same time their number changes to eleven, as the leader loses his significance and becomes incorporated into the group.

180 *ASAE*, XLII (1943), 107 f.

tion of *Mtn* appears to hold the key to the use of the term; it seems to be applied to an administrative unit consisting of a geographical district. The role played by the *s3b* is limited to a specific district by the addition of 'd, the actual name, however, not generally being indicated in the texts. The functions of the *s3b* are primarily of an inquisitory nature,<sup>181</sup> the role of the *s3b* 'd being comparable to that of a bailiff. This accounts for the fact that our official has a police guard to support him in the execution of his duty.

The scene on our block is well attested as a subject of royal temple relief from the V Dynasty on and has a strikingly close parallel in the Valley Temple of Sahure,<sup>182</sup> where it is also surmounted by a naval scene. This arrangement—running men below a representation of the ship of state—is certain as far as the block being discussed is concerned not only because of the border of water at the upper edge but because in all probability part of the scene above is preserved among the Lisht blocks in fragment no. 55. It is uncertain when this scene was introduced into the royal temple; possibly it goes back to the IV Dynasty, although the fully developed form seems not to have been attained before the beginning of the V Dynasty. The subject was taken over from the royal temple as a decoration for the mastabas of the courtiers, where it occurs from the latter part of the V Dynasty onward; this supports the assumption that its incorporation into the decoration of the royal temple did not take place long before this time, otherwise one would expect to find it reflected in the decoration of the earlier mastabas. Because of this transference the design had to be modified, the subject as depicted in the royal temple being unsuitable for private tombs. The military character of the figures represented was abandoned and they became sailors running on the shore carrying nautical equipment—which actually is nonsensical unless one considers the origin of the scheme.<sup>183</sup>

The close connection with Sahure's scene suggests that we attribute our block to the V Dynasty, particularly since it probably once had a setting similar to Sahure's, which, however, flanked a doorway to the right in his Valley Temple. The inscriptions preserved furnish no definite indications of date. The carving is rather flat, but its delicate outlines are paralleled by pieces from the funerary temple of Unas, including many that are unpublished.<sup>184</sup>

181 The existence of an independent title *s3b* (as the hieroglyph is read here following the general custom) was rightly denied by Helck (*Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des alten Reiches*, 82) who, however, assumed that the term, in combination with 'd-mr, was used for the administrative aspect of the latter, which he considered the actual office. Although his view is shared by Fischer (*JNES*, xviii, 1959, 265), it seems difficult to see in 'd-mr an office and not an administrative district, as the term was already used in the inscription of *Mtn* (*Urk.*, I, 1 ff.): this inscription would seem to prove that the actual office is defined by *s3b*. The

problem cannot be further pursued here, except to say that the difficulties in explaining this elusive term vanish when it is realized that different occurrences must be explained differently.

182 Borchardt, *Sahure*, II, pl. IX. Dr. Smith informed me of an earlier occurrence from the temple of Weserkaf, but this is so far unpublished.

183 Cf. *L.D.*, II, pl. XLV.

184 Cf. Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pl. LIV B. There is a distinct difference in style between the reliefs from the funerary temple of Unas and those from the adjoining causeway.

Unfortunately, none of the faces escaped apparently intentional mutilation, and we are thus deprived of the most important point for a comparison of style. As for the bodies, the modeling of the muscles of the legs and even more the naturalistic representation of the structure of the knee offer significant clues as to date.

In this regard the piece is not isolated among the Lisht blocks but is one of several fragments showing the same features (see nos. 50–52), all of them presumably originating from the same building. In addition to their similar style they have in common a close adherence to the type of decoration particularly associated with Sahure<sup>6</sup>, and it is most probable that we have in them the remains of a royal temple with similar decoration. An attribution to the funerary temple of Unas seems likely, in view of the style, but this cannot be considered certain.

43. A group of archers.

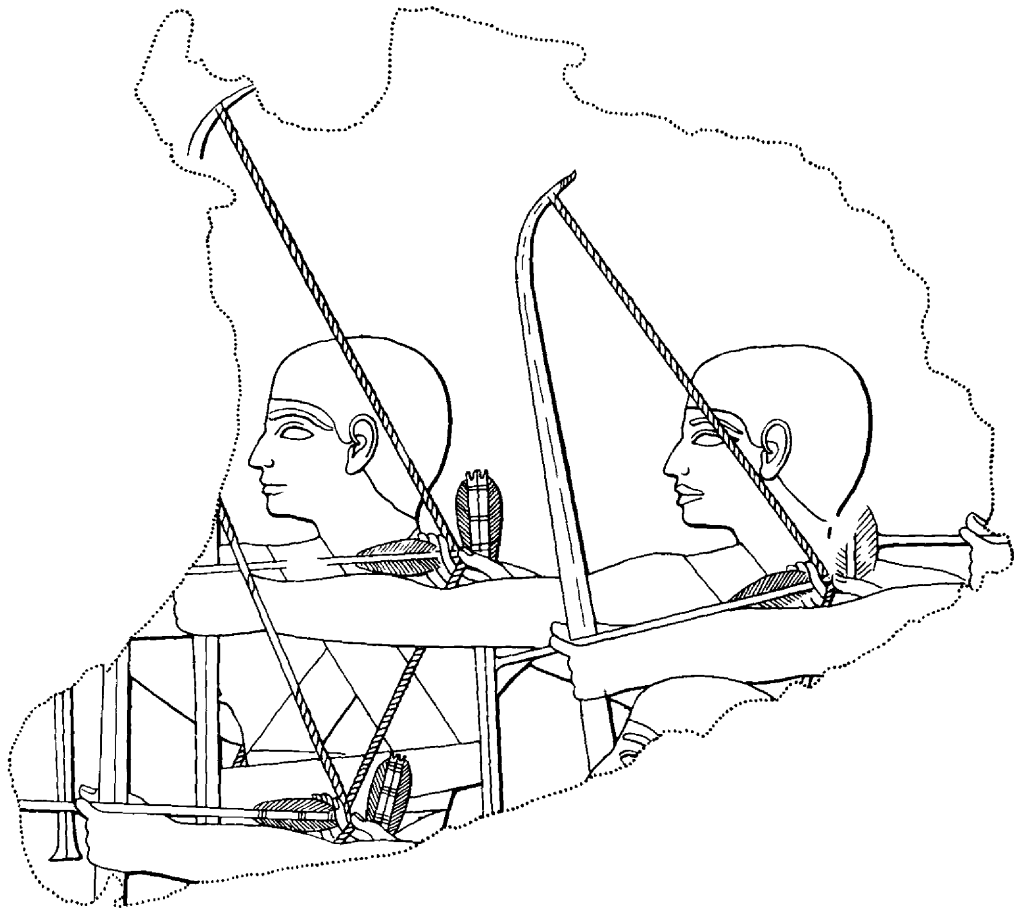
SIZE: 28 × 24 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.23.





This deplorably incomplete fragment is, from an artistic point of view, one of the most interesting of the Lisht blocks. It is part of a group of archers facing left in close formation, with an amount of overlapping of the figures—an artistic device used to achieve compactness—rarely found in Egyptian relief. The head and shoulders of two men and small fragments of three others are preserved. Four of them are of approximately the same height and are presumably standing; the fifth seems to be kneeling in front of the group, as his head is considerably lower than those of the other figures. The men are shown from the back, to judge by the position of the arms, probably to avoid the difficulty of representing the arms crossing the chest. Only one figure is sufficiently preserved for us to see the costume. Two wide ribbons or sashes are crossed above the waist and then wound around the body.<sup>185</sup> Not enough is preserved, however, to show his kilt.

185 This costume, which is apparently a characteristic one for soldiers, is also shown on the IV Dynasty block found in Khephren's Valley Temple (Hölscher, *Chephren*, 110, fig. 163) and is found again in Mentuhotep's reliefs (Naville, *XIth Dynasty*, 1, pl. xv). The archer in the battle


scene from the Unas causeway seems to wear the sash, but not the other Egyptian warrior (*ASAE*, xxxviii, 1938, pl. xcvi). A sash crossed over the chest is part of the Libyan costume also (Borchardt, *Šašhu-re'*, II, pls. vi, vii); this may possibly have been due to Egyptian influence.

The archers carry a quiver on the back as part of their equipment. It consists of a rectangular container without any decoration and is suspended by a piece of cord.<sup>186</sup> No arrows are indicated in these quivers. The men grasp composite bows, well authenticated in the Old Kingdom.<sup>187</sup> The arrows they are about to shoot are not very long, little more than a man's forearm. A triangular tip, probably of flint,<sup>188</sup> is apparently inserted into the straight shaft, although no method of attachment is indicated. To give the arrow an even flight the shaft was apparently split and leaf-shaped feathering<sup>189</sup> inserted; the shaft was then tied together in three places. The butt end of the arrow also has a deeply incised notch for the string to prevent it from slipping.<sup>190</sup>

All the men are shown performing the same action—drawing the bow, which is held in the outstretched left hand, the last three fingers grasping the shaft tightly. The thumb acts as a counterpoise, so that the bow rests between palm and fingers.<sup>191</sup> The first finger is used to fix the arrow in position while the bow is being drawn; as the arrow is released the finger must be removed to allow the feathering to pass.<sup>192</sup>

The relief poses a number of problems from the stylistic point of view, among them those of the overlapping of the figures and the complexity of the motion expressed by the group, all the arrows pointing in different directions. The carving itself is of the highest quality, rather flat but with subtle modeling. In its style it matches the best examples of the IV Dynasty, but no exact parallels of such an early date are preserved. The overlapping in particular exceeds anything of the sort known in early compositions.<sup>193</sup>

186 A quiver of identical form occurs on one of the fragments from the temple of Weserkaf, as Dr. Smith informed me. It is also to be found as part of the equipment of Egyptian soldiers in the battle scene in the tomb of 'Inti (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. iv). For a model that perhaps shows the actual shape of the object, see H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber . . . vom Totentempel des Ne-user-ré*, 81, fig. 133; cf. also E. G. Chassinat and C. Palanque, *MIFAO*, xxiv, pl. xiii, and Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets*, 215, figs. 574, 575, and 218 f., figs. 582-590. The quiver of the Middle Kingdom has a flap of soft material to close its upper end, in which it differs from the form shown here; cf. Blackman, *Meir*, I, pls. III, VII and II, pl. VIII; Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I, pl. XIII.

187 See Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. xxxvi and III, pl. xxx; Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pls. XI, XVI-XVIII; Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *Sinai*, I, pl. I B. See also the hieroglyph  in Petrie, *Medum*, pl. IX. The repeated occurrence of this weapon in the hands of Egyptian warriors contradicts Wolf's assumption of a relatively late introduction of the composite bow (*Bewaffnung*, 25 ff.), which he believes could only have reached Egypt in isolated cases before the New Kingdom.

188 Wolf, *Bewaffnung*, 16 and pl. IX, nos. 2, 3; A. Scharff, *Archaeologische Beiträge zur Frage des Entstehung des Hieroglyphenschrift (Sitzungsberichte der*

*Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1942) 36 f.; Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets*, 215, fig. 572.

189 The feathering of the arrows used by Sahure' for hunting has pointed ends. The shape shown on our block also occurs at Meir (Blackman, *Meir*, I, pl. VIII). The two forms are to be seen side by side on the coffins (Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets*, 215, figs. 568-575).

190 The notched end is indicated on all carefully drawn arrows; cf. Borchardt, *Šaꜣhu-re'*, II, pl. XVII.

191 The same grip is shown on no. 23.

192 The position of the hand is not preserved in any of the Old Kingdom occurrences. In the later examples, particularly at Meir (Blackman, *Meir*, II, pl. XXXIII), the four fingers grasp the bow, the thumb being directed upward so that the shaft of the arrow rests on the upper edge of the palm; cf. also Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. XIII.

193 Only one instance of a battle scene from a royal temple of the Old Kingdom is available in publication for comparison, that from the Unas causeway shown in *ASAE*, XXXVIII (1938), pl. XCV. The earliest example of a comparably crowded composition is a fragmentary swamp scene from the temple of Weserkaf; see Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl. XLIV.

The treatment of the men's features, an elusive criterion, deserves special attention. A distinct indentation at the bridge gives the nose a hooked shape. It is surprising to find this form, normally reserved for representations of foreigners,<sup>194</sup> since these men are unquestionably Egyptians. It can hardly be doubted that the sculptor was obeying a prevailing tendency to naturalism within the limits possible to Egyptian art—and that the Egyptians in general did not have the straight noses indicated by the majority of statues and reliefs.<sup>195</sup> The deep hollow at the inner corner of the eye is also significant, the heavy eyebrow starting at the bridge of the nose. The eye itself is slightly almond-shaped, the upper lid clearly indicated. The ear is treated in a similar naturalistic fashion.

The realistic treatment of these features, in addition to the excellent quality of the carving and of the composition as a whole, makes it all the more desirable to arrive at a definite date for this piece. Among the reliefs of the Mentuhotep temple at Deir el Bahri published in 1907<sup>196</sup> was a fragment of considerably inferior quality showing a company of archers in a similarly crowded grouping. It seems fair to assume a relationship between the Mentuhotep piece and this one, the subject being unusual in Egyptian art. It is hardly possible that the mediocre scene in Mentuhotep's temple should have inspired a great artist to produce this work of art, and it is much more likely that the relief from Deir el Bahri is a copy of our piece, made by a provincial and not very gifted sculptor. And recently the problem of dating the block has received most important assistance from the discovery of a further parallel—a scene showing a group of archers in crowded formation discovered by Professor Selim Hassan during his excavation of the lower part of the causeway of Unas<sup>197</sup>—and a connection between the two scenes can be considered certain. As is the case with the XI Dynasty example, the treatment and execution of the relief is much inferior to that of our piece, and the argument used above can again be applied: that it is unlikely to find the quality of a copy better than that of the original. This fact makes it necessary to consider our block, with its superb execution, the earlier, and to see in it the original from which at least two copies, one for Unas and one for Mentuhotep, were made. Thus stylistic features, especially multiple overlapping, not previously documented before the later V Dynasty and even then hardly ever occurring with the freedom shown in our scene,<sup>198</sup> can be traced back at least as early as the beginning of the dynasty.

194 Borchardt, *Saḫu-re'*, II, pls. VI, VII.

195 This type of naturalistic portrayal is to be found especially in the earlier sculpture from Giza, as evidenced by some of the reserve heads; see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, pls. XXXIV, LI-LVI. For examples in relief, cf. Reisner, pl. XXX, and Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pl. XLVIII. The representation of people of minor rank is not affected by this style

except for a few isolated cases in the tomb of Ukhet-hotep at Meir (Blackman, *Meir*, II, pls. XXV-XXVII, XXIX).

196 Naville, *XIth Dynasty*, I, pl. xv c.

197 Professor Hassan has been kind enough to show me the reliefs he has found at Saqqara, and for this I am greatly indebted to him.

198 Cf. Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, 334 ff.



## *Courtiers*

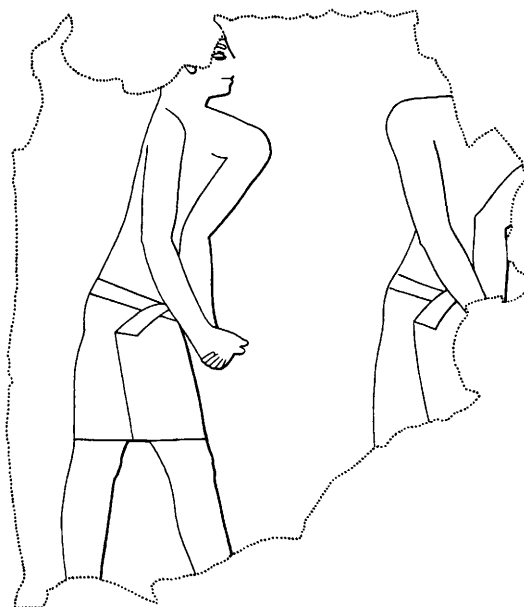
### 44. Courtiers paying homage.

SIZE: 23 × 25.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.14.



This block shows two men facing right, their bodies bent slightly forward, their hands clasped together in front. They are dressed in the short kilt with an overlap partly turned back from the belt to the open end. The low position of the girdle is remarkable. The rare gesture of clasping the hands<sup>199</sup> is not very successfully depicted, particularly in the case of the second man, whose shoulders are shown differently, one in profile and the other from the front.

The fragment is probably part of a larger scene showing officials paying homage to the king. No parallel to the form found here is recorded, but the leaning position and the gesture with the hands—an expression of homage—makes this explanation likely. The carving of the relief is low and of a fair quality. The only criterion for dating available is the shape of the eye, like that found in no. 31, which this piece resembles in other features as well, particularly in the costume. It is thus tempting to assume a common origin for the two pieces and to assign them to the funerary monument of Unas.

<sup>199</sup> Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, 289, n. 1, and fig. 139.

45. Courtiers paying homage.

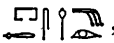
SIZE: 38 × 48 cm.; 38 × 48.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A funerary temple of the VI Dynasty(?).

RECORD NO.: Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, 1958.147.

These two fragments, now separated by an indeterminable but large space, undoubtedly belong together as parts of the same scene. Originally this scene appears to have covered the entire width of a narrow wall. The right edge of one block shows a border; so it can be deduced that no further scene followed but that the representation adjoined a doorway, the border being the frame of the door. On the left edge of the other block a wide margin, which possibly fitted into an adjacent wall, is left blank. The reliefs contain part of two registers showing men facing right. These men, three of whom are preserved in the lower and part of five in the upper register, are standing with the upper part of the body bent forward and the legs almost together. The dress is uniformly the short kilt with triangular apron. The arms of all except the first men hang down in front of the body, the right hand holding a long stick lowered so that its end touches the ground while the left is open and laid over the stick just below the right. The leaders have no sticks, for which there would be no space; they hold their hands open at the height of the knees. Both gestures are well attested as an expression of homage to the king, the figures representing members of the royal court.

The title of each man is written above him separated from that of the next by a short divisional line. Of the upper register only part of the last man's designation can be restored with certainty as , *šhd irw-šni pr-ʿ3*, "Inspector of the Hairdresser of the Palace," an official who appears in the last place in other similar scenes.<sup>200</sup> In the lower register the first two men are denoted as *rh-nšwt* "Acquaintance of the King." The title of the man following them, only partly preserved, is probably to be restored as *šmr hrp ʿh*, "Friend and Commander of the Palace," like that of the last man in the row, with the possibility that another title was joined to it; some traces are preserved which are probably to be restored as *imy-r3 šnwty*, "Overseer of the Two Granaries."<sup>201</sup>

The subject of the relief is well attested as part of the decoration of the royal temple since the V Dynasty. Fragments of scenes of this type were found in the Valley Temple and the funerary temple of Sahure.<sup>202</sup> It is further attested from the funerary temple of Nywoserre,<sup>203</sup> where the gesture of lowering the stick occurs. The best preserved representations are in the Valley Temple<sup>204</sup> and the antechamber of the funerary temple<sup>205</sup> of Pepi II. The uniformity with which this subject occurs in the outer parts of the royal funerary monument makes it likely that the pieces being discussed had a

200 Cf. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. LXIX, LXXVI.

201 Cf. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. LXIX.

202 Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re*, II, pls. XXXII, XLVIII, XLIX.

203 Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re*, II, 75-77, figs. 50-52.

204 Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl. XXXII.

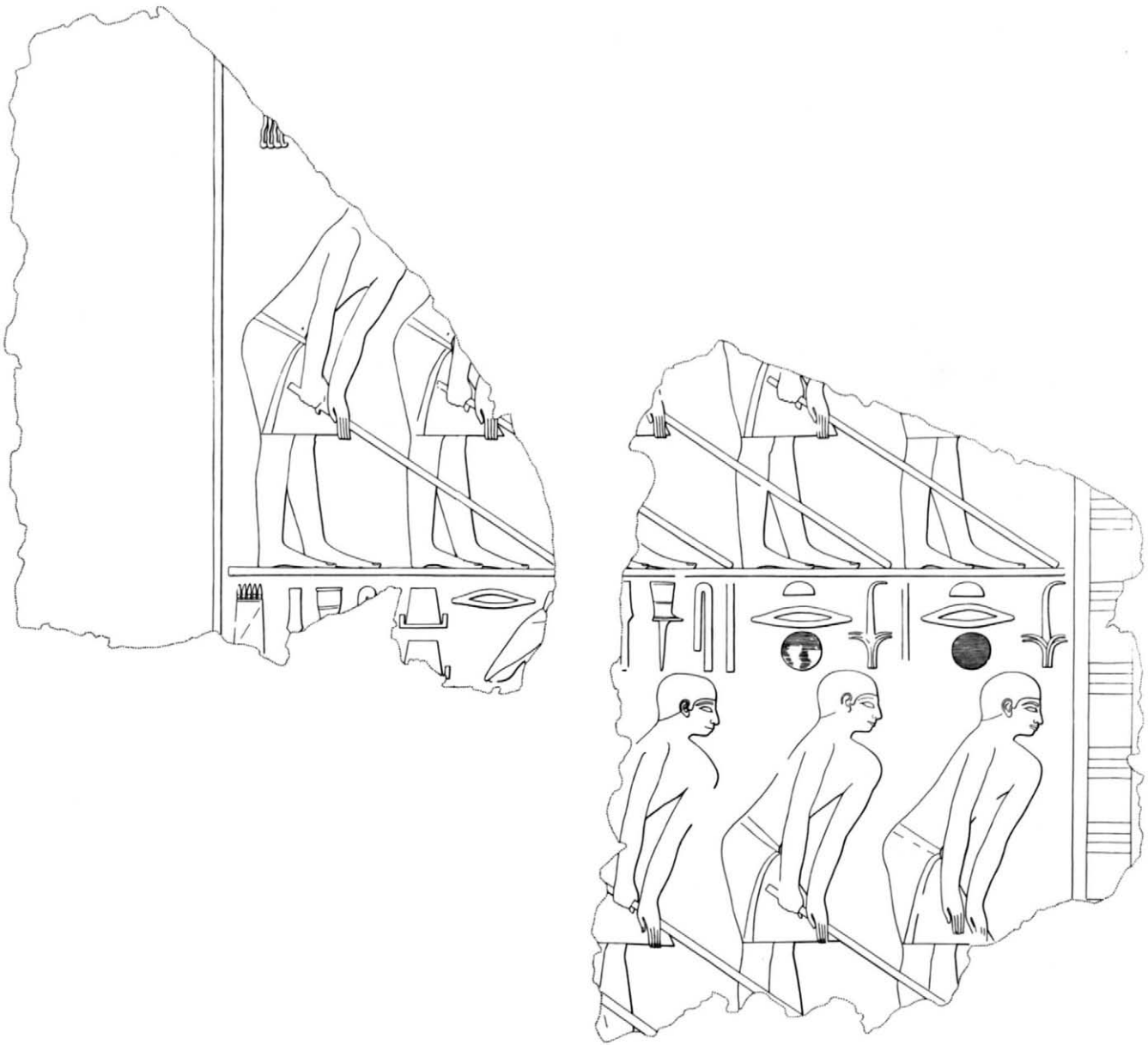
205 Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. XLVIII, XLIX, LIV, LXIX.



similar location, either in a Valley Temple or in the antechamber of a funerary temple. The fact that the figures face right and towards the remains of the border suggests a situation at the left of a doorway, presumably in the antechamber of a funerary temple, as is the case in the monument of Pepi II.<sup>206</sup>

Although this subject, the paying of homage by lowering the staff to the ground, is attested in the V Dynasty, it is not possible for stylistic reasons to attribute this block to

<sup>206</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. LVIII.



that period. The carving is of remarkably good quality, in extremely low relief, but somewhat mannered in comparison with the carving of the IV Dynasty. At the same time the faces show a tendency toward naturalism, which can be seen particularly in the way the ears are represented. There is a certain resemblance in the style of our pieces to the isolated block inscribed for Pepi II (no. 9) in the shallowness of the relief, but it is not certain that they had the same origin. The differences from the parallel in the funerary temple of Pepi II at Saqqara are too great to allow us to attribute our fragments to that monument. It should be noted that there is a resemblance to nos. 25-27.

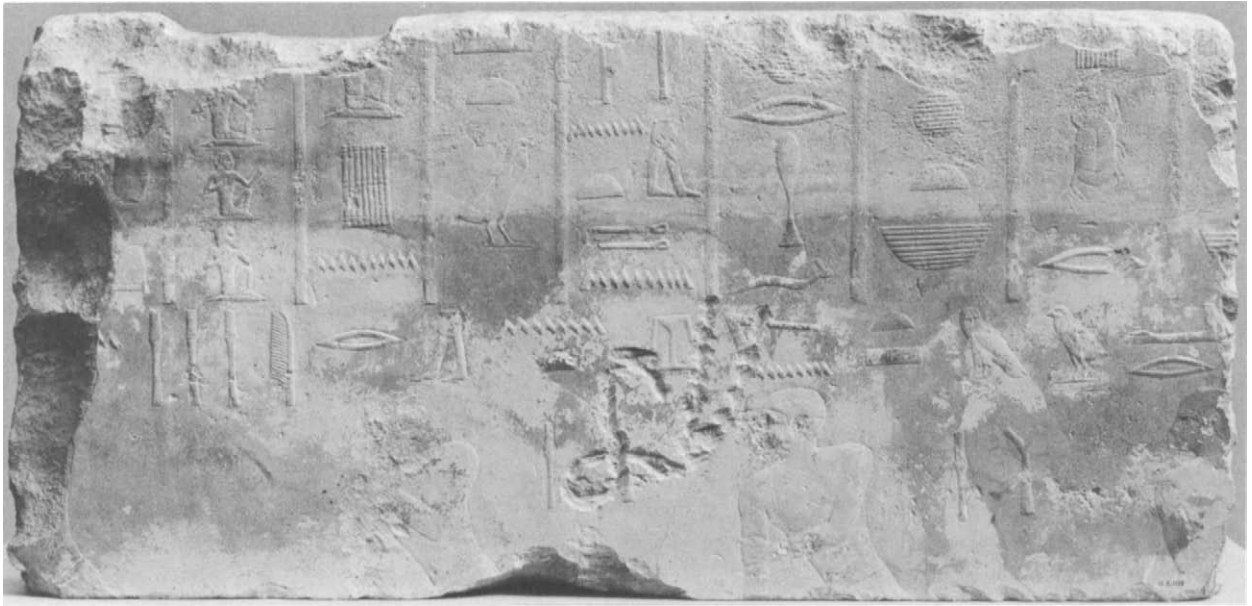
46. Officials prostrating themselves.

SIZE: 97 × 46 cm.

PROVENANCE: Southeast corner of pyramid pavement.<sup>207</sup>



ORIGIN: A building of the VI Dynasty or later.

RECORD NO.: MMA 15.3.1138.



<sup>207</sup> *BMMA*, xxv (1930), Dec., Part II, fig. 10.

This block is completely preserved except for its left edge. Above are the lower ends of nine columns of inscription facing right, so incomplete that it is impossible to grasp their meaning. They possibly contained an address to the people portrayed below, as the suffix *.tn* occurs. The identity of the speaker, if this conjecture is correct, is not clear. The use of *hm.f*, which probably refers to the king, seems to exclude the monarch from this role. Although unintelligible, the connection of the inscription with the pictorial representation underneath appears certain.

The latter shows, facing left, the upper parts of four men who lean forward in such a way that it can be safely assumed that they were depicted prostrate on the ground, one leg under the body, the other stretched out behind. The positions of the men differ slightly, each resting one arm on the floor, but grasping either his shoulder or his upper arm with the other, gestures found in scenes in private mastabas showing the accounting with the tenants.<sup>208</sup> A line of hieroglyphs above the heads of the men, also facing left and thus undoubtedly connected with them, gives a description of the scene. Beginning and end are missing, but possibly very little is lost, the remaining part reading, “. . . n . . . *hrpw ir int hr nwnt m w'rt . . .*”, “. . . leaders, in order to bring under prostration from the district . . .” For *hr*, cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd ed.), §166.3. The reading of the group  is problematic. A word *nwnt* is recorded in *Wb.*, II, 222, 7, but the meaning is not established. It is used in parallelism to *mnt*, referring to something evil, which does not suit the context here. It is improbable that the word refers to a material object, despite the determinative, since the label presumably refers to the men depicted underneath. It is more likely that it describes a particular form of prostration,<sup>209</sup> and is to be related to *ny* (*Wb.*, II, 201, 8), *nini* (*Wb.*, II, 203),<sup>210</sup> and *nni* (*Wb.*, II, 276). *W'rt*, the missing determinative probably being , apparently refers to an administrative district, either in a specific or in a general way.<sup>211</sup>

The title *hrp 'pr* appears in front of two of the men, indicating them to be “Leaders of the Troops” with a police-like function.<sup>212</sup> It appears from the postures of these men as well as from the accompanying text that they were brought to give account of their conduct to some person. The latter, presumably depicted to the left, was in all likelihood the king. This subject is known as part of the decoration of the temple of Sahure<sup>c</sup> in the form of a few fragments,<sup>213</sup> but it has a considerable number of parallels in the private mastabas, where, because of the different situation<sup>214</sup> it is altered to represent the accounting of the tenants. The oldest occurrences of this subject in the mastabas

208 Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. cxxxix; Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. xxxvi.

209 In the early language we find only *ksw* used for prostration, but other expressions exist, like *sn t3*, “kiss the ground” (*Urk.*, I, 110, 16, and 111, 11), as well as those used for other forms of obeisance (Hellmuth Müller, *Mitt. Kairo*, VII, 1937, 91 ff.).

210 Early attested only as a gesture of welcome, *nini* is used in the XX Dynasty in connection with subdued enemies; cf. *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. LXXXVI.

211 Cf. Kees, *ZÄS*, LXX (1934), 86 ff.; H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, I, 187 f. In *Urk.*, I, 103, 1, and 222, 14, 18, *w'rt* refers to a cemetery.

212 Cf. p. 71.

213 Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re'*, II, pl. L; the isolated fragment shown in Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl. XLII, center, possibly belongs to a scene of a similar nature.

214 Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 24; James, *Khentika*, pl. IX; Blackman, *Meir*, IV, pl. XV.

date from the IV Dynasty,<sup>215</sup> thus making it likely that it was represented in the royal temple of the IV Dynasty and subsequently adopted for the private tombs.

As for our scene, the very fragmentary condition is lamentable since it is likely that we have here a representation of an administrative act of the crown. Because of its condition it is not certain whether this event is to be understood as a legal procedure enacted under the supervision of the king or merely as a reporting of such a procedure, the first being the more likely.<sup>216</sup>

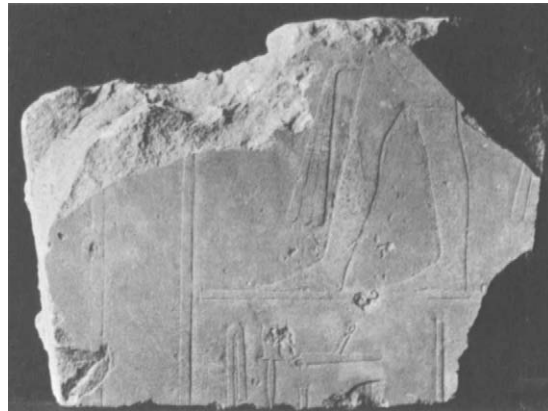
The relief is very low, with sensitive and subtle outlines. Paleographically an attribution of the piece to the Old Kingdom, i.e., prior to the end of the VI Dynasty, appears impossible, chiefly because of the form of *hpr* and *w*, which show features pointing to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>217</sup> The wide spacing of the signs differs widely from the concentrated grouping of the inscriptions of the IV Dynasty (cf. nos. 5, 6, and 60). The fact that the block was used in the pavement of the pyramid establishes a date *ante quem* in the reign of Amenemhet I. The flat treatment of the relief resembles that of no. 45, for which a date in the late VI Dynasty was suggested on account of its similarity to no. 9. While an attribution to the late VI Dynasty remains uncertain, we at least can conclude that this and other blocks with a fine very low relief do not originate in the funerary monument of Khufu (IV Dynasty) despite certain resemblances, which seem to be the result of an imitation of the style of the Giza monument.

#### 47. Courtiers being presented.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid (?).

ORIGIN: A building of the VI Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:76.



<sup>215</sup> Lepsius's Giza 75 (L.D., II, 9).

<sup>216</sup> The scenes of prostration in the sun temple of Nywoserre' (Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. xv, 38) are probably not related to the one we are discussing.

<sup>217</sup> R. Cottervieille-Giraudet, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud, 1931*, pls. xxxii, nos. 82-89, xxxiii, nos. 102-104.

The left section of this small fragment is divided by a double vertical line. The section at the right shows parts of two registers separated by a horizontal line. In the upper one are the legs and hem of the kilt of a man facing left, who held a kind of flagellum in a hand now lost.<sup>218</sup> Traces of a similar object belonging to a second figure can be seen at the right edge. In the lower register only the title *šmr-w'ty* remains, followed by a divisional line. It is likely that this was part of a row of courtiers.

The relief is very low and extremely flat, with no modeling whatsoever, somewhat similar in style to no. 45, and it seems possible to assume an identical date, the end of the VI Dynasty having been tentatively suggested.

#### 48. Parts of two men.

SIZE: 8 × 10.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Uncertain.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9: 73.



This small piece, undoubtedly from a larger scene, shows the upper part of two men. One is almost completely hidden behind the other, with only his face visible. The carving is in rather high relief with good modeling. The details are not carefully executed, as is often the case in a large composition. Neither the subject nor the possible date of the piece can be established with any degree of certainty, it being probable, however, that the block belonged to a representation of offering-bearers.

<sup>218</sup> The same object, although of a somewhat different shape, is in the hands of the courtiers of no. 17. An object of more similar shape is carried by certain members of the king's suite shown in the

sun temple of Nywoserre' (Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, pl. II). For the instrument itself, see Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets*, 187 ff.



# IV

## Nautical Scenes

### *Ships Being Rowed or Paddled*

49. Parts of two scenes: a transport vessel being rowed; an official receiving a reward.

SIZE: 30 × 60 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.16.

A horizontal line divides this fragment into two registers. The lower one shows only the upper part of a man facing right. He is wearing the short wig with overlapping horizontal rows of curls which continue up to the crown of his head. A band ending in a bow encircles his wig; this may be simply an ornament but is more probably a sign of particular distinction. It occurs repeatedly in scenes depicting the rewarding of persons of varying rank, in which the ribbon itself appears to be one of the ways of expressing the acknowledgement of services rendered.<sup>219</sup> Around the man's neck is a collar of seven rows of beads and in addition a cylinder seal on a piece of cord.<sup>220</sup> Both hands are stretched out in front, grasping some object ending in cords, the only part preserved. The object was probably a kind of necklace which had been awarded to him and which he is about to put around his neck. The scene thus depicted presumably showed the "Awarding of the Gold" to deserving officials by the king, a subject to be found among the reliefs of the royal temple in the funerary monument of Sahure.<sup>221</sup>

In the upper register we find, resting on a wide border of water represented by zigzag lines, what appears to be the central part of a large vessel. It seems to be constructed of wood and has a gunwale around the hull. The oarlocks, to which the oars are fastened by loops, are along the gunwale. A kind of rail seems to be attached to the gunwale behind the oarlocks. This object may actually be inside the hull, however, and be represented above the gunwale so that it may show. A rail of this kind is shown on a cargo vessel in the causeway of the Unas pyramid,<sup>222</sup> and similar objects, although of smaller size, are shown on the sterns of large ships.<sup>223</sup> The occurrence amidships seems to be restricted to large cargo vessels, otherwise it is found only where a particularly strong leverage is needed for handling the oars. Its purpose is certainly not to protect the sailors from falling overboard, in which case it would be found on all vessels, but rather to provide a firm purchase for the rowers. Thus we see why in Sahure's temple

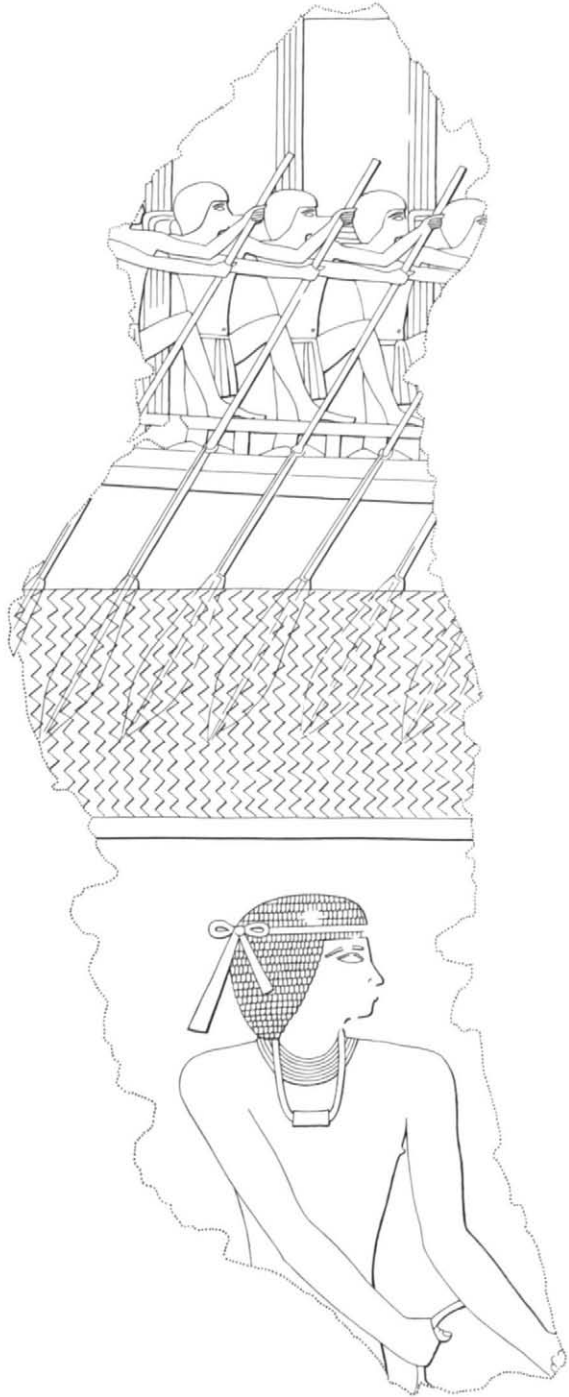
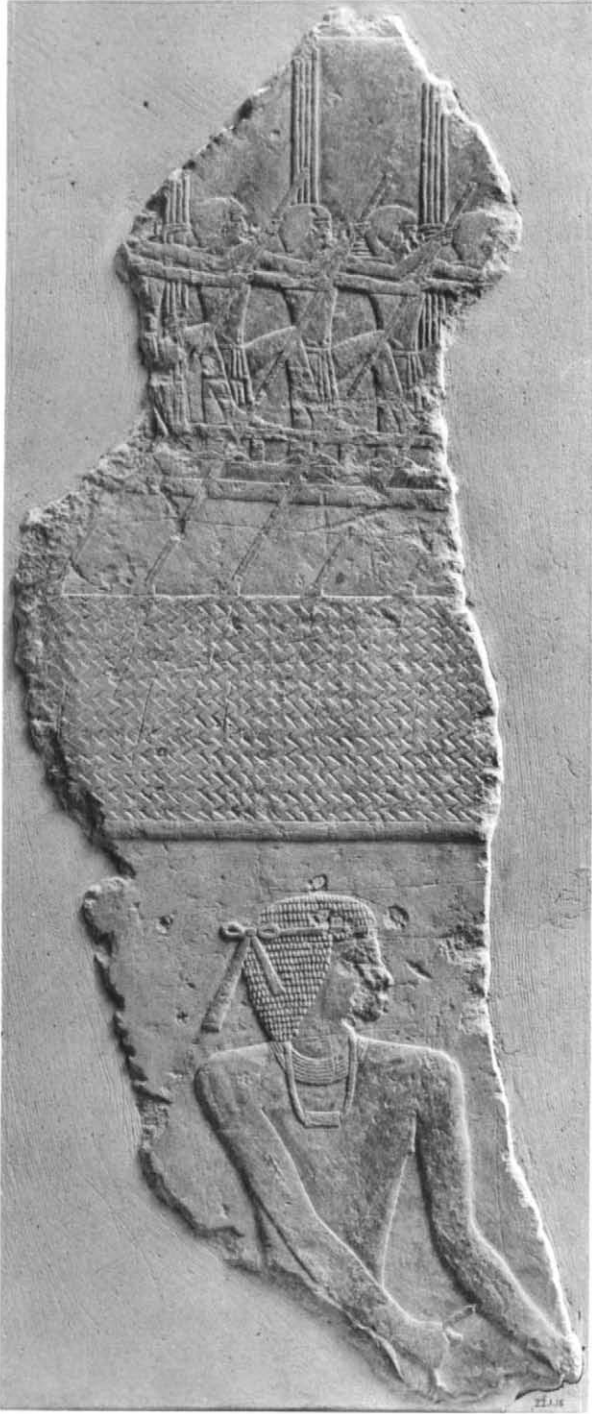
<sup>219</sup> See the detailed discussion in Junker, *Giza V.*, 59.

<sup>220</sup> A man holding a cylinder seal mounted in this way is shown in Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re'*, II, pl. LIII.

<sup>221</sup> Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re'*, II, pls. LI-LIV; cf. also Junker, *Giza V.*, 52 ff., for parallels in private mastabas.

<sup>222</sup> *Archiv äg. Arch.*, I, (1938), plate opp. 182.

<sup>223</sup> Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re'*, II, pl. XIII.



it is found only at the stern, where the pressure on the steering oar is strongest and its handling requires special strength. In the case of our relief the rowers stand inside the hull on the right foot, while the left foot is planted against the rail<sup>224</sup> to strengthen their pull. The oars are held with both hands fully extended in front of the body, and one gets an impression of the strenuousness of the work as they are dipped in the water up to the shaft; the shape of the blades seen through the water is indicated in fine, lancet-shaped outline. As this is such a small fragment it is impossible to be certain about the identity of the cargo, which can be seen under the gunwale, but it is probably a large block of stone, presumably a sarcophagus or an architectural element, shaped, as was customary, before being shipped to its final destination.<sup>225</sup> It is fastened to the deck by several turns of rope, both lengthwise and crosswise, a sort of net being formed in this way.<sup>226</sup>

Because of the condition of the fragment it is difficult to determine whether it came from a royal temple or from a private mastaba. However, a royal temple is the more probable origin in view of the subject, as the transportation of great blocks of stone could hardly have been within the means of private persons at this time. The representation in the lower register, the "Awarding of the Gold," also points to a royal origin. This subject is recorded in the funerary temple of Sahure', while the transportation scene is reflected to some extent in the Unas causeway.

Another problem is whether, and how, the two registers belong to the same scene. Again the fragmentary state of the composition offers a serious handicap, and any suggestion can be only hypothetical, as there is no parallel. It is possible that the execution of a specific, unusually difficult project was shown in the upper register, while underneath it the rewarding of the people responsible for the accomplishment of the task or physically connected with it was represented.

The fragment is carved in low relief of very fine quality. Criteria for dating are few. The coiffure of the man in the lower register with curls up to the crown of his head and the way the seal is worn around his neck do not permit a date prior to the V Dynasty. In the upper register the grouping of the rowers gives us the most important indication of date. The arrangement is crowded without any attempt to avoid overlapping; on the contrary there is a certain interest on the part of the artist in solving the problems connected with this, and he succeeds completely. A grouping of this kind showing such vividness points to a date at the end of the V Dynasty, when scenes were particularly lively; the style of the carving agrees with this attribution. A representation of the transportation of heavy goods is attested only in the monument of Unas, and it is tempting to link this piece with it.

This and the other nautical scenes that follow are discussed as a whole on pp. 117–118.

224 See also *L.D.*, II, pls. CIII B, CIV B.

225 The columns shipped to the temple of Unas were apparently almost finished in the quarry, only the final touches being added after their erection.

226 Cf. *L.D.*, II, pl. LXXVI E, where the transport of a coffin is shown; also the later representation of the shipment of an obelisk in Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, VI, pl. CLIV.

## 50. A ship being rowed.

SIZE: 45 × 96 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.26a, b.

This fragment is broken on all sides except the uppermost, where the plain, painted marginal line evidently separated the scene below from the ceiling (as shown by the rough, protruding edge at the top).

What remains is part of a scene showing at least two vessels, of which two more fragments are preserved among the Lisht blocks (nos. 51 and 52). On a wide border of water, indicated by zigzag lines, rests the central part of a boat. It is evidently a large wooden vessel. The hull, upon which the gunwale rests, is composed of two sections. The oars are attached to the gunwale by loops fitted into the boards; a rope runs along the shafts of the oars and is tied at the necks of the blades. The vessel is being rowed, which means that it was presumably traveling downstream, if the usual rule of Egyptian navigation is being observed. Of the crew fifteen men are preserved. They appear to sit on crossboards the height of the gunwale, visible except for their legs.<sup>227</sup> They are shown with their arms outstretched to grasp the shafts of the oars, the upper part of their bodies leaning backwards at the end of the stroke. They sit close together so that the arms of each overlap the figure in front, the oars being held ahead of the preceding man's face.<sup>228</sup> In the center of the ship, where the hull curves down farthest, stands a man with his legs wide apart and his arms lifted horizontally while he gives commands to the rowers.<sup>229</sup> In one hand he holds a kind of scepter with a flower-shaped top and carved handle.

Above the boat is a group of hieroglyphs facing left, i.e., opposite to the direction the vessel is traveling. The group appears to be complete, reading *dpt-ntr(y)*, "Bark of the Divine."<sup>230</sup> The vessel which was shown underneath was probably of the same general shape as the boat hieroglyph. The significance of the short docket is not certain, apart from the fact that it refers to the vessel represented, though it appears likely that the bark was used by the king rather than a god.<sup>231</sup> Accordingly it is necessary to take ¶ as a reference to the king and probably read it *ntry*, "The Divine One."

The piece has suffered mutilation, in all likelihood caused by the workmen engaged

<sup>227</sup> The same position is to be seen in Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. LXXVI, the lower vessel. In the upper one, where the men are shown at a different moment of the stroke, the thwarts are indicated.

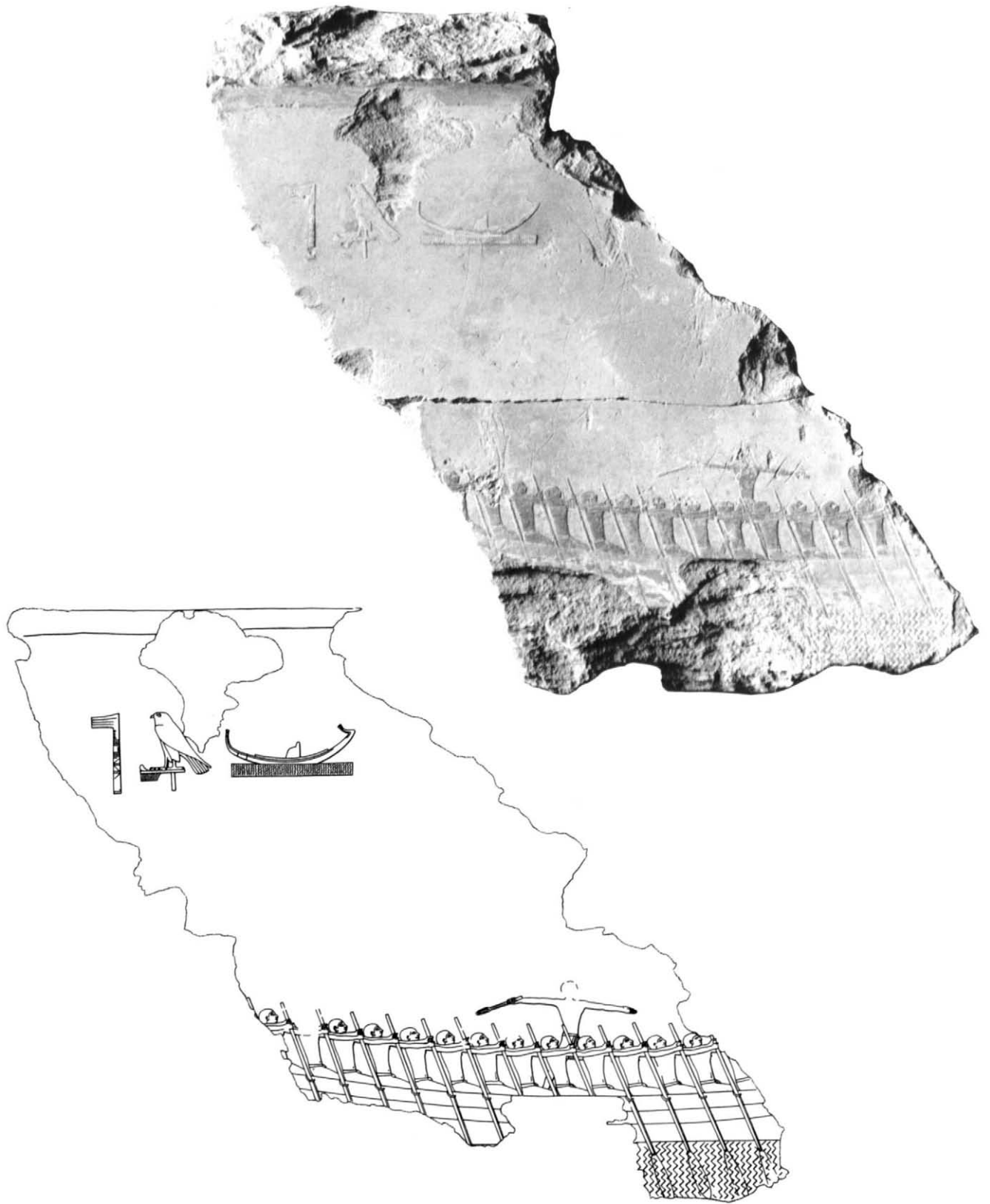
<sup>228</sup> This position of hand and oar is to be found neither in Sahure's shipping scene nor in the great scenes of vessels in the mastabas of the Old Kingdom like *Ti* and *zht-htp* of the V Dynasty; it does occur several times, however, in the mastaba of the vizier *Pth-htp* (*L.D.*, II, pls. CI B, CII B, CIV B) and Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. CXXX). The date of the tomb of *Pth-htp*, which would be of importance in dating our own piece, is unfortunately uncer-

tain, but an attribution to the V Dynasty is likely because of the subject matter of the scenes.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. the similar figure in Borchardt, *Sahure*, II, pl. XI. An exact parallel is in the mastaba of *zht-htp* in the Louvre; cf. Boreux, *Études*, pl. II.

<sup>230</sup> The ideographically written term for "vessel" permits several readings, of which, however, *dpt* appears most probable in view of the documented compound *dpt-ntr* (*Wb.*, V, 446), whereas *ntr* is not found in combination with other terms for boats.

<sup>231</sup> *Dpt-ntr* as it occurs in Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 32, apparently refers to a divine bark used in con-



in transporting it to Lisht. The particular butt of their spite was the figure of the standing coxswain. Not only was his face completely hacked out but also each of his outstretched arms was crossed by two cuts. Presumably at the same time, with the block lying upside down, graffiti were scratched in very crudely in the empty space between the boat hieroglyph and the rowers—the figure of a hawk in the center and at either side of it another scribble of an indeterminate shape.

This fragment is complemented by no. 51, showing the stern of presumably the same vessel, while part of the bow of another boat, apparently of similar or identical kind, is represented on no. 52.

The representation of vessels as part of the decoration of the royal temple is recorded from the temple of Sahure<sup>c</sup>,<sup>232</sup> and fragments were also found in the temples of Weserkaf<sup>233</sup> and Nywoserre,<sup>234</sup> though in Pepi II's temple<sup>235</sup> the subject was apparently omitted. In addition, large boats being rowed are depicted in considerable numbers in the mastabas of the nobles, beginning with the V Dynasty.<sup>236</sup>

As a whole, the way in which the boat is represented is most closely related to that in Sahure's temple, and it appears likely that we have a parallel to this boat on our block. The hull and oars, including the method of attachment of the latter, are identical; the arrangement of the rowers, however, is different, as Sahure's are more widely spaced, avoiding any overlapping.

The relationship between this piece and Sahure's scene is the same as that between the relief of Sahure<sup>c</sup> mentioned in the discussion of our no. 42 and no. 42 itself, in which, although the composition of the former is closely followed, the arrangement of the figures is varied by the introduction of multiple overlapping. We seem justified in assuming, therefore, that our piece originated in the same building as no. 42 on account of the similarity of style and the resemblance to the decoration of the Sahure<sup>c</sup> temple.

Nevertheless, if it is correct to say that the docket describes the vessel as *dpt-ntry*, "Bark of the Divine," any date earlier than the end of the V Dynasty would be unlikely, *ntry* as an epithet of the king not being recorded before that time. An attribution to the VI Dynasty seems improbable for stylistic reasons, our piece being cut in low, fine relief with an abundance of detailed work, so that from this point of view the date proposed above also seems to be demanded.

nection with the funeral. To see in the term a "trading vessel," as J. Spiegel does (*Soziale und weltanschauliche Reformbewegungen im alten Ägypten*, 81, no.23) seems without foundation, as the passage does not indicate that this particular kind of vessel was used in trade with the North.

232 Borchardt, *Szhu-re'*, II, pl. XIV.

233 Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 71, fig. 32.

234 Borchardt, *Ne-user-re'*, 83.

235 The cargo vessels depicted in the causeway of the Unas pyramid cannot be considered paral-

lel to the ships we are discussing, as they are related to a particular historical event connected with the erection of the funerary monument of the pharaoh. It is uncertain whether fragments of relief found in the small pyramid G I-b at Giza (Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, fig. 2) represent the same type of vessel as ours, but it is quite likely that they do.

236 Cf. Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 104 ff.; Boreux, *Études*, 252 ff.

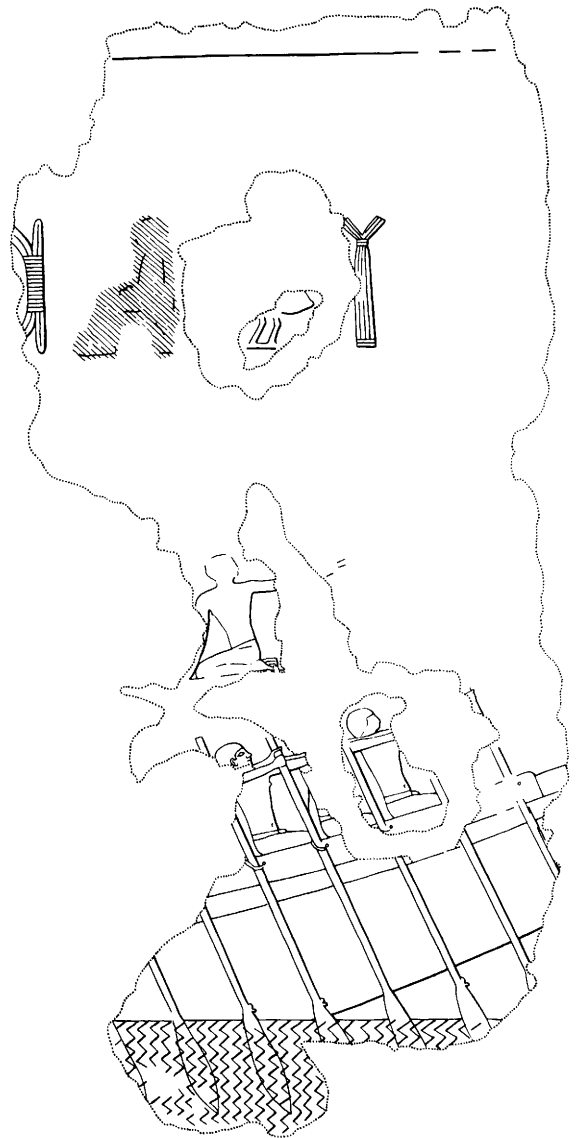
51. The stern of a ship being rowed.

SIZE: 26 × 53.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Uncertain.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.130.



The protruding edge and the marginal line at the top of this fragment show that it came from the same scene as no. 50; it probably represents a section of the stern of the same vessel, although the pieces do not join directly. While it is true that the docket seems to have no connection, the one on no. 50 gives the name of the vessel and that on no. 51 seems to refer to the name of the crew, so there is no insuperable obstacle to the fragments having belonged together.

The part of the hull shown on this fragment projects from the water in a pronounced curve and is built in the same way as that on no. 50. The rowers are depicted in the same manner, the figures of three men being preserved completely and the oars of five others. A kind of cabin was placed on this part of the deck and one post is faintly visible. A man kneels on this structure facing left, his one arm stretched out behind him, directing the helmsmen. This member of the crew is well known from boat scenes in private mastabas;<sup>237</sup> his duty is to transmit the orders of the commanding officer in the forward part of the ship to the helmsmen whom he cannot see on account of the cabin.

The docket above the vessel apparently read, "The Crew 'King X is Noble'."<sup>238</sup> The royal name contained in the cartouche is unfortunately lost. The last hieroglyph, presumably *špš*, has been destroyed, but this reading is likely. The name was probably identical with that on no. 42, which is also destroyed.

In view of the similarity to no. 50 identical origin with the latter can be considered certain.

## 52. Fragment of the forward part of a ship.

SIZE: 13.5 × 43 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:23.

This small, narrow fragment shows, below, part of the bow of a vessel, curved upwards. The hull, unlike that of no. 50, is made in one section, upon which the gunwale rests. At the left is an open canopy, probably intended to shut off the forecastle.<sup>239</sup> The identification of the portion preserved as the bow is mainly due to the direction of the hieroglyphs above, since they presumably face in the direction in which the boat is traveling. We do not know whether it was sailing or being rowed, probably not sailing as there is hardly room for mast and tackle in the available space above. The short text, which may be complete, reads *šhm* '3, "Great of Power," presumably the name of the ship.<sup>240</sup>

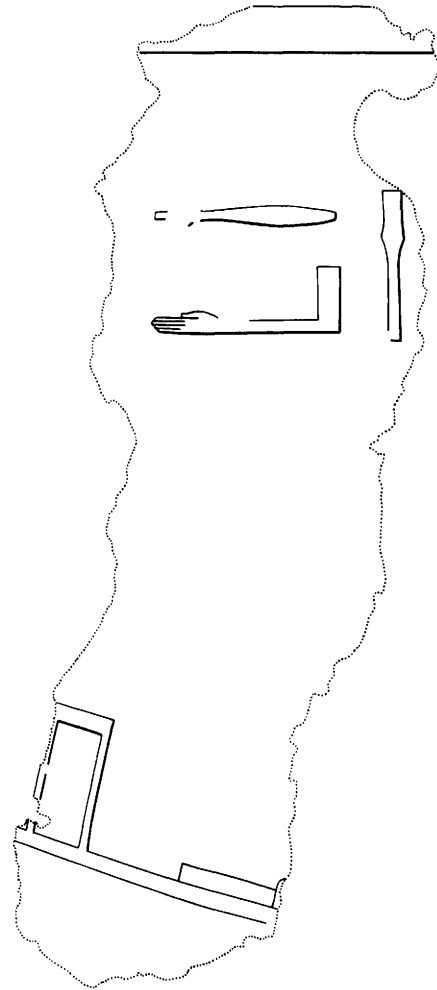
<sup>237</sup> Junker, *Gtza II.*, 157; Boreux, *Études*, 408 ff.

<sup>238</sup> For the name of a crew formed in this way, see Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re'*, II, 85 and pl. IX. Cf. also Junker, *Gtza, X.*, 69 ff. and Reisner, *Mycerinus*, app. E, 235 f.

<sup>239</sup> For a forecastle, see Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re'*, II, pl. IX. An example from a rowed boat is not known to me.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re'*, II, 84 and pl. IX, where the ship of state is called *nšry-b3*, "Divine of





Above the hieroglyphs is a narrow marginal line joining a projecting edge, as in nos. 50 and 51. Accordingly it appears likely that the present block was part of the same scene as these two fragments; the flat style of the carving is also in accordance with this assumption, although here we have little to go on. Consequently the piece may be attributed to the funerary monument of Unas.

Ba." It is uncertain that there was any connection between the name of the vessel and that of the king's pyramid, named *H'-b3*, especially since a vessel called *b3-ntrw* is mentioned in the inscriptions of the tomb of *Mri-ib* (Junker, *Giza II.*, 132

f.). If there is any connection, it could be assumed that the name of the pyramid of the king to whom the vessel belonged was compounded with *shym*, and no name of this kind is known.

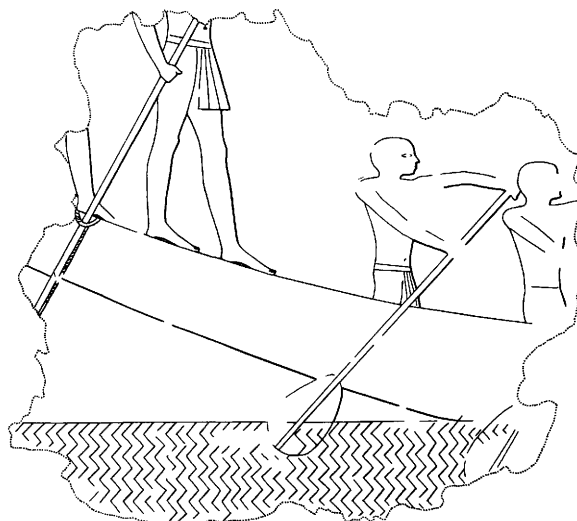
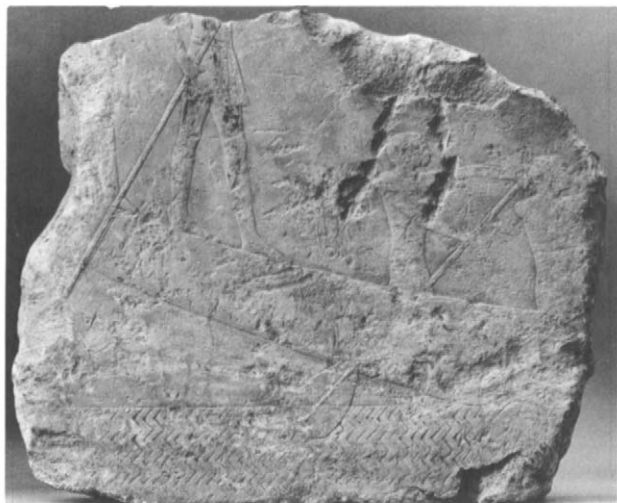
53. The stern of a boat being paddled.

SIZE: 22.5 × 19 cm.

PROVENANCE: A platform behind the temple.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple (?) of Khufu, IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 15.3.1161.



Not only are there breaks all around this small fragment but its surface is severely mutilated. It shows the stern of a boat moving to the right, the hull curving high out of the water, and part of the sheet of water with typical zigzag lines through which the vessel travels. One member of the crew and parts of three others are represented on the fragment. Two men at the left are standing on the stern, steering the boat. For this they use long oars fixed to the hull by a thin rope;<sup>241</sup> the blades are not preserved but were presumably the pointed shape usual for steering oars.<sup>242</sup> The two figures at the right are standing in the hull, so that their legs are invisible. This position is quite unusual for men paddling, who normally are depicted squatting on deck.<sup>243</sup> These two men grasp their paddles with both hands to drive the vessel forward, the paddles, which have rounded blades, not being attached to the vessel but only held by the men's hands.<sup>244</sup> That of the oarsman at the left is the only one fully preserved. Its blade is dipped slightly into the water, and the part under the water is outlined as well as the part above.

<sup>241</sup> Not only in Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. XIV, but also in the related representations in private tombs; cf. Junker, *Giza II.*, 156, fig. 22; Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. LXXV.

<sup>242</sup> Boreux, *Études*, 436 ff.

<sup>243</sup> In the early example (Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, fig. 2) the men paddling are apparently sitting on the thwarts. The drawing in *L.D.*, II, pl. XXXII is ambiguous, as it is uncertain whether

the men are paddling or rowing, probably the latter, to judge by their posture. Moreover, as Dr. Smith pointed out to me, there is a case of men standing while paddling among the reliefs of Weserkaf's temple; however, this representation is unique and is not related to the one we are discussing.

<sup>244</sup> Boreux, *Études*, 311 ff.

All the men wear the belt from which four wide streamers are suspended, a covering identical with that of a guard in no. 36. The shape of the head of the second paddler also calls for special attention, with its elongated chin, for which I am unable to produce a parallel among the reliefs of the Old Kingdom.

In the unmutilated places the relief is low and of good quality. The subject is attested from the IV Dynasty<sup>245</sup> onwards among the decorations of both royal buildings and, in virtually identical form, private mastabas. Therefore, although it cannot be considered certain that our piece came from a royal building, this assumption is tempting in view of the general character of the Lisht blocks, and the close parallel found in the chamber of the Queen's pyramid G-I-b east of Khufu's pyramid<sup>246</sup> suggests an assignment to Khufu's monument.

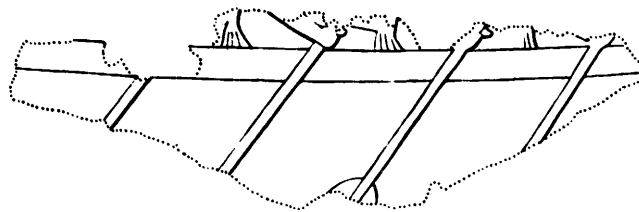
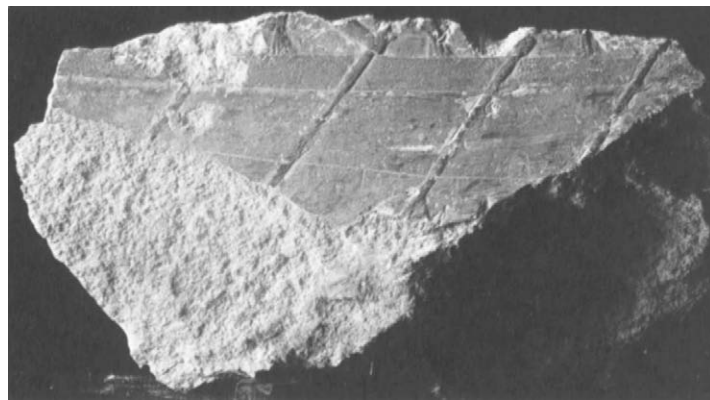
54. Central part of a boat being paddled.

SIZE: 17 × 5.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: North pyramid cemetery.

ORIGIN: A building of the Old Kingdom (?).

RECORD NO.: L 12-13:565.



This small fragment, found in the debris in the neighborhood of the pyramid, appears likely to be of Old Kingdom origin and so is incorporated here. What remains consists of a small portion of the hull of a wooden vessel, with the gunwale showing above it. The boat was propelled by paddles of which parts of four are preserved,

<sup>245</sup> Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, pl. XIV.

<sup>246</sup> Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, fig. 7.

including enough of one to show that it had a broad and not a pointed blade. (That we have paddles here and not oars is proved not only by the shape but also by the way they are handled: they are not fixed to oarlocks but held by the hands alone.)

Parts of three members of the crew are left, grouped just far enough apart for the right (lower) hand of each man to be fitted in between him and the man in front without overlapping. The crew was apparently standing, since no indication of thwarts can be detected.

The fragment resembles no. 53, but is probably not connected with it, for not only is the shape of the hull different but also the way the men are standing. In no. 53 they are much more widely spaced than here, in addition to the fact that the gunwale is not indicated. What remains of no. 53 does not seem sufficient to supply any clear indication of a date for the piece; the type of representation is attested in the IV Dynasty and continues throughout the entire Old Kingdom.

### *A Ship of State*

55. Fragment from a representation of a ship of state (?).

SIZE: 60.5 × 32 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: Funerary temple of Unas (?), V Dynasty, or a building after the VI Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.14.

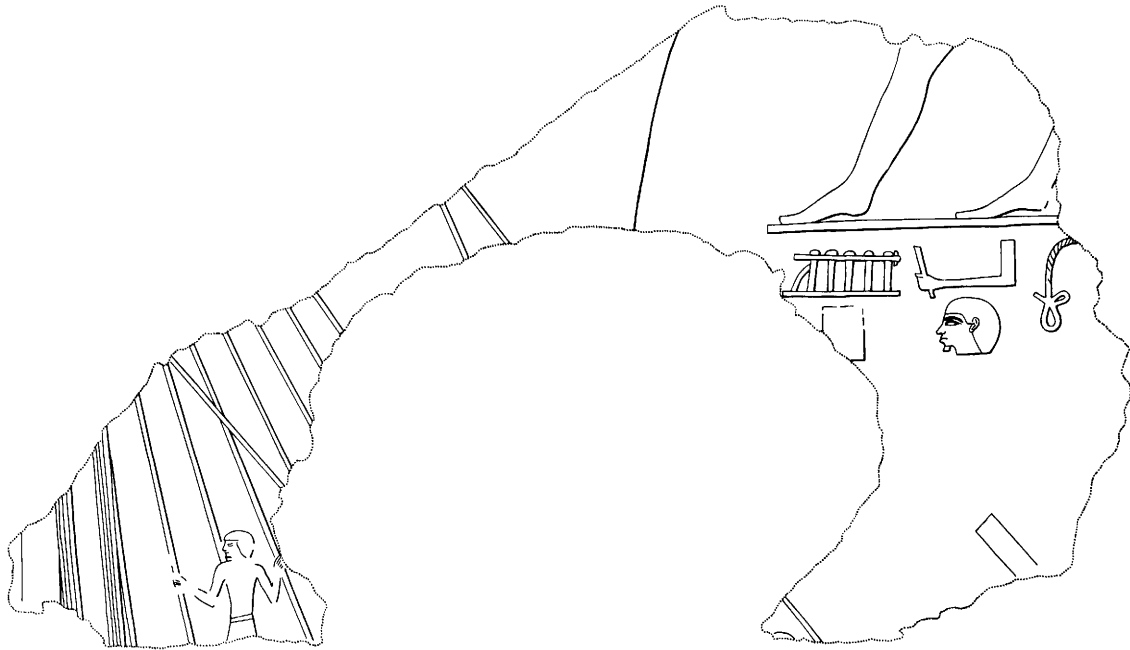
Not only is this piece broken on all sides but the loss of a large flake has mutilated the decorated surface. What remains belongs mainly to the rigging of a vessel sailing to the left, the only example among the Lisht blocks of a ship moving in this direction; it can be safely assumed that this was a particularly large ship, exceeding all others in this respect.

In the lower right corner a rectangle placed diagonally must apparently be identified as part of a rudder, which would have had to be mounted on a rudder post and handled with the help of a tiller. The use of the rudder post is not otherwise recorded in the royal reliefs, the boats of Sahure<sup>247</sup> and Unas, as far as they are preserved, all being furnished with the long, hand-managed steering oar. The technically higher development of the use of the tiller does not appear in representations until the late Old Kingdom,<sup>247</sup> being particularly well attested by the wooden ship models placed in the tombs from that time onwards.<sup>248</sup> It seems questionable, however, if the absence of

<sup>247</sup> Boreux, *Études*, 398 ff. It occurs first in the tomb of the vizier *Pth-htp* (L.D., II, pl. CIV B) attributed to the V Dynasty, and in a simplified form in Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pls. CXL-CXLV). The oldest fully developed example that can be dated with any degree of certainty is in the

tomb of *'Iby* at Deir el Gebrawi, which belongs to the very end of the VI Dynasty (Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi*, I, pl. X).

<sup>248</sup> Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*, pls. XII, XIII; Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*, 48 f.




the rudder post in the representations of vessels before the VI Dynasty can be used as an argument *ex silentio* that this device was not introduced until the later Old Kingdom. Although Sahure's ship of state because of its size would seem to have needed some more effective steering device than hand-managed steering oars, the representations of sea-going ships in Sahure's temple, none of which has rudder posts, contradict this view:<sup>249</sup> if the rudder post and tiller existed at this time one could justly expect to find

<sup>249</sup> Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pls. XI, XII.

them on large sea-going vessels even more than on a boat used for travel on the Nile.<sup>250</sup> Therefore we seem justified in assuming that the introduction of the rudder with tiller as a device to direct ships did not take place before the end of the V Dynasty, and furthermore that this technical development might possibly have been introduced from abroad.

At the left of the mutilation we see part of the rigging of the vessel and a man working on it. The cluster of ropes farther to the left, not found elsewhere, is interesting. It probably belongs to the step of the mast, a trace of which seems preserved at the extreme left of the block.


Above the after part of the vessel the relief is subdivided by a horizontal line into two registers. Below this line is the beginning of an annotation reading, *šsp tp w3(t) . . .*, "setting out upon the way."<sup>251</sup> Although not especially illuminating in itself, the few hieroglyphs are nevertheless of significance, the orthography of *šsp* requiring special attention. Throughout the Old Kingdom this verb is written without a determinative, the use of determinatives being very much restricted at this period, but after the VI Dynasty they seem to occur with increasing frequency after verbs expressing an activity. Moreover, the sign  has not hitherto been found in the Old Kingdom. Its occurrence here, accordingly, could indicate a date later than the VI Dynasty for our piece.<sup>252</sup>

On the other hand, in the upper row are the lower parts of two right legs, of which only the balls of the feet touch the ground, and which therefore belong to men running in a way identical with that shown on no. 42 and similarly arranged in a closely composed group. Although palaeographically as well as orthographically the few hieroglyphs suggest a date after the VI Dynasty, we have identified no. 42 as a copy of a scene in Sahure's funerary monument in which a representation of the royal ship of state appears above running men, and it is possible to see on this fragment the stern of a similar vessel. Like the Sahure's example the vessel on this fragment is shown moving to the left. Its large size suggests that it was of a special kind. Finally the similarity in style between this piece and no. 42 supports the conjecture that they are both copied from the Sahure's reliefs. If this conjecture is correct they give us an idea of the after part of Sahure's ship of state and the composition of the scene. At the same time it is likely that we have to assume certain differences in the two representations as far as the steering facilities are concerned, the use of the rudder being rather unlikely in the earlier representation.

Our scene has no direct parallels among either the royal or the private reliefs, and its mutilated state adds to the difficulty in making an attribution. The piece is carved in low relief and shows a fair handling of technical problems without being particularly

<sup>250</sup> Cf. the large cargo vessels depicted on the causeway of the pyramid of Unas, which were steered with oars and not with the rudder (*Archiv äg. Arch.*, I, 1938, pl. opp. 182).

<sup>251</sup> *Wb.*, IV, 533, 13, recorded only since the New Kingdom.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. the spelling of *ndr* in Blackman, *Meir*, II, pls. xxiii and xxiv, with the use of  as determinative, unparalleled in the Old Kingdom. Moreover, the form of this sign is closely related to the one on our block.

fine. The outlines are unclear in some places and there is no particular attempt to show details; in these aspects it resembles the style of the end of the V Dynasty.

As it is probably influenced by Sahure's funerary monument it belongs to a group of pieces among the Lisht blocks that have this similarity to V Dynasty reliefs as a common feature, although stylistically most of them have nothing that allows us to make a definite attribution. The present piece, however, is important for dating this whole group. As pointed out above, the use of the rudder to direct large boats is not recorded before the end of the V Dynasty and apparently was an innovation at that time. We thus have a date *post quem* for this relief, i.e., not before the end of this Dynasty and at the earliest the reign of Unas, in which we have tentatively placed no. 42. Nevertheless, however likely, this early attribution cannot be regarded as certain in view of the use of the determinative after *šp*.

### *Ships under Sail*

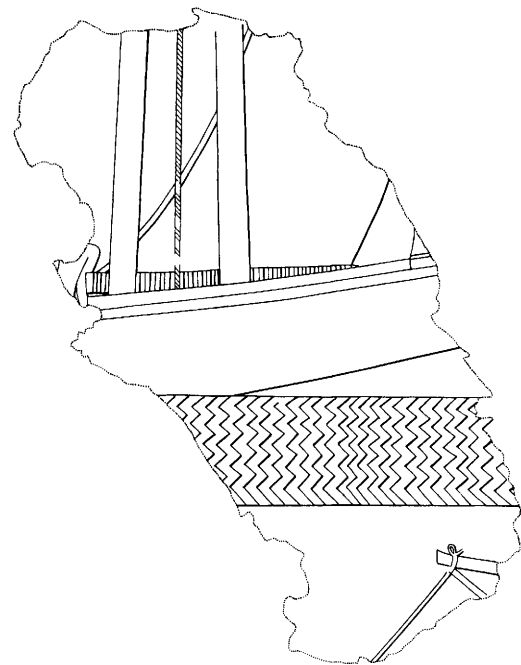
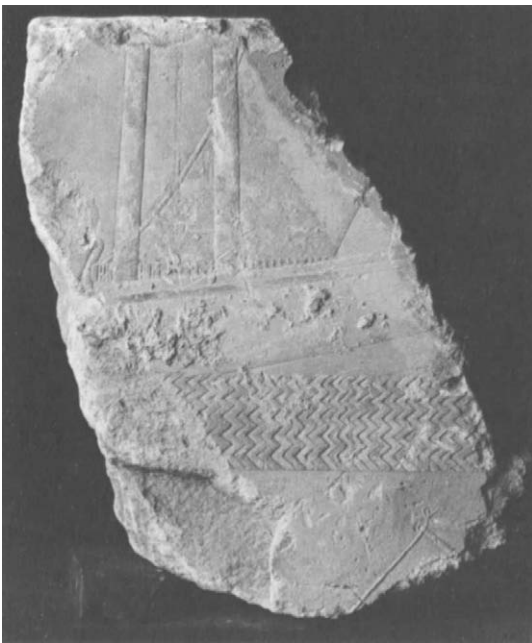
#### 56. Forward part of a ship under sail.

SIZE: 35.5 × 32 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Valley Temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 8-9: 77.



The top of this fragment appears to be the original edge of the block, all the other sides being broken. The fragment is divided into two registers about two thirds of the way down by a band of zigzag lines indicating water.

The upper register shows a small section of the forward part of a vessel, the under side of the hull rising clear of the water. The bottom of the two-legged mast is preserved; it did not stand in the center of the ship but was placed forward and was apparently permanently stepped in the hull, as there is no indication of any rigging such as shrouds for lowering it.<sup>253</sup> Part of the sail is visible, its lower edge laced to the boom.<sup>254</sup> The only part of the rigging preserved is the rope which can be seen between the legs of the mast; this was presumably used to raise or lower the boom.<sup>255</sup> Parts of the figures of two members of the crew are visible, one on either side of the fragment; they sit unoccupied, their hands between their thighs.<sup>256</sup>

In the lower register, below the band of water, there is a small trace of what I venture to suggest is the edge of the yard of another ship with the brace tied to it.<sup>257</sup>

It cannot be established with certainty whether the scene to which this fragment and also nos. 57–59 belong was part of a royal temple or a private tomb, the latter possibility feasible in view of the close parallels to be found in the mastabas, particularly those of *Mri-ib* and *K3-ny-nswt*. On the other hand, it is quite probable that the decoration of these two mastabas themselves was influenced by that of a royal temple, that of Khufu at Giza being the most likely. A date in the IV Dynasty seems probable for the group of fragments, both on account of the exceedingly good quality of the carving and because numerous details of the representation are found only in the two mastabas just mentioned. If the fragments come from a royal temple—a tempting assumption because of the general character of the Lisht blocks, of which royal reliefs provide by far the greatest number—the funerary monument of Khufu would be the most likely origin for them also. Nautical scenes are well attested as subjects for the decoration of the royal temple by the monuments of Sahure<sup>c</sup> and Nywoserre<sup>c</sup>, and an even earlier date for the introduction of the subject into the decorative scheme is suggested by its occurrence in private mastabas. But location of the fragments within the temple—presuming that their origin was Khufu's monument—is uncertain, the Valley Temple, however, being a more likely provenance than the funerary temple. This conjecture is supported by the number of blocks for which this origin appears to be firmly established.

253 This is true of other early representations of sailing ships; cf. Junker, *Giza II.*, 156, fig. 22; *L.D.*, II, pl. xxviii.

254 The boom is indicated chiefly on the earlier ships; cf. *L.D.*, II, pl. xxviii; Junker, *Giza II.*, 156, fig. 22. In the mastaba of *Ti* some of the rowers are shown sitting on it, a detail restricted to this mastaba (Steindorff, *Ti*, pls. LXXVI-LXXIX).

255 Cf. Boreux, *Études*, 368 and n. 4. For a further occurrence, see Junker, *Giza II.*, 156, fig. 22.

256 This way of showing idle members of the crew is common: the details of our scene closely resemble the earlier representations.

257 In a cruder form without indication of the end of the rope in Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. LXXIX.

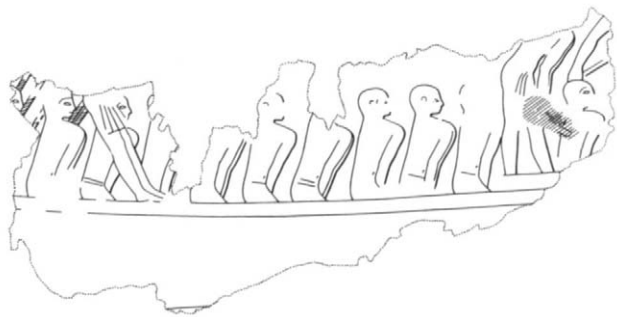


57. Part of a ship under sail.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Valley Temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 8-g:26.



Only on the lower part of this much battered block has some of the carved surface been preserved. It shows the central portion of the hull of a vessel, slightly toward the stern as the gunwale ascends somewhat towards the left. At the extreme left of the remaining surface some rigging can be seen, which shows that this was a ship under sail, that the sail was at the right, and that the boat was moving in this direction. Two classes of men are depicted on board, one standing at the level of the gunwale, the others sitting so that their legs are hidden by the hull. This second group, the paddlers, are idle as the boat is sailing before the wind; their hands are between their thighs. The representation of the shoulder in profile is not very successfully solved by showing it as

if seen from behind.<sup>258</sup> One standing man at the left is probably handling the main brace to set the sail;<sup>259</sup> only his legs, firmly planted and leaning backward, are preserved. Two more men stand at the right. They bend forward and their occupation is obscure.

The piece shows part of the same vessel as that on no. 56, which it does not, however, join directly.

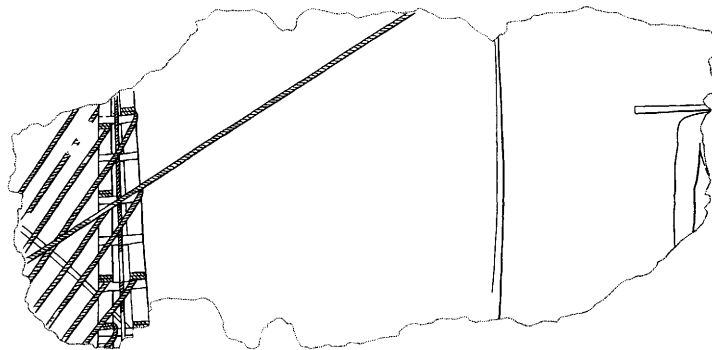
58. Part of a sailing scene.

SIZE: 58 × 27 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Valley Temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:29.



The top edge of this block is in its original state, all the other sides being incomplete. The block shows the upper parts of the sail, mast, and rigging of the vessel represented on no. 56, a greater expanse of sail being included than we have on most of these blocks; it continues the rope running between the two legs of the mast on no. 56.

<sup>258</sup> For the type of idle crew members, see above, p. 101.

<sup>259</sup> This man probably plays a role identical with that of the sailor managing the sails on the stern of the vessel of *K3-ni-nšwt*.

At the right is the arm of a man who holds a pole over his shoulder. He is one of the two sailors carrying a coil of rope shown on no. 59, with which this block once connected.

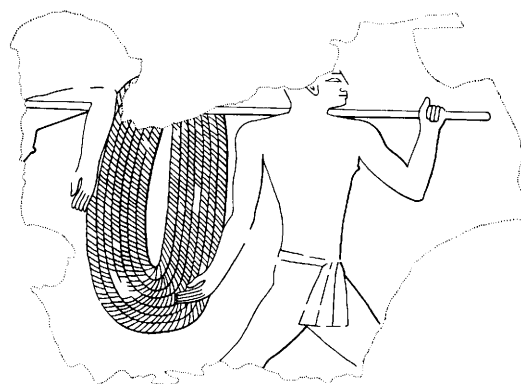
The carving is of extremely good quality, low but clear, with emphasis on detail. In this it is typical of the reliefs of the earlier IV Dynasty and agrees with the IV Dynasty date which we assigned to no. 56. The similar way in which the ships on both pieces are represented is also typical of this date. The origin of the block is therefore probably the Valley Temple of Khufu.

59. Two sailors carrying a coil of rope.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: Valley Temple of Khufu, IV Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 12-13:245.



This small block once joined no. 58. As in the case of the latter the upper edge is preserved. The decoration consists of two men carrying a coil of rope suspended from a pole laid on their shoulders. The first man, who holds the pole with his left hand, stretches his right hand behind him to steady the coils and prevent their swinging from the motion. The other has an arm over the pole with his hand against the rope. The right shoulder of this man is preserved on no. 58.

The scene is closely allied to a representation in the mastaba of *K3-ny-nšwt*<sup>260</sup> and thus lends additional support to our belief that this and the connected blocks belong to the early IV Dynasty at Giza and are probably all that remains of a scene of ships under sail in Khufu's Valley Temple.

<sup>260</sup> Junker, *Giza II.*, 156, fig. 22; the group of the two running men also occurs in *Mir-ib* (L.D., II, pl. xxviii), but they do not carry the coil of rope.

The group with the rope is found again in *šht-htp* (Boreux, *Études*, pl. III) although with a slightly different composition.

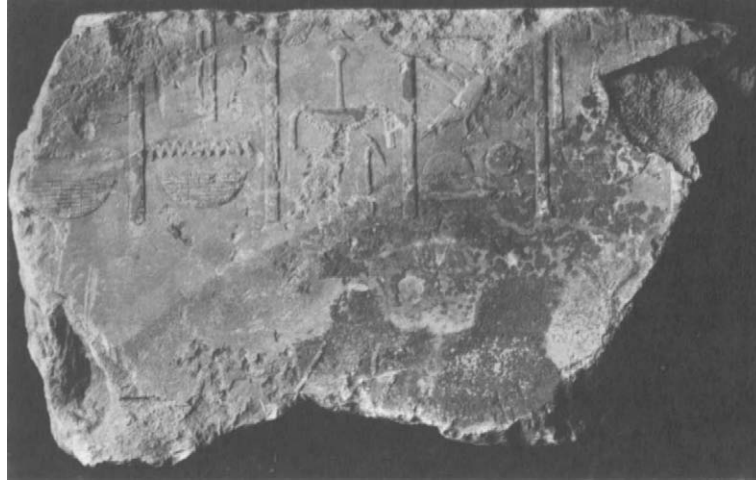
60. Inscription and traces of a ship.

SIZE: 58 × 35 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: A building of Khufu, IV Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 20-21:145.



The upper part of this block contains the end of six columns of inscription, of which only two and a half signs of each are preserved. Thus it is impossible to grasp the purport of the inscription, which now consists of a number of unconnected words: “1 . . . 2 . . . all gods . . . 3 . . . primeval time 4 . . . made of silver and *d*<sup>ʿ</sup>*m*-gold 5 . . . all their (?) . . . 6 . . . all oars (?) . . .” We might hazard the conjecture that it is the description of a vessel, possibly the one once depicted below the text, of which a few traces remain—just enough for us to recognize the subject as a manned vessel in motion. At the very right of the block under the last column of inscription is the now isolated hieroglyph  $\text{𓏏}$ . It is probably part of the name either of the vessel or of the crew which manned it.

As the inscription above and also the name of the boat are facing right, and also assuming, as is probably the case, that the name was written above its center, the boat was probably moving to the right and the remaining traces probably represent its stern. We can recognize the upper part of a man's figure; he evidently stood in the elevated stern so as to be able to overlook the entire boat.<sup>261</sup> He faces right, and his left arm is stretched out in the same direction. In his right hand, which hangs down behind his body, he holds a kind of scepter with a tuft on its upper end. This object is not found elsewhere in the hand of a coxswain, as this man must be recognized as being, a short stick or *šhm*-scepter being the usual insignia.<sup>262</sup> We may possibly see in it a stalk of papyrus, used instead of the more common wooden object to incite the rowing crew. There are traces of a head below the outstretched arm, and in front of it are the remains of a diagonal line. More to the right, at the same angle but successively shorter, are three similar lines. These four lines are the traces of the steering oars, placed at the stern of the vessel.<sup>263</sup>

The carving of this relief is of exceedingly high quality, low and with great interest in fine detail. Therefore it is tempting to attribute the piece to the monument of Khufu, but although this attribution is quite probable we cannot be certain that it is correct since the hieroglyphs that occur on it are not otherwise recorded from so early a period.

## 61. Part of a ship under sail.

SIZE: 59 × 42 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 958.49.3.<sup>264</sup>

This relief, although assembled from several fragments, is still only a fraction of a much larger scene; this is the more regrettable as it bears witness to a representation of outstanding quality. What is left is part of a ship moving to the right. The supporting border is preserved to its full width in two small sections; on its lower edge is a narrow margin without decoration. The small remaining fragments of a lower register bear no reliefs.

The part of the vessel preserved is the bow and the bottom of the mast. It was presumably a rather small ship, the rigging at the left having been attached to the stern. The bow is blunt, not pointed, and slightly convex,<sup>265</sup> with two rectangles

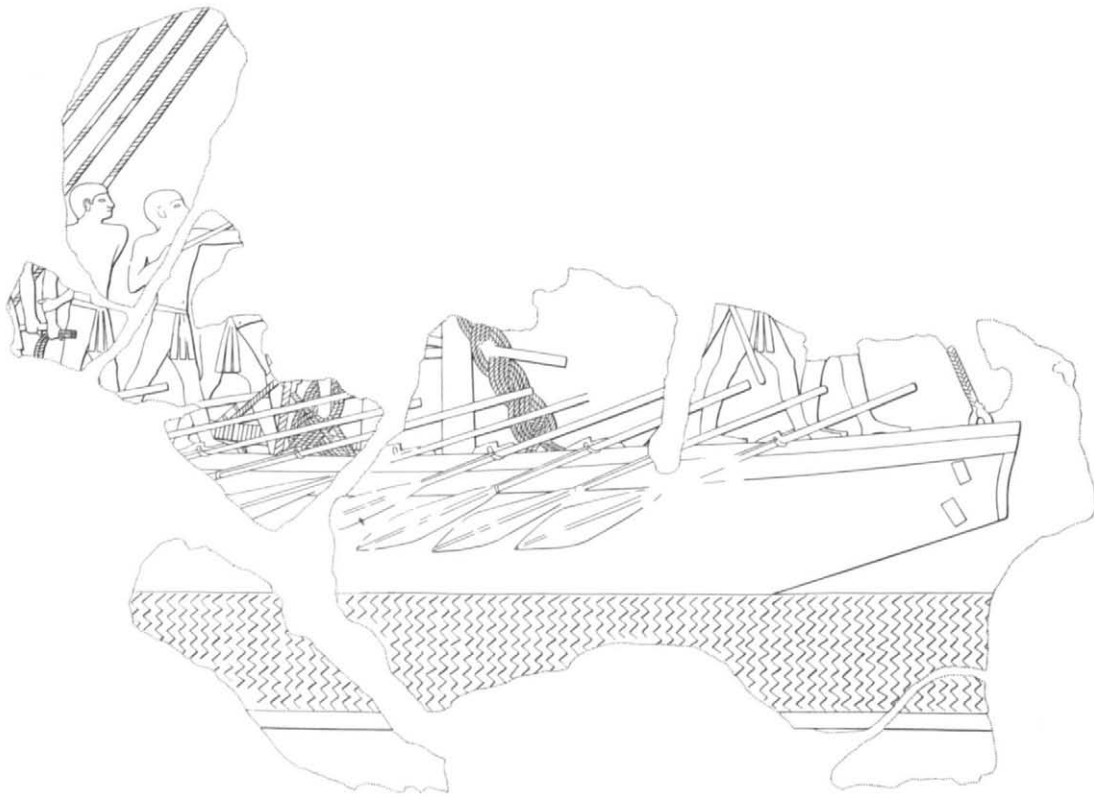
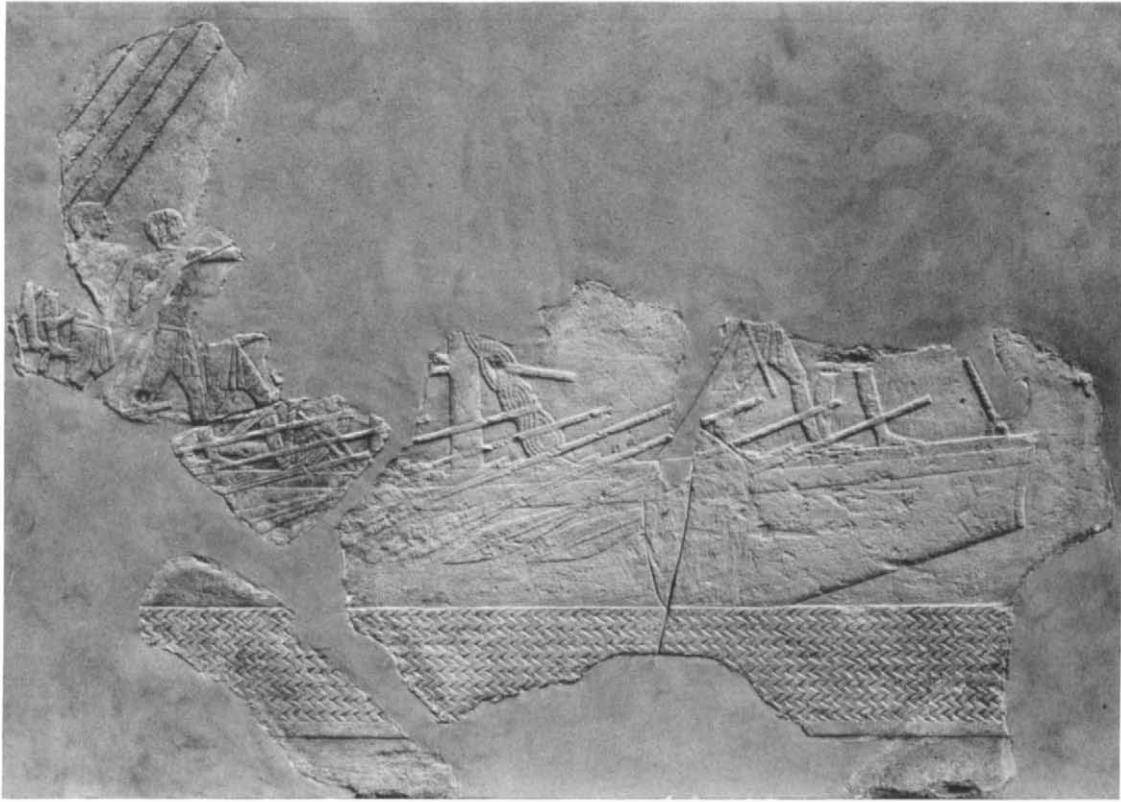
261 A comparable but not identical arrangement is shown in Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. LXXIV.

262 As in Boreux, *Études*, 472. Assman (Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re'*, II, 156) considers a short stick carried by one of the mates a papyrus stalk. Cf. also the object in the hand of the coxswain on no. 50.

263 Boreux, *Études*, 398 ff.

264 Needler, *The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Art and Archaeology Division, Annual*, 1959, 32 ff. and pl. iv.

265 Cf. Cairo CG 4882 (Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*, 54).



indicated on the hull, probably the ends of transverse beams. Only the foot of the two-legged mast is preserved, fixed in position by a heavy shroud on either side.<sup>266</sup> Almost nothing is left of the rigging: a short portion of the edge of the sail behind the second man in the bow and the forestay, attached to a ring in the hull. As usual the ship is also equipped for rowing. As they are not being used the oars are secured by a line running from the top of the pointed blade to the oarlocks.<sup>267</sup>

Of the crew portions of six men are preserved. There is a standing man close to the bow,<sup>268</sup> in all likelihood the pilot, who seems not to be included in the vivid action of the other members. Only the legs of the man just behind him remain, set farther apart than those of the pilot; he seems to be handling the short rope that crosses his thigh. Behind the mast is a group of four men close together. The two at the left are apparently not sailors. Hardly more of one is left than a hand holding a papyrus roll. In front of him stands a figure who appears to be the ship's master. He is supervising the setting of the sails, his hands crossed behind his back in a relaxed manner.<sup>269</sup> He holds the ends of two ropes, presumably to make himself respected when necessary. The man in front of him seems to be adjusting the set of the sail with a long stick, as does the similar figure on no. 56. Another sailor bends down pulling a rope with each hand for some reason that I cannot explain.

The quality of the piece, despite its mutilation, is outstanding, particularly for its liveliness and naturalism in the representation of figures. In this respect it is paralleled by no. 43, which it also resembles in the style of carving, interest in detail, and the masterly way the artistic problems are solved.

This block is probably from a large scene of navigation. It seems to belong with nos. 62–68, which all represent sailing ships moving to the right; it is especially related to no. 62, as the oars, the method of fixing them, the oarlocks, and the shrouds all show identical form in the two fragments. The origin of the scene was in all likelihood a royal temple, the date of which, however, cannot be established with certainty. On the one hand there are important details of style and manner of representation that suggest the IV Dynasty. On the other hand, the arrangement of the figures on block 43, with their multiple overlapping, makes a tempting parallel to the naturalistic composition of our block. Thus, a date in the IV or early V Dynasty seems tenable, disregarding the possibility of its being a later copy of outstanding quality.

<sup>266</sup> Cf. no. 62.

<sup>267</sup> The oarlocks have the same form as those of no. 49.

<sup>268</sup> Boreux, *Études*, 404 ff.

<sup>269</sup> Cf. Steindorff, *Ti*, pls. LXXVIII-LXXXI; Boreux, *Études*, 407, n. 1. The gesture is already documented by fragments from the temple of Weserkaf, as Dr. Smith informed me.

## 62. Fragments of two ships under sail.

SIZE: 71 × 70 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.13.

This is the largest single piece among the Lisht blocks showing nautical subjects. Incomplete on all sides, the pitiful remains show that it must once have been part of an impressive scene. At the left is the forepart of a vessel moving to the right. At the lower right is part of a human figure belonging to a second ship moving in the same direction. Two columns of hieroglyphic text separated by a blank space divide the two. The right-hand column, presumably containing a report from the helmsman of the missing vessel, is completely destroyed except for a trace of one hieroglyph, and no restoration is possible.

The representation of the vessel at the left, though incomplete and extensively damaged, is of great interest. The ship is on the starboard tack with bellying sail. The mast consists of two spars, the upper sections of which are connected by a number of crossbars.<sup>270</sup> The beginning of the rigging is preserved on one side of the mast, while on the other side four lines appear to hold the mast itself in position. It is not certain if the latter was permanently stepped in the hull or if it could be lowered, the latter being the more likely because the mast is braced near its foot by a pair of stays tightened by means of Spanish windlasses.

The vessel though under sail is also equipped for rowing, the oars being tied to the oarlocks by ropes. The bow is decorated by three upright blade-like objects each adorned by the sign of the sacred eye. This kind of prow decoration is depicted on the sea-going ships of Sahure,<sup>271</sup> where, however, only one blade of this type is indicated. It is found on the vessels depicted in the Unas causeway;<sup>272</sup> there the sea-going vessels also show only one blade, while the cargo ships have eight at each end. It is also to be seen on the ends of a transport bark in a private mastaba.<sup>273</sup>


The multiple arrangement found here and also in the Unas causeway is probably to be understood as a way of depicting the three blades side by side, as the bows of these ships are broad, not pointed; and as this "figurehead" is associated with this type of ship it may well have had some technical significance.<sup>274</sup>

<sup>270</sup> Cf. Boreux, *Études*, 347 ff.

<sup>271</sup> Borchardt, *Saḥu-re*, II, pls. XI, XII.

<sup>272</sup> *Archiv äg. Arch.*, I (1938), plate opp. 182; *ZÄS*, LXXX (1955), 139, fig. 2.

<sup>273</sup> *L.D.*, II, pl. LXXVI E.

<sup>274</sup> The resemblance between the object on the boats and the hieroglyph , believed to represent a knife (Gardiner, *Grammar*, sign list T 35), is so close that it is tempting to consider with Boreux (*Études*, 479) that the object perhaps also represents a knife and indicates the idea of "defense." A word *nm*, for which the meaning "knife" is presumed, occurs only once (*Wb.*, II, 263, 10), but

this meaning is borne out by the well-documented *nmt*, "place of slaughter or execution." On the other hand, there are also the words *nmi*, "to travel," and *nmiw*, a term for a certain kind of boat, which suggests a connection between the sign *nm* and the end piece of our vessel. Therefore it is possible that there were originally two different hieroglyphs, one representing a knife and the other the figurehead of a vessel. Moreover, the fact that the blade is directed toward the ship and not against a possible aggressor could raise doubts about Boreux's theory.





Three members of the crew enliven the scene. Two, facing right and placed at the very bow of the boat, are probably pilots testing the depth of the water and giving directions concerning the course. The one in front supports himself by holding a rope, presumably a sheet, with his right hand. With the other he has grasped a long pole to measure the depth of the water. The man behind him is actually using such a pole, which he holds with both hands, bending slightly forward.<sup>275</sup>

A third sailor, facing in the opposite direction, is handling a rope attached to the sail. In this he is helped by a man standing at the other side of the mast and using a long

<sup>275</sup> The pilot is often shown; cf. Boreux, *Études*, 404 ff. I know of no other case in which two men share the role. For a pilot testing the depth of the water, see Junker, *Giza IV.*, pl. III.



pole with a forked end inserted into a loop at the edge of the sail to push the latter in the desired direction.<sup>276</sup> A feature of special interest is a thin rope attached to the fork of the pole, presumably to help in handling it.

The line of inscription above the bow contains an ejaculation of the pilot. It reads (šš)ꜣꜣ.n nfr(w) mi nw ꜣ isꜣ, "Sail well like this, hurry!" The remark is well paralleled.<sup>277</sup> The meaning of the final isꜣ, however, is uncertain; since there is no connection with

<sup>276</sup> This action is probably also shown on no. 61; the use of this forked stick does not seem to occur on any of the sailing scenes of the Old Kingdom.

<sup>277</sup> A. Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, 55; Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, 352. For the meaning, see Junker, *Gtza IV.*, 59.

the preceding text it is likely to be an exclamation. Most probably it is related to the common verb *isi*, “rush” enforced by the particle *3*.<sup>278</sup> It could also, however, be considered the imperative of *s3i*, “to wait,”<sup>279</sup> a command not to change the position of the sail as the course was good.

There is no clear indication of the origin of the ships, whether they came from a private mastaba or a royal temple. The only definite clue is the form and decoration of the bow, found in the reliefs of Sahure,<sup>280</sup> which makes a royal origin likely but by no means certain. The quality of carving and the composition also support us in assuming a royal origin for the piece.

The particular arrangement on our block, a close sequence of ships moving in one direction with short vertical inscriptions between them, is known from private tombs from the time of the V Dynasty.<sup>281</sup> Although some of these reliefs resemble our present block as far as arrangement is concerned, none shows the liveliness and naturalism we have here, making it probable that this is a copy of a standard subject executed in a manner not characteristic of the Old Kingdom.

The wide spacing of the signs must be noted as it is rather against an assignment to the IV Dynasty and in fact can hardly be paralleled before the beginning of the V Dynasty.

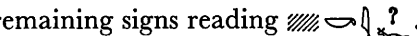
### 63. A sailing scene.

SIZE: 74 × 55 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.129.

This fragment is part of a larger scene depicting vessels sailing to the right<sup>282</sup> and shows the mast, sail, and rigging of one vessel at the left and also, in the lower right-hand corner, the figure of the helmsman of another vessel. In the upper part of the narrow space between the two ships two men are running to the right; part of the first man is preserved on the adjoining fragment, no. 65. Below them are two vertical columns separated by a blank space. Probably one column is connected with the helmsman of the vessel at the right, the other with the pilot. This second reads, *iri hr sti*, “Make to port!”—the pilot’s command as he tests the depth of the channel. The other text is uncertain, the remaining signs reading .

<sup>278</sup> Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, 24, 27. For a writing with —, see Junker, *Gtza IV.*, 39.

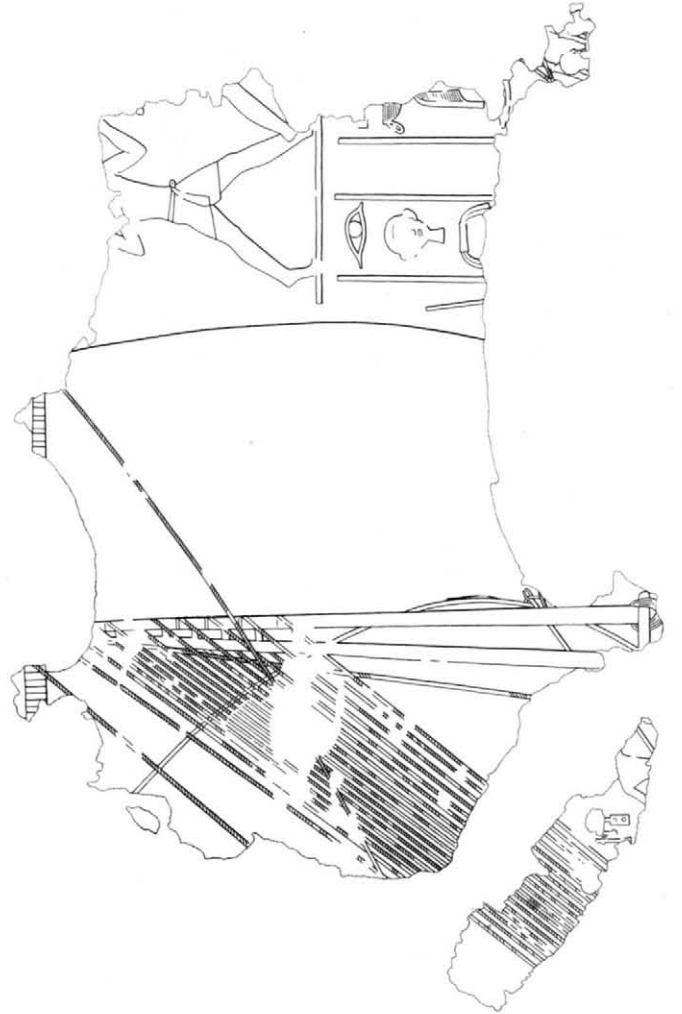
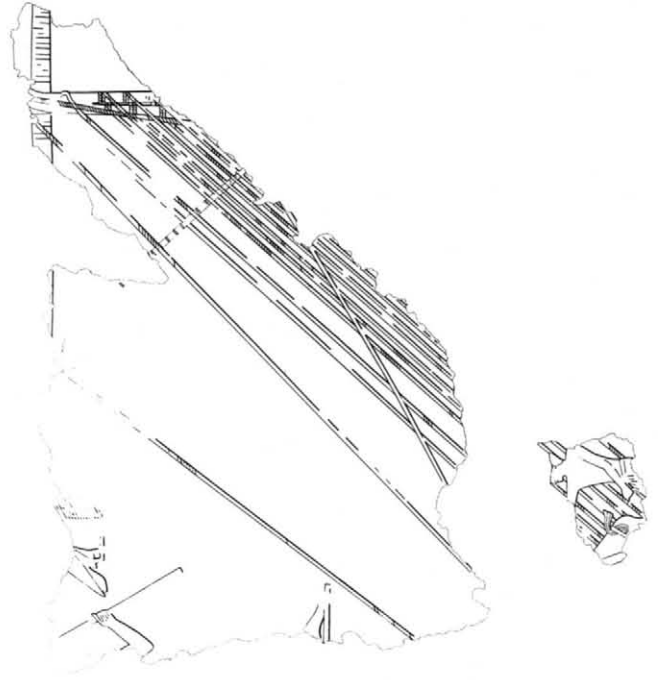
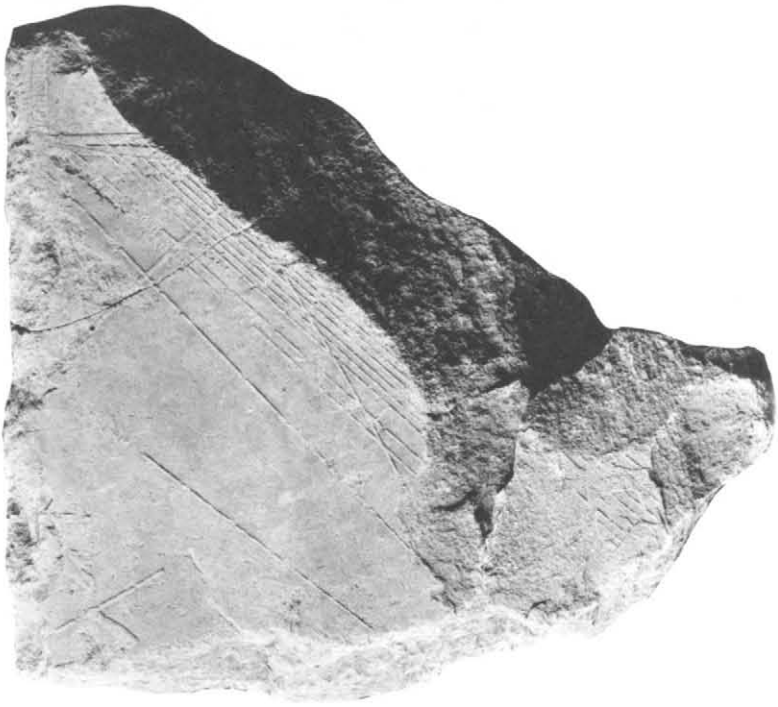
<sup>279</sup> *Wb.*, III, 419, 1.

<sup>280</sup> The only occurrence in a private tomb (*L.D.*, II, pl. LXXVI E) does not show the eye decoration, and, moreover, it is far from certain that this vessel actually belonged to the tomb-owner. It is being used to transport a coffin and therefore may have belonged to the state, as the

funerary needs of private persons seem to have been cared for by the Crown to a large extent.

<sup>281</sup> Among the earlier occurrences are those in *3ht-htp* (Boreux, *Études*, pl. III); *Pth-htp* (Davies, *Ptahhetep*, II, pl. IV); *Ti* (Steindorff, *Ti*, pls. LXXVII ff.); *K3i-m-nh* (Junker, *Gtza IV.*, pl. VII); *Mrrw-k3* (Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pls. CXL ff.); cf. also Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 104.

<sup>282</sup> For the arrangement of the fragments of this scene, see below, p. 118.



64. The rigging of a ship under sail.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:70.

This small fragment shows part of the rigging of a vessel sailing to the right, and belongs to the ship at the left of no. 63. Below the main group of ropes is the small figure of a man turned to the left, before him his title, *sš*, "scribe."

65. The rigging of a ship under sail.

SIZE: 54 × 57 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:20.

These two fragments adjoin no. 63, showing the vessel whose helmsman is preserved on the right of that block. The top of the mast and part of the yard appear on this fragment, and also the upper section of the rigging. Two men are shown working at the ropes on the small piece attached at the bottom. The arm of a man who holds a short stick in his left hand is preserved in the upper left corner. In front of him are traces of two hieroglyphs, possibly to be restored  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ , "Cruise!"—a wish accompanying the departing vessels.

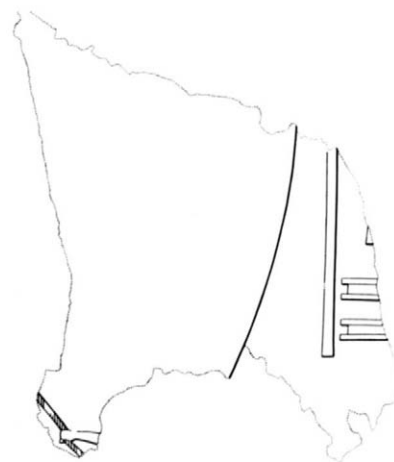
66. Part of a sail.

SIZE: 22 × 17 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:71.



The curve of a sail belonging to a vessel moving to the right occupies almost the whole of the preserved surface. This piece belongs with no. 67 as in front of the sail is the lower end of a vertical line of inscription whose larger part is on that block; it is also probably to be connected with no. 65.

67. Part of a sailing scene.

SIZE: 49 × 22 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: L 8-9: 30.



This small fragment shows part of a sail at the left, and next to it two columns of inscription separated by a blank space, as on no. 63. To the right are ropes belonging to another vessel, also moving to the right. The fragment connects with no. 67, which contains the lower end of the column of inscription at the left.

The right-hand column presumably contains a remark of the helmsman. It is reduced to a few hieroglyphs, but the repetitious character of docketts of this sort permits a restoration: [𓂏 𓂏\* 𓂏] 𓂏 [𓂏 𓂏], [*sb3ti-m*]w *skd(.i) m3'w*, "O captain, I steer correctly(?)." *Sb3ti-mw* is an expression applied to the commander of a vessel (cf. Junker, *Giza IV.*, p. 59f.). The term is only recorded in the mastaba of *K3i-m-nh*. *Skd* apparently refers here to the action of the helmsman; thus it hardly can be rendered

“to row”<sup>283</sup> in the narrow sense of the word but is to be understood as “to steer,” “to navigate.” The restoration *mj'w*<sup>284</sup> at the end is rather uncertain but would suit the context and the available space.

The column at the left gave an order of the pilot, which has also been largely destroyed: a possible reconstruction would be [𓏏 𓏏] 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏], “Watch the forestay for the . . . wind.” For *rsi r hr* see Junker, 57.<sup>285</sup> The term 𓏏 is also in Junker, 61; it is apparently a technical sailing term, reading and significance being obscure.

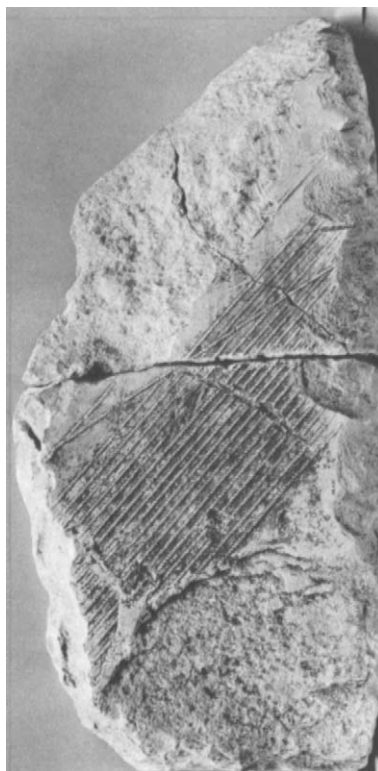
## 68. The rigging of a ship under sail.

SIZE: 28 × 57.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.17a-c.



This shows the rigging of a vessel moving to the right, undoubtedly one of the group to which the pieces already discussed belong. In the lower left-hand corner a man is shown pulling on a rope. The piece is of good quality, all the twists of the ropes being shown.

<sup>283</sup> See *Wb.*, iv, 308 f.; Boreux, *Études*, 115.

<sup>284</sup> It seems to be used adverbially rather than as a verb, as proposed by Junker, *Giza IV.*, 60.

<sup>285</sup> Cf. also Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, 55.

Blocks with nautical scenes are numerous among the Lisht blocks, but differences in type as well as in style show that they are not a homogeneous group but originated in different places. While those showing boats being rowed (nos. 50-52) are undoubtedly taken from a royal building, as we can see from the accompanying inscriptions, the royal origin of the other pieces is not certain. The representation of a cargo vessel loaded with a monolith (no. 49) is thus far not attested in a royal building in the form found here but has a parallel in the reliefs in the Unas causeway, which show vessels loaded with large columns. It seems most likely that it recorded a specific event in connection with the building of a royal funerary monument and possibly has to be regarded as a variation on the scene of the "Awarding of the Gold" to the official in charge of the project—a subject not likely to be found in a private mastaba.

The attribution of the fragments showing boats being paddled (nos. 53-54) is more difficult. The subject is attested since the IV Dynasty<sup>286</sup> not only among the royal reliefs but also, and frequently, in the private mastabas. It is not possible in this case to decide between the two alternatives, but it is tempting to assume a royal provenance in view of the general character of the Lisht blocks.

The assignment of the sailing scenes is particularly difficult. The vessel shown on no. 55, represented moving toward the left, may be a parallel to Sahure's ship of state,<sup>287</sup> both because the latter has similar features and because of the likely connection with no. 42. On the other hand, the use of the rudder for the steering of large vessels is not attested before the very end of the V Dynasty; and the fact that the use of a determinative after *šp* is not found before the end of the VI Dynasty suggests a date later than the VI Dynasty for this piece. Although it is tempting to assume that no. 55 dates from the V Dynasty, this must remain uncertain for archaeological as well as philological reasons.

Among the numerous other fragments of ships under sail, all directed to the right, two groups can be distinguished. The smaller consists of nos. 56-59; these four blocks belong close together and two of them (nos. 58, 59) join directly. The scene once contained two vessels and seems to be parallel to the similar scene in the mastaba of *Mri-ib* of the IV Dynasty.<sup>288</sup> The connection between the scene in the mastaba and our blocks is not limited to composition but also includes details. If as a consequence we assign the fragments to the IV Dynasty we are supported by the style of carving.

The origin of these blocks is doubtful. A private tomb would be as likely as a royal building except for the general character of the Lisht blocks. Moreover, although ships under sail are not actually attested among the decorations of a royal temple of the Old Kingdom except for Sahure's ship of state, the assumption that the fragments nos. 56-59 came from Khufu's funerary monument has a certain degree of likelihood. It was the nature of private tombs to imitate royal monuments in their decoration, and as the subject of our blocks is known to occur in private tombs in the later IV Dynasty there should be an earlier royal original, and the funerary monument of Khufu is the only royal building known to have been decorated.

<sup>286</sup> Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, fig. 2;  
Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re'*, II, pl. XIV.

<sup>287</sup> Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re'*, II, pl. IX.

<sup>288</sup> *L.D.*, II, pl. XXVIII.



The second group, consisting of nos. 61-68 (no. 60 cannot be assigned with certainty to either group), comprises at least four vessels. The arrangement of the individual fragments is not certain in all respects but the suggested sequence is the only one possible without assuming an even larger scene. Representations of this size appear from the V Dynasty onward, one of the earliest examples being the Sahure relief which shows the incoming and departing fleet.<sup>289</sup> In neither case are the ships shown under sail, as here. Nevertheless a connection between the representation to which the Lisht blocks belonged and that in Sahure's monument appears feasible, ours possibly being a later development. As in the case of our other sailing scene, the royal origin of the fragments is a conjecture. Support is given by the particular form of figurehead occurring on no. 62, which seems to be reserved for royal vessels; at least it is not attested for any private ship.

The date of this group of fragments is very doubtful. The particular arrangement of the vessels, with short intervening inscriptions containing remarks of the members of the crew, has its closest parallel in the mastaba of *Kzi-m-nh*, which probably dates from the end of the Old Kingdom, though a later date may also be possible for this tomb. The stylistic features, by which the attempt to attribute the fragments is restricted, are not very pronounced except for the remarkable tendency toward naturalism and the liveliness of the figures, in which they far exceed all similar scenes recorded from Old Kingdom tombs. The carving, in part very fine with much detail, resembles that of the IV and early V Dynasty. This date has therefore been proposed, but with no possibility of corroborating it beyond doubt. These opposing features, namely the style of carving on the one hand and the composition on the other, exist in a considerable number of the Lisht blocks. Therefore, without the occurrence of a royal name, the question of origin and date cannot be solved satisfactorily, and for the most part only negative conclusions can be drawn.

All the fragments are of a quality rarely found in Egyptian reliefs.

## *Shipbuilding*

### 69. Trees; a man trimming a trunk.

SIZE: 90 × 28 cm.

PROVENANCE: Pavement west of pyramid.

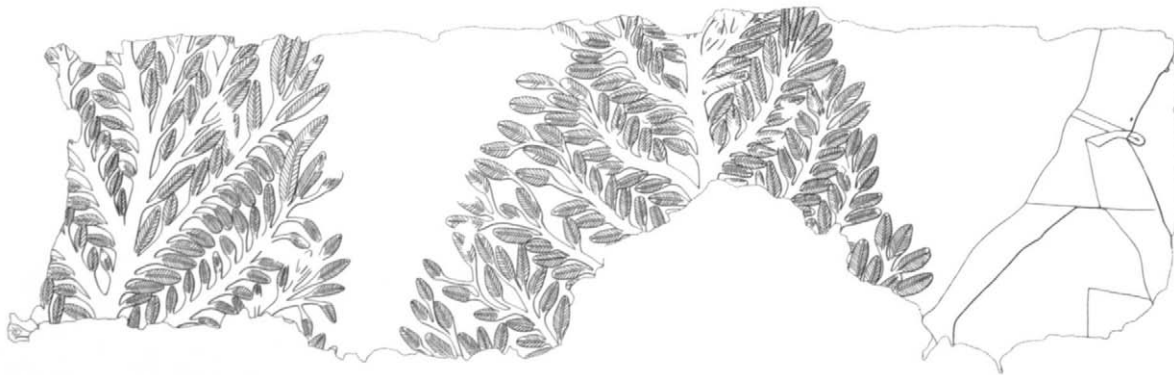
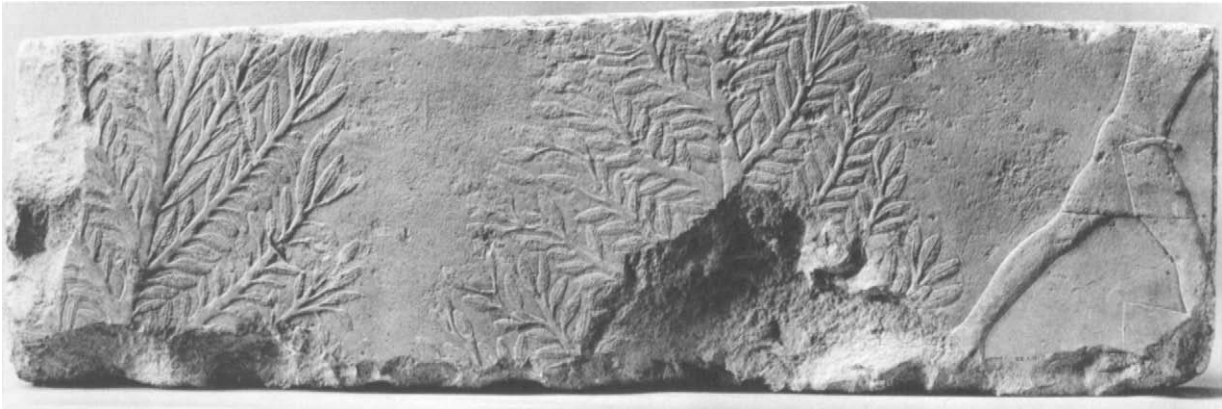
ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: University Museum, Philadelphia, 58.10.3.

The left and central portions of this large block, virtually complete except for a break in the surface, show the upper parts of two trees. To judge by the foliage, which is depicted with a great amount of detail, they are acacia trees, fairly common in Egypt.<sup>290</sup> Only parts of the crowns appear on our block; so the lower branches as well

<sup>289</sup> Borchardt, *Sahure-re*, II, pls. XI, XII.

<sup>290</sup> Cf. C. E. Moldenke, *Über die in altägyptischen Texten erwähnten Bäume*, 78 ff.



as the trunks must have been on the block underneath. This representation, therefore, must have been the height of two and probably three of the sub-registers to the right.

Only part of one figure belonging to the continuation of the scene in these sub-registers is preserved. This is a man engaged in some violent activity. He faces right, his legs set far apart and his weight almost entirely on his front leg, the other foot touching the ground only with the toes. He is dressed in a short linen kilt with an open end turned back at the top, a form of costume shown on a number of fragments.<sup>291</sup> Behind the forward leg is the end of the trunk of a tree, which our man is apparently trimming with an axe, swinging it over his head as no trace of his arms is visible on the surface preserved.

This is part of a large scene showing the different stages of shipbuilding, beginning at the left with the cutting of the trees and continuing with the dressing of the trunks, parts of both these stages probably being shown on our block. A little fragment of a similar tree is preserved on no. 70, while the associated block, no. 71, shows a more advanced state in the construction of the ship.

It seems quite possible that scenes of shipbuilding were introduced in the V Dynasty,<sup>292</sup> as a number of more or less abbreviated selections from the sequence are to be

<sup>291</sup> Cf. no. 42.

<sup>292</sup> The construction of papyrus floats is much older; it is already shown at Meidum.

found in tombs of late V Dynasty date.<sup>293</sup> The scene was apparently fully developed later as a subject for private tombs. This is borne out by two facts: that in the abundantly decorated tombs of the end of the V and the beginning of the VI Dynasty, like those of Ti and Mereruka, although the scenes of shipbuilding occupy a considerable space, the preparatory steps like the felling of the tree and the trimming of the trunk are omitted; and that the only fully developed shipbuilding scene we know, comprising all stages from the cutting down of the trees to the completion of the vessel, is in a tomb which at the earliest dates from the late VI Dynasty, that of *Ny-nh-Ppy* at Zawiet el Maytin.<sup>294</sup> Any documentation of the scene is lacking, however, from royal tombs, except for the building of papyrus boats shown in the “Weltkammer” of the sun temple of Nywoserre,<sup>295</sup> but the appearance of the subject in reliefs of the late V and early VI Dynasty suggests the possibility of a composition of this kind in a royal monument.

The detail with which the foliage is shown is unparalleled in reliefs of the Old Kingdom, though in its style the fragment is closely related to that of the late V Dynasty; the carving is of outstanding quality, low with clear outlines. Although it is uncertain whether the block originated in a royal monument or came from a private mastaba, the superb quality of the relief suggests a royal temple as the more likely provenance. A date in the IV Dynasty might seem possible, but the relatively late appearance of related scenes in private mastabas points to a somewhat later date.

#### 70. Branches of an acacia tree.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 12-13:559.



This small fragment shows part of three branches of an acacia tree similar to those on no. 69, and the two pieces undoubtedly belong together though they do not join directly; in fact, this may be the only remnant of still another tree. The thin, rather close upright branches are probably from the crown of a tree rather than the side.

<sup>293</sup> Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. cxvi; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi*, I, pl. xvi; *L.D.*, II, pl. cxi.

<sup>294</sup> A. Varille, *La Tombe de Ni-ankh-Pepi à Zaouyet el-Maytin*, 14 ff. (*L.D.*, II, pl. cviii). The use of the royal name Pepi in the compound shows

that the tomb must be at least as late as the VI Dynasty; such names are not restricted to this period, however.

<sup>295</sup> Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 106.

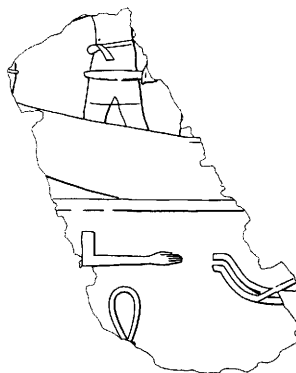
71. A man from a shipbuilding scene.

SIZE: 27 × 19.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:28.



This piece belongs to the scene showing the construction of wooden ships, to which no. 69 also belongs. A small portion of two registers appears on it. Above, the hull of a boat already roughly shaped is resting on the ground.<sup>296</sup> A man stands in it facing left and holding a saw in his left hand.<sup>297</sup> He stretches his right towards an object of which traces are preserved at the left. He is dressed in a short kilt held by a loop with a loose end hanging down. Behind this man is a trace of what may possibly be another workman, presumably facing right. Of the lower register only three hieroglyphs are preserved, part of the label of the scene represented but in their fragmentary state unintelligible. The group at the left may possibly read *'mi*, a verb known in connection with the sealing of jars.<sup>298</sup> As it is unlikely that such an act should be represented here we might conjecture that the word was also used as a technical term in shipbuilding, possibly meaning "to caulk."<sup>299</sup>

If we are correct in guessing that both registers shown on this fragment were connected with the building of vessels, the scene in its entirety must have consisted of three sub-registers equaling the height of the trees at the left of no. 69. The uppermost presumably showed the trimming and transport of the trunk, the second the early stages in the construction of the vessel, while the third was devoted to the final processes.

The date and probable origin of the piece are discussed in connection with no. 69.

296 The upcurved prow and stern were presumably on supports, as we can see from fully preserved representations of the scene; cf., for instance, Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. cxix.

297 The closest parallel is apparently in the tomb of Djedji-em-'onekh (Borchardt, *Ne-user-re'*, 123, fig. 103 B), if the central figure in the vessel at the right is to be recognized as standing. But

although there is no exact parallel, similar scenes are well attested; cf. Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 102.

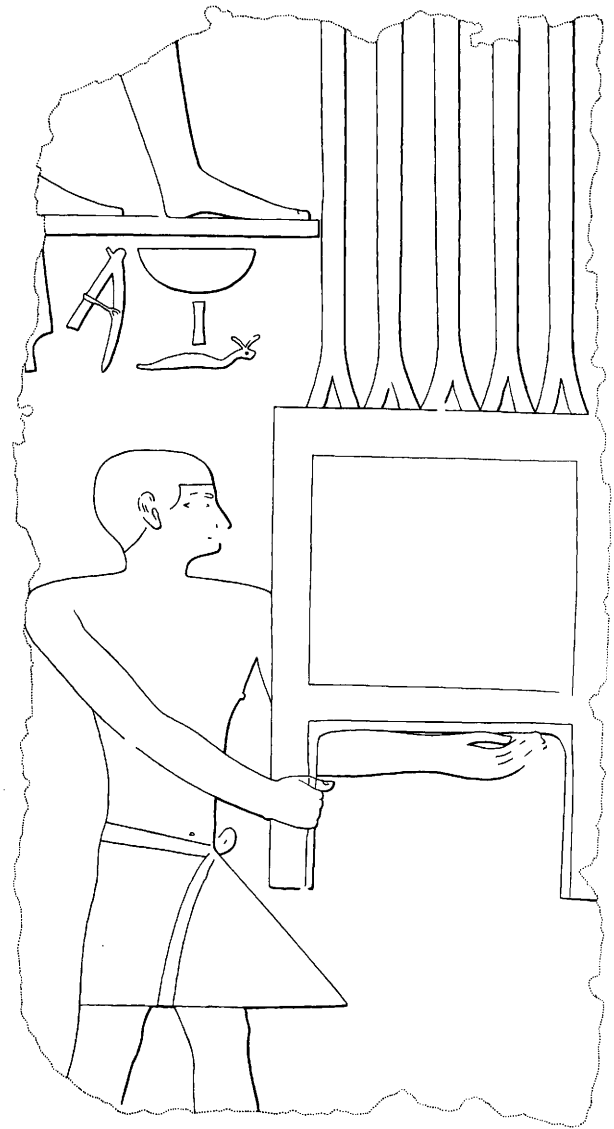
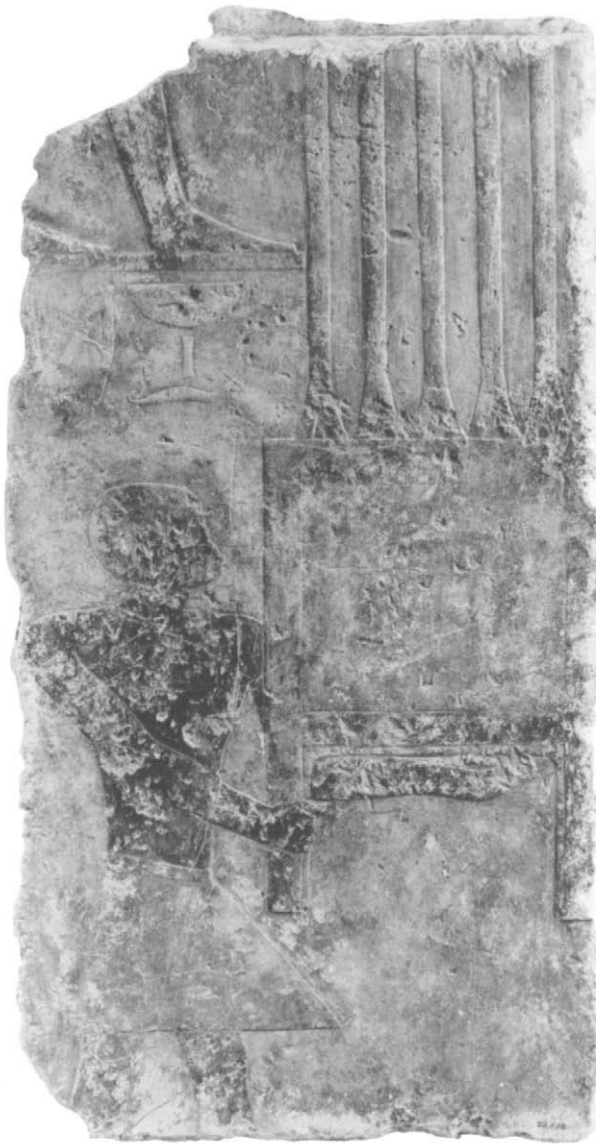
298 *Wb.*, I, 185, 7. Cf. also Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, 252.

299 Cf. Boreux, *Études*, 242 ff.; Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, 342 ff. Cf. also Servin, *ASAE*, XLVIII (1948), 88.

# V

## The Presentation of Offerings

72. A man carrying a chest with linen.  
SIZE: 36.5 × 61 cm.  
PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, east corner.  
ORIGIN: A building later than the Old Kingdom (?).  
RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.18



This is the right side of a block of which a large section of indeterminable size is lost and which was apparently at the right of a larger scene that presumably showed offering-bearers in at least two registers. Of the upper register only the feet of a standing man are preserved. The lower consists of a man facing right who carries a rectangular chest of linen on his outstretched lower left arm; the chest has a reinforced frame<sup>300</sup> and four legs. Five long, narrow strips with forked lower ends which rest on the upper edge of the container apparently represent the linen sheets that formed its contents. They are a mixture of pictorial and hieroglyphic forms, the hieroglyph  $\lambda$ , "cloth," not ordinarily being used in pictorial representations of material.

The man wears the short kilt projecting in front, the garment being held up by a belt with a big loop.<sup>301</sup> His face is much damaged and the features unrecognizable as such. The crown of his head has the same flat, elongated line as that on no. 77, for which reason it appears likely that the pieces have a common origin.

The remains of a docket above the man's head read *mry-nb.f*, "beloved of his lord . . ." These few hieroglyphs are of the greatest importance for dating the fragment. The use of the stroke after *nb* is not attested in the Old Kingdom, thus furnishing a date *post quem*.<sup>302</sup> The reversed writing suggests that *nb.f* is used in reference to the king and not a private master. The expression *mry-nb.f* occurs as an honorific title in the Old Kingdom,<sup>303</sup> but not with the writing found here; this, however, is well known from the Middle Kingdom on<sup>304</sup> and is apparently used to denote a definite relationship with a superior. The anticipatory form of the writing of *nb* may be of significance in determining the date and origin of this piece and of nos. 77 and 78, but in itself it is not sufficient, although it does suggest a connection with a king. But since neither of the scenes in question is known among the decorations of a royal temple it seems advisable to abstain from a decision.

Although the style of the carving suggests the V Dynasty as a date for the block, neither the writing of the docket nor the subject depicted allow such an attribution, both requiring a later date.<sup>305</sup> On the other hand, the re-use of the block in Amenemhet's pyramid gives a date *ante quem* for the piece. The Middle Kingdom orthography suggests that it was carved as close to the XII Dynasty as possible, the XI Dynasty being unlikely for paleographic reasons, as is any date before the end of the VI Dynasty.

300 Possibly only a wooden frame with panels of a different, light material.

301 Cf. Bonnet, *Ägyptische Tracht*, 36 f.; during the Old Kingdom this form of costume is reserved for persons of high rank and does not appear before the Middle Kingdom for commoners.

302 "  $\lambda$  für *nb* 'Herr' wäre für die ältere Zeit

unerhört; es könnte nur 'Korb' bedeuten" (Sethe, *ZÄS*, XLV, 1908, 49).

303 Cf. Junker, *Giza V.*, 17; *Wb.*, II, 101, 2.

304 Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. xli. See Davies-Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. xxvii for the epithet applied to a harper.

305 For carrying a chest on the arm, cf. Cairo CG 20535, 20561.

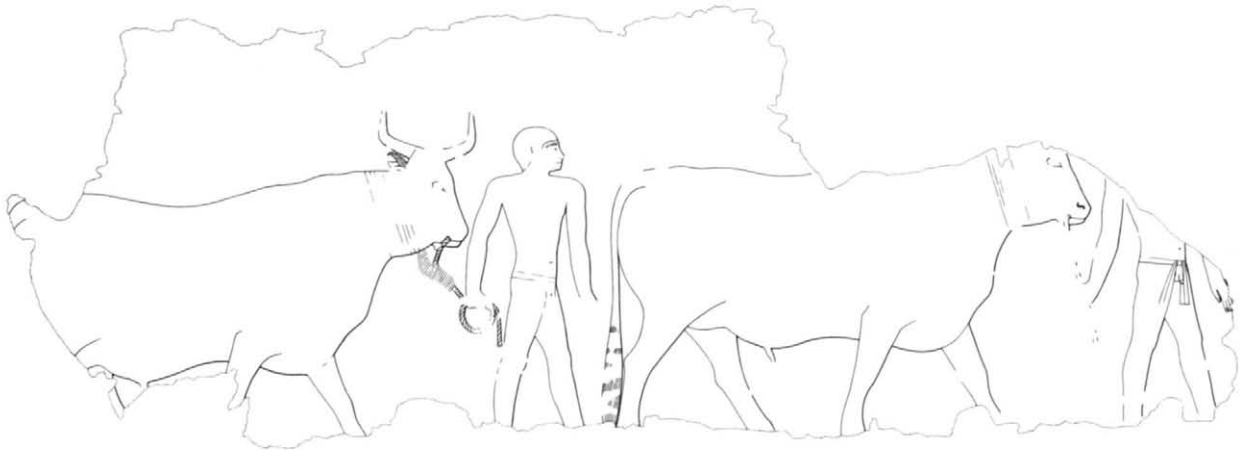
73. Men leading sacrificial animals.

SIZE: 115×41 cm.

PROVENANCE: North side of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: Worcester Art Museum 1958.9.<sup>306</sup>



This almost complete block shows the bringing in of cattle. The scene as preserved consists of two identically composed groups facing right, each showing a man leading an animal. The men are naked except for the narrow belt around the waist, from which hang three short strips which hardly cover the privy parts.<sup>307</sup> The left arm of each hangs down with the hand open, the right hand grasps the rope with which the animal is tied. We cannot determine how the first man holds his rope, but the second man has

<sup>306</sup> Worcester Art Museum *Annual*, 6 (1958), p. vii.

<sup>307</sup> The form of this covering is of great interest. The streamers usually cover the privy parts except

in cases in which the man is shown in violent motion, not the case here. There is a marked unwillingness to depict disorderly dress such as is shown here, especially in the early reliefs.

looped his around his hand with the loose end hanging down.<sup>308</sup> The rope is passed through the animal's muzzle, twisted around the lower jaw, and tied with a knot.<sup>309</sup> The bend in the rope is strange; apparently it was intended to indicate a second twist around the neck which was never carved.<sup>310</sup>

The head of the second beast is completely preserved; it has short horns with the ends turned straight up. The first animal probably had horns of a different shape as its head is carried higher and its jaws are more out-thrust. These differences may be due to the fact that, whereas the first animal is undoubtedly an ox the second is possibly a bull; it is unlikely that there were two different strains of cattle in the Old Kingdom, despite there being two different terms applied to them.<sup>311</sup>

The block does not bear any inscription describing the scene, but without doubt the subject is the presentation of the best cattle for sacrificial slaughter, one of the most frequent in the decoration of funerary monuments, both royal and private. Even if our block originated in a royal temple, which is likely in view of the parallel in Sahure's temple,<sup>312</sup> there is no certainty as to date. The extreme shallowness of the relief, which is similar to that of Khufu's monument, suggests an attribution to the early IV Dynasty. But although this is tempting it is nevertheless questionable whether the piece is of such an early date. The difference between the beasts shown on this block and the oxen from Khufu's Valley Temple (no. 4) is against the two pieces being from the same monument. The animals here are much heavier, with details of muzzle and ear rather pronounced. The type of horns of the second beast is not found before the end of the V Dynasty, when particularly heavy specimens are emphasized among the offerings.<sup>313</sup> Finally, the kilt of the first man opposes the earlier date. These features suggest an assignment to the V rather than the IV Dynasty.

308 Cf. Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re'*, II, pl. LV; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. xxxi B; Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. cxxviii. For a different handling of the rope, see Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, fig. 3.

309 Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, fig. 7, right; Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pl. CLII.

310 As, for instance, in R. Macramallah, *Le Mastaba d'Idout*, pl. xx.

311 As J. Boessneck, *Die Haustiere in Altägypten*, 12 ff. Montet (*Kēmi*, XIII, 1954, 43 ff.) suggests that

there were two different varieties, called *iw3* and *ng(3w)*, but it is more probable that the words refer to two different uses to which the animals were put.

312 Borchardt, *Ša3hu-re'*, II, pl. LV; a similar scene was found in the causeway of the pyramid of Unas.

313 Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, I, pl. XIII.



# VI

## Agricultural Scenes

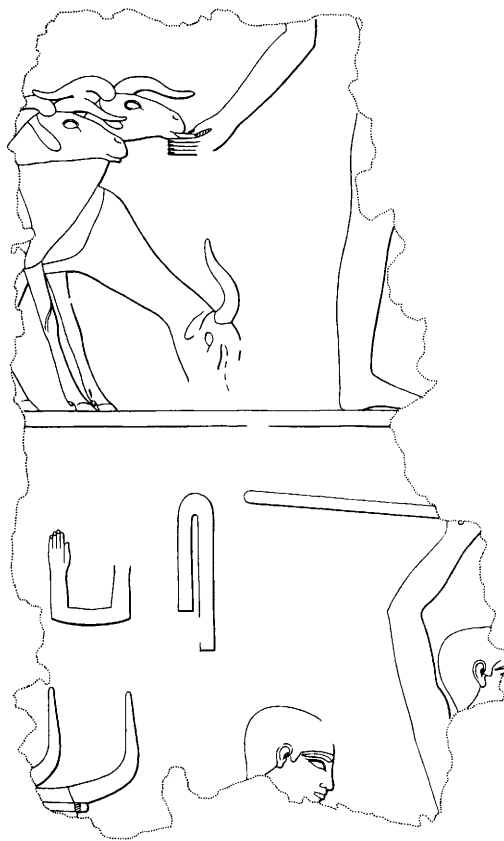
### 74. Plowing and sowing.

SIZE: 31 × 51 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: University Museum, Philadelphia, 58.10.2.



Small portions of two scenes are preserved on this fragment. Both depict agricultural events often included in the decorations of mastabas, so there is no difficulty in recognizing them despite their fragmentary condition. Part of a plowing scene is preserved on the lower register. At the right we see a man whose arm is lifted up to swing a short stick. He can be recognized from numerous parallels<sup>314</sup> as driving a yoke

<sup>314</sup> Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 45 ff.

of oxen that pull a plow. Beside him is the head of a man who bends over, pressing the plow into the ground to deepen the furrow. Of a second pair of oxen at the left yoked together with a bar, only one horn of each is preserved. The word *škꜣ*, “to plow,” written above, describes the scene.<sup>315</sup>

At the right edge of the upper register we see the leg of a man walking to the right. He stretches one arm behind him trying to lure a flock of sheep to follow him and tread the newly scattered seed into the ground. The animals are rather reluctant, and one bends down to eat the seed. The scene is well paralleled in the early IV Dynasty.<sup>316</sup>

As this is such a small fragment the dating offers certain difficulties. The scene is in very low relief and shows the hand of a well-trained artist. The carving of the face in the lower register is of particular interest. The upper eyelid is marked by a fine line but not the lower; a notch at the inner corner indicates the tear duct. The eyebrow is wide and rather straight but with a slight curve at the end. The ear is well shaped, showing details of the formation but with no central hollow. All these features point to an early date for the piece as they are only paralleled in reliefs of not later than the beginning of the V Dynasty and are particularly typical of the exquisite style of the IV Dynasty as found at Giza.<sup>317</sup> The subject of the relief is only known in private mastabas,<sup>318</sup> and this suggests that this piece did not originate in a royal temple. Nevertheless, we must consider the possibility that scenes of daily life were first represented in the royal temples and subsequently copied in the mastabas of the nobles. As we have seen, the piece undoubtedly shares some of the stylistic features of Khufu’s reliefs, but this similarity may only be due to their having been carved at about the same time. In any case, although the evidence is not sufficient for us to attribute our piece to Khufu’s funerary monument we may in all probability assign it to the IV Dynasty.

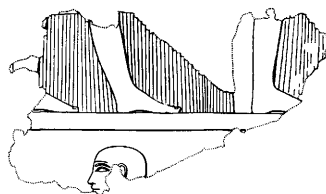
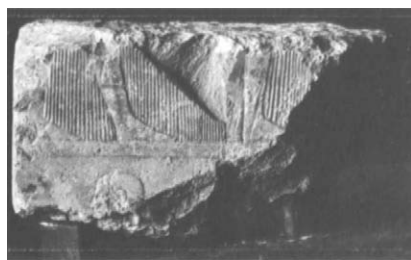
## 75. Part of a harvesting scene.

SIZE: 27 × 15 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:67.



315 Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, 185 f.

316 Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 46 ff.

317 Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, pls. xli, xlii, xlviii.

318 An unpublished agricultural scene is mentioned by Borchardt (*ZAS*, xxxviii, 1900, 98) as part of the “Weltkammer” of the sun temple of Nywoserre’.

Both registers shown on this small piece are extremely fragmentary. In the lower one only a man's head facing left, belonging to an indeterminate scene, has been preserved. The upper register shows legs of two men who face right. The finely grooved background represents the product the men are harvesting, either grain or flax, the latter not very probable as these stalks are represented individually and flax is pulled in handfuls. The harvesting of the products of the fields belongs to the oldest group of subjects shown in the mastabas and is known from the early IV Dynasty onward.<sup>319</sup> In the royal temples a scene of this kind is recorded only in the "Weltkammer" of Nywoserre's sun temple, as mentioned by Borchardt.<sup>320</sup> Thus it is tempting to assume a private mastaba as the origin of the piece under discussion, although a royal temple is also possible.<sup>321</sup>

The broken condition of this block makes it impossible to place it with any assurance. It may well, however, be linked with the other representations of daily life among the Lisht blocks to be described below.

## 76. Donkeys transporting the harvest.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV or V Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:58.



The exceedingly high quality of what remains of this relief makes it regrettable that such a small portion has survived. The decorated surface, showing part of a man and two animals facing right, is completely surrounded by irregular breaks. Only the hind legs and the end of the tail of the animal at the right are preserved, the legs being close together as if the animal, a female, were balking. The beast seems somewhat small for a donkey, but posture as well as details, such as the tassel of hair at the end of the tail, indicated in fine detail, do not allow of any other identification.

<sup>319</sup> Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 48 f.; Junker, *Gtza VI.*, 137 ff., 68 ff.

<sup>320</sup> Borchardt, *ZÄS*, xxxviii (1900) 98.

<sup>321</sup> Comparable scenes are attested from the temple of Nywoserre' (Borchardt, *Ne-user-re'*, 38,

fig. 17), and from the causeway of Unas (*ZÄS*, lxxx, 1955, pl. xii, no. 2), our representation apparently being more closely related to the latter than the former, although exceeding it in quality of execution.

The man follows the animal closely, probably driving it. Only his legs and a small section of his kilt are preserved, so we cannot be sure what he is doing with his arms.<sup>322</sup> The second donkey is the best preserved part of the fragment. It seems to walk along peacefully, apparently without a lead, but it probably also had a man driving it. There are clear indications that it was carrying a load on its back, apparently in the kind of net used to transport grain from the field to the threshing floor.<sup>323</sup> Ropes hang down from the net along the body of the animal; they do not seem to be fastened as we should expect them to be to keep the load in place.

The fragment belongs to a scene well documented among representations of the harvest. The subject appears among the decorations of the mastabas of the earlier part of the V Dynasty and is fully developed by the end of that period. A rather close parallel in the mastaba of Ti<sup>324</sup> helps us to understand the arrangement of the entire scene to which our fragment once belonged.

The carving of the relief is low and of excellent quality, with much modeling and detail. The style is the same as that of no. 75, which also shows a harvesting scene. It is likely that this fragment originally belonged to a group of representations of various scenes in the fields, and we propose to attribute it to the IV or V Dynasty.

### 77. An overseer of dairy farming.

SIZE: 35 × 45 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: A building later than the Old Kingdom (?).

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.26.

This fragment belongs to a scene depicting daily life on an Egyptian estate. The subject is cattle farming, probably the milking of cows; this is not certain, however, as representations of the fattening of cattle, calving, and milking have an almost identical arrangement and nothing has been preserved to tell us definitely which is shown here.<sup>325</sup> In the center of the fragment an elderly man, undoubtedly the overseer of the workers, leans on his staff.<sup>326</sup> He wears a short, natural beard—something rather rare in Egyptian art and usually occurring in genre scenes, as here.<sup>327</sup> He stands completely relaxed with his weight on his left leg, the other slightly bent; he holds the top of his staff with his left hand and rests his right hand against it lower down. At the left of the piece are the hind quarters of what is probably a cow that has already been milked. At the right is the upper part of a man who squats on the ground. He holds his hands out in front

<sup>322</sup> *L.D.*, II, pls. XLIII, LVI, LXXX; Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. cxxiv. See also Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 49 f.; Junker, *Giza VI.*, 144 f., and *XI*, 192, 194.

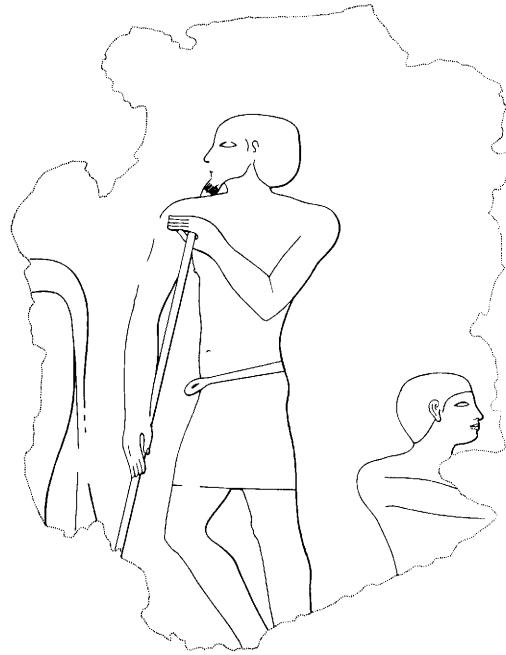
<sup>323</sup> For the object, see Mariette, *Mastabas*, D 22, 239 f.; Montet, *Ägyptologische Studien*, 232 ff.

<sup>324</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, III, 49.

<sup>325</sup> Klebs, . . . *alten Reiches*, 62, 65.

<sup>326</sup> The type is common and in no way restricted to scenes of cattle-farming: overseers of men engaged in other occupations, particularly in the open air, are also shown in this attitude, as are the tomb-owners themselves.

<sup>327</sup> Cf. Junker, *Giza IV.*, 85 and pl. XIII; and *VI.*, 50 and fig. 11.



of him, probably holding the tether of an animal with one hand while he strokes its muzzle with the other. He could belong to a scene showing the fattening of cattle immediately to the right. Such an arrangement seems quite possible from the position of the *mudirieh*, who is more likely to be the concluding figure of one group than to be placed in the middle of the figures belonging to the same scene.<sup>328</sup>

A further fragment belonging to this scene is no. 78, which shows a bovine head. It could belong to the animal at either side of no. 77, that at the left being the more likely if the subject shown on the latter is milking.

No. 72 is apparently of the same origin though from a different scene. The connection of this piece with nos. 77 and 78 is of importance as regards date, since it shows features which oppose an attribution to the Old Kingdom, i.e., the period before the end of the VI Dynasty.<sup>329</sup>

The present piece (no. 77) shows a high standard of workmanship, but some details necessary for a critical evaluation are lacking owing to the mutilation of the surface. The arrangement of the scene is well attested from the V Dynasty on and continues during the Middle Kingdom, but only in the private monuments. Two features of the fragment call for special attention: the strong tendency toward realism shown in the figure of the overseer and the flatness of the tops of the men's heads. The latter is

<sup>328</sup> The only close parallel to our scene, and probably the identical arrangement, occurs on the stela Cairo CG 20504 (Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, iv, pl. xxxiv). The date of the piece

inscribed for a certain *Hrw*y is not certain; for the man, see Newberry, *University of Liverpool, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, iv (1911-1912), 109.

<sup>329</sup> Cf. p. 123.

found among good reliefs of the V Dynasty,<sup>330</sup> but occurs later as well. Although it is tempting to assign the piece to the V Dynasty, this nevertheless appears impossible because of its unquestionable connection with no. 72, which cannot be of this date.

The type of building from which this block was extracted is quite uncertain. As there is no occurrence of the scene among the decorations of royal temples a private origin is likely.

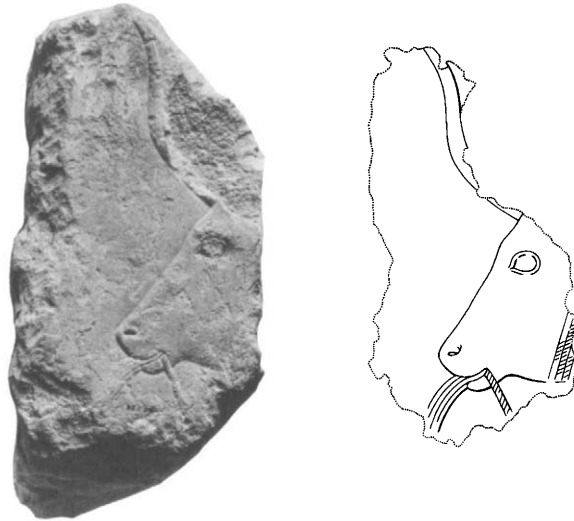
78. A bovine head.

SIZE: 13 × 25 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: A building later than the Old Kingdom (?).

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.24.



This fragment shows the front part of the head of a cow (?), facing left. It most probably belongs with no. 77 and may be the head of the animal at the left. The beast is tied by a rope apparently passed around its lower jaw and by several turns of rope around its neck.<sup>331</sup> A trace of carving is possibly to be understood as part of the head of a calf facing it. If this is so, an otherwise puzzling band of lines curving downward from the cow's mouth may be its tongue as it licks its offspring while being milked.<sup>332</sup> Another possible interpretation is that the animal is shown eating, in which case this protrusion from the mouth is difficult to explain; in scenes of fattening the feeding is done forcibly, the hand of the attendant reaching into the mouth of the animal.<sup>333</sup>

In view of the apparent connection of this piece with no. 77, it most probably dates after the end of the Old Kingdom.

330 Cf. particularly Steindorff, *Ti*, *passim*; later examples are found chiefly in genre scenes but are well documented, as in the rock tombs of Meir.

331 The form of the fetter is common, cf., for instance, Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, I, pl. xiii.

332 Cf. Davies, *Ptahhetep*, II, pl. xvii. Cf. also the arrangement in Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. cxviii; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi*, I, pl. vii, and II, pl. xix.

333 Cf. Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pl. cLIII, which is apparently similar to the scene shown in Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. v.

# VII

## Miscellaneous Scenes

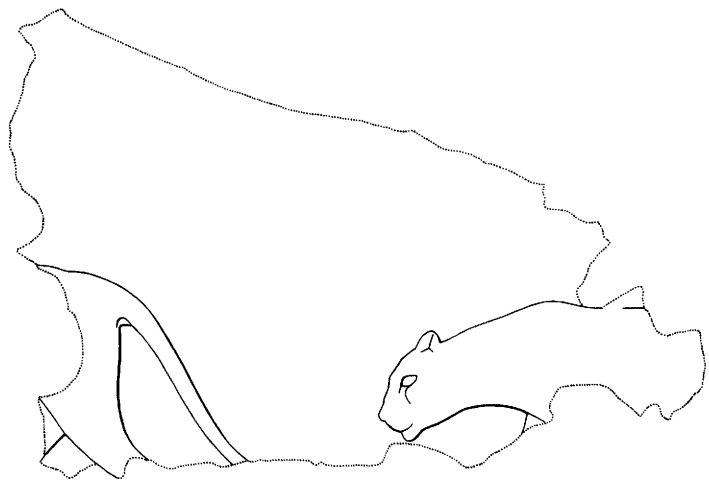
79. Animals of the desert.

SIZE: 38 × 26.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.24.



This much broken block shows parts of two animals moving to the left. The first, of which only the rump remains, is the bigger. It is evidently some large member of the cat family, the exact species being impossible to determine. The head of the second animal is preserved; it may be a leopard or, as Dr. Caminos has suggested, a cheetah. Or it may be a lioness and the animal at the left a lion. Only the lower part of the block was decorated, a larger area above the backs of the beasts evidently having been left blank.

The carving is of exceedingly good quality. The relief is low, the outlines flowing and rhythmical. The way the animals are shown was adopted in the early IV Dynasty<sup>334</sup> and is little help in dating the piece, which its style would permit to have been carved in the IV or V Dynasty and possibly also after the VI Dynasty.

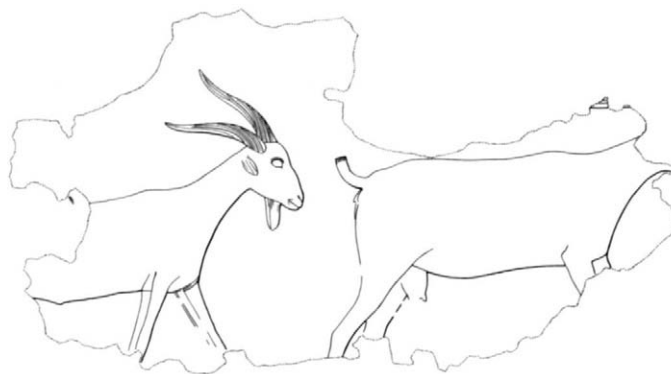
### 80. Animals of the desert.

SIZE: 50 × 28 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid, west side.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: MMA 22.1.20.



<sup>334</sup> Already found at Meidum (Petrie, *Meidum*, pl. xvii).



This battered block is decorated with parts of two animals facing right. The head of the first and larger one is now missing except for a trace of one horn. It is a female of some kind of antelope, most likely a different species from the animal which follows. The hind quarters of the latter are missing, but it is clearly a billy goat, the shape of the ears and the beard pointing strongly to its being the variety described in Egyptian as *wn-dw*;<sup>335</sup> however, this species is usually depicted with widespread horns, the twisted horn shown here being rare, although a parallel occurs on a fragment from the funerary monument of Khufu.<sup>336</sup> As far as I am aware, the *wn-dw* is not shown among the usual game in hunting scenes, as it was at least partly domesticated in the Old Kingdom, and I am inclined to consider the fragment as part of the same scene as no. 79 because of the similarity in the style of the two pieces. Its Egyptian name implies that the habitat of the animal was the desert. Unlike no. 79 the animals are not shown in motion but in a rather descriptive way, their silhouettes being carefully drawn almost as if we are looking at a zoological chart. This manner of representation together with the style of carving and the parallel mentioned above make a date in the IV Dynasty most probable for this block and for the obviously related no. 81.

### 81. Head of an oryx.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 12-13:548a.



<sup>335</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pl. CLII; cf. also *ZÄS*, xxxviii (1900), pl. v. D. Paton, *Animals of Ancient Egypt*, no. 38, identifies it as *hircus mambrinus*.

<sup>336</sup> Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, fig. 7, no. 37-3-4b.

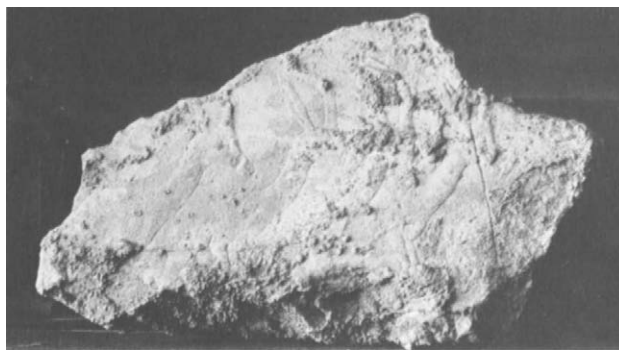
This small fragment showing the head of an oryx facing right<sup>337</sup> more probably belongs with nos. 79 and 80 than with no. 83, which shows a hunting scene. The traces of a label above the animal support this view, because as a rule inscriptions do not appear in hunting scenes.

## 82. Animals of the desert.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the IV Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: L 13-14:315.



This small fragment is apparently part of the same scene as nos. 80 and 81 and is possibly to be connected with no. 79. It shows a herd of gazelle facing right. They are the species *Gazella dorcas*, a game animal frequently represented in the Old Kingdom.<sup>338</sup>

## 83. Part of a hunting scene.

SIZE: 40 × 15 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the V or VI Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: MMA 09.180.28.

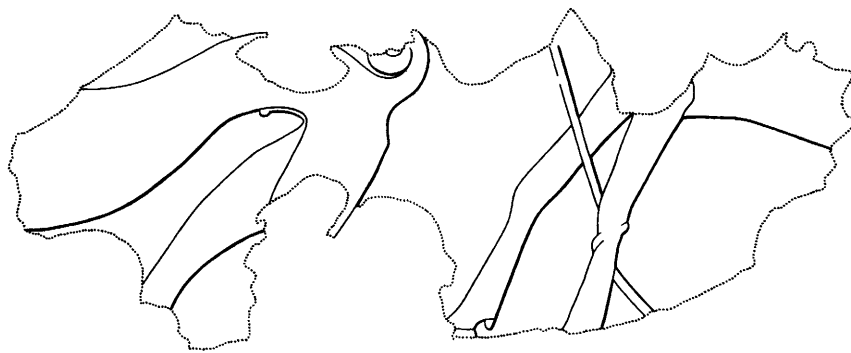
Though fragmentary this piece nevertheless gives a striking impression of the liveliness of the hunting scene to which it belonged. It shows parts of two animals. At the left, the curves of the body delineated to an unusual extent, is a dog of the breed with a curled tail commonly used for hunting.<sup>339</sup> Its more than normal slenderness is

337 Cf. Davies, *Ptah-hotep*, I, pl. xxii. A possible connection between this block and no. 81 is suggested by a scene from the causeway of Unas, *ZAS*, LXXX (1955), pl. XIII, which, however, has no docket.

338 M. Hilzheimer in Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re'*, II,

167 ff.; Paton, *Animals of Ancient Egypt*, no. 39; L. Keimer, *ASAE*, XLVIII (1948), 44, n. 2. Cf. in particular the somewhat similar group in Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. xxv.

339 Paton, *Animals of Ancient Egypt*, no. 75; cf. also Junker, *Giza V.*, 74.



emphasized by the lowered position of the forequarters.<sup>340</sup> At the right is the forepart of a hoofed animal which, to judge from the size of the dog, is presumably a gazelle. A line starting at the head and running between the forelegs is probably the lasso with which the animal has been caught. Hunting with the lasso is well attested throughout the Old Kingdom and continues into the Middle Kingdom.<sup>341</sup> In the earlier period the wild bull was the favorite game hunted in this way, but the antelope was also lassoed.<sup>342</sup> In the earlier representations the rope is only shown around the horns, examples with a long rope hanging down between the animal's legs being found later.<sup>343</sup>

Hunting as a subject belongs to the basic decorative scheme of both royal and private funerary monuments. It appears first in the early tombs of Meidum<sup>344</sup> in a very compressed form and is subsequently extended in scope. Among the royal temples of the Old Kingdom a hunting scene is known in those of Sahure,<sup>345</sup> Unas,<sup>346</sup> and Pepi II,<sup>347</sup> in addition to the representations in the "Weltkammer" in the sun temple

340 A comparable representation occurs in Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. xxv, left of upper register.

341 Klebs, . . . *alien Reiches*, 68 f.

342 L.D., II, pl. xcvi; Junker, *Gtza XI*, pl. xvii; Borchardt, *Saḫu-re'*, II, pl. xvii; Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. xxv.

343 Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. XIII.

344 Petrie, *Medum*, pls. IX, XVI.

345 Borchardt, *Saḫu-re'*, II, pl. xvii.

346 Hassan, *ASAE*, XXXVIII (1938), pl. xcvi; *Archiv äg. Arch.*, I, (1938), 181, fig. 2; *ZÄS*, LXXX (1955), 138, pl. XIII, no. 1.

347 Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. XLIII. The underlying concept of this representation differs fundamentally from that of other similar scenes: it is not the naturalistic representation of a hunt in the

of Nywoserre'.<sup>348</sup> Moreover, from the IV Dynasty onward the representations in the private tombs are found in three forms, as in the royal temple. One illustrates life in the desert in the manner of the "Weltkammer," another, found especially in the later

desert but the ceremonial aspect, climaxed by the ritual killing of the ibex, which is emphasized. The same tendency is encountered throughout the decoration of Pepi II's funerary monument, in which the lively naturalism of the royal temples of the V Dynasty is abandoned in favor of the hieratic solemnity of the ritual features. We need hardly mention that this change is not a purely artistic one but the reflection of an entirely different spiritual concept. It is impossible to decide at the present stage of our knowledge whether this departure from the incidents of life on earth occurred during the time of Pepi II or whether it originated earlier, since only a few fragments belonging to the monument of Teti (Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, [1907-1908], pl. LIV) are all that has been preserved of the decoration of the royal temples of the VI Dynasty; nothing at all remains of Pepi I, who apparently occupied a key position in the spiritual development of his dynasty.

The change reflected in the decoration of the funerary monument of Pepi II is possibly connected with the growing popularity of the Osirian doctrine and the appearance of the Pyramid Texts in the private tombs. Thus we look forward eagerly to the publication of the fragments of 'Issi's funerary monument, since the development of the religious ideas that dominate the later Old Kingdom seems to have commenced in this reign. Unas was faithful to the naturalistic inclinations of the V Dynasty, at least in the decoration of the causeway leading to his temple. We do not know how the temple itself was decorated, however, and it seems possible that in the layout of his funerary monument as a whole we must see an attempt to reconcile the two opposing tendencies by placing the naturalistic elements outside the actual temple, reserving it for the representation of the ritual aspects of kingship.

Not only in the royal monuments is a naïve enjoyment of life replaced by a severe orientation toward the eternal; the tendency appears simultaneously in private tombs. The burial chamber, hitherto undecorated, receives increasing attention, and by the end of the VI Dynasty this development has been carried to such a point that the decoration of the entire tomb is practically restricted to this chamber, the structure above ground shrinking simultaneously to a mere marker

for the subterranean burial. (Cf. Junker, *Giza I.*, 41 ff.; and *IV.*, 43 ff.).

The climax seems to have been reached by the end of the VI Dynasty. Our understanding of the succeeding period is extremely limited, but when with the XI Dynasty our knowledge of the ideas inherent in kingship is again documented, the attitude dominating the end of the VI Dynasty still prevails; only Mentuhotep's temple at Deir el Bahri shows a different concept, with its decorations taken from life. This building, however, occupies a unique position in several ways and did not influence the decoration of the monuments of Mentuhotep's successors. But the occurrence of scenes of actual life in this temple seems to imply that the tradition they reflect continued to a certain extent during the so-called First Intermediate Period, and that at least some of the royal tombs of the time were decorated in the naturalistic manner found in the V Dynasty.

The private tombs illustrate both tendencies; those that avoid experiment and emphasize the religious character of the tomb dominate the large cemeteries of the Old Kingdom, while the provincial rock-cut tombs are decorated in a naturalistic way well into the Middle Kingdom. In the later Middle Kingdom these scenes vanish almost completely, giving way to religious representations, while in the New Kingdom scenes of everyday life are again illustrated.

This coexistence of the two tendencies in the period between the end of the VI Dynasty and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom is of great significance. It is uncertain, though likely, that it reflects divergent tendencies in the attitude toward kingship; however, it does seem that a rivalry between these tendencies was a dominant factor during the First Intermediate Period, and that it formed the intellectual background of a struggle which affected every aspect of Egyptian civilization.

348 *ZÄS*, xxxviii (1900), 94 ff. The "Weltkammer" should not be connected with scenes of everyday life showing man and his environment. The former, though obscure in origin, is apparently the accumulation of various attempts to show the physical world in its complexity by means of certain carefully selected illustrations. There is a striking similarity here to the intention of the art of the Middle Ages.

tombs,<sup>349</sup> emphasizes man's activities as a hunter. The third, by far the most numerous group, combines the two forms into a homogeneous picture.<sup>350</sup>

The style of this piece, in rather low relief of fine quality, speaks for a comparatively early date. The liveliness of the action, however, does not permit an attribution before the end of the V Dynasty, and even this period is far from certain. There is some resemblance to the hunting scene in the mastaba of Mereruka, but even there representation is not nearly as vivid as on our block. Presuming that it originated in a royal temple, one would like to see it as contemporary with Mereruka, whose career reached its peak in the reign of Teti, at the beginning of the VI Dynasty. On the other hand, the way the lasso is shown might suggest an even later date, which would need to be after the close of the VI Dynasty.

#### 84. Two young dogs.

SIZE: 19 × 19 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the V or VI Dynasty (?).

RECORD NO.: 09.180.134.



This small fragment shows a very lively and pleasing pair of puppies facing left. The relief, low with great interest in detail, is of excellent quality, and we must regret that what remains is so fragmentary. The subject is unparalleled in either the Old or

349 Cf. Blackman, *Meir*, I, pl. VII, and II, pl. VIII.

350 See Davies, *Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XXI, for a particularly good example, apparently a copy of

the scene in the Unas causeway. The upper registers are devoted for the most part to wild life in the desert, man's activities being restricted to the lower register.

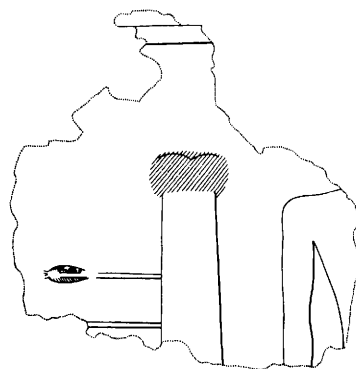
the Middle Kingdom. The esteem with which the dog was regarded by man can be traced back to the protodynastic period, and dogs accompanying their masters are frequently depicted in the mastabas of the Old Kingdom. A wave of particular interest in the dog, one is almost inclined to call it a fashion,<sup>351</sup> starts with the VI Dynasty and continues into the early Middle Kingdom,<sup>352</sup> when the dog is constantly shown as its master's companion, not only in hunting scenes and other forms of outdoor activity, but also as a pet sitting under his chair.<sup>353</sup> The superb quality of the relief suggests a royal origin but this cannot be corroborated, particularly as the subject of the scene of which it was a part is unknown; it is, however, of the same fine carving as no. 83, and thus we must consider the end of the V Dynasty the earliest possible date.

### 85. Arrows in a target.

PROVENANCE: Uncertain.

ORIGIN: A building of the Old Kingdom (?).

RECORD NO.: L 8-g:62c.



The left side of this small fragment appears to be the original edge of a block, while the other sides show irregular breaks. At the top there is a wide line, apparently part of the divisional line that once separated a larger area into two registers. Nothing of the upper scene is left.

At the right side of the lower register is part of a figure, which seems to be facing right. On its left is the upper section of an object that can be identified with certainty as a target. It consists of an upright beam whose top is decorated with two falcon heads facing in opposite directions. How the target was supported is uncertain: it may have

<sup>351</sup> Interesting confirmation of this esteem is shown by the royal burial given a dog described by an inscription found at Giza (Reisner, *BMFA*, xxxiv, 1936, 96).

<sup>352</sup> Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches*, 49 f. Cf. also the frequency with which the

names of dogs are recorded at this period; J. M. A. Janssen, *Mitt. Kairo*, xvi (1958), 176 ff.; Fischer, *JEA*, xlvii (1961), 152 f.

<sup>353</sup> The subject appears occasionally as early as the Old Kingdom; cf. Junker, *Gtza XI*, 58, and fig. 35.

been on a post rammed into the ground, but more likely it was on a plinth.<sup>354</sup> The decoration at the top is unparalleled. It somewhat resembles the two human heads, of which the significance is obscure,<sup>355</sup> used to decorate the “pillory” in the Old Kingdom, but it is not at all certain that there is any relationship. Two arrows stick into the left side of the target, penetrating it deeply. Unlike later representations of a similar kind the arrows are not shown coming out at the back. This adherence to truth was later abandoned.<sup>356</sup>

The subject of the relief is clear, namely shooting arrows at a target, but apart from the fact that the archer must be imagined to the left the composition of the scene remains obscure, no available parallel being closely enough related for us to draw any conclusions from it.<sup>357</sup> It is unlikely that the figure at the right is connected with this scene; it probably belongs to the next subject.

The block is in careful, low relief with intricate details; nevertheless, the sculptor seems to have made a mistake with the details of the fletching, in that the fine lines representing the barbs of the feathers slope towards the shafts of the arrows rather than the butts. The style of the fragment is similar to that of a number of Lisht blocks, but any attempt to date it accurately would be purely tentative as no other example of this scene is preserved from so early a time, its re-use in the pyramid of Amenemhet I supplying a date *ante quem*. At all events this is the first representation of the subject.

## 86. A dancing girl.

PROVENANCE: Uncertain.

ORIGIN: A building of the Old Kingdom (?).

RECORD NO.: L 12-13:145.

This fragment shows a small portion of a female figure, the gracefully curving back from the hip to the neck, with the arm raised. A narrow band placed rather low at the hips represents a girdle that probably held up a short kilt (indicated by a further horizontal line), the breasts remaining uncovered; this is the usual form of costume for dancers, known in the Old and Middle Kingdoms from representations in private mastabas.<sup>358</sup> Two braids hang down from the head, the plaiting of the hair being indicated in great detail. Each braid has a weight of a different shape at the end,<sup>359</sup> one a disk, or more probably a ball, to which the hair is fastened in some unspecified way, the other trapezoidal and clearly tied to the braid at the upper, narrower end. Both forms of pendant are well known from reliefs, but the round shape is the more common in the Old Kingdom, its place being taken by the trapezoidal in the First Intermediate Period. The latter resembles closely the hieroglyph used in the word *ib3*, “to dance.”

354 This is at least suggested by the hieroglyph representing a target, which is, however, documented only for a much later date; cf. Schäfer, *OLZ*, xxxii (1929), 240.

355 Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. xxxvi; a similar object, but without the distinctively shaped heads, is shown in James, *Khentika*, pl. ix.

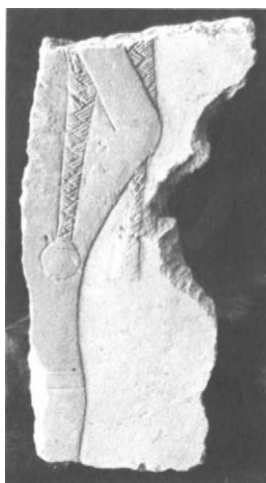
356 Schäfer, *OLZ*, xxxii (1929), 233 ff.

357 Archery as a sport never became a subject

in itself in the reliefs. Cf. Schäfer, *OLZ*, xxxii (1929), 233 ff., and *OLZ*, xxxiv (1931), 89 ff.; B. van de Walle, *Chronique d'Égypte*, xiii (1938), 234 ff.; Davies, *B MMA*, xxx (1935), Nov., part II, 52, fig. 7.

358 E. Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*, chaps. II, III.

359 Cf. Bissing, *ZÄS*, xxxvii (1899), 75 ff. Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*, 24.



The sign is generally considered to represent a draughtsman,<sup>360</sup> an identification attested in the XX Dynasty, and it may indeed be the true one for the earlier periods too. However, finding pendants of this shape attached to the hair of a dancer makes one wonder if this was not the origin of the sign, and if the association with the game of draughts is not due to a similarity in shape between pendants and draughtsmen. It seems possible that these pendants had some significance beyond the purely practical one of keeping the hair in place during the dance, but there are no indications of what this might be. According to the well-known episode in the Papyrus Westcar in which a *nh3w* hair pendant fell into the water,<sup>361</sup> these objects were highly valued and their loss was of great consequence.

In the Old Kingdom this type of coiffure consists of only one braid, to which the round end-piece is attached. It seems to be the style worn by young girls, presumably unmarried, and to correspond to the “lock of youth” worn by boys; it is particularly associated with dancers though it is occasionally worn by other girls.<sup>362</sup> In the First Intermediate Period the shape of the pendant is changed<sup>363</sup> as well as the number of the braids, in most cases two of these being indicated, though three are also found;<sup>364</sup> examples showing three, however, may only indicate alterations in the drawing, as all are executed in paint alone. The essential fact is that multiple braids with the new form of pendant begin with the Middle Kingdom, though the old fashion of a single braid and pendant continues. There is no other example of both types of pendant being used at the same time.

To judge by the dress as well as the coiffure, the girl on our fragment is undoubtedly a dancer. Her action cannot be fully reconstructed as the upper part of one arm alone is preserved. It is raised and slightly forward, hiding part of the head. As no

360 Gardiner, *Grammar*, sign list Y 6.

361 For this passage, cf. Blackman, *JEA*, XI (1925), 212 f.

362 Macramallah, *Le Mastaba d'Idout*, pls. VII, XI, XV-XVII; Blackman, *Meir*, IV, pl. IX.

363 Cf. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pls. IV, VIII A; Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. LXVIII, nos. 173-183.

364 Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, nos. 184-187.



other example of this gesture is known there is no possibility of restoring the graceful figure further.<sup>365</sup>

Small as the fragment is, it nevertheless gives a good impression of the excellence of the carving. It is in fine, low relief, with graceful outlines and a great emphasis on detail. The naturalism of the gesture of the arm and its probable overlapping of the face—thus presenting a problem usually avoided by Egyptian artists—is particularly significant. The style of the carving as well as its quality and the naturalism of the composition suggest that this fragment has the same origin as no. 89, for which a royal building has been suggested. Like no. 89 it has features of the style of the V Dynasty, and at the same time elements that can be paralleled only much later. Dancing girls as a subject for the decoration of royal temples are only known in small fragments from the temple of Sahure,<sup>366</sup> but they appear frequently in private mastabas. In the Middle Kingdom particularly such scenes occupy a large area. But as we have one instance of this subject in a royal temple of the Old Kingdom there seems to be no difficulty in assuming that this block also comes from a king's temple.

For further discussion of the date of nos. 86–91 see page 156.

### 87. Part of a battle scene.

PROVENANCE: Uncertain.

ORIGIN: A building of the Old Kingdom (?).

RECORD NO.: L 12-13:147.



At the bottom of this fragment is part of a face—the forehead, the eyebrow, the upper half of the eye, and the beginning of the nose—looking right. The head must be that of a foreigner because of the two feathers with which it is decorated, and a Libyan because of the way they are worn, one rising from the forehead and the other attached

<sup>365</sup> It seems unlikely that it was connected with the *ibj*-dance (Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*, 15 ff.) as this continues in unaltered form

in the tombs of the Middle Kingdom (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. VII).

<sup>366</sup> Borchardt, *Saḥu-re*, II, pl. LIV.

horizontally at the hairline.<sup>367</sup> The small size of the feathers is surprising and is possibly for artistic reasons.

A long object, only a portion of which is shown on our fragment, projects from the forehead. It is probably the shaft of a weapon, presumably an arrow, which is sticking in the man's head. If this is the case, and there seems no other explanation, the fragment must come from a representation of a fight between Egyptians and Libyans. Since the man must have been killed by the weapon it is unlikely that he was upright but was rather falling or fallen.<sup>368</sup>

The fight between Egyptians and foreigners is an ancient subject for representation, usually expressed symbolically by the pharaoh smiting a foreigner. With the V Dynasty<sup>369</sup> the scene takes a more dramatic form, the victorious power of the king being represented by a griffin, and the scene continues in this form into later periods.<sup>370</sup> The decoration of the Unas causeway records the subject in a naturalistic way for the first time, with Egyptians and Bedouins engaged in a fight.<sup>371</sup> It is to this tradition that our present fragment belongs, as do the fighting scenes in Mentuhotep's temple at Deir el Bahri.<sup>372</sup>

The fact that Egyptian fighters may be shown combating Libyans does not necessarily mean that a historical event is represented, although fighting between these opponents is quite possible at this period. As we have seen, the fight between Egyptians and foreigners is one of the standard subjects of Egyptian art and, as far as the naturalistic treatment is concerned, goes back to the decoration of the Unas causeway, while the symbolic defeat and destruction of foreigners can be traced into the protodynastic period. We must therefore at least consider the possibility that the battle scene of which this is a fragment belonged to one of the traditional forms in which Egyptian supremacy was expressed artistically. On the other hand, this may be an actual battle that we do not know from any other source.

## 88. Captives.

PROVENANCE: Uncertain.

ORIGIN: A building of the Old Kingdom (?).

RECORD NO.: L 12-13:141.

This deplorably fragmentary piece gives us a faint idea of the outstanding quality of the scene to which it once belonged. Now broken into an irregular shape it shows

367 Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. XLV. Egyptian soldiers occasionally wear one feather held by a ribbon around the head; cf. Naville, *XIth Dynasty*, I, pls. XIV, XV.

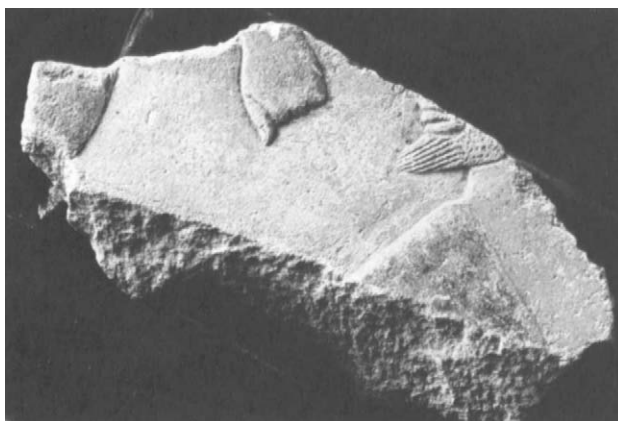
368 The closest parallel is a fallen warrior in a battle scene in the mortuary temple of Nebhepetre' Mentuhotep (Naville, *XIth Dynasty*, I, pl. XIV D); cf. also Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. V, third register from bottom, right side.

369 Borchardt, *Šaḫhu-re'* II, pl. VIII, and *Neuser-re'*, pls. VIII-XI.

370 Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pls. XV, XVI.

371 Hassan, *ASAE*, XXXVIII (1938), pl. XCV.

372 Naville, *XI Dynasty*, I, pls. XIV, XV. The large battle scenes in the private rock-cut tombs at Beni Hasan have an obscure origin, unless they represent the creation of a local artist. The same is true of two other battle scenes, one at Deshasheh (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. IV), the other at Saqqara (Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid, North Side*, frontispiece) both probably not later than the VI Dynasty.



parts of two men. The long, almost straight break below is deceiving as at first glance it seems to be horizontal, but this is not the case. It actually runs diagonally from the bottom of the headdress of the figure at the left—presumably a short wig without curls—down under the shoulder of the one at the right. The hand probably belongs to the figure on the left, which I am inclined to consider a bound prisoner whose arms are tied above his head at the elbow.<sup>373</sup> One might think that the arm of the second man was stretched out in front, but there is not enough space for this; and had this been the case, the Egyptian artist would have shown the shoulder in full. The only possible explanation is that the man's arms were tied behind his back at the elbows.<sup>374</sup> The shoulder is covered by what must be a cloak-like garment,<sup>375</sup> as it is too wide for a sash. The face is broken away above the thick lips, below which a short beard, shown in an unusually naturalistic way, juts forward. Little holes on the jaw indicate stubble,<sup>376</sup> either a continuation of the beard or an indication of unshavenness. It is difficult to identify the man. Asiatics and Libyans are both represented bearded in the Old Kingdom. The shape of the beards is very similar but those of the Libyans are somewhat longer<sup>377</sup> and sometimes squarish in form<sup>378</sup> like the Egyptian beard; moreover, a strong beard growth is shown on the jaws of the Asiatics and this is usually missing in the case of the Libyans. Therefore it is quite likely that this man is an Asiatic brought in as a prisoner.

The carving and the artistic conception of the fragment show a masterly hand, the treatment of the beard reflecting an interest in detail and an ability to overcome difficulties. The subject is well attested in the royal temples of the Old Kingdom, and the royal origin of our piece seems certain. The earliest representation of this scene pre-

373 Cf. Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re'*, II, pl. VI, third figure; cf. also Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl. XII.

374 Cf. Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re'*, II, pl. VI, 4th and 5th figures.

375 In the similar scenes in the temples of Sahure' and Pepi II, and as far as can be made out that of Nywoserre' (Borchardt, *Ne-user-re'*, pls. VIII-XI), none of the foreigners depicted has his chest covered.

376 This way of representing the beard is rare and usually restricted to representations of shepherds. Cf. Junker, *Giza VI.*, fig. 11; Blackman, *Meir*, II, pl. XXX. See also H. Wild, *Tombeau de Ti.*, II, pl. CXI.

377 Cf. Borchardt, *Šaḫu-re'*, II, pl. VI.

378 Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. XL A.

sumably belongs to the Valley Temple of Khufu<sup>379</sup> and shows a particular similarity to the piece under discussion. The interest in detail and also the similarity in style tempt one to hazard a guess that our piece came from Khufu's temple. Nevertheless, several details contradict this view. The method of indicating the short beard on the chin by parallel lines is, as far as I am aware, not characteristic of the Old Kingdom but only found at Meir.<sup>380</sup> An even more significant feature is the dress of the second captive. As we have pointed out before, prisoners depicted in the royal temple of the Old Kingdom are shown with the chest bare, except for the Libyans, who sometimes wear a crossed sash. The cloak-like garment which apparently forms the costume of our man is not known before the Middle Kingdom,<sup>381</sup> thus raising the question of whether it would not be better to attribute this fragment to a date later than the Old Kingdom.

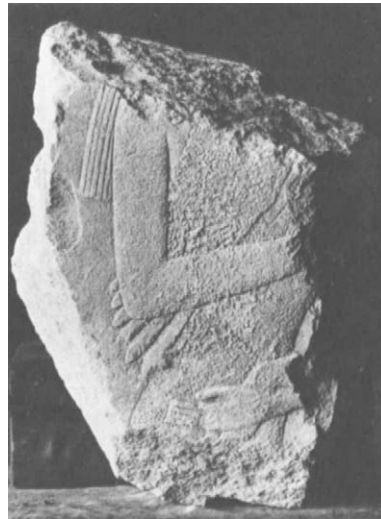
89. A foreign woman (?).

SIZE: 20,5 × 29 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the Old Kingdom (?).

RECORD NO.: L 8-9:61.



This small fragment shows part of the body of a woman, standing and facing right, the head and neck being lost. The hair hangs down from the shoulder to the middle of the upper arm. How the figure was dressed is uncertain. A V-shaped line may represent a deep décolletage, but most of the breast is covered by a wing; it is not apparent,

379 Hölscher, *Chephren*, 110, fig. 163; cf. above, p. 10. A representation of a foreigner is also found on our block no. 1, definitely to be assigned to Khufu's monument because of the inscription.

380 Blackman, *Meir*, II, pl. xxx. Cf. the

representation in the temple of Sahure' (Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, II, pl. v), where the beards of the foreign captives receive only a summary treatment.

381 Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. xxxi.

however, how this was incorporated into the costume as there is no parallel. The left arm held a small child whose knee alone is preserved. The right hand probably supported the breast to facilitate nursing. The figure itself bends forward slightly from the hips.

The interpretation of this highly unusual representation presents difficulties. The wing which covers the breast might lead us to assume that a goddess is depicted, in which case the small child would presumably be a king, as Isis with the Horus child is not shown before the New Kingdom. Goddesses nursing the king are a standard subject in the decoration of Old Kingdom royal temples,<sup>382</sup> but the monarch is always shown as a full-grown man with his royal insignia,<sup>383</sup> as he is shown in the Middle Kingdom also; and the winged dress in this form as an attribute of deities does not appear before the New Kingdom.<sup>384</sup> Other factors against this interpretation are the small size of the figures and, even more significant, the bending position, which is unsuitable for a divinity. A scene which is at least comparable, showing a foreign woman with her child on her arm, was found among the fragments from Mentuhotep's temple at Deir el Bahri.<sup>385</sup> I am thus inclined to see in our figure not a deity but a foreigner, without being able to make any suggestion as to her nationality.

The scene is in excellent low relief, the difficulties of composition solved in a masterly fashion. The unusual subject, however, makes any attempt to assign a definite date very difficult.

#### 90. A foreign woman carrying a child.

SIZE: 6.5 × 10.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid (?).

ORIGIN: A building of the Old Kingdom (?).

RECORD NO.: MMA 13.235.1.

Although very small this fragment is nevertheless exceedingly interesting. On it is preserved a woman's wig and what appears to be the head of a child looking out from a basket-like container on her back. The subject is not recorded in the Old Kingdom, the closest parallel being from Mentuhotep's temple at Deir el Bahri.<sup>386</sup> This, like our own piece, offers no clue to the race of mother and child; in an example from Beni Hasan they are probably Libyan or Asiatic.<sup>387</sup>

382 The relief in Princeton published by Ranke in *JNES*, ix (1950), 228 ff., is not Old Kingdom but comes from the late temple of Isis in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, as Dr. Smith informed me.

383 The only representation of a king as a naked infant dating from the Old Kingdom is the alabaster figure of Pepi II in Brooklyn.

384 The earliest example of a goddess wearing a dress that conveys the idea of feathers is at Elephantine in the tomb of *S3-rnpwt*, I (H. W. Müller, *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, ix, fig. 21). An XI Dynasty example from Tôd (F. Bisson de la Roque, *Fouilles de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, xvii, pl. xxviii) with wings around the

knees is, like the preceding example, not related to the form of the costume on our fragment.

385 Naville, *XI Dynasty*, I, pl. xiv F. The genre scene in the mastaba of Kagemni (Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. LIII [Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, 301, fig. 155]) has hardly any direct connection with the piece we are discussing.

386 Naville, *XIth Dynasty*, I, pl. xv B.

387 Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. XLV; J. J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire*, 38. Cf. also the contemporary wooden statuette in Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, 140, fig. 138. In the New Kingdom other nationalities are shown carrying small children in this way; cf. *BMMA*, xxv (1930), Dec., part II, fig. 10.



The similar representation in the XI Dynasty temple, although of much inferior quality, is of great importance for a study of our piece. The carving of the latter is of very good quality, so that it is unlikely that it is a copy of the mediocre XI Dynasty work. The same situation has already been encountered in connection with no. 87 which also has a parallel of inferior quality among the Deir el Bahri fragments. It seems that we can therefore assume a common origin for the two pieces; their attribution to a date within the limits of the Old Kingdom remains uncertain.

91. Foreign women.

SIZE: 6.5 × 10.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Core of pyramid.

ORIGIN: A building of the Old Kingdom or later.

RECORD NO.: L 20-21:241.



This block, apparently preserved in its original form, is surprisingly small, not being high enough for the small figures represented on it. There is a marginal line at the right, so this was presumably the end of a scene. The most important part of the action was presumably taking place to the left, as all the figures face in that direction. We are shown three women dressed in long garments with skirts that are wide at the bottom, unlike those of the Egyptians. The gesture of the last woman is preserved, with both arms, bent at the elbows, raised before her.

In front of each figure is a short vertical inscription, all three designating the woman as *'jmt*, "female Asiatic."<sup>388</sup> The personal names<sup>389</sup> follow, only the two at the right being preserved. The first woman is called *'Iw.s-n(.i)*,<sup>390</sup> while the other is *'In-it.f-šnb*.<sup>391</sup>

The carving is low and of fair quality, the large undecorated areas formed by the dresses being of interest. The type of subject and the style of carving are closer to Middle Kingdom forms than to those of the Old Kingdom, suggesting a date as close to the former as possible, taking the re-use of the block in the pyramid into account. As to its origin, the guess that it was royal is purely hypothetical, although the subject would have been better suited to an official building than a private one.

388 Documented only since the Middle Kingdom; *Wb.*, I, 168, 1; Hayes, *A Late Middle Kingdom Papyrus in the Brooklyn Museum*, 92 ff.

389 Whether or not these are the actual names of the people represented is uncertain, particularly as the piece possibly originated in a royal monument, where it is questionable that the names of foreign servants would be truthfully recorded. It is possible, though this cannot be corroborated, that these names have been chosen as typical of the people with whom they are connected; this is the

case with the names of the Libyans in Sahure's temple, which occur again in that of Pepi II and are still to be found in the late temple at Kawa (Macadam, *The Temples at Kawa*, II, 65).

390 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 15, 4. As a name of Asiatic maid-servants it is documented twice in Hayes, *Middle Kingdom Papyrus*, 87, 89; cf. also 102.

391 Ranke (*Personennamen*, II, 264, 17) quotes only one occurrence, and that male.

# VIII

## An Architectural Element

### 92. Fragment of an architrave.

SIZE: 39 × 41 cm.

PROVENANCE: Uncertain.

ORIGIN: A private tomb of the late III or early IV Dynasty.

RECORD NO.: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 958.49.1.<sup>392</sup>



This is a small section of an architectural element, presumably an architrave, inscribed with hieroglyphs of a crude style. The text gives a number of titles of an unnamed official: *ḥkꜣ-nꜣwt ḥry-mdw imy-rꜣ šnd nb n š rꜣi*, "Administrator of the Crown,<sup>393</sup> Holder of the Staff,<sup>394</sup> Overseer of All Acacia Trees<sup>395</sup> of the Fayyūm."<sup>396</sup> The titles, all of a rare kind, are paralleled chiefly by early Old Kingdom inscriptions, particularly by

<sup>392</sup> Needler, *The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Art and Archaeology Division, Annual*, 1959, 32 ff., pl. II.

<sup>393</sup> *Wb.*, III, 173, 2; also Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, III, 98.

<sup>394</sup> *Wb.*, III, 394, 8; *Urk.*, I, 6; Fischer, *Mitt. Kairo*, XVI (1958), 137, n. 4.

<sup>395</sup> *Wb.*, IV, 520, 13.

<sup>396</sup> *Urk.*, I, 3, 12; G. W. Fraser, *ASAE*, III (1902), 76.



those of *Mṯn*, which suggests an equally early date for this piece. The mention of the Fayyūm might lead us to assume that it came from that region, but no traces of early Old Kingdom tombs have been found there. Saqqara seems to be a much more likely origin, especially the part of the cemetery where the tomb of *Mṯn*—whose inscriptions also mention the Fayyūm—was located.<sup>397</sup>

<sup>397</sup> Porter—Moss, *Bibliography*, III, 124.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LISHT BLOCKS

Now that we have discussed the individual pieces we shall make an attempt to evaluate the significance of the entire group of material. First we must consider the character of the blocks. The only feature they have in common is their re-use in the pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht. Since they were not taken from one particular building but originated in several monuments erected before the Middle Kingdom, the blocks discussed above do not form a homogeneous group. There are in fact at least five different groups, taken from an equal number of buildings. Each group is represented by more or less fragmentary remains, which occasionally fit together but are for the most part isolated. Thus, it is neither possible to regard the Lisht blocks as a uniform group—except as regards the place of their discovery—nor to consider them representative of the decoration of any one monument. Moreover, our material represents only a portion of the blocks re-used in Amenemhet's pyramid. Additional pieces that are still buried in this monument might very well add to or even complete scenes now only known in fragments.

As it is so heterogeneous in character the material can only illuminate artistic style at given times rather than illustrate its development for a longer period. This limitation is the more regrettable because our knowledge of the decoration of royal monuments of the early period of Egyptian history is still very fragmentary. By its very nature this material both adds to our knowledge and increases the number of unsolved questions.

The importance of the Lisht blocks derives from three main factors. First, through a study of their iconography they have increased our knowledge of royal reliefs of the period prior to the end of the Old Kingdom, hitherto very few in number; new subjects can now be added to those which have been recorded and made available through publication. Secondly, new insight into the development of art during the period preceding the Middle Kingdom has been given by the addition of a group of reliefs which possibly postdate the Old Kingdom proper and conceivably belong to the Heracleopolitan Period. And last but not least, we can now suggest an answer to the question of why these blocks were re-used in Amenemhet I's pyramid, though it can only be a tentative one as long as the re-used material has not been excavated in its entirety.

At the beginning of this book we asked whether or not there was any discrimination in the choice of material re-used in the body of the XII Dynasty pyramid. According to the reliefs which we know, and we seem justified in considering them a representative group, it appears that these blocks were carefully selected.

A fragment of an architrave (no. 92), presumably dating from the late III Dynasty, can be regarded as the earliest of the Lisht blocks; this is the only case, incidentally, in

which the private origin of the monument can be considered certain. It is likely that the piece originally came from Saqqara, although we are in no position to confirm this conjecture. Whether there was any reason for its re-use in Amenemhet's pyramid, and if so what the reason was, is entirely obscure. There seems to be no other material from this presumed site, so it is possible that this one small block was taken along with other blocks in error. The only other reason for re-using it in this royal funerary monument of the XII Dynasty would have been an admiration for the person from whose tomb it came. His name is not given, but to judge by his titles he was apparently a man of importance. Bearing in mind that by the time of the re-use a number of courtiers of the Old Kingdom were held in high esteem, as is shown by their divinization, it is quite possible that an architectural element from the tomb of one of these men might have been purposely incorporated into the royal funerary monument.

The IV Dynasty is especially well represented among the Lisht blocks. Two royal monuments can be definitely identified as places of origin, namely those of Khufu and Khephren, both located at Giza. Although further pieces belonging to Khephren are probably still contained in the North Pyramid, the large granite lintel from the court of his funerary temple (no. 7) is the only block of this pharaoh excavated among the Lisht blocks; it is of considerable importance as it is also the sole architectural element from his monument to have been fully preserved and is, in consequence, essential in its reconstruction. It is, moreover, important in demonstrating that there was a definite psychological reason for gathering material from earlier buildings for Amenemhet's pyramid: no utilitarian explanation seems to account for engaging in such a technically difficult task as transporting this great monolith to Lisht. Hardly any of the architectural elements of Khephren's monument were found when it was excavated, although one would have expected that these huge blocks would have remained *in situ*.<sup>398</sup> This was apparently because they had been extracted repeatedly to be re-used in later monuments, the earliest instance of this re-use so far known being that in the pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht. Another, much later occurrence, presumably motivated by the same ideas, is the re-use of a block at Bubastis in Ramesside times.<sup>399</sup>

The pieces originating in the earlier royal monument at Giza, that of Khufu, are particularly numerous, to count only those actually inscribed with the king's name and those that can safely be attributed to his structure on the strength of their style, which is outstanding in its quality. Their number is possibly to be accounted for by the special admiration Amenemhet felt for this IV Dynasty ruler. Little as we know about the political aims of Khufu, it nevertheless seems clear that his reign marked a turning point in the development of the Old Kingdom and was indeed one of the peaks of the

398 As the material is granite it could hardly be re-used in any other way, as for instance limestone could, which has been burnt in large quantities to make lime to whitewash mud brick walls.

399 The activity of *H'-m-w3st*, repeatedly re-

flected in the cemeteries of the Old Kingdom, is probably connected with the collection of material for re-use in the buildings of Ramesside rulers. As at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, this re-use was connected with a restoration, which always claims to be a return to the past.

whole dynastic era. Although the period immediately preceding him is still obscure, it seems that between Snofru and Khufu there was a short interregnum, after which the kingdom had to be consolidated anew. To judge by subsequent development the claim can justly be made that it was in Khufu's reign that the Egyptian state received the form which lasted for generations. It was at this time that the pharaoh became a center around whom the life of the courtiers, indeed of all Egyptians, revolved. Under Amenemhet I, we find a similar condition, and this may very well be the reason for Amenemhet's sympathy with the earlier ruler and why he took so many blocks from his monument.

The blocks belonging to Khufu discovered at Lisht can be divided into two groups, distinguished by their original location before their re-use. One group apparently comes from the Valley Temple, this assumption being based on parallels of their subjects found in later monuments. Khufu's Valley Temple is still unexcavated, and thus any comment about it is hypothetical. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assume that this part of Khufu's monument, like the others, was once decorated with reliefs carved in fine Tura limestone. It is hazardous to guess how much of it may still be *in situ*, but it is probable that it, like Khephren's funerary temple, was the victim of extensive stripping for the purpose of re-use. The fragments coming from Khufu's Valley Temple are quite diverse in their subject matter, but it seems possible to deduce from them some facts concerning the architectural organization of this building. Two fragments (nos. 2 and 3) show representatives of the funerary estates, a subject found in Snofru's Valley Temple, though the location is later changed: they are placed at the entrance to the commissariat building connected with Sahure's pyramid and in the lower part of the causeway of Pepi II. It is likely that Khufu's arrangement resembled that of the earlier Snofru. Not recorded for Snofru, and possibly a new subject in the decoration of the royal temple, is the presentation of foreign captives. In the later buildings it is placed for the most part in those sections of the funerary monument which were connected chiefly with the earthly sphere—the Valley Temple and its counterpart, the antechamber of the funerary temple. The representation of ships seems to be another innovation of this time. Here again the Valley Temple would appear to be the original situation by analogy with the position of this subject in the early cult chambers at Giza, where it appears above the doorway, presumably a location outside the strictly sepulchral sphere occupied by the cult chamber itself, which corresponded to the funerary temple.<sup>400</sup>

Block no. 1 is of particular interest. As pointed out above, the arrangement suggests that the relief was connected with a representation of the king in the round. Such an arrangement, rare in Egyptian art, would be paralleled to a certain degree by that in the court of Khephren's funerary temple, which possibly was influenced in this respect by the older monument of Khufu. Therefore it is tempting to assume that there were statues of Khufu in his Valley Temple, and that this was the original location of the piece, a site also suggested by the fact that the fragment shows a Libyan captive. The specific position of the block remains obscure.

<sup>400</sup> For the relationship between the designs of royal and private decoration, see H. Goedicke, *Mitt. Kairo*, xv (1957), 57 ff.

The second group of reliefs from Khufu's funerary monument comprises scenes of the *Sed*-festival. While the fragments of the first group are repeatedly inscribed with the name of Khufu the pieces of the second group never mention the royal name. This is chiefly due to the more fragmentary state of these reliefs, among which the figure of the king who is celebrating is never completely preserved. The attribution to Khufu, nevertheless, seems certain on the strength of the similarity in style between these blocks and a few pieces with the same subject found at Giza. Although fragmentary, the blocks of this group are extremely important. It is only in recent years that reliefs connected with Khufu's celebration of a *Sed*-festival have been known; the isolated pieces from Giza have received a substantial addition in the re-used blocks from Lisht. Together they show only one major scene, namely the greeting of the approaching king by the goddess Meret and the courtiers. The other scenes are extremely incomplete, but they seem to have covered a considerable area and to have shown only the events connected with the *Sed*-festival. Accordingly the extensive representation in the sun temple of Nywoserre<sup>401</sup> can no longer be considered the oldest large scene of its kind, as such scenes go back at least to Khufu. Our blocks show a remarkable freshness of conception and appear to show actual scenes without any stylization in the recording.

As for their original setting, it is likely that they belonged to the decoration of the funerary temple, as is suggested by the discovery in this area of two similar blocks by Professor Selim Hassan<sup>401</sup> and of another fragment belonging to the same scene by the Harvard-Boston Expedition.<sup>402</sup> Therefore it seems permissible to assume that the scenes represented in the funerary temple of Khufu were devoted chiefly to the *Sed*-festival. In the later, better-preserved royal temples of the Old Kingdom, chiefly those of Sahure<sup>403</sup> and Pepi II, scenes relating to the *Sed*-festival occupy only a small area,<sup>403</sup> while scenes of a ceremonial character are much greater in number. Whether, and to what extent, such scenes were numbered among the decorations of Khufu's funerary temple is obscure, none so far having been recorded.<sup>404</sup> On the other hand, the emphasis given to the representation of the *Sed*-festival in the funerary temple of Khufu (found again only in Nywoserre's sun temple) seems to underline the significance of this celebration for kingship. Here it should be pointed out that it is uncertain, even unlikely, that this festival had a religious character originally. It seems probable that it was connected rather with the actual sovereignty of the king, and that the representation in the royal temple shows the pharaoh exercising his rights. In this it would parallel the decorations in private tombs, which depict the owner conducting his earthly affairs. Only in later times does the *Sed*-festival acquire a religious character.

When we consider the reasons for the re-use of older material in the pyramid of Amenemhet I, as we have done above, the extensive use of blocks belonging to Khufu becomes significant. But why blocks were taken from two different parts of Khufu's monument remains obscure, and we must simply accept the fact.

<sup>401</sup> Smith, *Old Kingdom Sculpture*, 157, n. 1; Lauer, *ASAE*, XLIX (1949), 111 ff.; Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, II, figs. 5, 6.

<sup>402</sup> Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis*, fig. 7, 37-34h).

<sup>403</sup> Cf. Borchardt, *Saḥu-re'*, II, pl. XXII, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. XII, XVIII.

<sup>404</sup> A small fragment of the earlier monument of Snofru depicts the kind of ceremonial or religious scenes found in the temples of the Old Kingdom; cf. Fakhry, *ASAE*, LII (1954), pl. XII A.

Since Khufu is so well represented among the Lisht blocks it is the more surprising that there are no traces of his successors until the reign of Unas, at the very end of the V Dynasty. It is questionable if this was merely accidental, though that is possible. Nevertheless, it should perhaps be remarked that the V Dynasty represents a basically different conception of rulership from that of the IV Dynasty, although, at the very end of the dynasty, a change in this new conception seems to have taken place. This change apparently occurred in the reign of 'Issi and is demonstrable first under Unas.<sup>405</sup> We can only perceive it dimly, but it seems to have affected the entire mental attitude of the time and to have been reflected in the administration of the state as well as in religion. It is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that sun temples were no longer erected and that inscriptions began to appear in the pyramids.

Therefore, as Unas is the first ruler after Khufu and Khephren of whom we have a definite record among the Lisht blocks, we can assume that Amenemhet I felt a particular affinity for this ruler, which made it desirable to incorporate some of his building material in his own pyramid. What the reasons for the affinity were, however, we cannot grasp.

The pieces among the Lisht blocks which belong or can be attributed to the funerary monument of Unas consist of one large fragment (no. 8) probably taken from the decorated causeway and a number of blocks which presumably came from the funerary temple. Representations of soldiers dominate this group, and this fact is noteworthy, though we cannot tell whether or not the choice was deliberate. The one block from the causeway bears only an inscription, but this refers to some kind of military action. We might guess that in later times Unas was famous for the organization of his army, but there is no corroboration for this suggestion.

The last king whose name we find on the Lisht blocks is called Pepi (no. 9). As pointed out above, the traces of the Golden Horus name show that this cannot have been Pepi I; so this relief would seem to have been carved for Pepi II. This cannot be considered certain, however, chiefly because of the style, which is quite different from that of the funerary monument of this pharaoh at Saqqara. Moreover, three other Lisht blocks (nos. 25–27) are of the same style as that inscribed  $\text{Ś} \text{3} \text{-} R' Ppy$  and therefore seem to have the same origin, but these have a quite different treatment of the subjects depicted from that of the Saqqara reliefs. For these reasons it seems unlikely that they originated in the funerary monument of Pepi II which we know at Saqqara.

On the other hand, the vast majority of the Lisht blocks, as far as they are royal, appear to have come from funerary monuments. It is questionable if an exception would have been made in the case of Pepi II. Although it is possible that the blocks came from some other temple of this pharaoh, not only is the general rule against such an assumption, but so is the subject matter, which is such as normally decorates the royal funerary monument. How to account for this situation is one of the questions raised by the Lisht blocks that will remain unsolved until some complementary material comes to light.

Among the reliefs which cannot be attributed to any particular ruler two groups

<sup>405</sup> Cf. Goedicke, *Die Stellung des Königs im alten Reich*, 87 ff.

and a number of more or less isolated pieces can be distinguished. One group (nos. 61–68), showing a line of ships under full sail, are all from the same wall. They were carved by a most accomplished hand and closely resemble good examples of workmanship of the IV and V Dynasties. But, as pointed out above in the discussion of the individual blocks, there are details unknown in representations of ships definitely dating from the early Old Kingdom; moreover, the general artistic conception distinguishes these pieces from those of that period, in which we expect to find a descriptive point of view, a desire to emphasize the essential features of the subject with a disregard for natural appearances. Although the Egyptian modes of representation always stayed within the limits imposed by two-dimensional art, in the present reliefs we encounter a naturalism exceeding anything comparable in even the V and VI Dynasties—especially in the freedom with which the motions of the various figures are shown, with no attempt to avoid overlapping.

While these stylistic particularities make it difficult to fit this group of reliefs into the artistic development during the Old Kingdom as known at present, the quality of the carving points to a date not later than the first half of the V Dynasty; for this reason the group is here tentatively dated to the IV or V Dynasty.

The same facts apply to a second group of Lisht blocks (nos. 86–91), which cannot be assigned to any particular pharaoh. The group consists of several small fragments, hardly related to each other except for two pieces which apparently belong to a battle scene. They have in common workmanship of a caliber rarely found in Egyptian reliefs of the early time, except those of the early Giza group centered around Khufu, but cannot be assigned with certainty to a date before the end of the VI Dynasty. They show an interest in and an ease in handling artistic problems that is not attested previously, not even in the V Dynasty. An important point is that some of the scenes (nos. 87 and 90) are paralleled in the XI Dynasty monument of Mentuhotep at Deir el Bahri. The latter is so much inferior in quality that we can safely assume that the XI Dynasty representations are copies; and we should like to suggest that Mentuhotep's reliefs were an attempt to imitate the monuments of that king's opponents in the north of Egypt. This attempt, carried out by the local artists available to the victorious ruler in the south, does not, however, meet the standards of the original which it copies. The important fact therefore emerges that the decoration of Mentuhotep's temple was not an independent artistic creation but was copied from an earlier original.

Since our pieces are limited by a date *post quem* on the one hand, as we cannot place them before the latter part of the VI Dynasty, and on the other by a date *ante quem*, their re-use in the pyramid of Amenemhet I, we have called them "Old Kingdom(?)," a term which here includes the Heracleopolitan Period. If we attempt to define the date of the blocks more precisely, their attribution to the Heracleopolitan Period (IX and X Dynasties) should be considered.

Although the assignment of a number of reliefs of good, even excellent, quality to this period seems to be required by the facts, it will probably meet opposition because of the general assumption that the era following the end of the VI Dynasty was a period of artistic decline, owing to the internal struggles through which Egypt was passing at the time.

Our knowledge of the Heracleopolitan Period is very limited, particularly as regards the situation on the throne. Hardly any of the names of the rulers are recorded in contemporary inscriptions, and we are dependent on later or secondary sources, most of them fragmentary, for this information. But although the pharaohs of the time are obscure to us, our knowledge of the private people and their tombs is somewhat better, particularly in the south, where a considerable number of these tombs have been found. The style of the vast majority is very poor, even crude, showing a considerable decline in quality compared with those in the large cemeteries of the Old Kingdom near Memphis. We have only a very few provincial tombs dating from the Old Kingdom, and these too may have been executed by artisans from the royal workshops as an expression of royal favor.<sup>406</sup> It has therefore been assumed that there was a decline in the arts after the Old Kingdom, but this assumption must be questioned. On the one hand we have the productions of the royal workshops, in which the most highly qualified artists were concentrated, and on the other those of not very gifted provincial artists who were trying their best to imitate the designs of their more able colleagues, in most cases not very successfully. Thus the situation in the South during the period following the end of the Old Kingdom cannot truthfully reflect the abilities of the artists of the court, which certainly continued to exist.

The situation is quite different in the north, where the old artistic principles seem to continue almost without interruption. As is true of the provincial monuments, the precise dating of most of what has been preserved from this period is *sub judice*, and not too infrequently a monument attributed to the end of the VI Dynasty is probably to be placed later. An additional point to be noted, also true of the provinces, is the increase in the number of monuments, particularly of a small and mediocre kind. This probably reflects a change in the class of people permitted to be buried in the royal cemetery, which in the Old Kingdom, particularly the earlier part, was restricted to a relatively small group closely related to the crown.

The uncertainty of the exact date of most of the reliefs of this period offers a serious handicap to discussion. Thus we shall use for comparison only the few which can be definitely dated by the mention of a royal name or, to be more precise, of a royal pyramid, that of Merikare', the only pharaoh of the time whose tomb is so far known; it was located near the funerary monument of Teti, where the pieces were excavated.<sup>407</sup> They are of good workmanship and show a mastery of all the relevant artistic problems; in this they are infinitely superior to the presumably contemporary monuments of the south. They continue the artistic tendencies prevailing by the end of the VI Dynasty, though with an inclination to the finer, more detailed, carving characteristic of the reign of Pepi II.

406 When *Szbn* returned to Egypt with the body of his father *Mhw*, who had died in the South during an official mission, the king sent to Aswan not only the entire funerary equipment but also an embalmer and a lector priest for his official's funeral (*Urk.*, I, 138, 2-9). In the tomb of *'Ibi* at Deir el Gebrawi (Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi*,

I, pl. xiv) a *mdhw hnw*, "carpenter of the Residence," is mentioned parallel to a *mdhw n pr-dt* "carpenter of the funerary estate."

407 Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906)*, pl. xv, and (1906-1907), pl. vi; Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. xxvii B.



Consequently, we seem justified in imagining an uninterrupted continuation of artistic traditions in the north connected with the residence of the Heracleopolitan rulers.<sup>408</sup> Not only did the production of fine work apparently continue, but, if our hypothesis is correct, it seems to have reached a particular height of refinement that paralleled the flowering of literature we find in this period. The high esteem in which the artists of the kings of the Heracleopolitan Period were held and their continuation of the old traditions are shown by the situation in the XI Dynasty. The XI Dynasty temple at Deir el Bahri is unquestionably the work of provincial artists and as such is closely related to the contemporary private tombs in the south. With the advancement of the XI Dynasty, that is, the time when the Heracleopolitan rulers were superseded, the situation changes completely, as is apparent from the reliefs of Mentuhotep S'ankhkare'.<sup>409</sup> These show the same characteristics as the private stelae which mention the pyramid of Merikare' and which can be linked directly to the Middle Kingdom. The complete break between the crude provincial style of the beginning of the XI Dynasty and the sophisticated work of the later monuments can hardly be accounted for otherwise than by assuming that the artisans linked to the Heracleopolitan court were taken over by the Theban rulers.<sup>410</sup>

Thus we should like to suggest that the artistic traditions developed during the Old Kingdom survived in the Heracleopolitan court and that its achievements, of which we have been ignorant, since the royal tombs of the period have not yet been discovered, may be represented, though only in part, by these reliefs preserved among the Lisht blocks. If so, this is one of the most important features of this group of material. These blocks show an exceedingly high standard of craftsmanship throughout and testify to a continuously fine tradition in the royal workshops. In their carving we find a determined departure from the rather bold relief of the late VI Dynasty and in its place a tendency toward the much lower relief which leads harmoniously into the style of the late XI Dynasty and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. A particularly striking feature of these reliefs is their emphasis on naturalistic representation and the abandonment of the traditions that emphasize the religious content of the subjects shown. If our fragments do date from the Heracleopolitan Period they show a return to the V Dynasty, in ideas as well as in style. Nevertheless they cannot be called mannered in any way but on the contrary have a remarkable freshness of conception and a richness of new themes. Thus the art of the Heracleopolitan Period may not have suffered stagnation but may rather have reached a particularly high peak, paralleling the contemporary flowering of literature. How such achievements in artistic production can be reconciled with the internal controversies of the time is beyond the scope of this volume.

To recapitulate: we may justly claim that the re-used blocks found embedded in the pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht are of great importance for a study of the history of the art of ancient Egypt. By their very nature, however, no uniform conclusions can

<sup>408</sup> This view is corroborated by the few small objects inscribed for kings of the time; see in particular the small ivory with inlay in semi-precious stones found in the *radim* near the North

Pyramid at Lisht (Hayes, *Scepter*, I, 143, fig. 86).

<sup>409</sup> Bisson de la Roque, *Tôd (1934 à 1936)*, pls. xxiv ff.

<sup>410</sup> Cf. Helck, *ZÄS*, LXXX (1955), 75, 76.

be drawn from them; only too often these new additions to the stock of royal reliefs made before the Middle Kingdom present more questions than answers. This is due in part to the fact that the group of reliefs discussed here represent only a portion of the material re-used in Amenemhet I's monument; we can only hope that the remaining reliefs will some day become available, rounding out the evidence of the fragments so far excavated.



## Abbreviations used in the Footnotes

<i>Archiv äg. Arch.</i>	<i>Archiv für ägyptische Archäologie</i>	<i>Mitt. Kairo</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo, continued as Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>		
<i>BIE</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien, 1859–1918, continued as Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte</i>	<i>OMRO</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire</i>	<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>BMFA</i>	<i>Bulletin: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i>	<i>Unters.</i>	<i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens (ed. K. Sethe)</i>
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>	<i>Urk.</i>	<i>Sethe, K., Urkunden des alten Reichs</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>	<i>Wb.</i>	<i>Erman, A. and Grapow, H., Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>	<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>L. D.</i>	<i>Lepsius, K. R., Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i>		
<i>MIFAO</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire</i>		

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