Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art

Proceedings of the MeKeTRE Study Day held at the
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (3rd May 2013)

Lubica Hudáková, Peter Jánosi and Andrea Kahlbacher
(eds.)

Middle Kingdom Studies 4

universität wien
Historisch-Kulturwissen-
schaftliche Fakultät

Meketre scenery epository

FWF
Der Wissenschaftsfonds.

This title is published by
Golden House Publications

Copyright © by the authors if not otherwise stated

cover image © Turin, Egyptian Museum, Head, Suppl. 4427: SBAPMAE and under its concession; photograph by G. Lovera

All rights reserved; no part of this publication may be produced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical photocopying, recording, or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988, without prior written permission from Golden House Publications.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-906137-50-2

Printed in the United Kingdom
By

CPI Group (UK) Ltd.
Croydon
CR0 4YY

London 2016

Middle Kingdom Studies

Series

Editor-in-Chief

Gianluca Miniaci

Advisory Board

Bettina Bader, Marilina Betrò, Marleen De Meyer, Juan Carlos Moreno García,

Alexander Ilin-Tomich, Patricia Rigault, Stephen Quirke

Gloria Rosati, Danijela Stefanović, Pascal Vernus

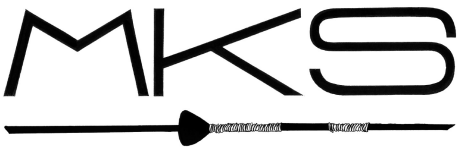


Table of contents

Preface
Lubica Hudáková, Peter Jánosi and Andrea Kahlbacher.....vii

List of abbreviations.....ix

Développement stylistique et « ateliers ». La sculpture du Moyen Empire tardif
Simon Connor.....1

Let the Old Kingdom end and the Middle Kingdom begin!
Biri Fay.....19

Some aspects of the decorative and cult program of Twelfth Dynasty tombs at Qaw el-Kebir
Elisa Fiore Marochetti.....37

Dying and mourning between the Old and Middle Kingdoms – some peculiar scenes from Thebes, el-Moalla, and Gebelein
Lubica Hudáková.....47

The Menu Please! Individualism vs. standardization in funerary repast scenes from the Early Dynastic Period to the Middle Kingdom
Andrea Kahlbacher.....65

Did the « reunification style » affect the production of Middle Kingdom royal statuary?
David Lorand.....83

Playing with Traditions. The decoration of Djehutyhotep II's tomb at Deir el-Bersha reconsidered
Gabriele Pieke.....95

Dogs, dwarfs, and carrying chairs
Vera Vasiljević.....117

Colour plates 133

Preface

The present volume assembles eight studies focusing specifically on crucial questions concerning Middle Kingdom art. These papers were first presented and discussed at the MeKeTRE *Study Day* addressing *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art* held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 3 May 2013. Although the titles of the contributions seem quite varied they all aim at one target, a better understanding of the creativity and essence of Middle Kingdom artistic production. Sandwiched between the two great and well-studied eras of the Old and New Kingdoms, the time period from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Dynasty is still largely underestimated and little researched. In recent years, however, a growing number of scholars have not only lamented the many "blank spots" in art historical research and the inadequacy of the treatment of "art" within Egyptology in general, but they took action. The vexing point was and remains that objects of art – statuary, relief, and painting – are often simply treated as *accompagnamento* to history, culture, architecture, and funerary beliefs. This attitude is slowly, but steadily changing.

One crucial means to remedy this situation is an unbiased approach to critical re-evaluation of old concepts and convictions, and – if necessary – their abandonment. A second, still much desired endeavor comprises in-depth studies dealing with the ever-increasing corpus of two *as well as* three-dimensional works of art. Finally, courageously advancing new methodology and concepts will pave the way for better understanding and should be a hallmark of art historical debate.[1]

This publication, like the *Study Day*, is intended as a fundamental step in this direction, and the editors openly confess that *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, initiated in Cairo in 1991,[2] and its abiding success have served as exemplary models. Similarly inspirational was the volume *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* that resulted from a symposium hosted by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in 2002.[3]

Instigating new approaches, challenging "firmly held" beliefs, and uninhibited exchange of ideas form the core of this book. We started with "Change and Innovation" and were overwhelmed by the multi-facetted responses we received. Is Middle Kingdom art a faithful continuation of old traditions, forms, and rules? How does it differ from the art of earlier and later periods? When, where, and why did changes occur? What are the salient characteristics of Middle Kingdom art? It is commonly held that the division into *Old*, *Middle*, and *New Kingdom* is an artificial distinction based primarily on political considerations. Developments in art followed a quite different and more complex pattern, even though they may have been influenced by political, local, and other changes, as is discussed or implicit in almost all the contributions to this book. Their diverse titles suggest approaches to the multitude of these questions, but underlying all the presentations is the essential pre-requisite of dealing with art in general and of all periods: "*looking and looking again, and trying to see*" as has been pin-pointed by Biri Fay in her stimulating essay. This should serve as the 'Leitmotiv' for our endeavor.

The organizers of the conference and editors of this volume are especially delighted that within this narrow frame of reference, the participants – speakers as well as authors – have afforded virtually an equal amount of attention to relief as to statuary. In addition, we would like to extend our deep appreciation to the speakers who contributed to lively and fruitful discussion at the *Study Day,* and to those authors who willingly share their ideas and previously unpublished material in written form with a wider audience. The results of their efforts are proudly presented in this volume in the hope of inspiring further studies.

Furthermore, we are much indebted to Dr. Regina Hölzl, director of the Egyptian and Near Eastern Collection of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, Vienna for her kind assistance and for providing the venue for the meeting, and to the students of the Institute of

[1] Here praise must be included for two recent publications focusing *inter alia* specifically on Middle Kingdom art to provide interested readers with a wealth of new information and insights: *Sésostris III. Pharaon de Légende* (sous la direction de F. Morfoisse et G. Andrea-Lanoë, avec la collaboration de Clément Pouwels), Lille 2014, and the lavishly illustrated catalogue *Ancient Egypt Transformed. The Middle Kingdom* (edited by A. Oppenheim, Do. Arnold, Di. Arnold and K. Yamamoto), New York 2015. Both volumes were issued in conjunction with profound exhibitions mounted, respectively, in Lille and New York.

[2] *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991 (Mainz: SDAIK 28, 1995).

[3] Silverman, D.P., Simpson, W.K., Wegner, J. (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven, Philadelphia, 2009).

Egyptology for their considerable contribution to its success.

The organization of the *Study Day* would not have been possible without the generous support of the Austrian Science Fund (*Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung*). The workshop was initiated within the scope of the MeKeTRE project (FWF, Project No. P 21571-G21), under the auspices of the Institute of Egyptology in cooperation with the research group Multimedia Information Systems at the University of Vienna (www.meketre.org). We are deeply indebted to the Dean of The Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies of the University, Vienna, who generously provided funding for proofreading the contributions. Last but not least, our sincere appreciation is extended to Wolfram Grajetzki and Ginaluca Miniaci. They readily accepted these manuscripts for publication in their new series *Middle Kingdom Studies*, thereby providing a wealth of up-to-date information for everyone involved in art historical studies of the period. We sincerely hope that it contributes to the success of their undertaking.

Lubica Hudáková, Peter Jánosi and Andrea Kahlbacher
Vienna, March 2016

List of abbreviations

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden.
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament, Wies baden.
ACE	Australian Centre for Egyptology, Sydney.
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen, Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York.
AnOr	Analecta orientalia, Rome.
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London.
Ast	Archivio di Stato di Torino.
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Berlin.
BACE	Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology, Sydney.
BAR-IS	Britisch Archaeological Reports – International Series.
BH	Beni Hassan.
BiAeg	Bibliotheca aegyptiaca, Brussels.
BiEtud	Bibliothèque d'étude, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo.
BIFAO	Bulletin de l´Institut français d´archéologie orientale, Le Caire.
BM	British Museum, London.
BMFA	Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
BMH	Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts, Budapest.
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Musem of Art, New York.
BMOP	British Museum Occasional Papers, London.
BollSer	Bollingen Series, New York.
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt (and Egyptian Research Account), London.
BSAK	Beihefte SAK, Hamburg.
BSEG	Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève, Genève.
CG/CGC	Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.
CGT	Catalogue général du musée de Turin, Turin.
ChronEg	Chronique d'Égypte, Fond. égyptol. Reine Élisabeth, Brussels (also CdE).
DiscEg	Discussions in Egyptology, Oxford.
EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund, London.
EES	Egypt Exploration Society, London.
EVO	Egitto e Vicino Oriente. Rivista della sezione di Egittologia e Scienze Storiche del Vicino Oriente, Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche del Mondo Antico, Università degli Studi di Pisa.
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo.
FMAE	Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie di Torino.
FNRS–ULB	Fonds national de la recherche scientifique, Belgium (also F.R.S.-FNRS) – Université libre de Bruxelles, Brussels.
G	Giza.
GM	Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen.
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen, Wiesbaden.
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim.
HbOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden, Cologne.
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie, Berlin.
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston, New York.
JCSMS	Journal of Classical Studies Matica Srpska, Novi Sad.
JdE	Journal d'Entrée, Cairo Museum.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Egypt Exploration Society, London.
Ktèma	Ktèma. Civilis. de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques, Centre de rech. sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce ant., Groupe de rech. d'hist. rom., Strasbourg.
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden, 1975-1992.
MAIBL	Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris.
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin, München.
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Wiesbaden.
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l´Institut français d´archéologie orientale, Le Caire.
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Berlin.
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
MMAEE	Metropolitan Museum of Art,

	Egyptian Expedition. Metropolitan Museum, New York.
MMJ	Metropolitan Museum Journal, Metropolitan Museum, New York.
MonAeg	Monumenta aegyptiaca, Brussels.
MRE	Monographies Reine Élisabeth, Fond. égyptol. Reine Élisabeth, Brussels.
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis, Fribourg, Allemagne, Göttingen.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, University of Chicago.
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta, Leuven.
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.
PPYE	Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt, New Haven, Conn., Philadelphia, Pa.
QH	Qubbet el-Hawa.
PM	Porter, B., Moss, R.L.B., Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, Volumes 1-8, Oxford, 1927-1999.
RdE	Revue d'égyptologie. Soc. franç. d'égyptol., Paris, Louvain.
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens, Heidelberg.
SAK	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg
SBAPMAE	Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Piemonte e del Museo delle Antichità Egizie.
SDAIK	Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Mainz am Rhein, Berlin.
TT	Theban Tomb.
UC/UCL	University College London.
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Leipzig, Berlin, later Hildesheim.
Wb	Erman, A. & Grapow, H., Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, Leipzig, Berlin, 1926-1963.
WVDOG	WissenschaftlicheVeröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin, Leipzig.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig, Berlin.

Online databases

MEKETREpository	Repository of Reliefs and Paintings in the Middle Kingdom Tombs of Officials; http://meketre.org/.
OEE	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database; http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oee_ahrc_2006/.
TLA	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae; http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/.

Hudáková, Jánosi, Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London 2016, 1-17

Développement stylistique et « ateliers » La sculpture du Moyen Empire tardif

Simon Connor
Aspirant au F.R.S.-FNRS

Abstract
The Late Middle Kingdom offers a large corpus of both royal and private statuary which enables investigation of several issues concerning the production of sculpture in ancient Egypt. In the framework of this volume consecrated to changes and innovations in Middle Kingdom art, this contribution concentrates on some aspects of stylistics. The first part of the article illustrates the intention of each sovereign of this period to be characterized by an individualizing "portrait" by focusing on the attribution of a group of statues to King Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, first sovereign of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The second part presents some features which suggest the existence of several contemporary sculpture workshops, apparently linked to the choice of materials and to the status of the individuals represented.

Le Moyen Empire tardif a livré un très vaste répertoire statuaire, à la fois royal et privé,[1] qui permet d'aborder plusieurs problématiques propres à la production de sculpture en Égypte à l'époque pharaonique: la fonction et l'utilisation d'une statue, le but de son acquisition, le message véhiculé, le rapport entre matériaux, dimensions, rang des acquéreurs et contextes architecturaux.

Dans le cadre de cette journée d'étude organisée au musée de Vienne,[2] consacrée aux changements et innovations dans l'art du Moyen Empire, cet article se concentrera sur certains aspects de stylistique. Il sera d'abord question d'un cas d'attribution de statues à un règne en particulier, à partir des critères de datation du développement de la statuaire royale. Nous nous intéresserons ensuite à la détermination de différents niveaux de sculpture et ateliers au sein de cette même époque.

1. Développement stylistique: identifier le « portrait » d'un roi

Le terme de « portrait » peut au premier abord paraître anachronique pour parler de statuaire égyptienne, de toute évidence idéalisée. Il ne doit cependant pas être exclu du vocabulaire destiné à désigner la représentation des rois, puisque le principe du « portrait » implique que la personne doit être reconnaissable par elle-même et par le public. Dans notre culture contemporaine, cette représentation se doit de suivre la réalité photographique. Dans la pensée égyptienne, on reconnaît le personnage représenté à ses attributs, à son apparence, à ses titres, à son nom et à sa présence en un lieu d'installation précis. Dans un portrait, l'artisan/artiste choisit de représenter différents aspects de la personne en une même œuvre: son apparence physique, sa personnalité, son rang, réel ou non, son action, son expérience, un âge particulier, passés par le filtre culturel et le degré d'habileté du sculpteur. L'essentiel n'est peut-être pas de décider quel est le degré de « réalisme objectif » de l'art égyptien. Il faut plutôt considérer que l'Égyptien du Moyen Empire se reconnaissait dans l'image en trois dimensions destinée à le représenter. Ceci ne veut pas dire que nous-mêmes, à travers nos yeux du XXI^e^ siècle, l'aurions reconnu. Lorsque la physionomie

[1] Les thèmes repris dans les pages suivantes sont tirés d'une recherche doctorale soutenue en 2014 à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles sous la direction de Laurent Bavay. Cette thèse avait pour objet la confrontation entre la statuaire royale et la statuaire privée au cours du Moyen Empire tardif et de la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire (vers 1850-1550 av. J.-C.). Un corpus de quelque 330 statues royales (rois et reines) et 1100 statues privées a pu être rassemblé et a permis de mettre en évidence un lien manifeste entre le statut de l'acquéreur d'une statue, les dimensions, le matériau, le niveau de facture et le contexte d'installation de cette sculpture. Une large partie de ce travail a consisté à établir la relation entre la physionomie du souverain et celle des particuliers, ainsi que le développement stylistique de la statuaire au cours des trois siècles envisagés, et à tenter d'interpréter les différents critères de cette évolution.

[2] J'adresse mes remerciements à l'équipe du projet MeKeTRE pour leur aimable invitation à participer à leur journée de conférences à Vienne.

de la statue apparaît nettement individualisée, et bien que le terme de « portrait » puisse contenir une connotation trop moderne, il sera néanmoins utilisé dans ce texte puisqu'il s'agit bien de la représentation voulue de l'individu, qu'elle corresponde ou non à nos critères.

Le portrait d'un roi est le résultat d'une inspiration des représentations de ses ancêtres – prédécesseurs directs ou parfois lointains ancêtres – avec de nouveaux traits, destinés à l'individualiser.[3] Ainsi, la représentation d'un souverain doit-elle permettre de le reconnaître, de le différencier des autres tout en permettant d'identifier les prédécesseurs auxquels il fait référence. On peut donc en théorie déterminer quel est le roi représenté par un portrait anépigraphe, à condition qu'une autre effigie du même souverain porte une inscription permettant de l'identifier. Ce processus n'est cependant pas toujours aisé, puisque des variations dans la physionomie du souverain peuvent être dues à une évolution du style au cours du règne, à différents ateliers ou encore à l'individualité, à la main du sculpteur.

Nous prendrons comme exemple Amenemhat-Sobekhotep Sekhemrê-Khoutaouy, premier roi de la XIII^e^ dynastie.[4] Il est possible d'attribuer à ce souverain une série de têtes de piliers osiriaques découvertes à Médamoud, en remploi dans le pavement du temple ptolémaïque: **Beni Suef JdE 58926**, **Le Caire JdE 54857** et **Paris E 12924**.[5] Ces trois têtes monumentales en calcaire montrent entre elles certaines différences dans le modelé des paupières et la forme de la bouche, mais ces variations sont vraisemblablement dues à différents niveaux d'habileté, à différentes « mains » de sculpteurs,[6] plutôt qu'à une volonté délibérée de représenter trois visages distincts. On y reconnaît bien trois fois le même homme: la figure présente un contour ovale, des joues charnues, deux profondes dépressions partant des ailes du nez mais qui ne se prolongent pas en véritables sillons nasolabiaux, un menton carré et prognathe, un nez court, une bouche petite, des commissures relevées donnant, en même temps que le relief des joues, une expression souriante jusque là inhabituelle (par comparaison avec la statuaire royale de la deuxième moitié de la XII^e^ dynastie). Il ne s'agit pas d'un timide sourire artificiellement posé sur la bouche du souverain, comme par exemple chez Ramsès II. Ici, au contraire, toute la musculature du visage accompagne ce mouvement, avec les commissures enfoncées, les lèvres retroussées, les joues pleines, les pommettes gonflées, les yeux légèrement plissés. Les oreilles sont démesurément grandes, à la manière de Sésostris III. Trait inhabituel et commun à ces trois têtes, un profond sillon vertical barre le front jusqu'à la racine du nez.

La fonction architecturale des piliers osiriaques suppose la construction d'un portique et donc de véritables travaux architecturaux. Or, comme le note W.V. Davies,[7] les trois seuls rois du Moyen Empire tardif à s'être illustrés sur le site par de grands travaux sont Sésostris III, Amenemhat-Sobekhotep et Sobekemsaf I^er^. On peut rejeter aisément l'attribution à Sobekemsaf I^er^, dont la physionomie se détache de tout naturalisme et se fige dans un géométrisme juvénile qui annonce la XVIII^e^ dynastie.[8]

Il a été proposé de voir dans ces trois statues osiriaques des effigies d'Amenemhat III[9] ou bien encore de Sésostris III.[10] Outre l'absence de vestige attestant une activité d'Amenemhat III sur le site de Médamoud, on rejettera sans nul doute la première identification. Malgré un certain nombre de variations dans ses effigies, Amenemhat III montre un visage plus émacié, des paupières lourdes et dessinées, un menton plus pointu et une moue maussade que l'on ne retrouve pas sur les trois têtes de Médamoud. Quant à Sésostris III, il est certes largement attesté à Médamoud, mais les raisons stylistiques qui poussent à rejeter Amenemhat III sont encore plus valables pour son prédécesseur. Les visages arrondis et souriants des trois têtes en calcaire n'évoquent en rien celui, allongé et sévère, de Sésostris III. On n'y retrouve pas

[3] Voir notamment à ce propos les travaux de Laboury, *Ktèma* 34; Assmann, in Manuelian, Freed (eds.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*.

[4] Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 209-15. Je remercie Julien Siesse (Paris IV) pour les discussions que nous avons eues à propos de la position de ce roi au sein de cette période.

[5] **Beni Suef JdE 58926** (dépôt du Musée égyptien du Caire): Bisson de la Roque, *Médamoud (1931 et 1932)*, 51, fig. 32. **Le Caire JdE 54857**: Bisson de la Roque, *Médamoud (1930)*, 51, fig. 24, pl. 5. **Paris E 12924**: Delange, *Catalogue*, 42-3.

[6] La qualité du modelé de la tête du Caire est clairement supérieure à celle des deux autres. Les yeux et la bouche de la tête de Beni Suef sont quant à eux un peu trop géométriques et figés, de même que les oreilles, maladroitement articulées au visage.

[7] Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 18, n. 66-7.

[8] Voir en particulier la statue de **Londres BM 871** (Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*; Strudwick, *Masterpieces*, 114).

[9] Gilbert, *CdE* 36, 26-8 et Altenmüller, in *LÄ* III, 590, n. 150.

[10] Delange, *Catalogue*, 42-3.

les grands yeux cernés, les pommettes saillantes, les joues maigres ou le menton pointu du souverain de la XII[e] dynastie.[11]

Tout porte à croire, au contraire, que l'attribution à Amenemhat-Sobekhotep Sekhemrê-Khoutaouy proposée par Davies[12] est celle à adopter.

Le rapprochement entre les trois statues osiriaques et les reliefs du « porche » d'Amenemhat-Sobekhotep mis au jour dans ce même site est éloquente. Il faut certes rester prudent lorsqu'on compare statuaire et relief, car il n'est pas universellement accepté qu'un modèle en deux dimensions suive les mêmes principes que la ronde-bosse. Cependant, si l'on considère les bas-reliefs de grandes dimensions et d'une facture de haute qualité, on ne peut que constater leur ressemblance avec la statuaire royale contemporaine. C'est surtout vrai pour le champlevé, plus proche sans doute de la ronde-bosse, même si on peut l'observer aussi sur les reliefs dans le creux les plus fins. Ainsi, les reliefs en champlevé du « porche » de Sésostris III de Médamoud, conservés au musée du Caire, suivent de toute évidence le même modèle que la statuaire de ce souverain. La comparaison avec les colosses en granit de Karnak est particulièrement éloquente: on notera la même musculature puissante, les pectoraux hauts et fermes, les épaules larges, les bras massifs, le cou épais, le visage sec et anguleux, la pommette saillante, la bouche sévère, les commissures dirigées vers le bas, les sillons nasolabiaux profonds, les yeux allongés, les *canthi* pointus, la paupière supérieure lourde.

La comparaison entre la statuaire d'Amenemhat III et les reliefs de grande dimension du même règne est tout aussi convaincante. Un des exemples les plus fins est un bloc de quartzite gisant encore sur le site d'Hawara, qui montre le souverain assis, coiffé d'une couronne amonienne. On identifie immédiatement le souverain à son visage aux chairs plus souples que sur les représentations de son père, à ses commissures profondément indiquées, ses lèvres fines et sensibles, son nez légèrement bosselé et au bout aplati, son œil grand, en amande, sa paupière supérieure alourdie, son arcade sourcilière légèrement accentuée et enfin son oreille, grande, dont le lobe est marqué par une protubérance qu'on retrouve uniquement sur les représentations de ce souverain.

On peut donc s'attendre à ce que les reliefs représentant Amenemhat-Sobekhotep suivent également un modèle similaire à celui de la sculpture en ronde-bosse. Son « portrait » officiel nous est connu par les reliefs du « porche » en calcaire édifié à Médamoud.[13] Les parois intérieures de la structure montrent en effet des figures du roi en champlevé, presque grandeur nature, adorant le dieu Montou. Ces reliefs nous permettent d'observer certaines caractéristiques visiblement destinées à individualiser ce souverain: une bouche particulièrement large, aux commissures relevées, la lèvre inférieure légèrement portée en avant, un menton fort, quelque peu prognathe, l'œil grand, allongé, doté de *canthi* étirés. La ligne de la paupière inférieure suit une double courbe. Une dépression dans le modelé de la joue dessine un sillon entre la narine et la commissure. Bas-reliefs et ronde-bosse présentent ainsi des caractéristiques identiques, qui permettent d'identifier le même Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, clairement individualisé.

L'identification de ces trois statues osiriaques permet, par comparaison stylistique, de dater une tête en calcaire grandeur nature, conservée au musée de Besançon.[14] Ce fragment sans provenance a été attribué à Sésostris III,[15] en raison des grandes oreilles et des plis qui marquent le visage, qui toutefois ne suffisent pas à le reconnaître. Notons au contraire la large bouche aux lèvres minces et aux commissures relevées, la lèvre inférieure portée en avant, le menton prognathe, les yeux en amande et surtout une ride verticale profonde au milieu du front, caractéristiques absentes des représentations de Sésostris III, mais qui désignent en revanche l'Amenemhat-Sobekhotep des statues osiriaques de Médamoud.

Cet exemple illustre le bénéfice que l'on peut tirer de l'étude du développement du portrait royal, dont l'évolution permet d'attribuer ou de réattribuer des statues anépigraphes à des souverains spécifiques, grâce à la comparaison avec des statues mieux datées ou avec les bas-reliefs d'un haut niveau de facture.

[11] É. Delange propose néanmoins de voir dans ces statues osiriaques des représentations de Sésostris III, en avançant l'argument que les différences dans les traits peuvent s'expliquer par le type statuaire: en tant que pilier osiriaque, la physionomie répondrait à des « règles plastiques » propres. C'est cependant une supposition qui ne se vérifie chez aucun des souverains dont le répertoire statuaire est suffisamment vaste pour tirer de telles observations (Amenemhat III, Hatshepsout, Thoutmosis III, Amenhotep III, Ramsès II). Les dimensions d'une statue peuvent influencer la physionomie du souverain, mais pas la position adoptée par la statue.

[12] Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 18, n. 66-7.

[13] Aujourd'hui exposé au Musée Égyptien du Caire, **JdE 56496** (Cottevieille-Giraudet, *Médamoud*, pl. 7, 45).

[14] **Besançon D.890.1.65** (dépôt du musée du Louvre), cf. Wildung, *Ägypten*, n° 31.

[15] Wildung, *Ägypten*, n° 31.

2. Différents styles pour la représentation d'un même roi: les « ateliers » de sculpture

La mise en évidence des caractéristiques propres à la représentation officielle d'un souverain s'applique essentiellement à la statuaire de grandes dimensions ou en matériaux « nobles » (c'est-à-dire en roches dures ou en matières précieuses). En revanche, cette méthode ne peut guère être employée dans le cas de statues en matériaux tendres, de petite taille ou de facture moins fine. Il apparaît en effet que différents ateliers de sculpture, de rang varié, coexistaient et que ces ateliers pouvaient être associés à des matériaux spécifiques.

Un exemple éloquent est le cas du roi Néferhotep I^er^, dont la physionomie connaît des variantes qui semblent dues à la nature du matériau dans lequel les statues sont taillées. De ce souverain, on connaît trois statues en bon état de conservation portant encore sa titulature: deux dyades en calcaire sculptées dans des naos, trouvées à Karnak – l'une au musée du **Caire**[16], l'autre encore en place dans les fondations de l'obélisque Nord d'Hatshepsout[17] – et une petite statue assise en stéatite ou en serpentinite conservée à Bologne, qui provient vraisemblablement de la région du Fayoum.[18]

Les dyades de Karnak, en calcaire tendre, montrent le roi doté d'une silhouette élancée, de membres fins, d'une musculature discrète, plus suggérée que réellement représentée, d'une sveltesse presque infantile. Le corps se géométrise – tendance qui ira en s'accentuant durant la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire. À partir de ce roi, on quitte peu à peu toute recherche de vraisemblance anatomique. Le rendu du corps se simplifie, se schématise, devient froid et académique, tout le talent de l'artiste se concentrant sur le visage. Les yeux en amandes sont surmontés de lourdes paupières, les arcades sourcilières faiblement marquées, les pommettes hautes. Le front est bas, le menton est rond, légèrement prognathe, la mâchoire serrée, la bouche petite, sérieuse, aux lèvres retroussées. Les commissures enfoncées offrent à peine l'illusion d'un sourire. Les oreilles sont grandes et délicatement ourlées. Le némès est doté d'ailes largement déployées.

Les deux dyades du souverain présentent une grande qualité d'exécution. Les formes y sont proportionnées pour atteindre un équilibre parfait. Le contour du visage s'inscrit dans un hexagone régulier, de même que le némès. La largeur maximale des ailes de la coiffe correspond à sa hauteur ; cette largeur correspond exactement au double de celle du visage, du bord d'une oreille à une autre. De toute évidence, la construction du visage répond à l'équilibre parfait de la coiffure: la pointe du nez se trouvait exactement à mi-hauteur du visage, les yeux à mi-hauteur entre la pointe du nez et le bandeau frontal, la bouche à mi-hauteur entre le nez et le menton, lequel n'est ni prognathe ni fuyant. La distance entre les yeux est égale à la longueur de chacun d'eux, elle-même égale, vue de face, à la distance entre le *canthus* extérieur et la naissance de l'oreille. Le cou mesure exactement la moitié de la hauteur du visage. Ces rapports chiffrés précis induisent un sentiment d'équilibre géométrique parfait, une physionomie idéale. Par ce moyen, il semble que le roi ait voulu créer une rupture vis-à-vis de ses prédécesseurs qui montraient une physionomie plus proche de la réalité humaine, avec ses imperfections, ses marques, sillons, sourires ou grimaces. Toutefois, s'il s'écarte du modèle stylistique d'Amenemhat III, Néferhotep manifeste encore son attachement à la mémoire des grands rois de la XII^e^ dynastie par la présence à son cou du pendentif qui leur est si caractéristique. Par ce rappel et par l'adoption d'un nouveau style, le roi semble vouloir marquer la venue d'une nouvelle ère, la renaissance d'une royauté stable – ce que pourrait d'ailleurs signifier son nom d'Horus *Grg-t3wy*, « celui qui fonde les Deux-Pays ».

La statue de **Bologne 1799**, à peu près deux fois et demi plus petite, révèle un tout autre style. Elle montre un visage rond et souriant, de très grands yeux, des paupières supérieures épaisses, un torse plutôt petit, des jambes épaisses. Les yeux et les oreilles ont été considérablement agrandis – ces éléments sont en effet en général l'objet de toute l'attention du sculpteur et l'on peut supposer que la taille plus petite d'une statue entraîne une accentuation des parties du corps jugées prépondérantes. L'envergure du némès y est également moins large. La facture ne manque pas d'élégance, mais n'atteint pas le degré de perfection calculée des statues en calcaire du même souverain. Les stries du némès et du pagne sont ici épaisses, les ailes plus courtes, la tête plus grosse par rapport au reste du corps. L'uræus est également beaucoup plus volumineux. Si la statue de Bologne n'avait pas porté une inscription l'identifiant clairement, rien n'aurait suggéré de l'attribuer à Néferhotep I^er^.

[16] **CG 42022**. Cf. SEIDEL, *Statuengruppen*, 55; 112-3, pl. 29.

[17] La dyade n'a pu être retirée sans mettre en péril la stabilité de l'obélisque. Cf. GRIMAL, LARCHÉ, *Cahiers*, 17, pl. 2a-c.

[18] **Bologne 1799**. Cf. PERNIGOTTI, *Statuaria*, 29-30, pls. 27-9; QUIRKE, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 61-6, pl. 4 (avec appendice).

Cette différence de style n'est pas due qu'aux dimensions des statues. Les exemples abondent dans la statuaire égyptienne montrant que les traits d'un même souverain peuvent être immédiatement reconnaissables sur des effigies de taille très diverse. La différence de style est donc due ici à un autre facteur: le matériau et l'atelier auquel il est associé. Les grandes dyades sont sculptées dans un calcaire fin, suivant un niveau de facture qui démontre un grand savoir-faire. Leur présence au sein du temple de Karnak confirme le soin et le prestige qui ont dû leur être accordés. La petite statue de Bologne, quant à elle, montre toutes les caractéristiques stylistiques d'un vaste répertoire de statuaire en stéatite et en serpentinite. Ces deux matériaux voisins (mêmes gisements et apparence similaire) ont été employés surtout pour réaliser une sculpture réservée à une élite provinciale, aux fonctionnaires de rang intermédiaire ou aux individus dépourvus de fonction officielle. On les retrouve dans de rares cas également utilisés pour de petites statues de souverains ou de hauts dignitaires, vraisemblablement pour des sanctuaires régionaux. C'est précisément à cette catégorie de sculptures que s'apparente la statue de Néferhotep I[er] [19]: on y observe le même traitement de la surface, poli et brillant, les grands yeux caractéristiques, en amande, surmontés de lourdes paupières. Une incision simple et nette sépare ces paupières des arcades sourcilières. La bouche est elle-même représentée par un trait séparant deux lèvres très simplement modelées, non délimitées par un liséré. Les mains sont longues, rigides, les doigts séparés par de simples incisions droites. On n'observe aucune arête nette ; les traits du visage, les rayures du némès, la délimitation des doigts, les plis du pagne montrent tous un aspect doux, au reflet quelque peu gras. On sent qu'ici le sculpteur n'a pas eu affaire à une roche dure, qu'il fallait attaquer avec des outils eux-mêmes très solides, marteaux et ciseaux, afin de faire sauter les éclats de pierre pour donner forme à la statue. La sculpture de ces statues montre au contraire une surface tendre,[20] qui leur confère presque l'apparences de figures modelées. La taille de la stéatite – et même de certaines serpentinites tendres[21] – se fait de manière rapide, par grattage et polissage plus que par à-coups, à l'aide de simples petits outils (stylets en cuivre ou silex et cailloux de grès). Un traitement particulier était appliqué aux pièces en stéatite après leur réalisation afin de leur donner un aspect noir et vitrifié, qui a rendu si souvent difficile l'identification de ce matériau[22]: il est en effet probable que ces statues aient été cuites. La stéatite glaçurée est largement attestée pour les scarabées-sceaux du Moyen Empire tardif et de la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire.[23] La stéatite cuite acquiert une dureté remarquable (7 sur l'échelle de Mohs[24]). Il est

[19] On retrouve ce même style sur quelques autres statues royales (ex: **Copenhague ÆIN 594**), qui, si elles ne portent pas d'inscription, ne peuvent en aucun cas être attribuées à un souverain particulier, en l'absence de tout trait individualisant dans sa physionomie.

[20] Cet aspect apparaît plus encore au toucher qu'à la vue.

[21] Certaines variétés de serpentinite brune peuvent être confondues avec la stéatite. La distinction entre les deux pierres est très difficile à observer et n'apporte à vrai dire guère d'intérêt puisqu'elles se trouvent dans les mêmes gisements, possèdent à peu près le même degré de dureté, partagent souvent le même aspect et peuvent toutes deux supporter la cuisson.

[22] Ainsi, les statues en stéatite sont souvent indiquées, dans les catalogues de musées ou d'exposition, comme étant en « roche dure et noire », en basalte, en « granit noir » ou encore en obsidienne. Le traitement de ces pierres impose une technique de taille beaucoup plus ardue, qui donne un aspect très différent au style de la sculpture. On comprendra aisément cette erreur. Seule la mise en série d'un large catalogue et l'examen personnel d'un grand nombre de ces figures a permis de mettre en évidence une similarité de style au sein de ce vaste répertoire et une certaine constante dans les titres des personnages représentés.

[23] Par exemple les scarabées aux noms du roi Néferhotep I[er] (**Bruxelles E. 5003**) et du scribe de la Grande Enceinte Dehenti (**Bruxelles E. 5020**), cf. Clarysse, De Meulenaere, Limme, *Écritures*, 26-7. On connaît également bon nombre d'objets en stéatite glaçurée, à diverses périodes de l'histoire égyptienne. Sous le règne d'Amenhotep III, elle sert à la réalisation de statuaire royale de petites dimensions (par exemple la statuette du Caire JdE 38596 and Durham no. 496, cf. Bryan, in Goring, Reeves, Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers*, 60-82). La surface adopte alors souvent l'aspect de la faïence, à cause de la glaçure bleu-vert. Ces statuettes montrent un niveau de facture d'une grande finesse; la glaçure a souvent disparu, laissant la pierre nue et lui conférant l'aspect de l'ivoire ou du bois fossile.

[24] À l'état naturel, la stéatite, « pierre à savon » ou « pierre de talc », est une roche extrêmement tendre, qui se peut se rayer même avec l'ongle. Son indice de dureté ne dépasse pas 1 sur l'échelle de Mohs (le degré 10 correspondant au diamant). On en retrouve de différentes couleurs d'une région du monde à l'autre. Celle qu'on trouve en Égypte est généralement grise, blanche ou beige. Des gisements sont également attestés dans les plateaux désertiques entre la mer Rouge et la vallée du Nil, au Ouadi Saqiya (à quelques dizaines de kilomètres au nord du Ouadi Hammamât) et dans les Ouadis Moubarak, Abou Qureya, el-Humra, Oum Salim, Rod el-Barram, Kamoyid et Maʿawad, (à hauteur d'Elkab). Cf. Harrell, Storemyr, in Abu-Jaber *et al.* (eds.), *Quarry Scapes*, fig. 33. Les carrières utilisées aujourd'hui pour la production de cosmétiques se trouvent

ainsi possible d'obtenir un objet très dur, sculpté avant la cuisson, lorsque la roche était encore tendre. Les statues du Moyen Empire tardif et de la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire ne sont pas glaçurées. Le résultat recherché est au contraire une surface dure et lustrée, dont la couleur varie entre le rouge orangé, le brun ou le noir en fonction de l'oxydation ou de la réduction de la cuisson.[25]

Le répertoire statuaire en stéatite a généralement été destiné aux niveaux inférieurs de l'élite. On le retrouve, dans les cas peu nombreux où le contexte de découverte est connu, dans les nécropoles. Il s'agit d'un très vaste répertoire de statues de petites dimensions, qui semble s'étendre sur toute la période envisagée.[26] Divers ensembles sont reconnaissables – qu'il est cependant difficile d'attribuer à une région et de dater précisément, faute de contextes archéologiques.[27] Citons par exemple un groupe[28] réunissant des statues à la couleur presque noire, dont le traitement de la surface est particulièrement lustré, et dont le modelé des traits du visage et du corps est dépourvu de toute aspérité et leur confère un aspect presque fondu. Un autre groupe[29] rassemble des statues de couleur plus brune, à la surface moins polie ; les traits du visage sont ici plus dessinés: le menton est long et légèrement prognathe, la bouche petite et souriante, les yeux grands, en amande, les arcades sourcilières prononcées, le cou presque absent, la tête engoncée dans des épaules carrées. Un ensemble réunissant au moins une statue découverte à Éléphantine et une autre à Mirgissa[30] – ce qui pourrait suggérer la présence de l'atelier ou de l'artisan ayant produit ce groupe dans la région du sud de l'Égypte – réunit des statues au visage plus sévère, travaillé de manière plus ciselé.[31] La bouche est ici très large, les lèvres plates, les yeux allongés, presque plissés, les paupières très dessinées, les arcades sourcilières marquées. Les détails des perruques et vêtements, ainsi que ceux des traits du visage sont ici plus incisés, plus prononcés. Citons enfin comme dernier exemple un groupe de statues de facture plus rudimentaire.[32] Les statues qui le composent montrent des yeux modelés comme des petites billes, sans distinction entre la paupière et l'œil. Les perruques sont lisses, aux contours imprécis, les proportions du corps trapues.

Le répertoire est vaste et les possibilités de regroupement sont nombreuses. Des recherches futures permettront peut-être d'associer certains de ces ensembles à des régions précises et de déterminer

au Ouadi Oum el-Farag, à une soixantaine de kilomètres à l'ouest de Marsa Alam et une dizaine de kilomètres au nord de la route d'Edfou.

[25] D'après les expérimentations, encore en cours, menées avec Th. De Putter (Musée royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren) et H. Tavier (Université de Liège), que je remercie chaleureusement pour leur précieuse collaboration.

[26] D'après des critères typologiques et stylistiques (position des mains, forme de la perruque, type de pagne), on peut probablement dater la statue du **Caire CG 481** du règne de Sésostris III. La statue de Néferhotep I^er^ de **Bologne 1799** date du milieu de la XIII^e^ dynastie, de même sans doute que les statues en stéatite trouvées dans les forteresses nubiennes (**Khartoum 14068**, **14070**, **Leipzig 6153**, **Lille E 25618**, **Philadelphie E. 10751**). Plusieurs autres appartiennent clairement à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire (par exemple **Baltimore 22.3**, **Cambridge E.500.1932**, **Londres BM 27403**, **Londres BM 58079** et **Moscou 4761**).

[27] Sur les 180 statues répertoriées dans ce matériau à l'époque envisagée, 143 sont sans provenance connue, ce qui empêche de proposer des origines d'ateliers.

[28] **Oxford 1888.1457** (statue de l'intendant Senousret-Senbebou, cf. ESPINEL, *JEA* 91, 59, fig. 4), **Oxford 1985.152** (statue de la dame Heti, cf. BOURRIAU, *JEA* 73, 192, pl. 11), **Baltimore 22.75** (statue anépigraphe d'un homme assis en tailleur, cf. STEINDORFF, *Catalogue*, 30, n° 55, pl. 8), **Philadelphie E. 3378** (buste anépigraphe d'un homme, pièce non publiée).

[29] **Swansea W845** (buste d'un homme, cf. cat. de vente Sotheby 1906, 19-21 décembre, n° 219), **Philadelphie E. 1048** (buste d'un homme, pièce non publiée), **Strasbourg 1383** (tête d'un homme, cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Kunst-Denkmäler*, 5, pl. 4), **Londres UC 16880** (buste d'un homme, cf. PAGE, *Egyptian Sculpture*, n° 125), **Swansea W842** (buste de femme, pièce non publiée) et un torse d'homme assis de la collection Meijer (ANDREWS, VAN DIJK (eds.), *Objects for Eternity*, 68, n° 1.39).

[30] La statue du serviteur Ânkhou (HABACHI, *Elephantine*, 94-5, n° 71, pls. 166-7) et celle d'un certain Dedousobek (**Khartoum 14070**, cf. VERCOUTTER, *Mirgissa* II, 186-91, fig. 78).

[31] La statue d'un homme du nom d'Intef (cat. de vente Sotheby 1974, 9 juillet, n° 83), le torse féminin de **Leipzig 1024** (KRAUSPE, STEINMANN, *Statuen*, 61-2, pl. 53), la statue d'un homme assis en tailleur de **Moscou 5125** (BERLEV, HODJASH, *Sculpture*, 90, n° 19), une statue d'homme debout (cat. de vente Sotheby 1994, 14 décembre, n° 29), une statue de femme de la collection Abemayor (cat. de vente Sotheby 1976, 11 décembre, n° 212 et 1979, 19 mai, n° 275).

[32] Par exemple la triade du surveillant Ouadjnéfer (**Stockholm 1993:3**, cf. GEORGE, *Kärlek*, 16-7), celle de Tjeniounen (**New York MMA 66.99.9**, cf. ROBINS, *Egyptian Statues*, 27, fig. 26), la tête masculine de **Moscou 5130** (BERLEV, HODJASH, *Sculpture*, 97, n° 23), la statuette assise en tailleur anépigraphe de **Bruxelles E. 1233** (pièce non publiée), et celle, assise, d'un certain Senousret (**Mariemont B. 496**, cf. DERRIKS, DELVAUX, *Antiquités*, 58-9).

leur datation. Il semble que nous ayons affaire à une multitude affaire à une multitude d'ateliers de sculpture en stéatite, contemporains ou successifs, d'une longévité encore indéfinie, produisant une statuaire de niveau de facture variable, parfois très fine, parfois très rudimentaire. D. Wildung avait interprété la différence de style d'une statuette en stéatite découverte à Bouhen[33] comme une imperfection de style due à l'éloignement des ateliers d'avec la « mère-patrie ».[34] Rien ne permet de mettre en évidence un atelier de sculpture dans la région des forteresses, ni pour la statuaire, ni pour les stèles.[35] Le style de cette statuette est au contraire tout à fait caractéristique de la statuaire en stéatite en divers endroits d'Égypte.[36] Il est donc probable qu'elle ait été amenée, en tant qu'objet fini, à Bouhen. Aucune carrière de stéatite ou serpentinite utilisée avant l'époque gréco-romaine n'a été identifiée – ce qui n'empêche pas un usage plus ancien dont les traces auraient disparu. Cependant, ces deux roches existent sous formes de gros cailloux dans le désert oriental, notamment au Ouadi Hammamât,[37] lequel était fréquenté au moins pour l'extraction de blocs de grauwacke, y compris à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire.[38]

Le proscynème adressé à Sobek de *Shedet* et Horus-qui-réside-à-*Shedet* inscrit sur la statue de Bologne suggère qu'elle ait été originellement installée dans un site du Fayoum. Il est difficile de savoir si sa commande a été l'initiative d'un temple, de dignitaires locaux, ou si elle a fait partie d'un projet royal, mais il est clair en tout cas qu'elle a été réalisée non par des sculpteurs attachés au pouvoir royal, mais par un atelier habitué à produire des statues en stéatite. La comparaison avec le vaste répertoire privé sculpté dans ce matériau est à ce sujet éloquente.[39] On retrouve au sein de ces statues un style relativement homogène, qui n'apparaît pas dans la statuaire taillée dans d'autres matériaux: une surface lustrée, au reflet gras, une apparence presque plus modelée que sculptée, un traitement général des traits peu naturaliste. Une simple incision sépare la paupière supérieure de l'arcade sourcilière. Les yeux sont grands, allongés en amande, les joues rondes et lisses, les lèvres représentées par deux simples replis. Les mains sont longues, les doigts dépourvus de détails, semblables à des bâtonnets, séparés les uns des autres par de simples incisions. C'est donc à ces vastes ensembles de statuaire de petite taille en stéatite et serpentinite que s'apparente la statue de Néferhotep I[er] du musée de Bologne. Cette dernière illustre ainsi non pas un jalon du développement stylistique de la sculpture royale, mais plutôt un témoin de ces ateliers de production plus régionale, généralement réalisée à l'intention des niveaux modestes de l'élite.

Ces quelques exemples présentés dans cet article illustrent l'avantage de rassembler une grande quantité de statues d'une époque déterminée. D'une part, la mise en série d'un tel répertoire permet de dater avec un certain de degré de précision des pièces anépigraphes, parfois même de les attribuer à un souverain précis, à partir du développement stylistique établi au fil d'une période relativement longue. Ainsi qu'on peut l'observer au sein du Moyen Empire tardif, chaque souverain semble vouloir se distinguer des précédents par certains détails anatomiques (présence de rides ou plis particuliers, dimensions de la bouche, des yeux, forme du nez et du menton) et l'expression générale du visage, tout en s'inscrivant dans les tendances

[33] **Philadelphie E. 10751**: statuette du jardinier Merer (stéatite, H. 28 cm, découverte dans la nécropole de Bouhen, cf. Randall-MacIver, Woolley, *Buhen*, 201, 234, pls. 72-3).

[34] Wildung, *L'âge d'or de l'Égypte*, 179. La statue du jardinier Merer, qui lui sert à argumenter cette hypothèse, loin de faire preuve du « dessèchement culturel » évoqué par l'auteur, est au contraire un des exemples caractéristiques les plus soignés de la statuaire en stéatite produite tout au long de la XIII[e] dynastie et de la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire, et dont on retrouve des exemples dans diverses régions d'Égypte.

[35] Franke, *Elephantine*, 117.

[36] On retrouve de la statuaire en stéatite dans la région des forteresses (Mirgissa, Bouhen, Aniba), à Éléphantine, Thèbes, Hou, Abydos, Haraga, Lisht-Nord, Tell el-Ruba; peut-être aussi, d'après les proscynèmes, à Médamoud, Coptos, Atfia, Edfou, Athribis.

[37] Hikade, *JEA* 92, 154. Le plus probable est donc que de tels petits blocs aient été simplement recueillis pour leur exploitation. Les statues en stéatite sont d'ailleurs toujours de petites dimensions. Ceci est certainement dû en partie à la nature du matériau, qui se brise plus facilement lorsqu'on le travaille sous forme d'objets de grandes dimensions. Ceci peut être également dû au transport même de tels blocs sur les pistes du désert, plus facile sous forme de petits blocs de quelques kilogrammes. Il n'est pas nécessaire que de véritables expéditions de grande envergure aient été organisées pour extraire ce matériau.

[38] Gasse, *BIFAO* 87.

[39] Par exemple la statue du serviteur Ânkhou (Habachi, *Elephantine*, 94-5, n° 71, pls. 166-7), le torse féminin de **Leipzig 1024** (Krauspe, Steinmann, *Statuen*, 61-2, pl. 53), la statue d'un certain Senousret (**Mariemont B. 497**, cf. Derriks, Delvaux, *Antiquités*, 60-3), le torse féminin du **Louvre E 26917** (Delange, *Catalogue*, 208-9) ou encore la tête de **Liverpool 1973.2.294** (pièce inédite).

stylistiques de la période à laquelle il appartient. D'autre part, l'établissement d'un corpus de grande ampleur permet de discerner différents ensembles stylistiques et d'observer un lien entre le choix du matériau et le statut d'une production. La stéatite et la serpentinite apparaissent ainsi associées à une statuaire de petites dimensions, destinée aux niveaux inférieurs de l'élite ou à des sanctuaires provinciaux, sculptée dans un style qui lui est propre. Identifier le matériau dans lequel une statue est taillée se révèle donc particulièrement important, puisqu'il peut influer considérablement sur son style.

Bibliographie

Altenmüller, H., "Königsplastik", in *LÄ* III (1980), 558-610.

Andrews, C.A.R., van Dijk, J. (eds.), *Objects for Eternity. Egyptian Antiquities from the W. Arnold Meijer Collection* (Mayence, 2006).

Assmann, J., "Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture", in P. Der Manuelian, R. Freed (eds.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996), 55-81.

Berlev, O.D., Hodjash, S.I, *Sculpture of Ancient Egypt in the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts* (Moscou, 2004).

Bisson de la Roque, F., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1930)* (Le Caire: FIFAO 8/1, 1931).

Bisson de la Roque, F., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1931 et 1932)* (Le Caire: FIFAO 9/3, 1933).

Bourriau, J., "Egyptian Antiquities Acquired in 1985 by Museums in the United Kingdom", *JEA* 73 (1987), 191-5.

Bryan, B., "Striding Glazed Steatite Figures of Amenhotep III: An Example of the Purposes of Minor Arts", in E. Goring, N. Reeves, J. Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers. Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred* (Londres, New York, 1997), 60-82.

Clarysse, W., De Meulenaere, H., Limme, L., *Écritures de l'Égypte ancienne. Guide du département égyptien* (Bruxelles, 1992).

Cottevieille-Giraudet, R., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1931): les monuments du Moyen Empire* (Le Caire: FIFAO 9/1, 1933).

Davies, W.V., *A Royal Statue Reattributed* (Londres, 1981).

Derriks, Cl., Delvaux, L., *Antiquités égyptiennes au Musée royal de Mariemont* (Morlanwelz, 2009).

Delange, É., *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire (2060-1560 av. J.-C.)* (Paris, 1987).

Espinel, A.D., "A Newly Identified Stela from Wadi el-Hudi (Cairo JE 86119)", *JEA* 91 (2005), 55-70.

Franke, D., *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine. Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich* (SAGA 9, Heidelberg, 1994).

Gasse, A., "Une expédition au Ouadi Hammâmât sous le règne de Sebekemsaf Ier", *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 207-18.

George, B., *Kärlek till Egypten. Konst och konsthantverk Fran Faraonernas tid I Medelhavsmuseet* (Stockholm, 1999).

Gilbert, P., "L'exposition 5000 ans d'art égyptien", *CdE* 36 (1961), 26-55.

Grimal, N., Larché, Fr., *Cahiers de Karnak* 12 (Paris: Études d'égyptologie 8, 2007).

Habachi, L., *Elephantine* IV. *The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (Mayence, 1985).

Harrell, J., Storemyr, P., "Ancient Egyptian Quarries. An Illustrated Overview", in N. Abu-Jaber, E. Bloxam, P. Degryse *et al.* (eds.), *Quarry Scapes: Ancient Stone Quarry Landscapes in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Norway, 2009), 7-49.

Hikade, T., "Expeditions to the Wadi Hammamat during the New Kingdom", *JEA* 92 (2006), 153-68.

Krauspe, R., Steinmann, Fr., *Statuen und Statuetten* (Mayence, 1997).

Laboury, D., "Réflexions sur le portrait royal et son fonctionnement dans l'Égypte pharaonique", *Ktèma* 34 (2009), 175-96.

Page, A., *Egyptian Sculpture from the Petrie Collection* (Londres, 1976).

Pernigotti, S., *La statuaria egiziana nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1980).

Quirke, S., "Ways to Measure Thirteenth Dynasty Royal Power from Inscribed Objects (avec un appendice de Picchi, D, Cl. D'Amico,: Classification pétrologique de la statuette de Néferhotep I^{er})", in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth – Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Louvain, Paris, Walpole: OLA 192, 2010), 55-67.

Randall-MacIver, D., Woolley, C., *Buhen* I: *Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia* 7-8 (Londres, 1911).

Robins, G., *Egyptian Statues* (Shire: Shire Egyptology 26, 2001).

Ryholt, K.S.B., *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1500 B.C.* (Copenhague, 1997).

Seidel, M., *Die königliche Statuengruppen* I: *Die Denkmäler von Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie* (HÄB 42, Hildesheim, 1996).

Spiegelberg, W., *Ausgewählte Kunst-Denkmäler*

der ägyptischen Sammlung der Kaiser Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg (Strasbourg, 1909).

STEINDORFF, G., *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946).

STRUDWICK, N., *The British Museum. Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt* (Londres, 2006).

VANDERSLEYEN, CL., *Das alte Ägypten* (Berlin 1975).

VERCOUTTER, J., *Mirgissa* II. *Les nécropoles* (Paris, 1975).

WILDUNG, D., *L'âge d'or de l'Égypte: le Moyen Empire* (Fribourg, Munich, 1984).

WILDUNG, D., *Ägypten, 2000 v. Chr. Die Geburt des Individuums* (Munich, 2000).

Liste des figures (sauf indication, les photographies sont de l'auteur)

Fig. 1 - Amenemhat-Sobekhotep Sékhemrê-Khoutaouy : tête de statue osiriaque en calcaire découverte à Médamoud (Louvre E 12924).
Fig. 2 - Amenemhat-Sobekhotep Sékhemrê-Khoutaouy : tête de statue osiriaque en calcaire découverte à Médamoud (Beni Suef JdE 58926).
Fig. 3 - Amenemhat-Sobekhotep Sékhemrê-Khoutaouy : tête de statue osiriaque en calcaire découverte à Médamoud (Le Caire JdE 54857).
Fig. 4 - Sésostris III : relief de Médamoud (Le Caire, Musée Égyptien). D'après VANDERSLEYEN et al., *Ägypten*, pl. 277a.
Fig. 5 - Sésostris III : tête d'un colosse debout en granit découvert dans la Cachette de Karnak (Le Caire CG 42011). D'après LEGRAIN, *Catalogue*, pl. 6.
Fig. 6 - Sésostris III : statue assise en granodiorite trouvée à Médamoud (Louvre E 12961).
Fig. 7 - Sésostris III : tête d'un sphinx en quartzite, de provenance inconnue (Louvre E 25370).
Fig. 8 - Sésostris III : statue debout en position « déférente » découverte à Deir el-Bahari (Le Caire TR 18/4/22/4).
Fig. 9 - Sésostris III : visage d'une statue en granodiorite découvert à Médamoud (Louvre E 12962).
Fig. 10 - Amenemhat III : bas-relief en quartzite, fragment architectural découvert à Hawara (in situ).
Fig. 11 - Amenemhat III : tête de statue en grauwacke, de provenance inconnue (Le Caire TR 13/4/22/9).
Fig. 12 - Amenemhat III : statuette debout en grauwacke, provenant probablement du Fayoum (Louvre N. 464).
Fig. 13 - Amenemhat III : statue assise en calcaire, grandeur nature, découverte à Hawara (Le Caire CG 385).
Fig. 14 - Amenemhat-Sobekhotep Sékhemrê-Khoutaouy : relief du porche de Médamoud (Le Caire JdE 56496).
Fig 15 - Idem (détail).
Fig. 16 - Amenemhat-Sobekhotep Sékhemrê-Khoutaouy : tête de statue osiriaque en calcaire trouvée à Médamoud (Beni Suef JdE 58926).
Fig. 17 - Amenemhat-Sobekhotep Sékhemrê-Khoutaouy : tête en calcaire, de provenance inconnue (Besançon D.890.1.65).
Fig. 18 - Néferhotep I^{er} : statuette assise en stéatite ou serpentinite, provenant probablement du Fayoum (Bologne 1799).
Fig. 19 - Néferhotep I^{er}: dyade en calcaire découverte dans la Cachette de Karnak (Le Caire CG 42022).
Fig 20 - Idem (Photo © IFAO).
Fig. 21 - Idem.
Fig. 22 - Néferhotep I^{er}: statuette assise en stéatite ou serpentinite, provenant probablement du Fayoum (Bologne 1799).
Fig. 23 - Torse d'un homme, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Swansea W845).
Fig. 24 - Torse d'un homme, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Philadelphie E. 1048).
Fig. 25 - Tête d'un homme, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Strasbourg 1383). D'après SPIEGELBERG, *Kunst-Denkmäler*, pl. 4.
Fig. 26 - Torse d'un homme, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Londres UC 16880).
Fig. 27 - Torse de femme, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Swansea W842).
Fig. 28 - Tête de femme, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Bâle Kuhn 69).
Fig. 29 - Statue de femme, provenance inconnue (Coll. Abemayor). D'après Sotheby 1976, n° 212.
Fig. 30 - Torse de femme, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Leipzig 1024).
Fig. 31 - Statue d'un homme assis en tailleur, serpentinite, provenance inconnue (Moscou 5125). D'après BERLEV, HODJASH, *Sculpture*, 90, n° 19.
Fig. 32 - Statue d'un homme debout, serpentinite ou stéatite, provenance inconnue (Sotheby 1994). D'après Sotheby 1994, n° 29.
Fig. 33 - Statuette assise d'un certain Dedousobek, stéatite, découverte à Mirgissa (Khartoum 14070).
Fig. 34 - Triade du surveillant Ouadjnéfer, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Stockholm 1993:3). D'après GEORGE, *Kärlek*, 16-7.
Fig. 35 - Tête d'un homme, stéatite ou serpentinite, provenance inconnue (Moscou 5130). D'après BERLEV, HODJASH, *Sculpture*, 97, n° 23.
Fig. 36 - Statuette d'un homme assis en tailleur, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Bruxelles E. 1233).
Fig. 37 - Triade de Tjeniounen, stéatite, provenance inconnue (New York MMA 66.99.9).
Fig. 38 - Statuette assise d'un certain Senousret, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Mariemont B. 496).
Fig. 39 - Dyade anépigraphe, serpentinite, provenance inconnue (Bruxelles E. 4251).
Fig. 40 - Statuette debout du jardinier Merer, stéatite, découverte à Bouhen (Philadelphie E. 10751).
Fig. 41 - Tête d'un homme, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Baltimore 22.385).

Fig. 42 - Statuette d'un enfant assis en tailleur, stéatite ou serpentinite, Lisht-Nord (New York 22.1.78).
Fig. 43 - Statuette d'un homme debout, serpentinite, découverte à Haraga (Philadelphie E. 13011).
Fig. 44 - Tête d'un homme, serpentinite ou stéatite, provenance inconnue (Londres UC 14819).
Fig. 45 - Torse de femme, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Leipzig 1024).
Fig. 46 - Torse de femme, serpentinite, provenance inconnue (Louvre E 26917).
Fig. 47 - Néferhotep I^{er}: statuette assise en stéatite ou serpentinite, provenant probablement du Fayoum (Bologne 1799).
Fig. 48 - Statue assise de l'intendant Nebaouy, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Mariemont B. 497).
Fig. 49 - Tête d'un homme, stéatite, provenance inconnue (Liverpool 1973.2.294).



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3

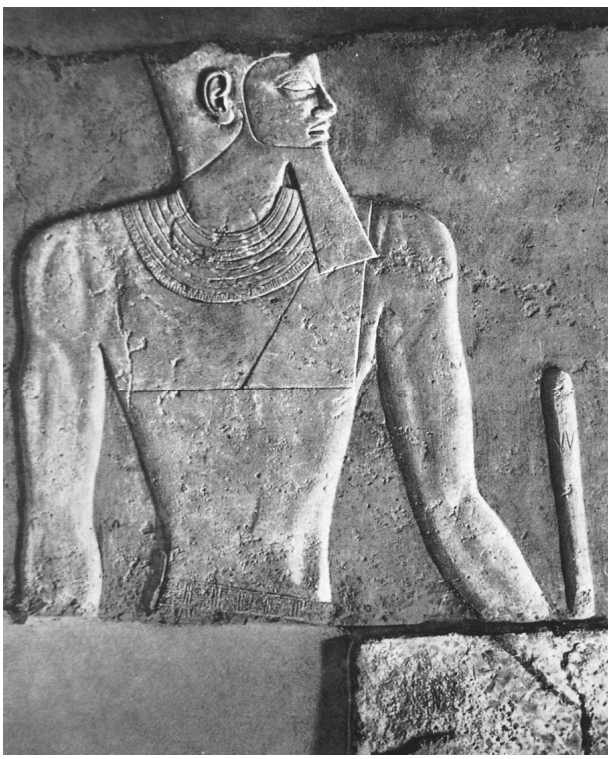


Figure 4



Figure 5

25
Strasbourg 1383
H. 5 cm

24
Philadelphie E. 1048
H. 5,6 cm

23
Swansea W845
H. 5,3 cm

27
Swansea W842
H. 5,9 cm

26
Londres UC 16880
H. 6,5 cm

Figures 23-27



28
Bâle Kuhn 69
H. 7,8 cm



29
Coll. Abemayor
H. 3,5 cm



30
Leipzig 1024
H. 8,5 cm



31
Moscou 5125
H. tête : 4 cm

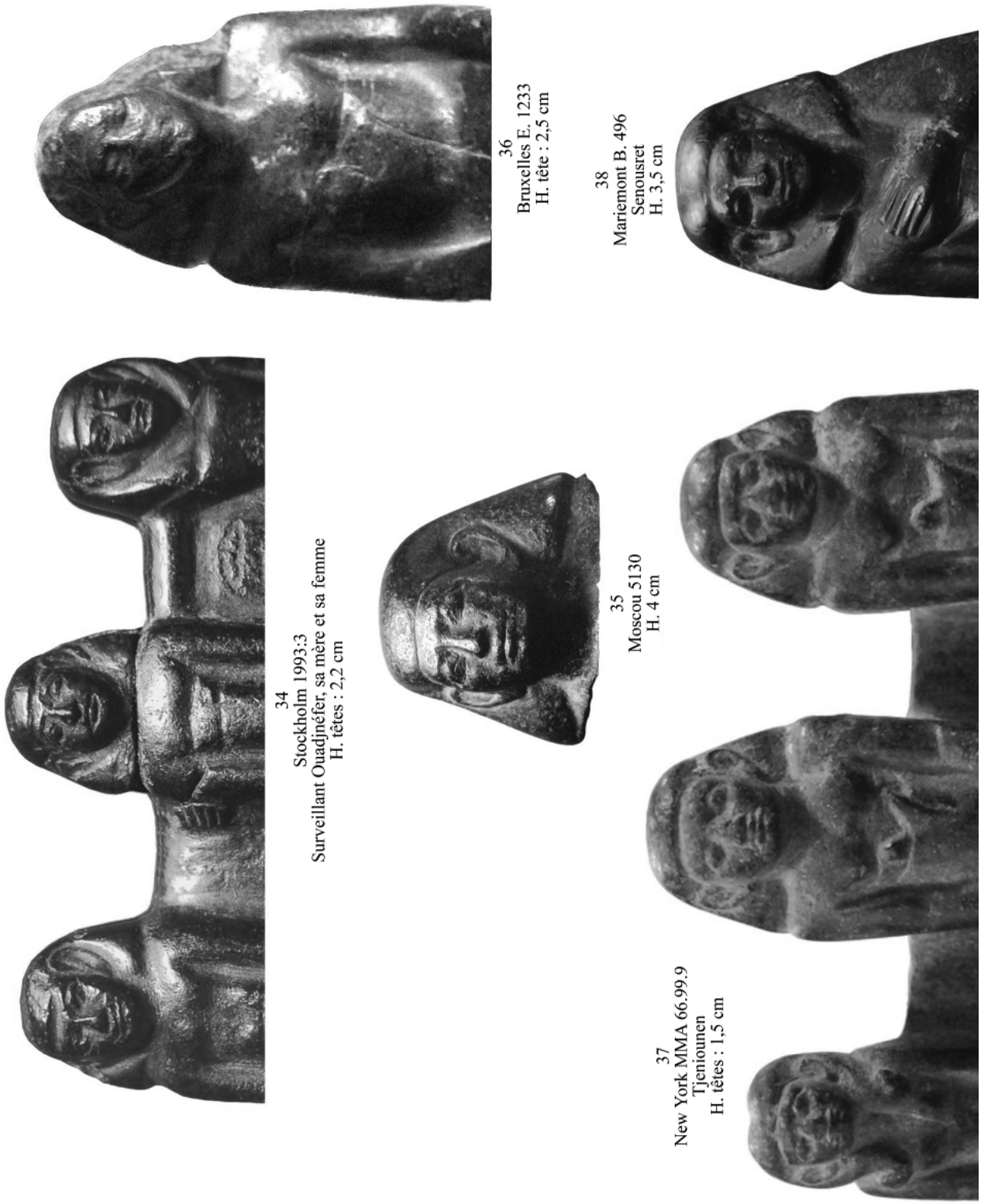


32
Sotheby 1994
H. tête : 4 cm



33
Khartoum 14070, Dedousobek
Mirgissa, cimetière M.X
H. tête : 5,5 cm

Figures 28-33



34
Stockholm 1993:3
Surveillant Ouadjnéfer, sa mère et sa femme
H. têtes : 2,2 cm

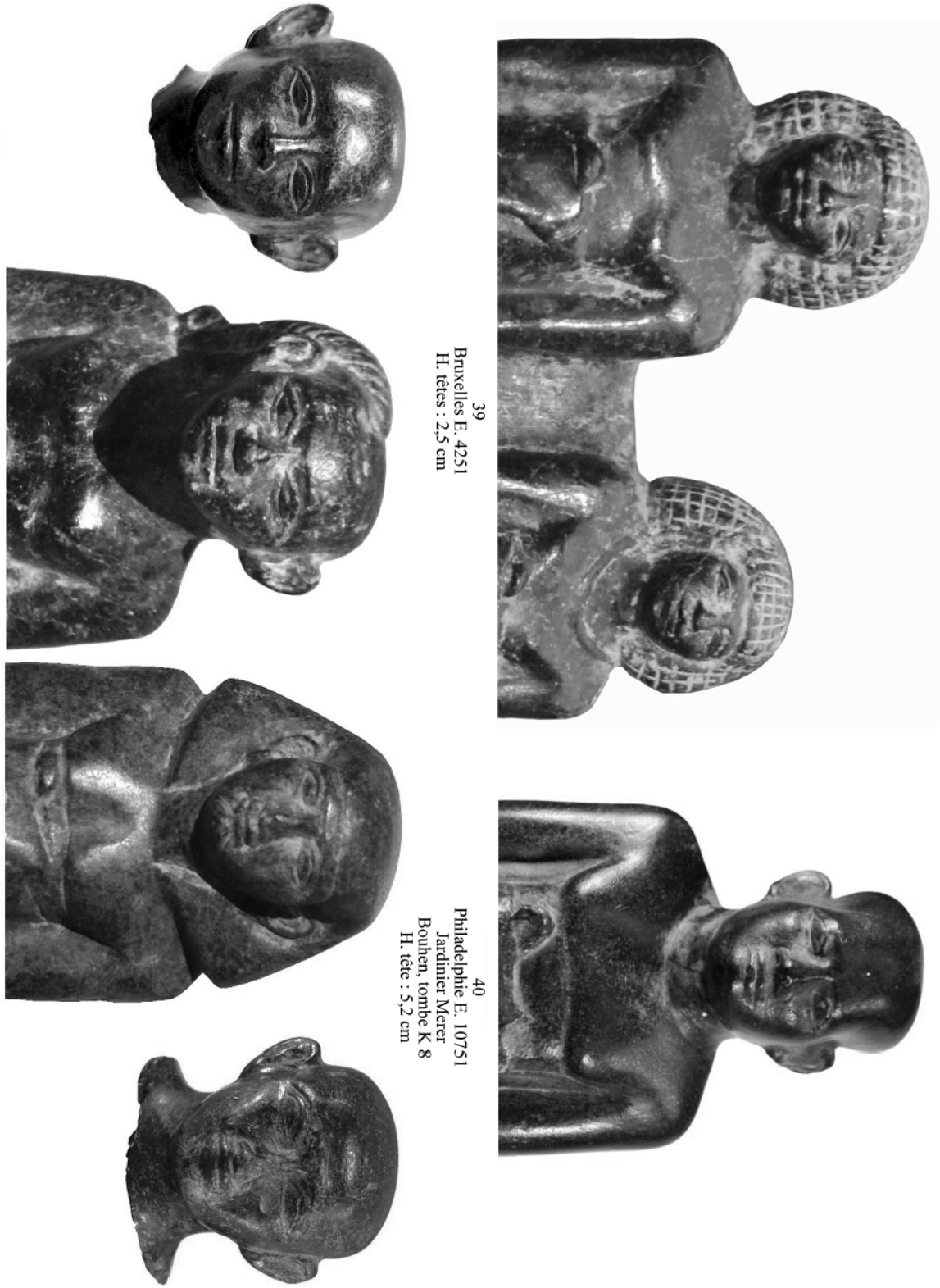
35
Moscou 5130
H. 4 cm

36
Bruxelles E. 1233
H. tête : 2,5 cm

37
New York MMA 66.99.9
Tjeniounen
H. têtes : 1,5 cm

38
Mariemont B. 496
Senousret
H. 3,5 cm

Figures 34-38



39
Bruxelles E. 4251
H. têtes : 2,5 cm

40
Philadelphie E. 10751
Jardinier Merer
Bouhen, tombe K 8
H. tête : 5,2 cm

41
Baltimore 22.385
H. 4 cm

42
New York 22.1.78
Lisht-Nord, puits 391
H. tête 2 cm

43
Philadelphie E. 13011
Haraga, tombe 141
H. tête : 4 cm

44
Londres UC
14819
H. 4 cm

Figures 39-44



45
Leipzig 1024
H. 6 cm

46
Paris, Louvre E 26917
H. tête 4 cm

47
Bologne 1799
Néferhotep Ier Fayoum ?
H. tête : 7 cm

48
Mariemont B. 497
Intendant Nebaouy
H. tête : 4,5 cm

49
Liverpool 1973.2.294
H. 3,1 cm

Figures 45-49

Hudáková, Jánosi, Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London 2016, 19-36

Let the Old Kingdom end and the Middle Kingdom begin!

Biri Fay
Independent scholar, Berlin
Art historian specializing in the art of ancient Egypt

Abstract
Several well published sculptures attributed variously to the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and Late Period are re-examined with the benefit of additional knowledge. It is suggested that two "Old Kingdom" royal sculptures are actually Middle Kingdom, that the bust of a man most recently assigned to the Middle Kingdom is actually Twenty-fifth Dynasty as originally suggested, and that the criteria used to attribute a royal head to the Thirteenth Dynasty are insufficient and thus its dating remains open to discussion.

An understanding of Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art *will follow naturally if we treat ancient Egyptian art as a continuum and not as independent units*.[1]

After delivering my paper at the Egyptian Art conference in Budapest several years ago,[2] a prominent professor of Egyptology asked me if I *really* believed in the existence of ancient Egyptian Art. He apparently expected me to answer his question with no.

My answer was the same then as it is now. I certainly do believe ancient Egyptian art exists, even more so now. I continue to re-discover objects I had not consciously noticed, for whatever reason, as well as objects I have never really taken the time to think about or even really look at because they are well published and therefore "settled".

This line of reflection – looking, and looking again, and trying to really *see* – is the thread through my discussion.

In the field of ancient Egyptian art history, as in any field of art history, it is essential to be familiar with *all* periods of artistic production, and their historical and social context. As scholars, our tendency is to specialize in one period that we feel drawn to – and stay with it. I definitely find myself doing this often.

A few years ago, Frank Bruni, op-ed columnist, New York Times, discussed just this phenomenon:

> 'I have brought up this Balkanization of experience with Hendrik Hartog, the director of the American studies program at Princeton, and he noted that what's happening in popular culture mirrors what has transpired at many elite universities, where survey courses in literature and history have given way to meditations on more focused themes. '*There's enormous weight given to specialized knowledge*,' he said. '*It leaves an absence of connective tissue for students*.' Not for nothing, he observed, does his Princeton colleague Daniel Rodgers, an emeritus professor of history, call this the '*age of fracture*'.'[3]

Art may very well reflect the moment in which it was created, but in order to properly understand that moment and to evaluate it wisely, a well dated foundation encompassing the whole span is crucial – in our case, of ancient Egyptian art. One must learn to distinguish what makes an object Old, Middle, or New Kingdom, or Late Period and be able to recognize influences that led to it, frequently from the earliest times.

Bernard Bothmer once said, "No Pharaoh ever proclaimed – Let the Old Kingdom end and the Middle Kingdom begin!" By this he intended to emphasize the importance of recognizing the subtle flow of ancient Egyptian art over thousands of years, especially the necessity of looking backward and forward from one's current point of focus. It is this approach that reveals how the Old Kingdom influenced the Middle Kingdom, how the Middle Kingdom influenced the New Kingdom and so forth.

[1] I have chosen to leave my original presentation more or less as delivered to encourage further discussion. In some cases, notes have been added for clarity, and readers are welcome to contact me for additional references.

[2] Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*.

[3] Frank Bruni, *New York Times*, 08.04.2014, online.

Take for example Thutmosis III's almost slavish use of Middle Kingdom prototypes for some of his own sculpture and of female members of his family even to the point that some have been designated Twelfth Dynasty.[4]

An understanding of *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, the title of our Study Day, will follow naturally if we recognize ancient Egyptian art as a continuum and not independent units.

I would like to share my thoughts about some objects that are well known. They are typical of the kind of situation where an object has been published by a respected colleague, past or present, and we check it off the list of things to worry about. I certainly do this. Our field is tremendous and it is virtually impossible to re-research from the beginning every object we are interested in. The more material is published, the more I am made aware of the importance of trying to keep in touch with the big picture.

Much progress has been made in the understanding and dating of Middle Kingdom royal sculpture since my publication of the Louvre sphinx in 1996 – the only inscribed image of King Amenemhat II.[5] Of great importance for the understanding today of the art of the Middle Kingdom, are studies like those most recently presented by Simon Connor, David Lorand, and Daniel Soliman where the authors have collected and organized material pertaining to parts of the Middle Kingdom, thus providing a valid foundation for further study and comparison.[6]

1. Head of a King Wearing the Red Crown[7] (Figs. 1-2)
Leipzig Inv. 1947

I began thinking about this small head of a king in Leipzig after Hourig Sourouzian's lecture at the first Old Kingdom Conference in Cairo, in 1991.[8]

The head is part of a group of small limestone royal heads in Leipzig (Figs. 1-5)[9], and Cairo (Fig. 6), that have been attributed to Chephren not only because of their find spot when known, the king's funerary temple at Giza, but also because that king's name appears on some of the associated fragments.[10]

I wonder if these fragments are from votive statues made in the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty[11] for Chephren when the pharaohs of the Old Kingdom were venerated by their Middle Kingdom successors – Amenemhat II's archaizing emulation of the Giza sphinx exemplifies this.[12]

As others have also noted, the Leipzig head does not really fit in the Fourth Dynasty. For example, the bridge of the beard slants downward to the chest instead of being undercut as is the case in the Old Kingdom. Evers showed that this is a post Old Kingdom characteristic,[13] and Cyril Aldred suggested that the fragility of Old Kingdom undercut beard-bridges led sculptors to carve stable beard length bridges from the Middle Kingdom onward (Fig. 59).[14]

The long narrow beard attached to the chest of the deity with King Sahure in The Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 7) may appear to be a contradiction.[15] Given that the narrow divine beard is even more susceptible to damage if undercut as witnessed by the narrow undercut, god-like beard worn by Chephren attests (Fig. 8), conceivably a less fragile solution was in use by the time of Sahure.[16] Sahure's beard is undercut as

[4] For example, Brooklyn acc. no. 65.134.3, quartzite head perhaps from a sphinx originally identified as Twelfth Dynasty, c. tempus Senwosret I, but is in fact one of Thutmosis III's royal women. Its companion is in Moscow 5317.

[5] Fay, *Louvre Sphinx*.

[6] Dorothea Arnold, Helmut Brandl, Rita Freed, and Hourig Sourouzian have also brought important viewpoints to the understanding of Middle Kingdom art.

[7] Leipzig, Inv. 1947, reddish limestone, height 9.9 cm., Giza, Valley temple of Chephren. Most recently published by Ziegler, in *Egyptian Art*, 260, cat. 62. Both Christiane Ziegler and Dorothea Arnold opt for a Fourth Dynasty date for the head as a representation of Chephren.

[8] Sourouzian, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, 133-54, pls. 50-6.

[9] Could this be the missing head to British Museum 69216, see n. 18.

[10] For the fragments in Leipzig see, Krauspe, *Statuen und Statuetten,* cat. 3-4, 69-71.

[11] Ludwig Borchardt felt the Leipzig head was inconsistent with representations of Chephren, and Jacques Vandier eliminated the piece from the list of heads attributed to Chephren. Krauspe, *Statuen und Statuetten*, 15, cites a similar suggestion by Georg Steindorff who apparently considered them more or less contemporary with the death of the king. The small figures published by Conard, Lehner, *JARCE* 38, 43-50, figs. 14-9, may be related, and possibly Kawai, *Egyptian Archaeology* 23, 38-40.

[12] Fay*, Louvre Sphinx*, 56.

[13] Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* II, §192, also cited by Krauspe, *Statuen und Statuetten*, 15.

[14] Aldred, in Baines *et al.* (eds.), *Pyramid Studies*, 43.

[15] New York, MMA 18.2.4, gneiss, height 64 cm. Discussed by Hill, in *Egyptian Art*, 329-30, and concerning the beard specifically Arnold, in *Egyptian Art*, 262, n. 2.

[16] The end of Chephren's undercut, narrow, god-like beard is broken away.

is to be expected at this time.

The Red Crown of Upper Egypt is not common in the Old Kingdom.[17] The sophisticated and elegant form here, however, is often encountered in the Middle Kingdom. Osiride statues of Senwosret I in Cairo (Figs. 9-10) and the figure of a god in the Metropolitan Museum datable to the reign of Amenemhat II or Senwosret II (Figs. 11-12) wearing similarly shaped Red Crown's are comparable. Note particularly the almost triangular shape of the long vertical back piece, as well as the slight swelling to the top of the crown.

The shape of the face also fits well in the Middle Kingdom, as do the finely shaped ears tipping outward from the side of the head.

I have looked again at the Heb-sed bodies and fragments in Leipzig (Figs. 3-5, 13-16) and the British Museum (Figs. 17-18)[18] that are associated with this group of limestone sculptures – something I should have done from the beginning instead of just focusing on the heads.

There are many details to be considered; for example, the slim bodies and feet, the garment that sometimes envelopes the feet, its form and its neckline, the placement of the hands, the shape of the crook and the flail and their alignment in relation to the rest of the sculpture, and the shape of the throne and the backslab.

I have not found Old Kingdom parallels for these finely worked elegantly proportioned figures, and I do not have the final solution, but I believe we need to think about the group as a whole – not just the heads, and also look at additional comparative material beyond the Chephren moment.

2. Priest from Bubastis[19] (Figs. 19-20)
Richmond 51-19-3

This quartzite bust in Richmond, Virginia was published by Bernard Bothmer as an example of "how closely the sculptors of the Late Period observed the statuary of Dynasty XII". Bothmer's attribution was initially followed by Donald Spanel for his exhibition, *Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture*, held at the Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama.[20] Subsequently, Jack Josephson redated the bust to the Middle Kingdom following a suggestion by Peter de Smet,[21] and Spanel subsequently agreed. Josephson's primary reason for the reattribution is based on what he calls an anomaly:

> 'The top edges of the dorsal pillar are mostly intact, showing a raised margin above the plane of the inscription. This phenomenon is, to the best of my knowledge, unique, implying that the original inscription was erased in order to furnish a smooth surface for a new text to be engraved and surely indicating a reuse of the statue.'

Was the backslab of the Richmond bust repolished? I personally have noticed that when erasure and reinscription have occurred, the surface of the reused area is not as perfectly polished as the original surface and the new inscription is almost always inferior to quality of the statue.

For example, the inscription on this small Middle Kingdom block statue was added later (Figs. 21-24).[22] The original column of inscription was removed from the front of the statue and the surface was re-polished. However, the repolished area does not match the original Middle Kingdom polish, and the inscription is not as finely carved as the statue.

I worked on the block statue years ago and it turned up again recently as Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The Egyptologists working on it were certain that the inscription dated to the Late Period and assumed the statue was contemporary with the inscription. In fact, both premises are incorrect – the block statue is Twelfth Dynasty and the inscription is neither original nor is it Late Period. In fact, it was added at some point from the Ramesside to Third Intermediate Period.

In contrast to the inscription on the block statue, the inscription on the Richmond bust is well carved and the surface of the backslab does not show signs of rework, a feat that would have been particularly difficult owing to the extreme hardness of quartzite.

In discussing this bust, Bothmer noted that broad backpillars/backslabs with three or more columns of inscription are more common in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty than later[23] and although he does not discuss the Middle Kingdom, I have not found anything

[17] Ziegler, in *Egyptian Art*, 260, no. 62, notes that the Red Crown is rare on statuary in the Old Kingdom.

[18] London, BM 69216, reddish limestone, height 26.4 cm., width 9.14 cm., depth 14.5 cm. Ede, *Small Sculpture*, no. 1; Bourriau, *JEA* 69, 147, no. 349, pl. XVIII.3.

[19] Richmond, Birmingham Museum of Art 51-19-3, dark red quartzite, height 32.5 cm., width 19 cm., depth 13.8 cm.; Bothmer, *ESLP*, 9-10, no. 8, pl. 8, figs. 17-9, there second half of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

[20] Spanel, *Through Ancient Eyes*, 112-3, cat. 38.

[21] Josephson, *JARCE* 34, 1-20.

[22] Fay, Jansen-Winkeln, Parkinson, *ZÄS*, 142,1, 33-44.

[23] Bothmer, *ESLP*, 9, no. 8, comment.

similar. Furthermore, the backslab of the bust in Richmond extends up into the lower back edge of the wig. This is another feature that I cannot trace in the Middle Kingdom, a common feature, however, in the Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasty. A good example is the block statue of Ankhwennefer in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figs. 25-26).[24]

A final note, Josephson did not counter Bothmer's suggestion that the man's bent left arm might indicate that the bust is broken from a proffering statue.[25] If the statue was indeed proffering – we would have yet another reason (in addition to those already provided) why the bust cannot be Middle Kingdom.

A fresh art historical analysis of the Richmond bust will contribute to a better understanding of change and innovation within ancient Egypt art as a whole and bring us back to Bothmer's attribution.

3. The Abemayor Head (Figs. 27-30)[26]
Private collection

Named after its former owner,[27] this head is generally recognized as a representation of a post Twelfth Dynasty king[28] wearing a White Crown fronted by a uraeus above the frontlet. The treatment of the eyes, ears, and shape of the crown compare well with post Twelfth Dynasty royal material.

The body of the uraeus coils *behind* the cobra's hood and forms fat, symmetrical loops before the cobra's body undulates toward the top of the crown. Uraeus forms varied greatly through pharaonic history and specific forms often can be associated with specific kings. The earliest dated instances of this uraeus form with loops to either side of the hood occur under Sobekemsaf I of the Seventeenth Dynasty[29], a statue in The British Museum (Fig. 31) originally attributed to the Thirteenth Dynasty, but shown by Vivian Davies to represent Sobekemsaf I[30], and a striding statue inscribed for the same king from Abydos and now in the Cairo Museum[31] (Figs. 32-33).

A third statue inscribed for the king in the Petrie Museum, London[32] depicts the pharaoh wearing a cloak and holding a crook and flail, evidence that Sobekemsaf I celebrated a jubilee despite his short reign of only 7 years (Fig. 34). Unfortunately, it is headless, and even more disappointing, the statue cannot join the Abemayor Head because it is too small. It does, however, provide an idea how the head with its body originally might have appeared.

Inconveniently, this uraeus type also appears at the brow of a handful of royal heads (Figs. 35-40), including the Abemayor head, which have generally been dated stylistically to the Thirteenth Dynasty.[33] However, the only securely dated use of the uraeus form is in the Seventeenth Dynasty and should not be confused with aberrations that occur on two heads attributed to the reign of Amenemhat III (Figs. 41-42).[34]

Are these royal heads actually Seventeenth Dynasty, or are we missing a link? Can we continue to use these uninscribed pieces as examples of Thirteenth

[24] New York, MMA 1993.161; limestone, height 49.5 cm.

[25] A first hand examination is necessary to determine if the break edge at the front suggests a seated or cross-legged attitude.

[26] Private Collection, basalt, height 25,5 cm., width 9,5 cm., depth 19.5 cm.; most recently Connor, *BMH* 110-111, 62, with earlier bibliography.

[27] Michel Abemayor (1912-1975) was born in Cairo in 1912 and moved to New York as a young man. Highly respected for his eye as a collector and dealer, objects that passed through his hands are now in some of the world's most important museums and collections. This head remained in his collection until his death and was sold at auction in 1985; Sotheby's, *Antiquities*, lot 11. See also: Bierbrier (ed.), *Who Was Who*, 3.

[28] Simon Connor and Daniel Soliman have generously shared their own ideas with me.

[29] As correctly noted by Soliman, *Giving the Past a Face*, 139, for example.

[30] Davies, *Royal Statue,* BM EA 871. Davies identifies the king represented as Sobekemsaf I. Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 396, identifies the king as Sobekemsaf II, a viewpoint, however, not shared by all scholars. For the purposes of this discussion, the statues will be assumed to represent Sobekemsaf I. For those interested in the various viewpoints see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sobekemsaf

[31] Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 395, Cairo CG 386. The extra difference in sculptural style between Cairo CG 386 and British Museum BM EA 871, has been noted by several scholars.

[32] London, UC, Petrie Museum 14209.

[33] For example, London, BM EA 26935 in Soliman, *Giving the Past a Face*, 138-40, pl. 41a-b, A.1.12,1, who suggests Seventeenth Dynasty for the bust; Glasgow, Burrell Collection 13/242 in: Soliman, *Giving the Past a Face*, 141-2, pl. 41c, favoring a Seventeenth Dynasty date; Cairo JE 54857, JE 58926, and Paris, Louvre E 12924, from Medamoud and all wearing a White/Osiride Crown, in: Soliman, *Giving the Past a Face*, 105-13, pls. 36-7.

[34] Cairo 13/4/22/9, head wearing a plumed crown attributed to the reign of Amenemhat III, in: Fischer, in Goring, Reeves, Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers*, 138-9, 147, figs. 5a-b; and New York, MMA 24.7.1 in: el Saddik, in *Festschrift Dorothea Arnold*, forthcoming.

Dynasty sculpture?

Many scholars have noted that three Osiride heads from Medamoud (Figs. 35-38) are stylistically most similar to Thirteenth Dynasty royal sculpture, specifically Sobekhotep I. Daniel Soliman reviewed previous discussions of these heads[35] noting that the uraeus form with the loops behind the hood is otherwise dated to Seventeenth Dynasty and writes:

> 'unlike the dated and attributed higher crowns of the SIP, the coils of the uraeus are added to the hood ...'.

The important word here is "added", something I had not noticed. In fact, it appears that the recessed uraeus hoods with loops more or less in sunk raised relief are not contemporary with the original sculpture. Senwosret III, Sobekhotep I, and Sobekemsaf I are the three Middle Kingdom/pre-Eighteenth Dynasty kings represented at the site. The heads do not depict Senwosret III many of whose sculptures were found at the site, but certainly are not related to the Osiride heads. The likely attribution for the heads is to Sobekhotep I. Is it possible that king Sobekemsaf I while carrying out renovations to the temple at Medamoud, shaped the uraei on the crowns of earlier rulers to meet his own taste, or is this yet another example of Ramses II's uraeus alterations (Figs. 43-46),[36] for whom however, there is only scant evidence at this site?

If the hypothesis is correct and the uraei with loops behind the hood are not original to the Medamoud heads, a date in the Thirteenth Dynasty for them is perfectly acceptable. However, how do we explain this uraeus style on other royal images including the Abemayor Head where it is clearly original to the sculpture (Figs. 27–30, 39–40). Are they actually Seventeenth Dynasty, and not Thirteenth Dynasty?[37] One thing is certain; by ignoring the looped uraeus the question will not go away.

4. The Freer Head[38] (Figs. 47-52, 56, 60, 63)
Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art 38.11

Right from the beginning of my studies in Egyptology with Bernard Bothmer, the Freer head has been one of those objects that lurks at the corner of the eye and in the back of the mind, but does not really come into focus. Since its acquisition in 1938, the head has been published and illustrated often. I think I have avoided focusing on it because it did not fall into place on its own, and I never tried to figure out why – and, of course, it was long since intelligently published.

About a year ago, a chance combination of photos on my work table started a process for me – the Freer head, the Brooklyn head of a royal woman (Figs. 53, 57, 61), the maned sphinx fragment in Berlin (Figs. 62, 65), the Louvre sphinx (Figs. 54, 59, 64), and the colossal seated statue inscribed for Senwosret I in Cairo (Figs. 55, 58). My thoughts are still very much in their formative stage, but I think the Freer head is datable to the Twelfth Dynasty, somewhere in the time span – Senwosret I to Amenemhat II. My reasons include the stone used for three of the objects and the style of carving the stone, the inlaid eyes of the three greywacke pieces, surely not coincidental, and their construction, the treatment of the cosmetic lines, the mouth, the ear with the fat lobe, as well as the shape of the crown and the treatment of the beard which apparently had a deep bridge to the chest, a technique discussed above in connection with the Leipzig head.

I think there is a chance that parts of the statue exist and have been overlooked because they are not Old Kingdom, but are Middle Kingdom.[39] Was the original statue intended for Heliopolis where the closely related fragment of a maned sphinx with inlaid eyes in Berlin (Figs. 62, 65)[40] was reportedly found? Alternatively, was it intended for the Middle Kingdom temple at Qantir, not far from the site where the Freer head is said to come and where late Twelfth Dynasty royal greywacke sculptures have been found?

Bibliography

Aldred, C., "An Early Image-of-the-King", in J. Baines, T.G.H. James, A. Leahy, A.F. Shore (eds.),

[35] Cairo JE 54857, JE 58926, and Paris, Louvre E 12924, from Medamoud, in: Soliman, *Giving the Past a Face*, 105-13, pls. 36-7.

[36] There are many examples of Ramesses II alterations including loops behind the uraeus hoods, for example, three sculptures in the Cairo Museum Garden, Cairo CG 1197, a sphinx, and two seated quartzite colossi from Heracleopolis, JE 45975 and JE 45976; Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* II, figs. 70-2, §712.

[37] Cairo CG 42023, seated statue inscribed for Neferhotep II and wearing a nemes with uraeus loops wedged down close to the hood may be a precursor.

[38] Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery no. 38.11, greywacke, height 57, 5 cm; Steindorff, *Royal Head*.

[39] Florence, Museo Egizio 6328, a fragmentary base from a striding statue of Senwosret I is too small; Lorand, *Sésostris I^er^*, 71-2, pl. 3, B-C.

[40] Fay, *Louvre Sphinx*, 26-7, cat. 2, pls. 53-4.

Pyramid Studies and other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards (London: Occasional Publications EES 7, 1988), 41-7.

Arnold, Do., in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sept. 16, 1999 – Jan. 9, 2000, New York (New York, 1999), 261-2, cat. 63.

Bierbrier, M.L. (ed.), *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London, 4th ed. 2012).

Bothmer, B.V., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (ESLP), in collaboration with H. de Meulenaere and H.W. Müller, edited by E. Riefstahl, Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Brooklyn Museum 18 October 1960 to 9 January 1961 (Brooklyn, 1960).

Bourriau, J., "Egyptian Antiquities Acquired in 1980-1 by Museums in the United Kingdom", *JEA* 69 (1983), 45-153.

Conard, N.J., Lehner, M., "The 1988/1989 Excavation of Petrie's "Workmen's Barracks" at Giza", *JARCE* 38 (2001), 21-60.

Connor, S., "The Smiling Pharaoh of Budapest", *BMH* 110-111 (2009), 41-64.

Davies, W.V., *A Royal Statue Reattributed* (London: British Museum Occasional Paper 28, 1981).

Ede, C., *Small Sculpture from Ancient Egypt*, 16-22 September (London, 1980).

El Saddik, W., "A Head for Amenemhat III's Heb-sed Triad?", in *Festschrift Dorothea Arnold*, forthcoming.

Evers, H.G., *Staat aus dem Stein. Denkmäler. Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs*, 2 volumes (München, 1929).

Fay, B., *The Louvre Sphinx and Royal Sculpture from the Reign of Amenemhat II* (Mainz, 1996).

Fay, B., Jansen-Winkeln, K., Parkinson, R. B., "Don't Do What I Did": An Early Middle Kingdom Block Statue", *ZÄS*, 142, 1 (2015), 33-44.

Fischer, H.G., "Two Iconographic Questions: Who and When?", in E. Goring, N. Reeves, J. Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred* (London: Studies in Egyptology, 1997). 138-47.

Hill, M., in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sept. 16, 1999 - Jan. 9, 2000 (New York, 1999), 329-30, cat. 109.

Josephson, J., "Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period Revisited", *JARCE* 34 (1997), 1-20.

Kawai N., "Finds of Old and Middle Kingdoms at North Saqqara", *Egyptian Archaeology* 23 (2003), 38-40.

Kóthay, K.A. (ed.), *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art,* International Conference Held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13-15 May 2010 (Budapest, 2012).

Krauspe, R., *Statuen und Statuetten*, Katalog Ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig, Band 1 (Mainz, 1997).

Lorand, D., *Arts et politique sous Sésostris Ier: Littérature, sculpture et architecture dans leur contexte historique* (Turnhout: Monumenta Aegyptiaca XIII, 2011).

Ryholt, K.S.B., *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B.C.* (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 20, 1997).

Soliman, D., *Giving the Past a Face: An Attempt at Identifying and Dating Three Dimensional Kingly Sculpture of the Second Intermediate Period through Stylistic and Iconographic Analysis* (MA thesis S0314862: Leiden University – Leiden, 2010).

Sotheby's, *Antiquities and Islamic Art*, New York, February 8 and 9 (New York, 1985).

Sourouzian, H., "L'iconographe du roi dans la statuaire des trois premières dynasties", in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991 (Mainz: SDAIK 28, 1995), 133-54.

Spanel, D.B., *Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture*, an Exhibition Organized for the Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham (Alabama, 1988).

Steindorff, G., *A Royal Head from Ancient Egypt* (Washington: Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, vol. 1, No. 5, 1951).

Ziegler, C., in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids,* Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sept. 16, 1999 - Jan. 9, 2000, New York (New York, 1999), 260, cat. 62.

List of Figures
(unless noted otherwise, photos Biri Fay)

Fig. 1, on pl. V - Leipzig Inv. 1947.
Fig. 2, on pl. V - Leipzig Inv. 1947.
Fig. 3, on pl. V - Leipzig Inv. 1948.
Fig. 4, on pl. V - Leipzig Inv. 1948.
Fig. 5, on pl. V - Leipzig Inv. 1948.
Fig. 6, on pl. V - Cairo, inventory number not know, 2nd floor of the Egyptian Museum, wall vitrine, red limestone.
Fig. 7 - Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 18.2.4, inscribed for Sahure, Fifth Dynasty. Image © bpk / The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Fig. 8 - Cairo CG 14, inscribed for Chephren, Fourth Dynasty. Image © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Archiv-Nr. 86454.
Fig. 9 - Cairo CG 398, Osiride statue of Senwosret I, Lisht.
Fig. 10 - Cairo CG 397, CG 399, CG 398 (left to right), Osiride statues of Senwosret I, Lisht.
Fig. 11 - Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 14.3.17, Twelfth Dynasty, attributed to Amenemhat II or Senwosret II.
Fig. 12 - Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 14.3.17, Twelfth Dynasty, attributed to Amenemhat II or Senwosret II.
Fig. 13 - Leipzig Inv. 1968, backslab fragment with serekh of Chephren.
Fig. 14 - Leipzig Inv. 8482, top of base fragment with covered feet.
Fig. 15 - Leipzig Inv. 1969, backslab fragment with cartouche of Chephren.
Fig. 16 - Leipzig Inv. 1959, top of base fragment with feet and guide-lines.
Fig. 17 - British Museum EA 69216.
Fig. 18 - British Museum EA 69216.
Fig. 19 - Richmond 51-19-3, priest from Bubastis. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.
Fig. 20 - Richmond 51-19-3, priest from Bubastis. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.
Fig. 21 - Private Collection, block statue, Twelfth Dynasty, possibly reign of Amenemhat II. Photo courtesy of the owner.
Fig. 22 - Private Collection, block statue. Photo courtesy of the owner.
Fig. 23 - Private Collection, block statue, area with erased inscription.
Fig. 24 - Private Collection, block statue, area with erased inscription delineated.
Fig. 25 - Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 1993.161, Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Ankhwennefer. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Fig. 26 - Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 1993.161, Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Ankhwennefer.
Fig. 27, on pl. VI - Abemayor Head, Thirteenth or Seventeenth Dynasty? Photo courtesy of the owner.
Fig. 28, on pl. VI - Abemayor Head, Thirteenth or Seventeenth Dynasty? Photo courtesy of the owner.
Fig. 29, on pl. VI - Abemayor Head, Thirteenth or Seventeenth Dynasty? Photo courtesy of the owner.
Fig. 30, on pl. VI - Abemayor Head, Thirteenth or Seventeenth Dynasty? Photo courtesy of the owner.
Fig. 31 von CaptMondo - own work (photo), CC BY 2.5, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4590357.
Fig. 32 - Cairo CG 386, Seventeenth Dynasty, inscribed for Sobekemsaf I, from Abydos. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.
Fig. 33 - Cairo CG 386, Seventeenth Dynasty, inscribed for Sobekemsaf I, from Abydos. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.
Fig. 34 - Petrie Museum 14209, inscribed for Sobekemsaf I. Image © The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL (2016).
Fig. 35 - Louvre E 12924, Thirteenth Dynasty, attributed to Sobekhotep I, from Medamoud. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.
Fig. 36 - Cairo JE 54857, Thirteenth Dynasty, attributed to Sobekhotep I, from Medamoud. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.
Fig. 37 - Cairo JE 58926, Thirteenth Dynasty, attributed to Sobekhotep I, from Medamoud. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.
Fig. 38 - Cairo JE 58926, Thirteenth Dynasty, attributed to Sobekhotep I, from Medamoud. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.
Fig. 39 - Glasgow, Burrell Collection 13/242, Thirteenth or Seventeenth Dynasty. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.
Fig. 40 - British Museum EA26935, Thirteenth or Seventeenth Dynasty? Image © Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
Fig. 41 - Cairo 13/4/22/9, attributed to Amenemhat III.
Fig. 42 - Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 24.7.1, attributed to Amenemhat III.
Fig. 43 - Cairo JE 45975, from Heracleopolis, probably late Twelfth Dynasty.

Fig. 44 - Cairo JE 45975, from Heracleopolis, probably late Twelfth Dynasty. Photo Patrick D. Cardon.

Fig. 45 - Cairo JE 45976, from Heracleopolis, probably late Twelfth Dynasty. Photo Patrick D. Cardon.

Fig. 46 - Cairo CG 42025, probably Thirteenth Dynasty, from Tanis.

Fig. 47, on pl. VII - Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery 38.11, Twelfth Dynasty, said to be from East Delta, al Samana.

Fig. 48, on pl. VII - Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery 38.11, Twelfth Dynasty, said to be from East Delta, al Samana.

Fig. 49, on pl. VII - Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery 38.11, Twelfth Dynasty, said to be from East Delta, al Samana.

Fig. 50, on pl. VII - Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery 38.11, Twelfth Dynasty, said to be from East Delta, al Samana.

Fig. 51, on pl. VII - Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery 38.11, Twelfth Dynasty, said to be from East Delta, al Samana.

Fig. 52 - Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery 38.11, Twelfth Dynasty, said to be from East Delta, al Samana.

Fig. 53 - Brooklyn Museum 56.85, Twelfth Dynasty, Senwosret I–Amenemhat II. Photo Amber Heiken.

Fig. 54 - Louvre A 23, Twelfth Dynasty, inscribed for Amenemhat II, found at Tanis.

Fig. 55 - Cairo JE 37465, Twelfth Dynasty, inscribed for Senwosret I, found at Tanis. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.

Fig. 56 - Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery 38.11, Twelfth Dynasty, said to be from East Delta al Samana.

Fig. 57 - Brooklyn Museum 56.85, Twelfth Dynasty, Senwosret I–Amenemhat II. Photo Amber Heiken.

Fig. 58 - Cairo JE 37465, Twelfth Dynasty, inscribed for Senwosret I, found at Tanis. Photo Bernard V. Bothmer.

Fig. 59 - Louvre A 23, Twelfth Dynasty, inscribed for Amenemhat II, found at Tanis.

Fig. 60 - Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery 38.11, Twelfth Dynasty.

Fig. 61 - Brooklyn Museum 56.85, Twelfth Dynasty, Senwosret I–Amenemhat II. Photo Amber Heiken.

Fig. 62 - Berlin 22580, Twelfth Dynasty, Senwosret I or Amenemhat II, found at Matariya, pre–WWII. Photo © Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

Fig. 63 - Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery 38.11, Twelfth Dynasty.

Fig. 64 - Louvre A 23, Twelfth Dynasty, inscribed for Amenemhat II, found at Tanis.

Fig. 65 - Berlin 22580, Twelfth Dynasty, Senwosret I or Amenemhat II, found at Matariya, post WWII. Photo © Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

Figure 7

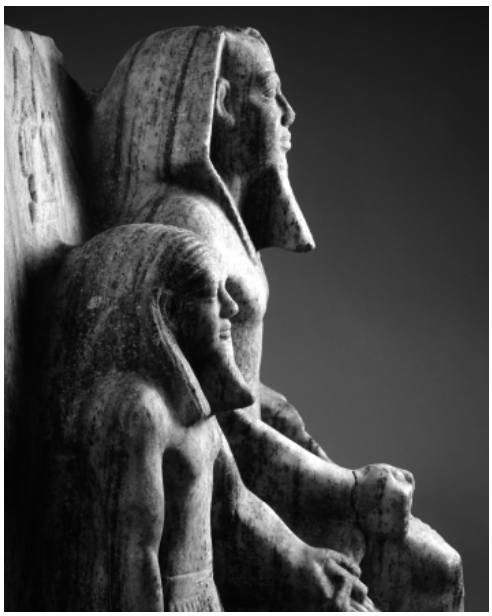


Figure 8

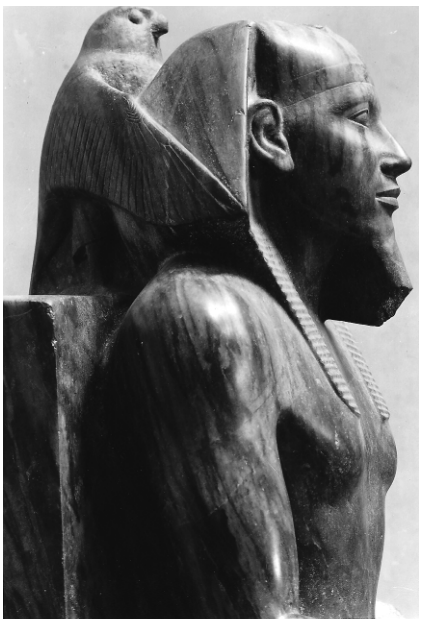


Figure 9

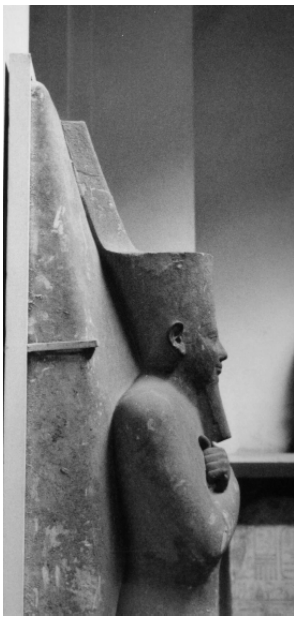


Figure 10

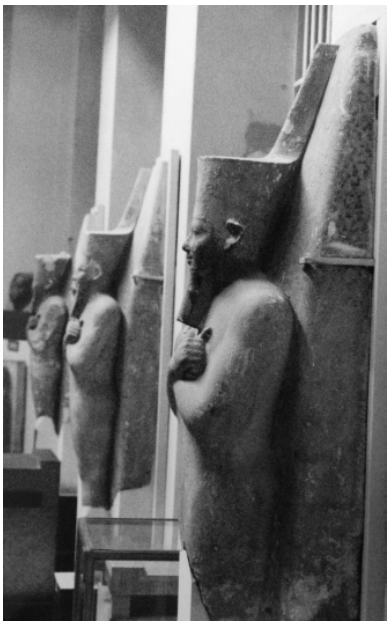


Figure 11



Figure 12

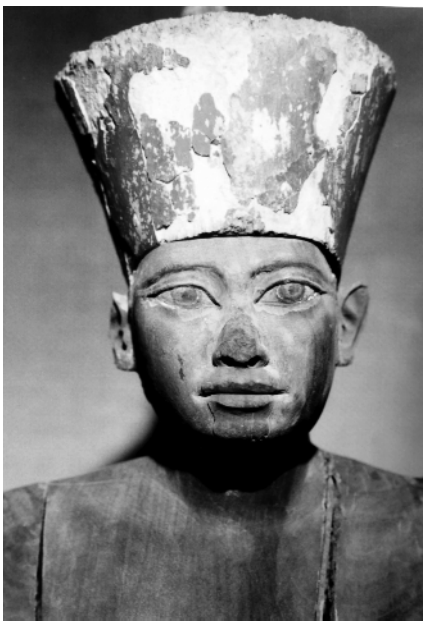




Figure 13

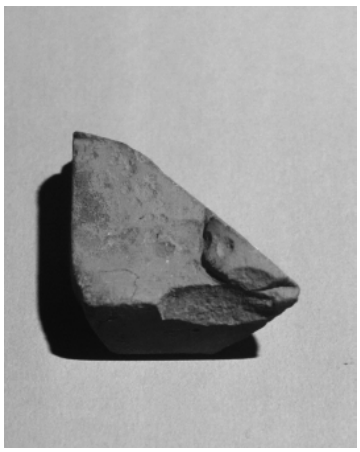


Figure 14

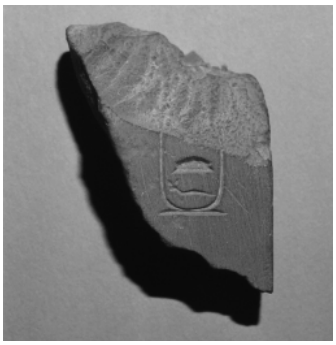


Figure 15



Figure 16

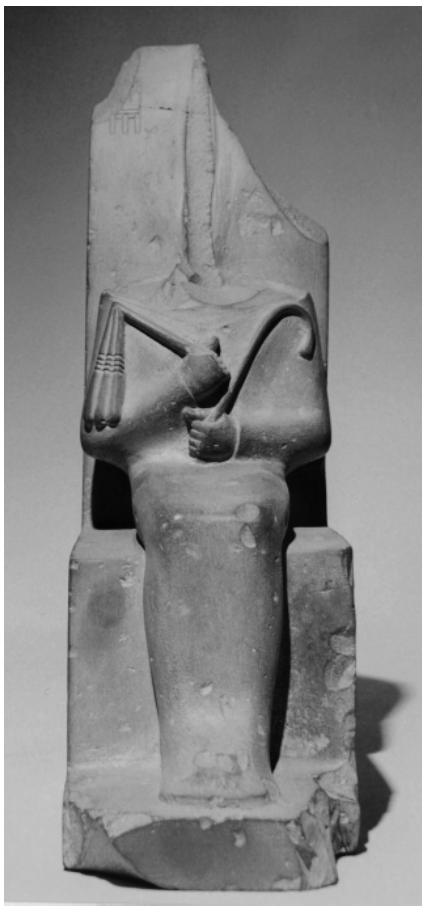


Figure 17



Figure 18

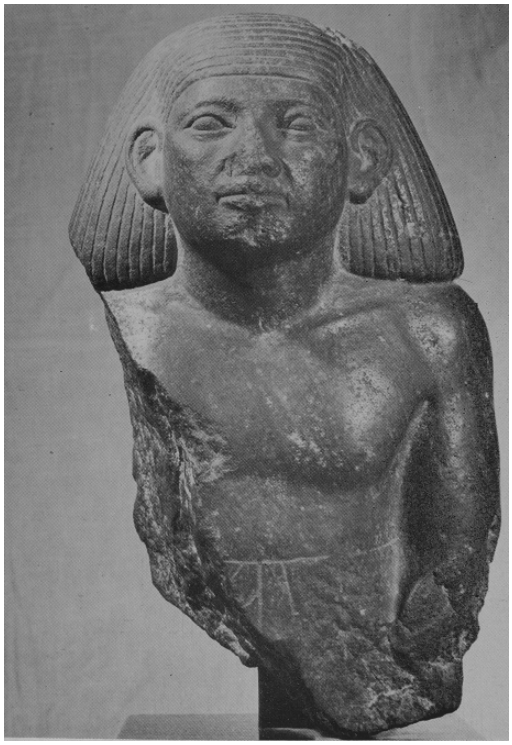


Figure 19

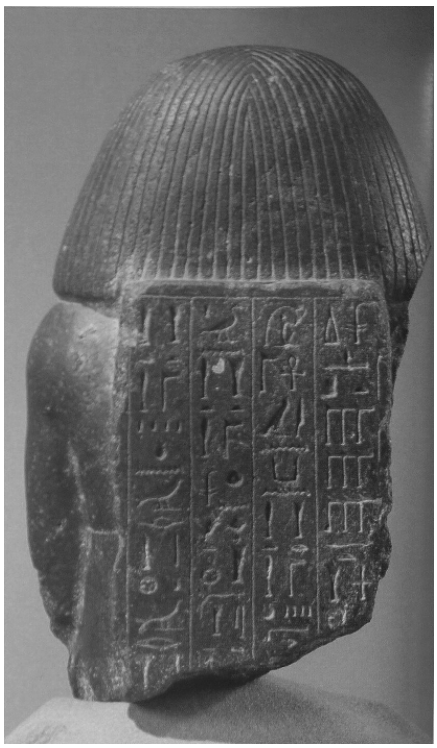


Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 31



Figure 34

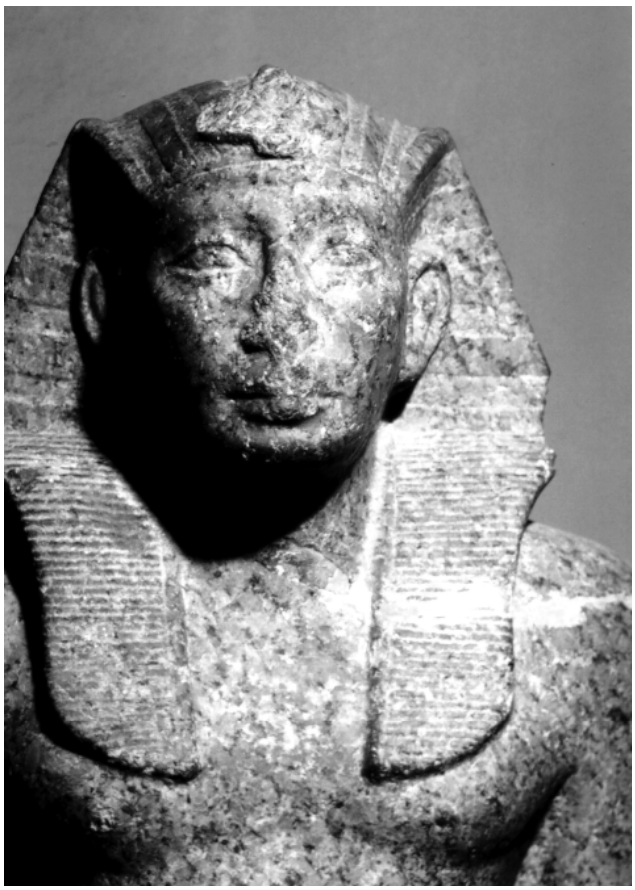


Figure 32



Figure 33

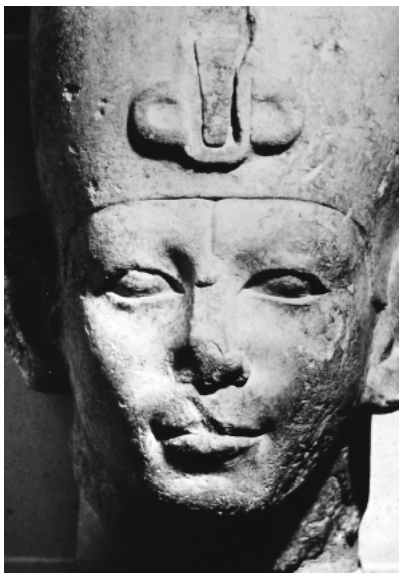


Figure 35

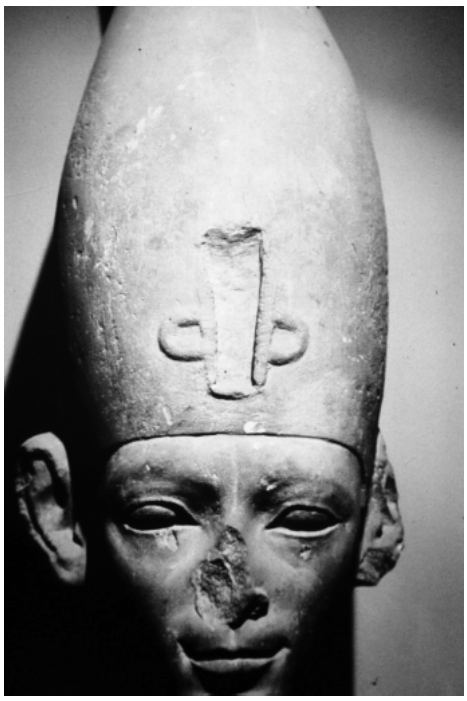


Figure 36

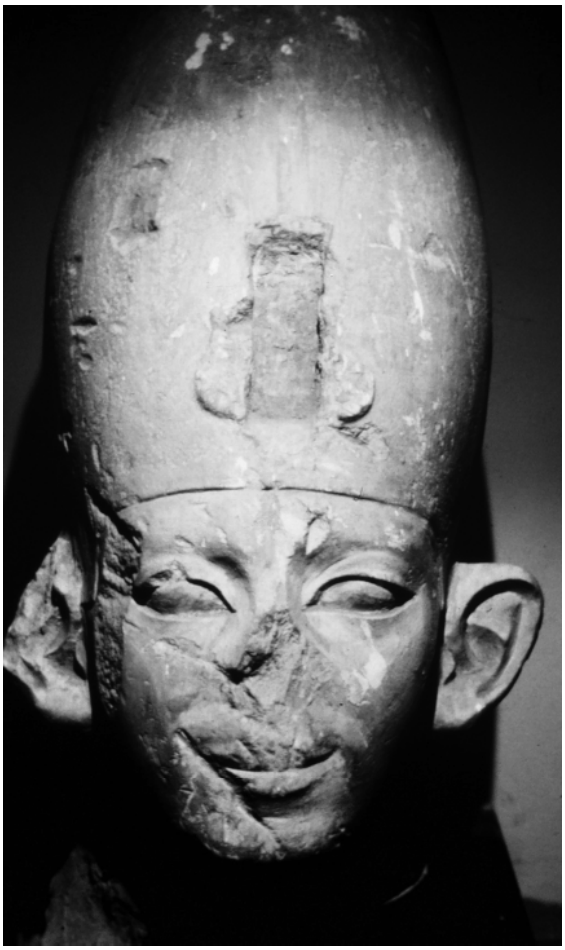


Figure 37

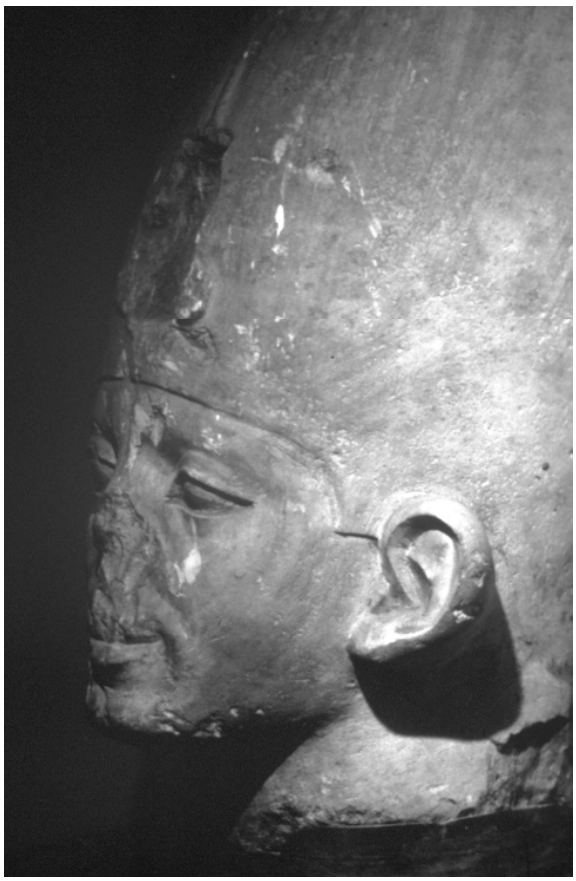


Figure 38

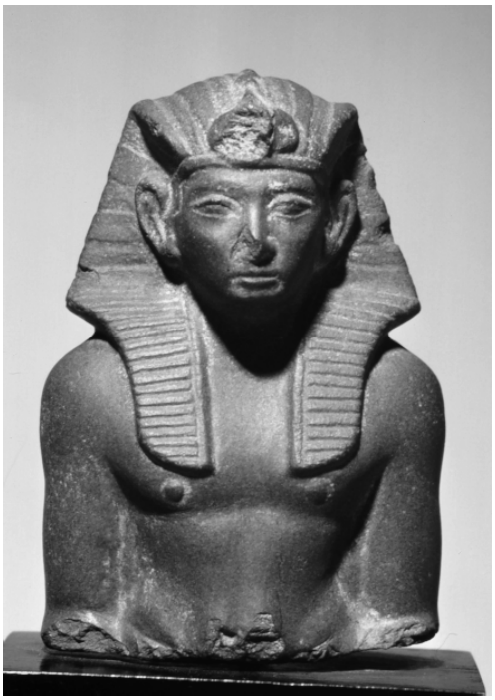


Figure 39

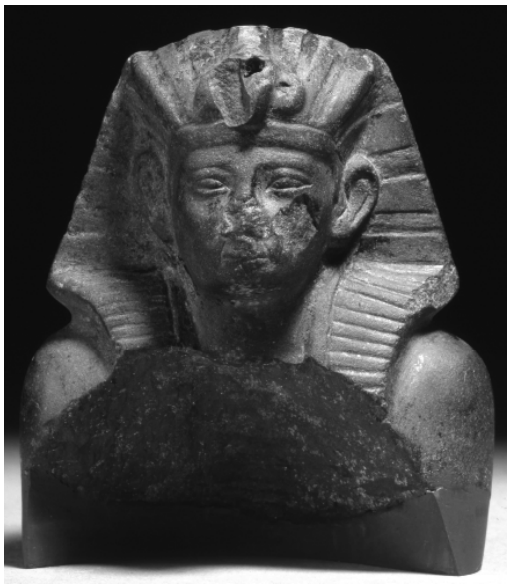


Figure 40

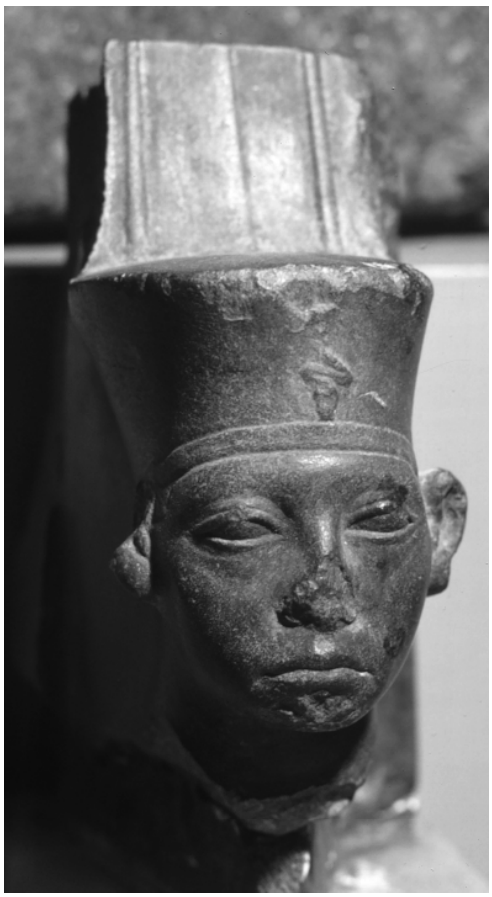


Figure 41

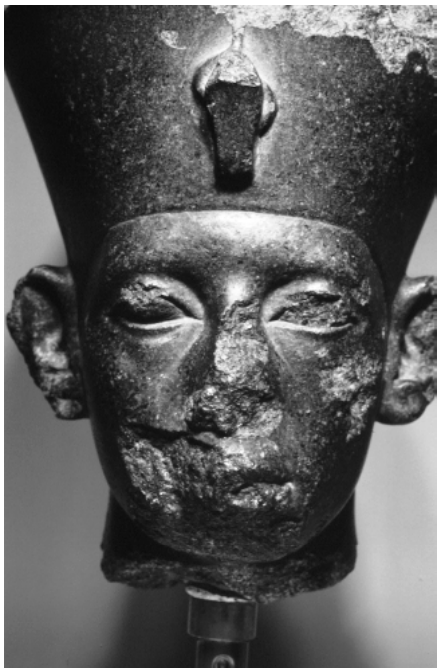


Figure 42



Figure 43

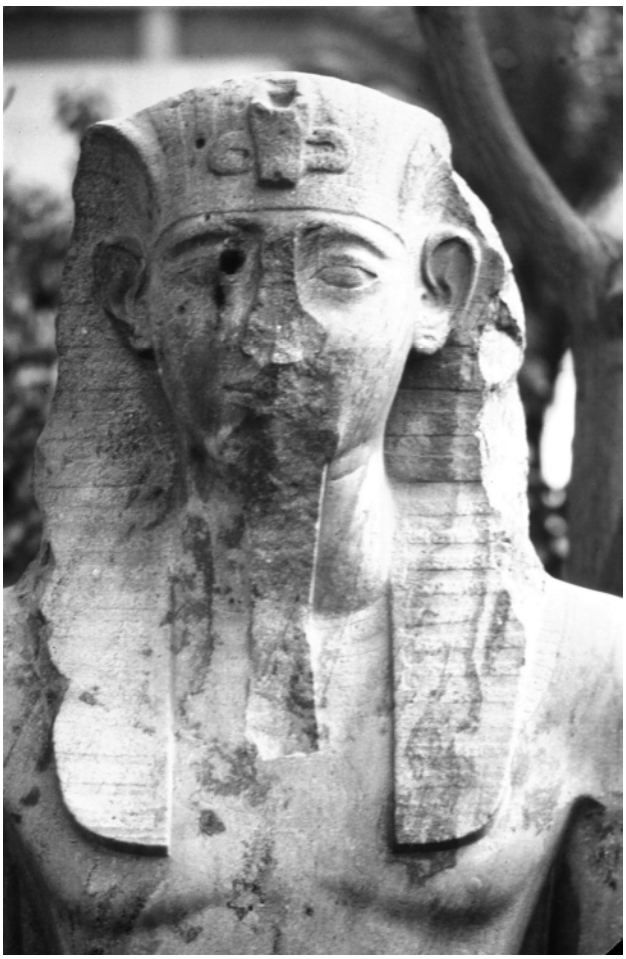


Figure 44

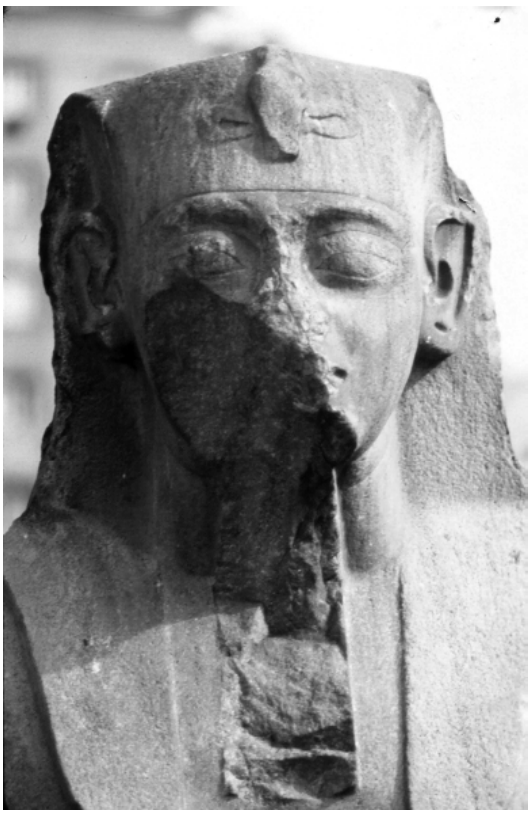


Figure 45



Figure 46



Figure 52



Figure 53

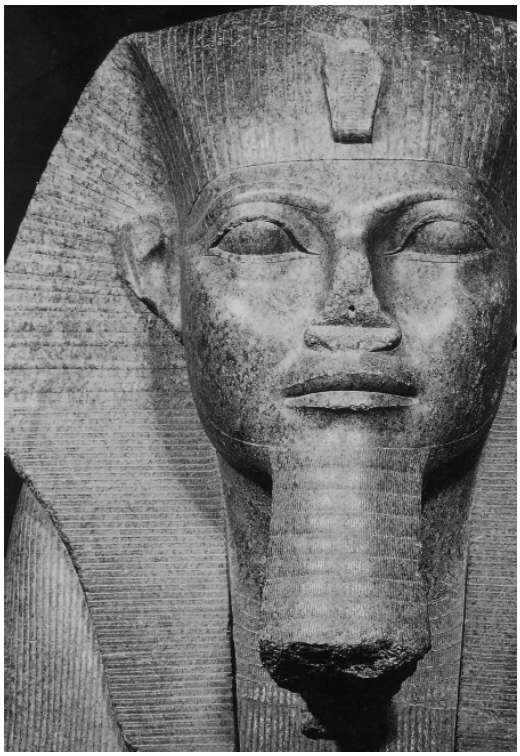


Figure 54

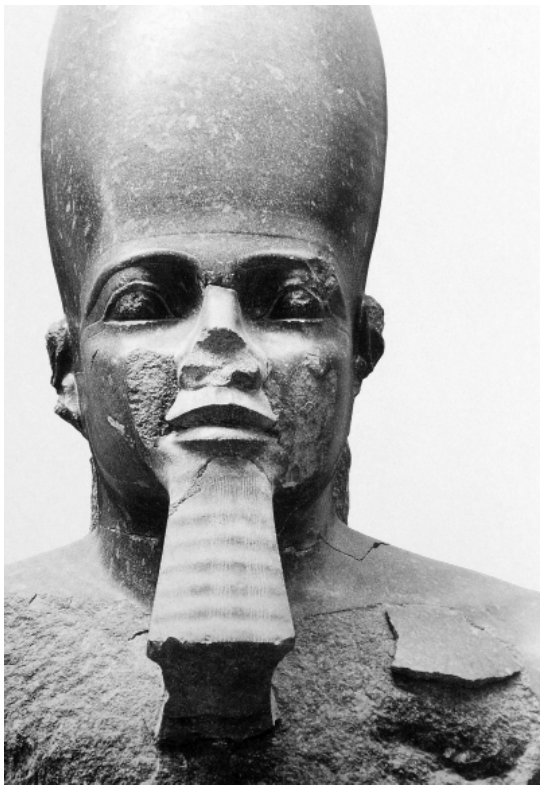


Figure 55

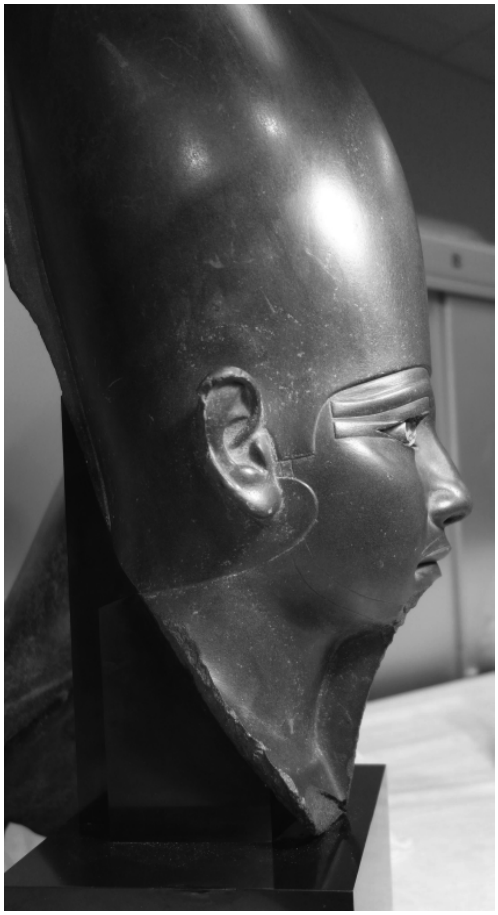


Figure 56

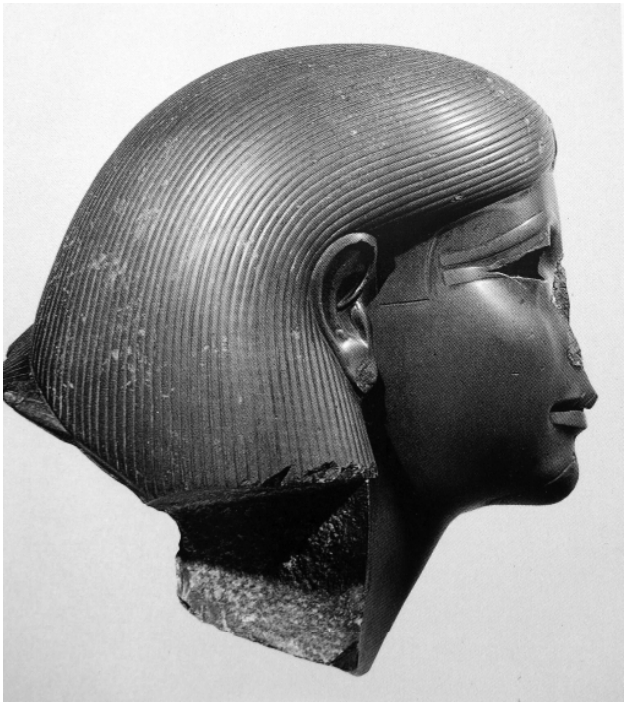


Figure 57

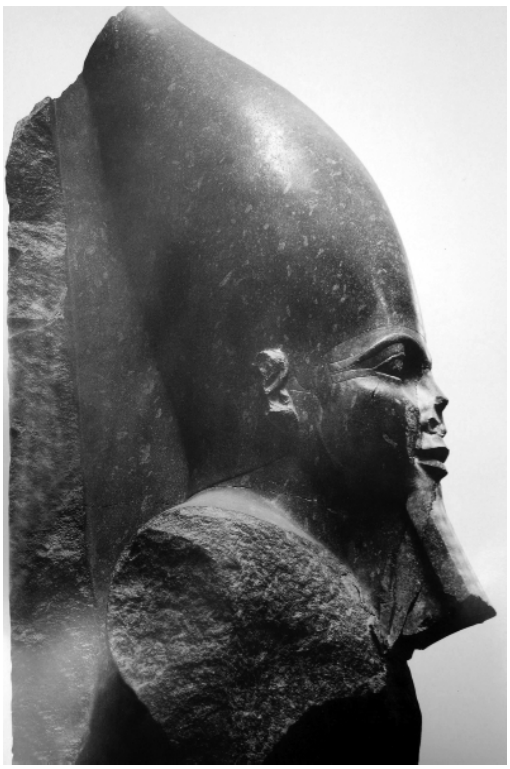


Figure 58

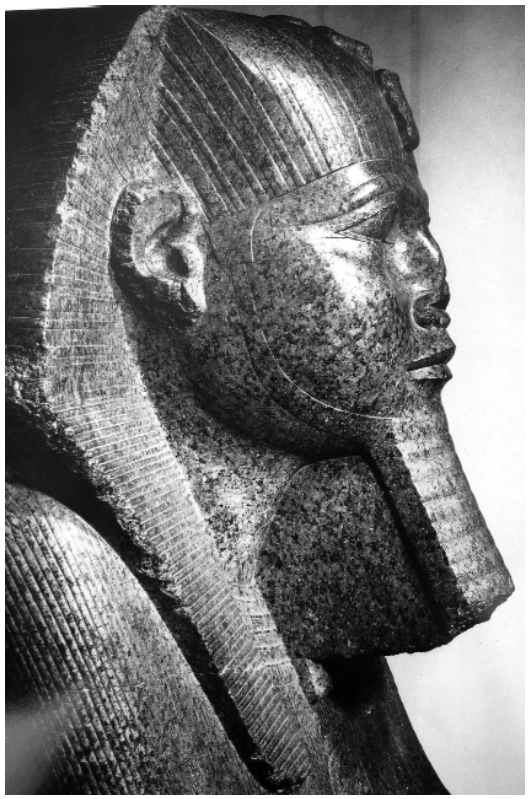


Figure 59



Figure 60

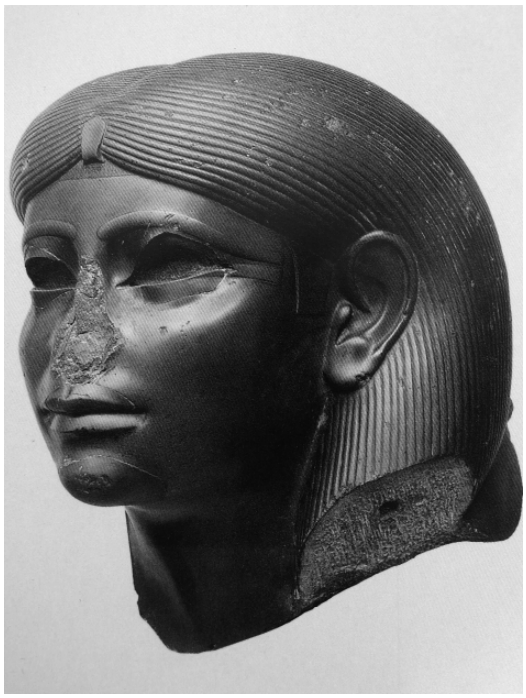


Figure 61



Figure 62



Figure 65



Figure. 63



Figure 64

Hudáková, Janosi, Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London 2016, 37-46

Some aspects of the decorative and cult program of Twelfth Dynasty tombs at Qaw el-Kebir

Elisa Fiore Marochetti*
Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Piemonte e del Museo delle Antichità Egizie

Abstract
The archaeological material coming from the Middle Kingdom tombs of the local princes at Qaw el-Kebir, discovered by the Italian Archaeological Mission in 1905-1906, is of an extraordinary artistic, historical, and documentary importance. The article presents and discusses some of the statues, reassembled by the author, as well as wall reliefs, facings of pillars, and columns in the tombs of Wahka I, Ibu, and Wahka II. Various fragments of life size and colossal black granite statues, along with painted limestone fragments belonging to statues of various types, are very rare examples of Middle Kingdom statuary.

The archaeological material coming from the Middle Kingdom tombs of the princes at Qaw el-Kebir, discovered by the Italian Archaeological Mission in 1905-1906, is of an extraordinary artistic, historical, and documentary importance. Some of the limestone, granite, and stucco fragments collected during the excavations, originating from ceilings, wall reliefs, pillars, and columns in the tombs of Wahka I, Ibu and Wahka II, have only very recently been reassembled.[1] Various fragments of life-size and colossal black granite statues, along with painted limestone fragments belonging to statues of various genres, are very rare examples of Middle Kingdom statuary.

The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* of the Royal Egyptian Museum of Turin worked at the site of Qaw el-Kebir during two campaigns, from March 10th to May 14th 1905 and from March 20th to April 17th 1906, under the direction of Ernesto Schiaparelli, assisted by Francesco Ballerini (Fig. 1).[2] From 1912-1914 the site was excavated by the German Ernst von Sieglin expedition, and from 1923-1924 by the British School of Archaeology, directed by W. Flinders Petrie and published in 1930.[3] The account of the German expedition, published in 1936 by Georg Steindorff and Hans Steckeweh, included some data from the unpublished Italian mission.[4]

The Italian Archaeological Mission recovered around 2400 fragments of reliefs, statues, paintings, and funerary equipment from the tombs of the two Wahkas, the tomb of Ibu, and the shafts of Henib and Nakhti.[5] Only the fragments from the tomb of Wahka I bear an excavation number.[6] The finds from the German excavations numbered about 87 objects from the Middle Kingdom tombs, mainly from that of Wahka II; most are architectural elements, part of ceilings, reliefs, and two statue fragments. Taken to the University Museum in Leipzig, nearly all were lost during World War II. About 70 fragmentary objects from the British excavations are in the Petrie Museum, University College London. Some objects from the tombs were put on the market.[7]

The archaeological finds from the Middle Kingdom rock-cut tombs in the Museo delle Antichità Egizie of Turin consist of limestone wall reliefs

* To the memory of my beloved sister Simonetta.

[1] Fiore Marochetti, in Zanovello, Ciampini (eds.), *Frammenti d'Egitto*, 59-60.

[2] Letters from Ernesto Schiaparelli to the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Archivio di Stato di Torino (AST), Mazzo 1, fascicoli 9-10; and the Notebook of Francesco Ballerini, AST Mazzo 6, fascicolo 4. See also Sesana, in Sesana, Consonni, Quirino (eds.), *L'Egitto di Francesco Ballerini*, 15; Consonni, Quirino, in Sesana, Consonni, Quirino (eds.), *L'Egitto di Francesco Ballerini,* 146-71.

[3] Petrie, *Antaeopolis*.

[4] Some of the reported data relating to the provenance of the object is not correct, for example, the provenance of the coffin of Nakhti; of the statue of Wahka, son of Neferhotep; and the fluted column Suppl. 4238. Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber*, 47, 52.

[5] Inventory data SBAPMAE 2009-2012: Fiore Marochetti, in Zanovello, Ciampini (eds.), *Frammenti d'Egitto*, 59-70. For Henib: Suppl. 4310 and Suppl. 4399; Ciampini, *La sepoltura di Henib*; Ciampini, *KASKAL* 4, 115-20.

[6] From Suppl. 4238 to Suppl. 4263; Fiore Marochetti, in Zanovello, Ciampini (eds.), *Frammenti d'Egitto*, 63.

[7] Three fragments of the limestone sarcophagus of Wahka II, published by Petrie (*Antaeopolis*, pl. 8), were acquired in 1968 for the Museo delle Antichità Egizie of Turin, Suppl. 18113, Inv. no. 12665.

(around 170 fragments), wall paintings on limestone (80 fragments), and wall paintings on plaster (300 fragments), deriving from hunting scenes (Fig. 2), depictions of Nile fauna, tableaux of raising geese and other fowl, processions of offering bearers, etc.. The architectural elements include about 60 fragments from inscribed fluted columns from the tombs of Wahka I and Wahka II, and others, plain, with floral capitals, from the tombs of Wahka I and Ibu; column fragments (around 40) in the tombs of Wahka I and Ibu; *khekher*-friezes painted on plaster or in relief on limestone; fragments of painted decoration from ceilings, about 150 of limestone and 200 of plaster (Fig. 3). The fragments of statuary no. 540; only four from the tomb of Wahka I are listed in the Schiaparelli Inventory.[8] The nine fragments of the limestone sarcophagus of Wahka II (Suppl. 4266/1-6 and Suppl. 18113/1-3) show an elaborated palace façade design similar in style to the sarcophagus of Ibu (Suppl. 4264).

The cult chapels were rock-cut and had an entrance courtyard (Lower Court) in mud brick with columns at the rear. From this Lower Court a stairway led up to a smaller columned hall (Portico). There followed an Upper Court, with pillars, leading to Outer and Inner Halls with several side chambers; the central rear chamber in the Inner Hall was the location for offering to the statue of the deceased.

1. The tomb of the *ḥ3ty-ʿ jmy-r ḥmw nṯr ḫtmty-bity ḥry-tp ḫrp nṯrw*[9] Wahka (I or A, Fig. 4)

A fragment of an offering table, inscribed for Wahka son of Nakhti, comes from this tomb (Suppl. 4241).[10] From the Portico come plain column fragments painted green (Suppl. 4261); from the Upper Hall, inscribed limestone fragments of pillars imitating red granite (Suppl. 4258, Fig. 5); from the Lower Court, 2 segments of protodoric columns and 36 fragments of inscribed fluted columns (Suppl. 4238-9 and 4245-4251/1-30, Fig. 6). Painted limestone ceiling fragments (from the Upper Court?) with a flower design (Suppl. 4260, Fig. 7) are similar to those found in the tomb of Wakha II.[11] A few limestone fragments of wall reliefs and paintings on limestone (Suppl. 4256-4259) were also discovered at the site of this tomb but the exact find spots are unknown.

Four fragments of limestone statues were found in the western sarcophagus chamber.[12] Of these, only two fragments from a life-size statue were identified: the first with a long tripartite hairstyle and a large ear but missing the face (Suppl. 4252), the second with part of the face with narrow and straight lips (Suppl. 4253, Fig. 8); another fragment, Suppl. 4255, derives from a small statuette. However, it is difficult to compare these with the extant rock-cut seated statue in the Lower Court behind the ramp, now protected by a cage, as the surface is very worn (Fig. 9).[13] A black granite inscribed fragment from the Inner Hall belonged to the cult chamber statue.[14]

2. The tomb of the *ḥ3ty-ʿ jmy-r ḥmw nṯr* Ibu born of Hetepwy[15] and the shaft of the *ḥ3ty-ʿ* Nakhti (Fig. 10)

From the Portico come fragments of unarticulated columns; from the Upper Court, fragments of the facing of the pillars imitating red granite (Suppl. 4400, Fig. 12), with vertical inscriptions on both narrow sides and scenes in at least two registers on the wide sides. The reliefs representing Ibu with a short wig, prominent nose, and characteristic swelling of the

[8] AST Mazzo 2, fascicolo 7.

[9] Inscription on the fluted column Suppl. 4245.

[10] CGT 22019, in Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, 25-6. The other fragments belong to different offering tables, dating from the Middle to the New Kingdom. The wooden fragments of the coffin of the *ḥ3ty-ʿ* Nakhti were found in his funeral chamber located in the tomb of Ibu: Fiore Marochetti, in Zanovello, Ciampini (eds.), *Frammenti d'Egitto*, 63, 65, fig. 1; Leospo, in Donadoni (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi*, 42-4. See also the stela of a *ḥ3ty-ʿ jmy-r ḥmw nṯr W3ḥk3* son of Nakhti, dated to the reign of Amenemhat III, in Stockholm (NME 015): Mogensen, *Stèles égyptiennes*, 6-8; and with a list of references in Martellière, *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 50, n. 15. For Grajetzki (*GM* 156, 59), the inscription on the false door UCL 14499 of Wahka *jr n ḥnw*, found near the tomb of Wahka I (Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, pl. 7), could refer to the name of his mother.

[11] Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber*, pl. 12c.

[12] Fiore Marochetti, in Zanovello, Ciampini (eds.), *Frammenti d'Egitto*, 64 n. 12. The provenance of the fragment Suppl. 4413 is uncertain, but it very likely comes from the tomb of Ibu; see D'Amicone, in Donadoni (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi*, fig. 161.

[13] Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber*, pl. 2a; Martellière, *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 50, fig. 9. Other fragments of statues in Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber*, 15, pl. 10f. The fragment Leipzig 3736 (*Ibid*., pl. 10e) is lost; Krauspe, *Statuen*, 123, pl. 155,3.

[14] UCL 14498: Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, pl. 4; Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber*, 15-6; Steindorff, in Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber*, 46 (4).

[15] The name of the mother is documented on the facing of the pillar Suppl. 4400.

lower eyelid in the lower orbital arch, are particularly valuable (Fig. 13).

From a note of Schiaparelli we know that there were at least 20 pieces of statues from the tomb of Ibu.[16] 540 fragments of limestone statues belonging either to the tomb of Ibu or to the tomb of Wahka II, representing different types, are now listed in the inventory. The fragments were assembled, and as a result it could be observed that most of the statues depicted the subject wearing a cloak and it is assumed that the bigger figures were seated and had a large back slab (for example, Suppl. 4427, Figs. 15-16). These statues were perhaps originally set up in the Lower Court, like those in the tomb of Wahka I, whilst some of the smaller ones were standing figures, some without a back slab.

Four statues slightly larger than life-size have shoulder-length wavy hair, the locks terminating at a right angle. These four figures all wear a weft-fringed cloak and a broad collar-like necklace with five rows of tubular beads bordered at the top and bottom by a double horizontal band, from which hang drop-shaped beads. Some fragments of two of them have been assembled with their faces (Suppl. 4427 and Suppl. 4410, Figs. 17-18).[17] The faces of all the statues are painted red and the details of the short beard, of the eyebrows, and of the cosmetic strip are turquoise. The pupil is brown and the sclera is painted white.[18] The hair is black. A fragment of a limestone head with wavy hair and locks with curling ends has a large ear and full cheeks, perhaps exemplifying a transition to the Senwosret III style (Suppl. 4450, Fig. 19).

Four statues with back slab are similar.[19] They wear black-painted tripartite wigs with wide straight locks of hair (incised striations evenly spaced over the surface) falling in parallel stripes over the chest, without horizontal bands at the bottom of the lappets.[20] The yellowish cloak envelopes the standing figure completely, and reveals two hands with open palms and the arms wearing an armlet, extended over the beast. An edge of the weft-fringed cloak overlaps the opposite edge at the height of the stomach between the arms, which are bent at the elbow. The upper edging is likely to have extended down to the figure's hips whereas the other disappears under the upper edge of the cloak. This group[21] could represent the deceased completely wrapped in a cloak (see Suppl. 4415-4416, 4421 as reassembled in Fig. 20-21).[22] The feet on the base of a statue, which cannot be associated with certainty with any particular group, are enveloped in a cloak as in an Osiride statue.

At least seven statues, slightly smaller than life-size, wearing a white cloak and very likely standing, have a hairstyle with wavy black locks ending in curls diagonally over the chest. The multi-colored *wesekh* collar is made up of three rows of beads strung vertically, ending with drop-shaped pendants, each row separated from the next by a narrow, horizontal band, visible in the V-shaped neck-opening of the white-painted, weft-fringed cloak (Figs. 22-24). It has not been possible to attribute any of these statues to a particular tomb chapel chamber. The only known example of similar standing statues, though with a different hair style and arm position, is provided by the series of six figures, slightly decreasing in size, set in a row in the Portico with pillars in the tomb chapel of Wadje at Kom Khelua.[23]

[16] Fiore Marochetti, in Zanovello, Ciampini (eds.), *Frammenti d'Egitto*, 64.

[17] The face Suppl. 4410 before restoration in D'Amicone, in Donadoni, *Civiltà degli Egizi*, figs. 161-2; Suppl. 4410; after restoration in Fiore Marochetti, in Zanovello, Ciampini (eds.), *Frammenti d'Egitto*, pl. 3; http://www.archeologia.beniculturali.it/index.php?en/136/restauri/restauri_4f27ac8cad756/7 <accessed 18.11.2015>.

[18] See the following description of Fay, *The Louvre sphinx*, 53, pl. 67 a-d, matching the Turin fragments of faces (i.e. Suppl. 4410-4413): 'The form of the eye is large with a horizontal lower rim and a semicircular upper rim that reaches its highest point above the middle of the eye [...] Wide brows in low relief dip at the root of the nose, and extend far beyond the outer corners of the eyes; and the cosmetic lines, which embrace the sharp outer canthi, are wide and set parallel to the brows. A deep depression lying between the inner canthi, the root of the nose, and the lower edge of the brow forms a pocket of shadow usually shaped approximately like a right triangle'; and 'The mouth shared by these sculptures […] is wide, and set horizontally above a square chin. The corners are marked by vertical, curved folds.'

[19] Possibly those which were attributed to female statues (Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber*, 34) and said to come from the tomb of Wahka II.

[20] For the style of this kind of wig and the dating see Fay, *MDAIK* 52, 125.

[21] The hands, Suppl. 4415 and Suppl. 4416, in D'Amicone, in Donadoni (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi*, figs. 165-6.

[22] Different from the mummiform statues of Sarenput II, carved in the wall niches in the corridor of Tomb 31 at Qubbet el Hawa, with a smooth turquoise wig. See Müller, *Felsengräber*, pl. 30 b-d.

[23] Bresciani, *Khelua*, 12-8, 47.

3. The tomb of the *jry-pˁt ḥ3ty-ˁ ḫtmty-bjty smr wˁty jmy-r ḥmw nṯr ḥry-tp ˁ3 W3ḏt* [24] **Wahka (II or B), born of Hetepwy (Figs. 14, 25)**[25]

Black granite fragments of a colossal statue were found in the central niche of the Inner Hall. Part of an arm and the right shoulder with the *wesekh* collar are in Turin (Suppl. 4269/03 and 4249/04), whilst the fragment of the head, with the wavy hairstyle and a well-proportioned ear, found by Petrie,[26] is lost. There are 27 black granite fragments of life-size statues (Suppl. 4267, 4270-4271). From the fragments' analysis it can be assumed that at least two derive from standing statues (Suppl. 4267, 4270/8) wearing a kilt with a belt, Suppl. 4267, with inscriptions on the back pillar and on the belt, the kilt with vertical pleats alternating with un-pleated panels;[27] at least two others come from seated statues (Suppl. 4270/3), inscribed with titles on the seat (Suppl. 4271/1-9), and wearing a pleated skirt. The fragments of faces and heads have a turquoise-painted wavy hairstyle, three of the heads with wavy locks, one ending in curls (Suppl. 4270/16), and one tripartite with wavy curls parallel to the chest (Suppl. 4270, Figs. 26-28).[28]

There were at least four limestone seated statues depicting the owner with a bared upper torso and wearing a *shendit* kilt, holding a folded *senb*-cloth on one thigh, the opposite hand stretched out on the other. The valuable artistic torso Suppl. 4268 joined to other fragments (the left shoulder, part of the chest and the right arm, part of the hairstyle and of the face, Figs. 29-30), almost completing the head and part of the wavy shoulder-length hairstyle terminating in points on the chest. There are traces of red color on the torso and the arm. The false beard is painted turquoise as are the eyebrows and the cosmetic strip. A wooden dowel for attaching the false beard is still visible in the hole at the chin. The face is badly damaged, however, but the proportions and the full cheek are very similar to the granite examples and to the style of the statues of Ibu dated to Amenemhat II.[29] The torso was related to a fragment of a head in the Leipzig Museum, n. 3780, lost during World War II.[30] Though the state of preservation of the object was not good, as far as it can be judged by photographs, and if this was not due to erosion its modelling differs from the fragment in Turin, namely the excavated cheek and the eyelid with no cosmetic strip, as seen in the well-known life-size statue of a Wahka born of Neferhotep and son of Sobekdedu (S. 4265).

The tomb of Wahka II is dated to Senwosret III: this late date is supported by the style of the scenes in his tomb and his sculpture.[31] The statue S. 4265, found split into two pieces outside the tomb, was probably set up in one of the chambers or halls, as the tomb of Wahka II hosted burials of members of the family, possibly until the reign of Amenemhat III.

In conclusion, the statues in the tomb of Wahka I numbered at least five, including the large-scale granite statue in the shrine of the Inner Hall, and the seated limestone statue with a cloak in the Lower Court behind the ramp to the Portico; it is not known where the other limestone statues were placed.[32] The tomb of Ibu hosted between 11 and 15 statues, all wearing a cloak, distributed in the Lower Court, the Portico, the Outer and the Inner Halls: no traces of the bases on which these statues were set up seem to have survived. In the tomb of Wahka II there are 6 niches that could have held statues; others were set up in the Courts and the Halls. The colossal black granite statue occupied the central niche of the Inner Hall, and the two side niches probably also held statues, one

[24] Inscription on the black granite pseudo-vase Suppl. 4273/4. The epithets and titles *ḫtmty-bjty smr wˁty mḥ jb n(y)* [*n*(*y*)*-swt ˁḳˁ n* …] *jb.f ḫnty jdbwy jmy-r r ˁ3* […] *m wsḫt wr šmˁw mḥw ḥ3t ḥ3y-ˁ m ḥwt ḥˁt jmy-r* […] on the fragment Suppl. 4424 in STECKEWEH, *Fürstengräber*, 49, pl. 11b; said to come from the tomb of Wahka II. The titles [... *wr*?] *šmˁw mḥw rḫ njswt* are incised on the fragment of pillar Suppl. 4401 and could also come from the same tomb.

[25] The name of the mother of Wahka appears in the inscriptions of the Outer Hall, northern wall at the entrance to the Inner Hall, copied in the Notebook of Ballerini, AST Mazzo 6, fascicolo 4.

[26] PETRIE, *Antaeopolis*, pl. 5, 6.

[27] STECKEWEH, *Fürstengräber*, pl. 10c; FAY, *MDAIK* 44, 73, pl. 29a; FAY, *MDAIK* 52, 117-8, fig. 3.

[28] See also UCL 31285. Suppl. 4270/16 could join UCL 31284.

[29] FAY, *The Louvre sphinx*; perhaps made in a workshop that also produced royal sculpture.

[30] STECKEWEH, *Fürstengräber*, 34, 48, pl. 10d; KRAUSPE, *Statuen*, 123, pl. 155.

[31] FAY, *MDAIK* 52, 117; MARTELLIÈRE, *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 50, 31; GRAJETZKI, in WENDRICH, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 5; MELANDRI (*Vicino & Medio Oriente* XV, 256) dates Suppl. 4265 to the reign of Senwosret III on stylistic grounds. The stela Turin Cat. 1547 is in D'AMICONE, in DONADONI, *Civilità degli Egizi*, fig. 159.

[32] At other sites, the series of large rock-cut tombs stopped under Senwosret III; see GRAJETZKI, in WENDRICH (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 5-6. However, if Wahka son of Nakhti of the stela Stockolm 015 is the owner of the tomb 7 at Qau, then Wahka I lived at the time of Amenemhat III.

possibly of large size of which only the right arm in limestone remains (Suppl. 4272). There were at least 7 statues belonging to Wahka II, almost all representing the owner wearing a *shendyt* kilt and with bared upper torso, including the two seated and the standing black granite statues, which were most likely to have been placed in the Inner Hall due to their function in the funerary cult, expressed also by the use of black stone and turquoise color, among a total of at least 18 or more statues, ranging from smaller to life-size, found in his tomb and dedicated by others.[33]

Bibliography

Bresciani, E., Giammarusti, A., La Torre, C., Martines, R., *Khelua. Una necropoli del Medio Regno nel Fayum* (Pisa: EVO XX–XXI, 1998).

Ciampini, E.M., *La sepoltura di Henib* (Turin, 2003).

Ciampini, E.M., "Two new coffin sides from the tomb of Henib", *KASKAL* 4 (2007), 115-20.

Consonni, A., Quirino, T., "Le lettere di Francesco Ballerini ai famigliari", in A. Sesana, A. Consonni, T. Quirino (eds.), *L'Egitto di Francesco Ballerini. Un egittologo comasco agli inizi del Novecento. Atti della giornata di studi. Lettere. Fotografie* (Como, 2012), 157-78.

D'Amicone, E., "Le tombe rupestri di Gau el Kebir: Uahka I, Uahka II e Ibu", in A. Donadoni (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi. Tradizioni religiose e funerarie* (Milan, 1988), 114-27.

Fay, B., "Amenemhat V – Vienna/Assuan", *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 67-77.

Fay, B., *The Louvre sphinx and royal sculpture from the reign of Amenemhat II* (Mainz am Rhein, 1996).

Fay, B., "The "Abydos Princess"", *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 115-41.

Fiore Marochetti, E., "I beni archeologici da Qau el Kebir, nell'ambito del progetto di schedatura dei magazzini del Museo Egizio di Torino", in P. Zanovello, E.M. Ciampini (eds.), *Frammenti d'Egitto: progetti di catalogazione, provenienza, studio e valorizzazione delle antichità egizie ed egittizzanti*. Convegno nazionale, *Padova, 15-16 novembre 2010* (Padova, 2012), 59-70.

Grajetzki, W., "Bemerkungen zu dem Bürgermeistern (*ḥ3ty-ʿ*) von Qaw el-Kebir im Mittleren Reich", *GM* 156 (1997), 55-62.

Grajetzki, W., "Qau el-Kebir", in W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2012), 1-14 (http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002dmv5s, <accessed 18.11.2015>).

Habachi, L., *Tavole d'offerta, vasi, altari e bacili da libagione*, *n. 22001–22067. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino* II (Turin, 1972).

Krauspe, R., *Statuen und Statuetten, Katalog Ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig* I (Mainz am Rhein, 1997).

Leospo, E., "Coperchio del sarcofago di Nakhti; Testa di sarcofago antropoide; Cassetta per Canopi di Uahka", in A. Donadoni (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi. Passato e futuro del Museo Egizio di Torino* (Turin, 1989), 42-6.

Leospo, E., "Riti propiziatori, aspetti di vita quotidiana, attività lavorative e ricreative nelle pitture lintee e nelle decorazioni parietali", in A. Donadoni (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi. Le arti della celebrazione* (Milan, 1989), 186-247.

Martellière, M.D., "Les tombes monumentales des gouverneurs du Moyen Empire à Qau el-Kébir", *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 50 (2008), 13-36.

Melandri, I., "Nuove considerazioni su una statua da Qaw el-Kebir al Museo delle Antichità Egizie di Torino", *Vicino & Medio Oriente* XV (2011), 249-70.

Mogensen, M., *Stèles Egyptiennes au Musée national de Stockholm* (Copenhagen, 1919).

Müller, H.W., *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*, (Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York: Ägyptologische Forschungen 9, 1940).

Petrie, W.M.F., *Antaeopolis. The Tombs of Qau* (London: BSAE 51, 1930).

Sesana, A., "Francesco Ballerini: l'uomo e l'archeologo", in A. Sesana, A. Consonni, T. Quirino, (eds.), *L'Egitto di Francesco Ballerini. Un egittologo comasco agli inizi del Novecento. Atti della giornata di studi. Lettere. Fotografie* (Como, 2012), 9-20.

Steckeweh, H., *Die Fürstengräber von Qâw* (Leipzig: Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin-Expedition 6, 1936).

[33] Suppl. 4258, 4273, 4276, 4279, 4292, 4298, 4299. Part of a chin with a false beard with wide horizontal stripes (Suppl. 4270/10) could belong to a small sphinx in the style of Amenemhat III, like the fragment UCL 31304. Fragments of male statues and statuettes, in limestone, basalt, granodiorite, dolerite, and chlorite schist: UCL 31276-31305. The hair style and the size of Strasbourg 1632 (Fay, *The Louvre sphinx*, 53, pl. 67 a-d) are very similar to the fragment of a small head in Turin, Suppl. 4275.

List of figures
(The images are from the Archive of the SBAPMAE and under its concession; photographs by G. Lovera, unless otherwise indicated)

Fig. 1 - The Italian Archaeological Mission camp. Fig. 2 - Hunting scene and Nile fauna. Drawings: Eva Pianini.
Fig. 3, on pl. VIII - Different patterns on painted ceilings, tombs of Ibu and Wahka II.
Fig. 4 Plan of the tomb of Wahka I.
Fig. 5 - Limestone fragments of pillars from the Upper Court, Suppl. 4258, tomb of Wahka I.
Fig. 6 - Inscribed channelled columns, Suppl. 4245–4246.
Fig. 7, on pl. IX - Limestone fragments of the painted ceiling, Suppl. 4260, tomb of Wahka I.
Fig. 8, on pl. IX - Part of the face from a statue of Wahka I, Suppl. 4253.
Fig. 9, on pl. IX - Seated statue in the Lower Court, tomb of Wahka I. Photo: Sergio Donadoni 1989.
Fig. 10 - Plan of the tomb of Ibu.
Fig. 11 - Unarticulated columns, Suppl. 4403, from the Portico, tomb of Ibu.
Fig. 12 - Pillar, Suppl. 4400, from the Upper Court, tomb of Ibu (a and b).
Fig. 13, on pl. X - Reliefs depicting Ibu: a) Suppl. 4408/24; b) Suppl. 4408/6.
Fig. 14, on pl. X - Inscription on the pseudo-vase of Wahka II, Suppl. 4273.
Fig. 15, on pl. X - Head, Suppl. 4427 – frontal view.
Fig. 16, on pl. XI- Head, Suppl. 4427 – side view.
Fig. 17, on pl. XI - Bust, Suppl. 4410 – frontal view.
Fig. 18, on pl. XI - Bust, Suppl. 4410 – side view.
Fig. 19, on pl. XI - Head, Suppl. 4450.
Fig. 20, on pl. XII - Statue fragments, Suppl. 4415, 4416, and 4421.
Fig. 21, on pl. XII - Statue fragments, Suppl. 4415, 4416, and 4421. Drawings: Elisa Fiore Marochetti.
Fig. 22, on pl. XII - Fragment of a face, P. 2058 and P. 2061.
Fig. 23, on pl. XIII - Statue with wavy black locks ending in curls diagonally over the chest: a) fragment, Suppl. 4454; b) Drawing: Elisa Fiore Marochetti.
Fig. 24, on pl. XIII - Fragment of a statue with multi-coloured *wesekh* collar.
Fig. 25 - Plan of the tomb of Wahka II.
Fig. 26 - Fragments of a head in black granite with wavy locks.
Fig. 27 - Fragments of the head, Suppl. 4270/16, in black granite with wavy locks ending in curls over the chest.
Fig. 28 - Fragments of the head, Suppl. 4270, in black granite with wavy curls parallel to the chest.
Fig. 29 - Suppl. 4268 – frontal view: a) torso; b) head and left arm; c) right arm.
Fig. 30 - Suppl. 4268 – back view.

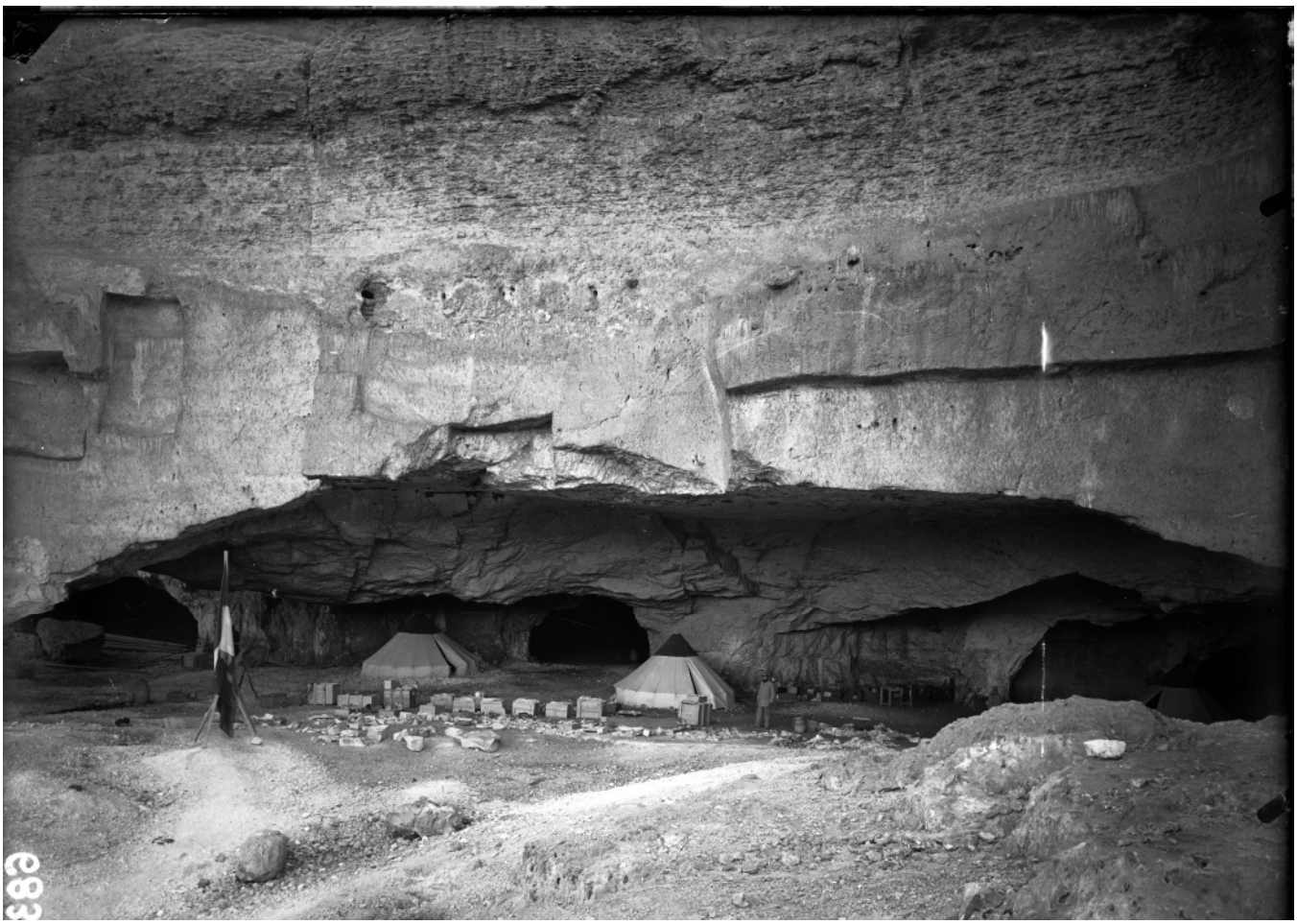


Figure 1

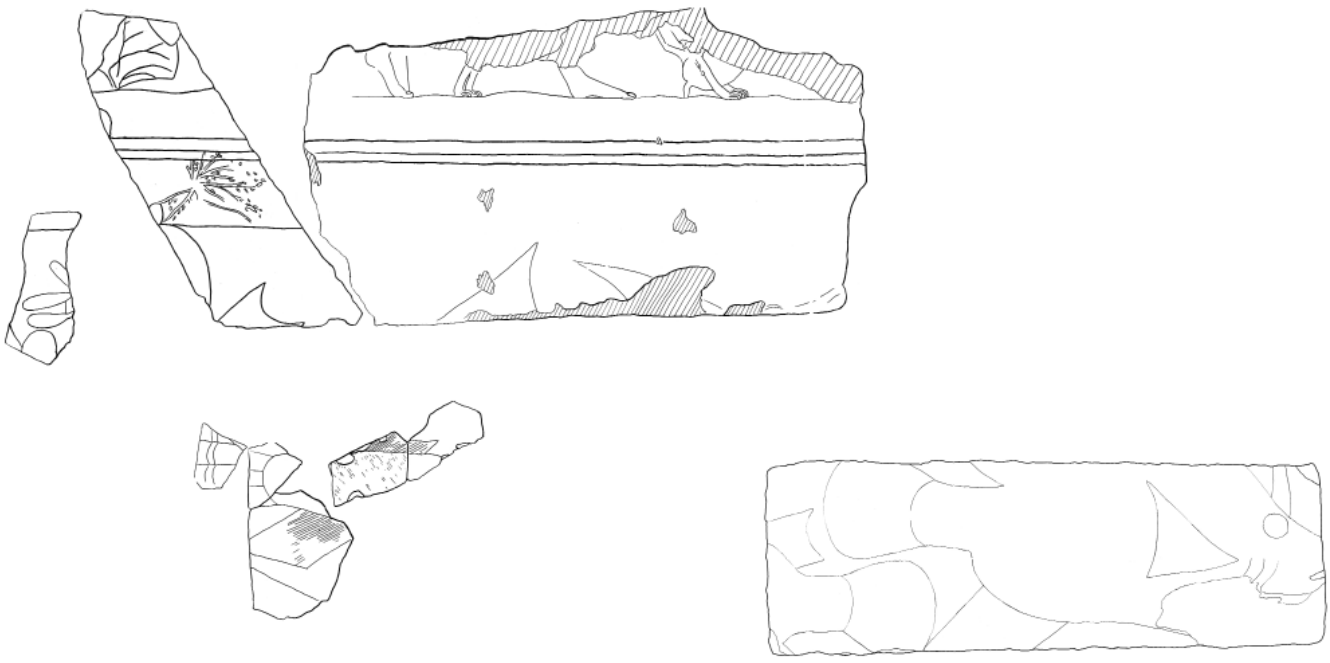


Figure 2

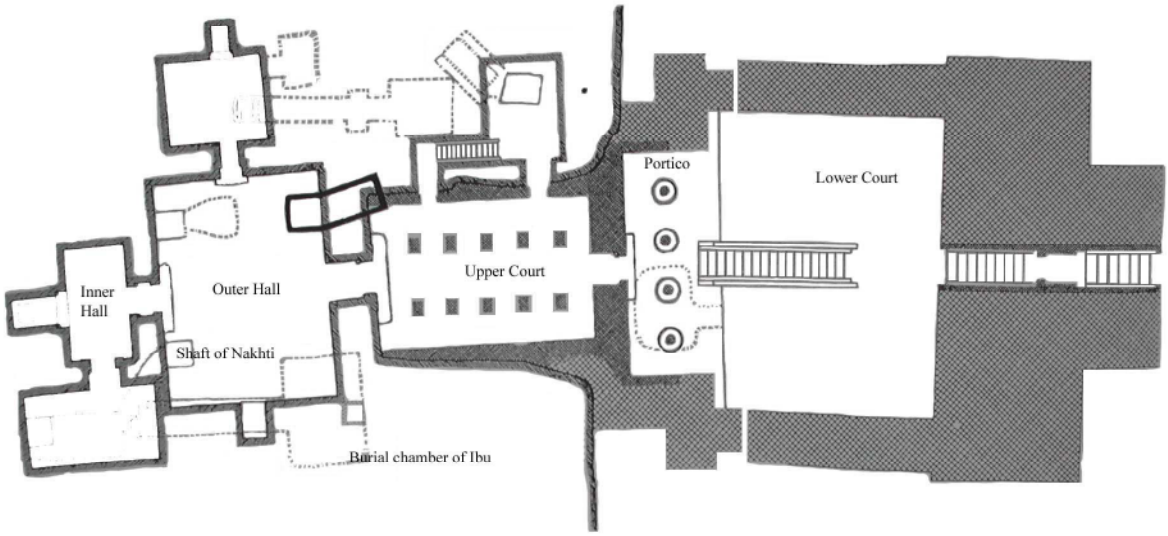


Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12a

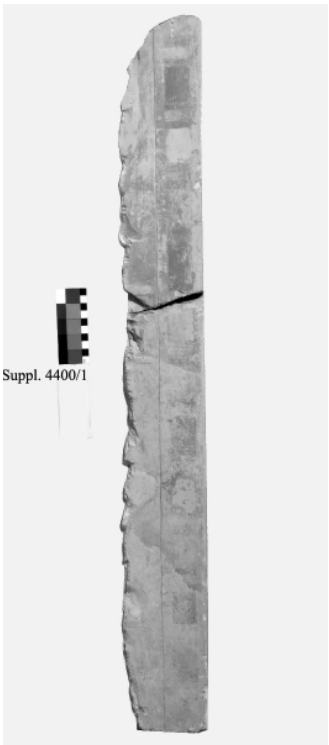


Figure 12b

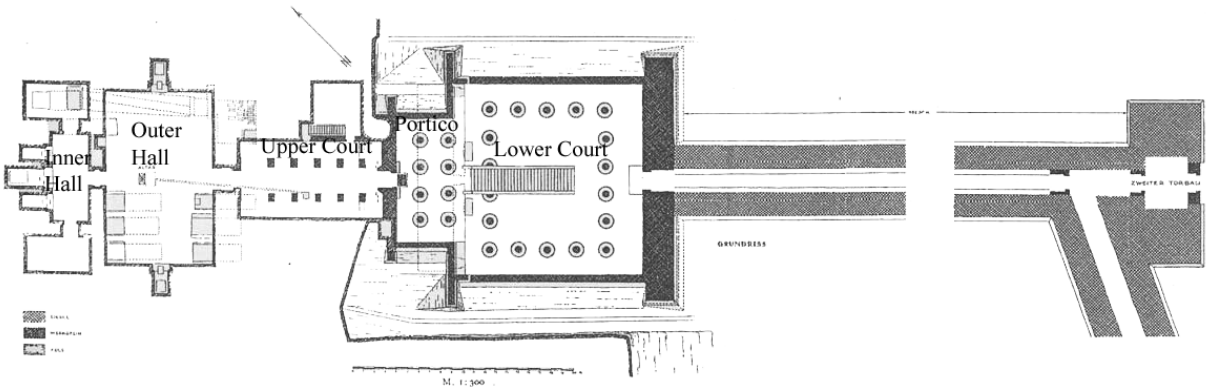


Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28

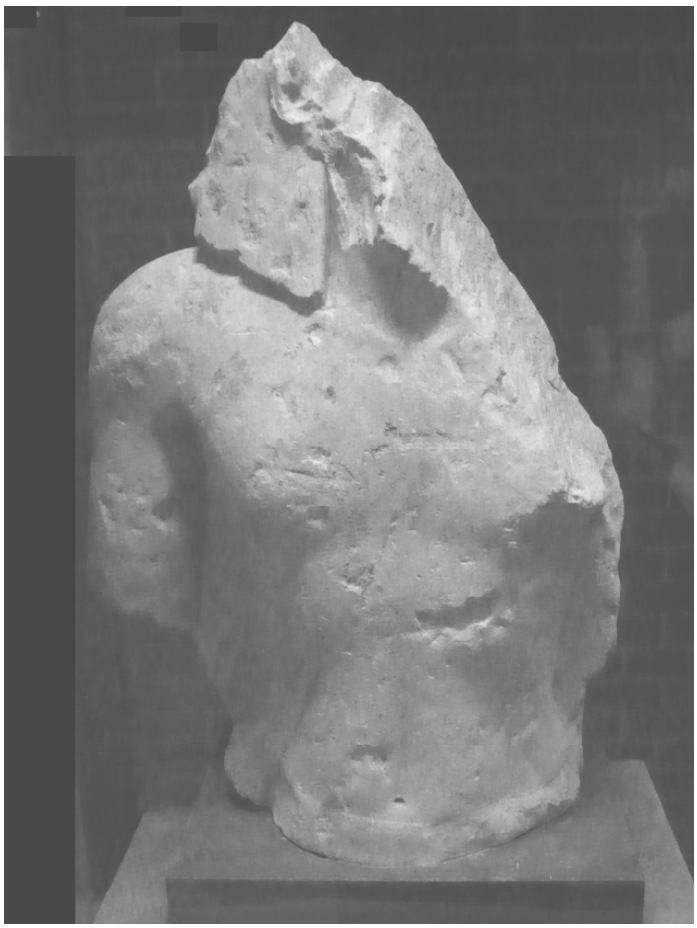


Figure 29a



Figure 29b



Figure 29c



Figure 30

Hudáková, Jánosi, Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London 2016, 47-63

Dying and *mourning* between the Old and Middle Kingdoms – some peculiar scenes from Thebes, el-Moalla, and Gebelein*

Lubica Hudáková
PostDoc researcher, Institute for Egyptology, University of Vienna

Abstract
Many aspects of the local Theban painting style *of the Eleventh Dynasty, based on the Upper Egyptian* Intermediate style*, are extraordinary – and in particular, the innovative repertoire of the decorative program. The paper focuses on singular scenes executed in this style that are related to the funeral and apparently represent the* laying-out of the deceased *and a* mourning ritual*. Thus far, examples are limited to monuments coming from the third and fourth nomes of Upper Egypt. The combination of both scenes attested in the tomb of Iti at Gebelein (now in the Egyptian Museum, Turin) and in the tomb of Djar at Thebes (TT 366) indicates that final rites in the Embalming Hall were meant to be illustrated. Even if the scenes were only used temporarily, their legacy had a certain influence on the decorative program of later periods. It was, finally, the Theban tradition that provided the inspiration for New Kingdom art when Thebes became the capital once more.*

The decorative program of the tombs of officials is strongly bound to traditions that developed over the centuries but at the same time it is characterized by permanent transformation. From the beginning, there was great inner variability even within well-established scenes and the repertoire was continuously expanded and adapted for each new monument. New motifs and scenes were introduced while some older ones disappeared.

When dealing with the decorative program of the Middle Kingdom and its relation to the Old Kingdom, it becomes apparent that the monuments dated to the Eleventh Dynasty play an extraordinary role. The decentralization of the country in the First Intermediate Period led to diversification of the decorative program on a regional level and to the development of local styles.

The local artistic tradition of Thebes emerged towards the end of the Old Kingdom and gradually a singular provincial *painting* as well as *relief* style were established to remain in use through the Eleventh Dynasty. The relief style in particular has repeatedly been the focus of research because of the political aspects associated with its development.[1] The Theban rulers of the early Eleventh Dynasty made use of the so-called *pre-unification Theban style*, still visible in the early reign of King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II. It is generally accepted that after the reunification, the king gradually adopted the traditional residential style of the Old Kingdom and this second phase is known as the *post-reunification Memphite style*. Old models finally prevailed over the more recently developed local art, resuming and maintaining the classical tradition. However, the artistic change did not happen overnight and since it cannot be proved that it actually started with the reunification process, the terminology *pre-* and *post-* might be deceptive. For this reason, Lorand proposes new terminology.[2]

There are a number of private and royal monuments dated or datable to the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II that were decorated in the *local Theban painting*

* The present paper was compiled as part of the MeKeTRE Project and From Object to Icon, another project funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, Project nos. P 21571 and P 25958, respectively), conducted at the Institute of Egyptology in cooperation with the research group Multimedia Information Systems at the University of Vienna. I would like to thank Janice Kamrin for providing the photographs of the tomb of Djar held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[1] Freed, *The Development*, 151-77, charts I-II; Freed, in Goring, Reeves, Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers*, 148-63; Robins, in Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids*, 39-45; Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 83-90; Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhat*, 41-53.

[2] Lorand in this volume.

style.[3] The portico of the tomb of Intef (TT 386),[4] finished before the reunification, as well as the tomb of Djar (TT 366)[5] and the original decoration of the cult chamber of the treasurer Khety's tomb (TT 311),[6] both most probably executed before or shortly after the reunification, are some of the latest monuments that document this artistic tradition. In the royal context, the Theban painting style is associated with the royal women buried in the mortuary temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari – it is attested in the decoration on the inside of the sarcophagi of Kemsit and Ashayet and in the decoration of the burial chamber of Kemsit.[7] Important earlier examples of this local painting production that is based on the Upper Egyptian tradition of the First Intermediate Period (so called *Intermediate style*) can be found at the northern border of the third and in the fourth Upper Egyptian nomes.[8] There are, for instance, the tombs of Ankhtifi and Sobekhotep at el-Moalla (First Intermediate Period)[9] and the tomb of Iti at Gebelein (early Eleventh Dynasty)[10] as well as the Eleventh Dynasty decorated coffins coming from both necropolises. Further south, the painting style is, for example, distinguishable in the Ninth Dynasty tomb of Setka at Qubbet el-Hawa.[11]

Generally speaking, this style is characterized by disproportionate human figures (elongated bodies, small heads; exaggerated and abstracted facial features – large eyes and thick pursed lips, sharp and snout-like noses; and simplified limbs), clumsy contours, bizarre hieroglyphs, the use of a limited number of (often harsh) colors, etc.[12]

It is, however, not only the unparalleled style and the poor draftsmanship that makes these monuments unique. It is also the innovative repertoire and the composition of the scenes that are free from the traditional canon. One of the themes that has been rendered quite extraordinarily is the funeral procession.[13] The most peculiar example of this theme which is the focus of this paper is a painting from the tomb of Iti at Gebelein, now in the Egyptian Museum, Turin, that has not yet been analyzed (Fig. 1).[14] A cattle procession and male and female dancers with their arms raised above their heads in a diamond-like shape (a gesture typical of the *jb3*-dance of the Old Kingdom) can be identified at first glance.[15] Careful examination, however, shows that such a straightforward interpretation proves to be wrong.

The tomb of Iti, datable to the early Eleventh Dynasty, is rather unusual as it imitates rock-cut saff–tombs known from Thebes, but it was built entirely of mud bricks. The portico has 16 pillars; entrances in the rear wall provide access to eleven separate rooms. The painting in question is situated in the vaulted central room of Iti's tomb that is divided into a northern and a southern half, each with three decorated walls.[16] The decoration of the *northern half* is related to the provisions for the afterlife. The west wall includes an offering list and depictions of the tomb owner and his wife oriented towards offering bearers and a slaughtering scene, both shown on the north wall. The east wall displays a milking scene and an image of a cow with a calf.[17] The three walls of the *southern half* are devoted to some form of funeral procession observed by the tomb owner and his wife who are again depicted below an offering list on the west wall. The east wall opposite bears the image of a coffin and a slaughtering scene. The southern wall between them is decorated with the painting briefly described above (Fig. 1).[18]

It is apparent that neither the traditional transport

[3] For an overview with references, see JAROŠ-DECKERT, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f*, 112-38 (esp. 134). The first signs of this style are discernible in the Theban tombs dated to the late Old Kingdom/early First Intermediate Period. See JAROŠ-DECKERT, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f*, 103-6.

[4] PM I.1, 437.

[5] PM I.1, 429-30.

[6] PM I.1, 386-7.

[7] PM I.1, 385-6; PM II, 387-9.

[8] JAROŠ-DECKERT, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f*, 106-9. For the Intermediate style and Upper Egyptian (or southern Egyptian) painting tradition, cf. SMITH, *Sculpture and Painting*, 217-43 (esp. 223-34).

[9] VANDIER, *Mo'alla*, passim.

[10] D'AMICONE, *La vita quotidiana*, passim.

[11] EDEL, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, 1715-815.

[12] See, e.g., SMITH, *Sculpture and painting*, 229.

[13] For the funeral procession (so-called '*Sargschlittenzug*') from the Old Kingdom down through the early New Kingdom see SETTGAST, *Untersuchungen*, 21-31.

[14] D'AMICONE, *La vita quotidiana*, 70-1; SMITH, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 85, pl. 58 A. For an official photograph, cf. S. 14354/09 – RCGE 19072 (FMAE photo archive, http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=105440&viewType=detailView, <accessed 26.02.2014>).

[15] For the *jb3*-dance in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, cf. BRUNNER-TRAUT, *Der Tanz im Alten Ägypten*, 14-22, 25; VANDIER, *Manuel* IV, 394-5; HUDÁKOVÁ, *The Representations of Women*, 297-303.

[16] D'AMICONE, *La vita quotidiana*, figs. 42-3 (plan of the tomb and the arrangement of the scenes in the central room).

[17] D'AMICONE, *La vita quotidiana*, 64, 66, 68-9, 74-5.

[18] D'AMICONE, *La vita quotidiana*, 65, 67, 70-3.

of the coffin to the west bank, to the purification tent, to the place of mummification, or to the tomb itself, nor the journey to Sais – all typical of the decorative program of the Old Kingdom – is the subject.[19] There is in fact no true funeral procession at all. Rather, the painting represents an episode of a certain ritual within the funeral. The identification of the event depicted is only possible after a careful examination of the scenes illustrated in the two upper registers of the wall.

1. The so-called *dying scene* and the *laying-out of the deceased*

The uppermost register is unfortunately much destroyed, but it is clear that the essential motif was situated in the center with two men approaching from either side (Fig. 1). The man at the right end has his arms raised above his head in a diamond-like shape. In contrast to the *jb3*-dancers, however, the palms of his hands are oriented towards his head. In the Middle Kingdom, raised arms with the hands oriented inwards express complaint observed in the context of burial processions. In Old Kingdom scenes of the same type, a very similar gesture with the hands placed upon the head expresses grief and mourning.[20]

The second male figure from the left bends slightly forwards; his rear arm is raised with the hand presumably held before his face.[21] The gesture of the front arm is difficult to determine; it is flexed and the hand seems to touch the rear arm. The figure apparently offers incense on a small dish placed upon a stand in front of him.[22]

Closer examination of the central motif in the register enables the identification of a bed – two white trapezoid bases on which the lion legs of the bed once stood remain. On the right, even part of the lion's paw seems to be preserved. The two objects under the bed painted dark red are most probably vessels – a *ḥs*-vase on the left and an ointment jar (?) on the right.

Despite the poor condition of the painting, it is apparent that a bier ('*Totenbahre*') was shown; the corpse of the deceased lying upon it is unfortunately lost. The register certainly displays the *laying-out of the deceased* ('*Aufbahrung*') motif[23] that was not a part of the Old Kingdom decorative program.[24] The scene seems to be a peculiarity of the First Intermediate Period, especially of the Eleventh Dynasty, and the examples attested so far are even limited to the third and fourth Upper Egyptian nomes. The scene was most probably chronologically as well as geographically restricted.[25]

The related examples preserved can be divided into two variants according to the way the deceased was rendered. The first variant is only attested on the Eleventh Dynasty stela of Sobekaa from Thebes (BM 1372) – the deceased is depicted with his eyes open and wearing a short kilt.[26] The fact that the figure is not shown as a mummy (i.e., wrapped in linen) has sometimes been understood to indicate that the person is alive and the image was originally interpreted by Klebs as a *dying scene* ('*Sterbeszene*').[27] The figure lying above it was very often identified as a woman.[28] The discussion was recently summarized by Willems who suggests that the image indeed illustrates a deceased person lying on a bier.[29] This

[19] Cf. OEE: Scene-details Database, Scene 15.7 (http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oee_ahrc_2006/, <accessed 26.02.2014>); Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 7-25, pls. 1, 6.

[20] Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 69, table 8 (1.12k and 3.4), fig. 16 (1.12k and 3.4).

[21] The spatial terms 'rear/front' arm/hand/leg are used in this paper in a perspective point of view, 'rear' being further away from the viewer and 'front' being closer to the viewer.

[22] Cf. Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, 168-9.

[23] Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, 62-3.

[24] The only exception seems to be a representation in the tomb of Mehu – in the cabin of a sailing ship, a figure lying on a bed looks like a mummy. See Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu*, pl. 19a. In the parallel scene in the tomb of Mereruka, the bed is only being prepared (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* II, pl. 141).

[25] Smith (*The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 263 n.12) noted that "the mummy on a bier or the dead man on a bed was a favoured subject (like that of the woman having her hair dressed) for painted coffins and stelae and wall decorations in the region south of Thebes." See also Smith, *Sculpture and painting*, 229 n. 1.

[26] James, *Hieroglyphic texts* I, pl. 54 (No. 120); Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhat*, fig. 18.

[27] Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, 62. She thought that the person was depicted embracing his relative for the last time and receiving his very last drink.

[28] Desroches Noblecourt (*BIFAO* 53, 19-25) assumed, e.g., that the small figure above the deceased is a concubine and the image illustrates a life-giving ritual.

[29] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 291-2. Willems suggests that the bed's bull legs may be related to the later funerary beds in the form of a cow and to the concept of the celestial cow. In the case of the stela of Sobekaa, he even assumes that the deceased represents the son god in his bark as there are three model boats under the bier. According to Willems,

type of scene also found its way into the writing system; a comparable hieroglyph occurs in the First Intermediate Period tomb of Ankhtifi at el-Moalla (Fig. 2) as a determinative for the word *ḥpi* ('to die').[30]

The second version of the *laying-out of the deceased* scene which became more popular–shows the deceased mummified, i.e. the body is wrapped in linen. The head is not covered by a mummy mask, but lies upon a headrest and the eyes are open. This scene decorates the exterior of the Eleventh Dynasty coffins of Henui from Gebelein (Berlin 13772)[31] and Seni from el-Moalla (CG 28116).[32] On the coffin of Menqabu, probably from Farshut, it is used as a determinative for the word *ḳrs.t* ('burial').[33] However, the hieroglyphic sign displaying a male body lying on a bed (A 55), wrapped in linen or simply covered with a blanket, the head upon a headrest, is already attested in the Old Kingdom.[34]

Nevertheless, this variant of the *laying-out* scene can also be found in the decorative program of the First Intermediate Period tomb of Sobekhotep at el-Moalla.[35] The context is unfortunately badly damaged. The south wall was apparently decorated with a large-scale standing image of the tomb owner, his wife, their son, and an attendant with incense, as well as with a scene described by Vandier as a tribute to deceased ("hommage rendu à un mort").[36] The scene consisted of two parts. The first illustrated a bier with a mummy lying upon it (Fig. 3). Opposite, the image of a large-scale male figure holding a *ḥrp*-sceptre and a walking stick was represented seated, accompanied by a woman and another man. The second part, not illustrated in the publication, seems to have shown the tomb owner with his family honouring the deceased.

The geographical and temporal proximity of these examples to the tomb of Iti at Gebelein makes it highly probable that the scene *laying-out of the deceased* was also illustrated in the uppermost register of the painting (Fig. 1). It may be assumed that the painting illustrated the better-attested variant of the motif (with the mummified body).

The parallels can even help to explain the two yellowish oblong traces under the bier in Iti's tomb. On the coffins of Henui and Seni, the mummy is accompanied by the so-called Kites – the two *ḏr.tj*-mourners. These figures were well-known in the decoration of Old Kingdom private tombs where they appear in funeral processions next to the coffin (see below). It is thus quite possible that the yellowish traces in the tomb of Iti are actually the legs of these women who once stood at the side of the bed.

The scene *laying-out of the deceased* on a bier disappeared from the decorative program after the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, most probably in the process gradually abandoning the *local Theban painting style*. Nevertheless, it lived on in a number of modified forms. As far as wooden models are concerned, there are several examples of funerary boats from Gebelein, Thebes, el-Bersha, Meir, and even Saqqara that include a mummified body with a mummy mask, lying on a bier under a canopy, in the company of the two Kites, a lector priest, and a sem-priest with an incense burner.[37] Similar images

the 'upper' figure might be the goddess Nut that protects the body of Osiris together with Isis and Nephthys or it might represent the god Shu supplying the deceased with breath. The latter act could illustrate a ritual described in the spell CT 80 (B). See also Willems, *Chests of Life*, 134-5, 158.

[30] Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 257, 283, fig. 86. Cf. lemma-no. 116060, in TLA (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/, <accessed 26.02.2014>). The tomb is generally dated to the Ninth Dynasty.

[31] Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs* II, 13-4, pl. 3 (bottom; left outer side of the coffin). According to Lapp (*Typologie der Särge*, 187-8), the person above the mummy should be understood as standing 'behind' the bed – on its side. Willems (*The Coffin of Heqata*, 291-2) interprets the three women accompanying the deceased as Isis, Nephthys, and Nut (= the sky above the deceased).

[32] Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire* II, 95-6, pl. 6. Cf. also CG 28108: Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire* II, 86-7, pl. 19. This second coffin comes from Saqqara and dates to the end of the Second Intermediate Period. The iconography is slightly different – the head of the mummy does not lie upon a headrest.

[33] MFA 03.1631. See Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 188, fig. 201. Cf. lemma-no. 161960, in TLA (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/, <accessed 26.02.2014>). On the carved stela of Seneni from Dendera (Edinburgh 1910.96), also datable to the Eleventh Dynasty, a similar sign is used as a determinative for the word *ḥpi.t* ('passing, death'). Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 198-9, 209-13, fig. 43, pl. 26. See also: http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-180-000-288-C, <accessed 26.02.2014>. In this case, the headrest is missing, but the hieroglyphs are not very well executed.

[34] See, e.g., Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, *Fascicule* III, pl. 153. Fischer (*Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, 17) suggested that this Old Kingdom form represents a man sleeping.

[35] Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 282-4, fig. 85. The tomb is generally dated to the First Intermediate Period; its association with the Ninth Dynasty tomb of Ankhtifi is not entirely clear, but Sobekhotep is generally considered to be his ancestor. For the latest excavations at el-Moalla, see El-Masry, *BACE* 19, 119-38.

[36] Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 282.

[37] Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs* I, pl. 9; Reisner, *Models of Ship and Boats*, pls. 5, 17, 18, 22, 23

are also attested in the tombs of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan in the context of the Journey to Abydos (with male figures in the function of the Kites).[38] The presence of the two male priests is crucial. In the tomb of Iti, there is a priest with an incense burner to the right of the bier and it can be presumed that a lector priest was depicted immediately to the left of the bier. The two male figures depicted on the outer ends of the register might represent two parallel images of male mourners.

In two-dimensional art, the scene does not disappear entirely from the decorative program in tombs of officials, but undergoes a transformation. With the very beginning of the Middle Kingdom, the motif of a mummy becomes a standard feature of the *funeral procession*.[39] In the tomb of Djar (TT 366) from the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II, the mummy is represented above the coffin beneath a canopy placed on a sledge (Fig. 4).[40] When compared to the earlier examples of the *laying-out of the deceased*, the scene can be considered an intermediate form since the mummy still does not wear a mummy mask, but the headrest is missing and the head seems to be 'placed' in the air. There is a priest with an incense burner standing at one side of the coffin, as in the wooden models and the tomb of Iti.

Vasiljević has demonstrated that the two other male figures represented next to the coffin – one of them touches the foot of the coffin while the other touches the mummy itself – and their gestures have parallels in the Old Kingdom scenes representing the preparation of the bed and smoothing its surface ('*Bettenaufstellen*').[41] As she already suggested, the scene in the tomb of Djar seems to associate the traditional procession with the coffin ('*Sargschlittenzug*') with the preparation of the bed.[42] But apart from that, it also makes use of the new motif of a mummy introduced in the *local Theban painting style*.

It is widely accepted that the *preparation-of-a-bed* scene known from the Old Kingdom represented the preparation of a bier; Altenmüller interpreted it as a '*Bettenritual*' that enabled the resurrection and rebirth of the deceased and that might have been associated with the ritual of embalming.[43] In the Old Kingdom examples, as well as in depictions in the tomb of Iti, the beds possess lion's legs that are an important feature of the bier used in the course of the funerary ritual ('*Löwenbahre*').[44] It is thus probable that these ideas influenced the First Intermediate Period *laying-out of the deceased* scene with the representation of a mummy upon a bier; it is even most probable that the scene *preparation-of-a-bed* is the forerunner of the *laying-out* scene. At least the composite illustration in the tomb of Djar can be considered indicative of their association.

The final element missing in the *laying-out* scene, as well as in the *funeral procession* scene represented in the tomb of Djar, is the mummy mask. The earliest occurrence of a wrapped mummy with a mummy mask seems attested by the funeral procession illustrated on the painted sarcophagus of Ashayet from Deir el-Bahari, datable to the earlier part of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II's reign and in a very similar form it reappears on the coffin of Heqata from Aswan dated

(CG 4811, 4915, 4917, 4948, 4952); MMA 12.183.3. In the New Kingdom, a similar scene reappears, e.g., in the tomb of Hery (TT 12), see Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pl. 7; Galán, in Goyon, Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, fig. 4.

[38] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. 14, 29.

[39] Cf. Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 26. Bolshakov (*GM* 121, 31-50) discusses the development of the representations of the funeral procession in the Old Kingdom and demonstrates that in the earliest tombs only the final stages of the funeral were depicted and a statue was usually transferred to the tomb. In the Fifth Dynasty, transfer scenes prevailed and images of coffins became more common. Finally, in Sixth Dynasty tombs, the emphasis was upon the initial stage of the funeral. Representations of a mummy or corpse were still avoided and only became permissible in the Middle Kingdom. Bolshakov suggests a shift in tomb decoration that became gradually oriented towards death instead of life. This reorientation was apparently accelerated in the First Intermediate Period.

[40] MMA Inst.1979.2.3; Photo M12C_81 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). See Vandersleyen (ed.), *Das Alte Ägypten*, 296, fig. 266; Roehrig, in Assmann, Dziobek, Guksch, Kampp (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 265, 268. The funeral procession is represented on the south wall of the portico. A canopy above the coffin is also represented in the tomb of Iti (D'Amicone, *La vita quotidiana*, 73).

[41] Vasiljević, *SAK* 29, 349-56.

[42] Vasiljević, *SAK* 29, 354-5.

[43] Altenmüller, *SAK* 24, 1-7.

[44] Especially in the later funerary scenes the bier is often decorated with a lion's head; see Altenmüller, *SAK* 27, 5; Theis, *Deine Seele zum Himmel, dein Leichnam zur Erde*, 114-5, 117-8. For Middle Kingdom examples, cf., e.g., Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 29; Steckeweh, *Die Fürstengräber von Qaw*, 50, pl. 12a. Sledges with lion heads are already represented on the coffins of Heqata and Ashayet, see Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 233, fig. 68. For the significance of the lion bed in a royal context see also Altenmüller, *SAK* 24, 8-13.

to the reign of Amenemhat I.[45] The earliest evidence for it in tomb decoration may be found in Lower Egypt where the usage of masks apparently started earlier than in Upper Egypt (see below). In the context of a funeral procession, a mummy wearing a mummy mask is displayed in the so-called Eastern Tomb of an unknown woman at el-Barnugi in the Delta, generally dated to the Eleventh Dynasty.[46] Its decoration stands between the Old and Middle Kingdom traditions.[47] Nevertheless, the final combination of a canopy with a coffin and a mummy with a mummy mask accompanied by the two Kites and transported on a sledge became characteristic in the Middle Kingdom[48] and remained in use in the New Kingdom as well.[49]

The iconographical development is apparently closely connected with the development of burial customs and related archaeological material of the First Intermediate Period. At that time the corpse began to be placed in an extended, instead of a contracted position in the coffin and gradually the body in its entirety was tightly wrapped in linen ('*Wickelmumie*'), without separating the individual limbs as was common in the Old Kingdom. The mummy mask made of cartonnage started to appear in Middle and Upper Egypt in the first half of the Heracleopolitan Period (especially at Qau) but it became a standard element of the burial only in the Eleventh Dynasty.[50] This so-called *First Intermediate group* of mummy masks as defined by Rogge features a tripartite wig, broad collar, and full beard, as well as an attached chin-beard.[51] The presentation of the deceased's body in a mummified/wrapped form with a mask featuring the tripartite wig, beard, and golden-colored face most probably conveyed the idea of divine iconography.

The examples of two-dimensional representations of the corpse just discussed clearly correspond to this development, indicating that artists sought to illustrate contemporaneous practices. In this particular case, changes in material culture obviously did have an immediate impact or effect on tomb and coffin decoration. One of the reasons for the innovations might have also been the fact that the local Theban painting school(s) was (were) relatively young with no firmly established tradition.

The tight wrapping of the corpse is represented in almost all Eleventh Dynasty images from Thebes, Gebelein, and el-Moalla discussed above. By contrast, the mummy mask is mostly missing in contemporaneous art, becoming canonical only in the late Eleventh/early Twelfth Dynasty. Rogge suggested that the absence of mummy masks from most Eleventh Dynasty images coming from Upper Egypt might indicate that in the south the mask did not become widely-accepted until the reunification.[52] According to her research, the custom of using a cartonnage mask was most probably established early in the First Intermediate Period in the Memphite area and spread to Middle Egypt; only later was it introduced or copied in Thebes and further south.[53] Eleventh Dynasty examples of real masks from Thebes and Gebelein that predate the reunification are rare.[54]

As to the origin of this burial custom, it should be noticed that in the writing system, two-dimensional representations of a mummy *with* a mummy mask (featuring a beard) and lying on a bier seem to be attested from the Sixth Dynasty onwards.[55] The hieroglyphic sign Gardiner Signlist A 55 might indicate that at that time, tight wrapping and cartonnage masks were already used for the royal burials that are unfortunately almost completely lost;[56] the earliest known example is a royal mummy mask assigned by Rogge to the early First Intermediate Period.[57] It is certainly possible that from the First Intermediate Period onwards, both elements could have been adopted for private individuals from a royal context.[58]

[45] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 233-5, fig. 68.

[46] Edgar, in Maspero (ed.), *Le Musée Égyptien*, 115-6, fig. 15.

[47] See also Hudáková, *The Representations of Women*, 386-8; Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 21 n. 2, pl. 1.

[48] Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoqer*, pls. 21-2. The combination of a canopy with a coffin accompanied by the two Kites (without the image of a mummy) is attested in the Old Kingdom representations of the journey to Sais, cf. Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pl. 6. For a list of attestations see OEE: Scene-details Database, Scene detail 15.7.13 (http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oee_ahrc_2006/, <accessed 26.02.2014>).

[49] Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, pls. 2-3.

[50] Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 426-7; Rogge, *Totenmasken und mumienförmige Särge*, 192-206 (esp. 204-6).

[51] Rogge, *Totenmasken und mumienförmige Särge*, 204-6. See also *op.cit.*, 208-210.

[52] *Op. cit.*, 205.

[53] *Op. cit.*, 170.

[54] *Op. cit.*, 161-72.

[55] Petrie, *Deshashe*, pl. 7. Cf. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, 17, 55; Smith, *Sculpture and painting*, 307-8, fig. 167.

[56] Cf. Rogge, *Totenmasken und mumienförmige Särge*, 198-203.

[57] *Op. cit.*, 176-9, pl. 66 (X 2); Rogge, in Bietak, *et al.* (eds.), *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten*.

[58] Cf. Rogge, *Totenmasken und mumienförmige Särge*, 201-3.

2. *Literal expressions of mourning* or *morning ritual*

The *laying-out of the deceased* probably represented in the uppermost register in the tomb of Iti is not the only innovative scene of the *local Theban painting style* attested in the decorative program of the Eleventh Dynasty. The central register of the wall is unusual as well (Fig. 1).

There are eleven women involved in a performance. Nine of them are divided into two groups, one of four and the other of five figures, striding towards each other, with their arms disposed in many different ways. Four of these women wear long wrap-around dresses colored black; adornment in the form of jewelry has been omitted.

As far as preserved, the woman at the far left has her rear arm raised; the lower part of her front arm is horizontal and the hand seems to touch the elbow of the rear arm. Her colleague further right has both arms raised above her head. The rear arm is flexed at the elbow as in the *jb3*-dance, but her other arm is simply outstretched and points diagonally up with the palm of the hand oriented downwards.[59] By contrast, the arms of the third woman from the left are arranged in the traditional diamond-like shape. The gestures of the fourth woman are not easy to determine, but her front arm seems to point diagonally downwards. The two rightmost women in the group to the right most probably feature the same gesture. The rear arm is raised above the head and flexed as in the *jb3*-dance, whereas the front arm points diagonally downwards. The woman to their left keeps her front arm along the body while the rear arm is flexed and the lower arm raised.

The two striding women in the middle (dressed in black) are badly preserved, but it is clear that their front arms were raised in such a manner that the hand appears horizontally above the two small-scale women situated in-between. Furthermore, the woman on the right has her right arm raised and flexed as in the *jb3*-dance, whereas the woman on the left is slightly bent forwards.

The two small-scaled women in the middle are the crucial motif in the register and the goal of the other figures approaching them. Facing each other, they squat on the ground with their legs tucked up; unfortunately, the gestures of their hands cannot be determined. However, their coiffure is significant – their hair seems to be short and it is adorned with a white headband tied round the head. This iconographical differentiation strongly suggests that they have an independent position in the performance depicted. In the context of funerals, their adornment is usually associated with the two *ḏr.tj*-mourners.[60] These are attested since the Fifth Dynasty and are closely associated with Isis and Nephthys.[61] They usually accompany the coffin in the course of the funeral procession and in the Old Kingdom they are regularly represented seated with their legs folded under them.[62]

The whole register apparently illustrates an extensive *mourning ritual*. The two *ḏr.tj*-figures in the middle are presumably represented bewailing the deceased and the impact of their activity is emphasized by the presence of nine other women around them. These approach from both sides and some of them gesture towards the *ḏr.tj* with arms pointing diagonally up or down and with the palm of the hand oriented downwards, in an apparently protective gesture. Whether these women perform like dancers or simply accompany the two *ḏr.tj* and express their grief through various mourning gestures is unclear. In any case, the scene is unique and if the suggested interpretation is correct, it would be a singular example for interplay between the *ḏr.tj*-mourners and regular mourners.

Even if the scene and its composition in the tomb of Iti are unique, a contemporaneous parallel for mourning women of standard type can be found in the tomb of Djar. (The similarities of Djar's tomb to Iti's has already been mentioned above.) The *funeral procession* depicted there[63] encompasses a group of

[59] The terms 'right/left' arm/hand/leg are understood in this paper in the intrinsic frame of reference, i.e. from the point of view of the person depicted. Cf. Müller, in Grossmann, Polis, Winand (eds.), *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*.

[60] See Fischer, *Varia, Egyptian Studies* I, 40-1; Robins, *JARCE* 36, 67-8.

[61] Cf. Altenmüller, *SAK* 27, 1-26.

[62] See Fischer, *Varia, Egyptian Studies* I, 39-50. For Middle Kingdom attestations and the iconographical development, see Hudáková, *The Representations of Women*, 381-9. In the tomb of Iti, the legs of the women are tucked up and the arms are almost destroyed, but their general posture indicates lamentation. In fact, the rendering of the motif rather resembles images of regular female mourners squatting (with one or both legs tucked up) or kneeling on the ground, with one hand placed on the head. These are known since the Old Kingdom, becoming especially popular in the New Kingdom. See Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses*, 147-8, figs. 126-53; Feucht, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* 2, 1103-8.

[63] For a facsimile of the wall, see MMA Inst.1979.2.3 (http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100023146, <accessed 26.02.2014>).

five female mourners (Fig. 5)[64] next to the sledge with the coffin and mummy (Fig. 4). The striking resemblance to the women illustrated in the tomb of Iti (Fig. 1) is immediately clear. They all assume a striding posture and four of them wear long black dresses. The gestures are, however, slightly different. The three women on the left have their arms raised and flexed, with the hands held close to each other. The orientation of their hands indicates that they are to be understood as held with the palms in front of the face. The woman in white has her lower arms raised with palms oriented downwards. Only the woman farthest to the right with her front arm pointing diagonally down and with the rear arm raised above her head is truly comparable with some of the women in the tomb of Iti.[65]

When searching for parallels for the mourning women in Iti's tomb, the tombs at el-Moalla also cannot be overlooked. The tomb of Ankhtifi contains a badly-damaged scene with traces of at least five striding women with arms held in an atypical attitude (Fig. 6).[66] Three women on the left most probably feature the very same gesture – the right arm is raised and the hand probably touches the back of the head while the left points diagonally upwards. In the lower register, only meagre traces of two figures have been recorded – a man on the left and a figure on the right described as a woman. The former scene is usually interpreted as a variation of the *jb3*-dance,[67] but it is obvious that the women's attitude corresponds to the attitude of one mourner in the tomb of Iti (second woman from the left). Dominicus observed that such a gesture is an expression of mourning.[68]

The two registers in the tomb of Ankhtifi are presumably a reversed version of the two upper registers in the tomb of Iti. The mourners are in the upper register and the male figure(s) in the lower register could have been part of a scene related to the laying-out of the body. The painting is situated on the north wall of the tomb chamber – in the lower half of its left (western) part. Due to the poor state of preservation, the context is unfortunately unclear but according to Vandier, the upper part of the wall was most probably decorated with a slaughtering scene or a cattle procession.[69] Since both elements are also associated with mourners in the tomb of Iti, the tomb of Ankhtifi might well have contained a similar composition. If so, Ankhtifi's tomb would be the earliest to feature a representation of this kind since the tomb of Iti and the related example from the tomb of Djar are both later.

The examples in the tombs of Iti and Djar, and eventually in Ankhtifi's tomb as well, are the only ones known so far that represent a *morning ritual* in the First Intermediate Period or Middle Kingdom, respectively (Figs. 1, 5, 6).[70] Such scenes are in general very scarce before the New Kingdom. There are just three certain examples from the Old Kingdom, in the tombs of Mereruka, Ankhmahor, and Idu.[71] All of them are very complex *literal expressions of mourning* and depict mourning figures in many different attitudes; they are quite expressive without any visible order or arrangement.[72] This general disorder distinguishes them from the images in the tombs of Ankhtifi, Iti, and Djar since they illustrate the mourners in true formations. Their 'performance' seems almost arranged or organized and does not give the impression of spontaneous and powerful mourning.

Nevertheless, some of the gestures represented in the Old Kingdom examples reappear in the tombs of Iti and Djar. For instance, a male mourner with both hands raised above his head is found in the tomb of Ankhmahor, as in the tomb of Iti.[73] The scene in the tomb of Ankhmahor also features figures holding both hands in front of the face and a similar gesture has been identified in the tomb of Djar.[74] Women with

[64] Photos M12C_40 and M12C_41 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); see Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses*, 67-8, pl. 2. The leftmost mourner is also depicted in the facsimile MMA Inst.1979.2.4.

[65] In that tomb, the same gesture can be associated with the first, second, and fourth woman from the right.

[66] Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 112-4, fig. 54.

[67] Cf. Hudáková, *The Representations of Women*, 303-4.

[68] Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 69, table 8 (3.4), fig. 16 (3.4).

[69] See Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 114-23. The main part of the wall illustrates the storage of grain.

[70] Hudáková, *The Representations of Women*, 377-81. For an overview of mourning women, see also Seeber, in *LÄ* III, 444-7.

[71] Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* II, pls. 130-1; Kanawati, Hassan, *The Tomb of Ankhmahor*, pls. 20.a, 56; Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, pls. 18, 19, fig. 35.

[72] For a brief overview of these scenes, cf. Sarr, *ANKH* 8/9, 73-85. See also Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 65-72; Müller, *MDAIK* 7, 111-8. Bolshakov (*GM* 121, 50) characterizes the three Old Kingdom mourning scenes as 'the only occasion when the Old Kingdom Egyptians renounced their habitual impassibility and disclosed the grief of the living for the dead'.

[73] Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, table 8 and fig. 16 (3.4).

[74] *Op. cit.*, table 8 and fig. 16 (3.5). If the palms of the hands in the tomb of Djar are oriented away from the person, such

one hand raised above the head and with the other pointing downwards are shown in the tomb of Idu, as in the tombs of Iti and Djar.[75] These gestures or their variants also reappear in New Kingdom tombs that offer a much wider basis for the study of mourners and provide infinite variations of posture and attitude at the time when the scene became quite popular and evolved very quickly. The continuity of gestures indicates that there was a tradition enduring for centuries and that certain types of mourning figures were used repeatedly.[76] Despite this tradition, the examples from the tombs of Ankhtifi, Iti, and Djar document previously unparalleled compositions and several new gestures, while, as far as the two latter tombs are concerned, the color of the dresses is unparalleled as well (see below) .

Innovations characteristic of all three of these First Intermediate Period tombs include the downwards turned palm of the hand, a gesture of protection. Fischer observed that both arms extended in a protective gesture became typical for the pair of the *ḏr:tj*-mourners in the Middle Kingdom where it occurs in figures of them in the wooden models of funerary boats.[77] The latter figures are sometimes identified as the goddesses Isis and Nephthys themselves "rather than their priestesses who represent them."[78] Fischer thought that the earliest representation of the gesture appears in the tomb of Senet (early Twelfth Dynasty), where the women are repeatedly shown with one hand placed upon the coffin.[79] In the course of the procession to the necropolis the *ḏr:t wr:t* even touches the lateral sides of the coffin's foot with both hands.[80] In two-dimensional representations this protective gesture is, however, already known from the Eleventh Dynasty coffins discussed above. On the coffin of Henui from Gebelein the two Kites held their hands protectively above the mummy of the deceased; on the coffin of Seni from el-Moalla one of the Kites has placed a hand upon the bier with the mummy. A comparable motif is also used as a determinative for the word *qrs.t* ('burial') on the coffin of Menqabu – two male figures (most probably priests) extend their hands above the mummy while a female figure (presumably a *ḏr:t*) touches the head and the feet of the deceased.[81]

Another important innovation is the color of the dresses attested in the tombs of Iti and Djar (Figs. 1, 5): black may be understood as a color indicative of grief or mourning, even if the representations are unparalleled in the Old as well as in the Middle Kingdom.[82] The only contemporary example known to the author is the representation of Sobekhotep's wife in his burial chamber at Kom Ombo, dated to the late Eleventh Dynasty. She wears a black dress in the scene of a funerary repast.[83] In New Kingdom tombs at Thebes, mourners are sometimes represented wearing dresses colored rather pale (not dark) greyish-blue.[84] It has been suggested that the colour signifies dust since female mourners are sometimes depicted strewing dust upon themselves, but Werbrouck, as well as Gardiner, assumed that the grey color might instead have been the color of mourning.[85] Unquestionably black dresses do not seem to reappear again until the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty when they are worn by mourners represented on some Theban coffins.[86] In some New Kingdom tombs, however, *ḏr:tj*-mourners are represented wearing skirts or sashes colored black.[87]

Finally, the tomb of Djar also illustrates a third innovative detail – the woman furthest to the right is shown with a strand of hair falling 'over' her face (Fig. 5). The Old Kingdom mourning scenes in the tombs of Mereruka and Idu showed male and female mourners tearing out their hair.[88] However, they grab their hair with their hands but the woman in Djar's tomb simply places a hand on her forehead. She does

a gesture would indicate adoration that is also attested in the course of the funeral. See *op.cit.*, fig. 9 (a, b).

[75] *Op. cit.*, table 8 (3.4).

[76] For the iconographical development of the representations of mourners, cf. Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses*.

[77] Fischer, *Varia, Egyptian Studies* I, 42-3. See also Hudáková, *The Representations of Women*, 384-5.

[78] Fischer, *Varia, Egyptian Studies* I, 42-3.

[79] Cf. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoqer*, pls. 18-9, 21-2.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pls. 18-9, 21-2.

[81] A comparable image of two male figures extending their hands toward the head and feet of a mummy upon a bier are also depicted in the tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan; see Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 14.

[82] Hudáková, *The Representations of Women*, 391-2.

[83] Wenig, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Forschungen und Berichte* 10, 79, fig. 6, pl. 14.2.

[84] See, e.g., Davies, *The Tomb of the Two Sculptors at Thebes*, pls. 21, 26.

[85] Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses*, 130-1; Gardiner, *ZÄS* 47, 162-3. See also Desroches Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 45, 213-4.

[86] Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses*, 101-2, fig. 56 (Bruxelles E 5881), pl. 46 (Berlin 20132, coffin of Ankhpekhred dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty).

[87] See, e.g., Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, pl. 49 (bottom); Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses*, pl. 19. Cf. also free-standing statuettes of the two Kites from the Twenty-first Dynasty: Fischer, *Varia, Egyptian Studies* I, 43, pl. 14, fig. 9.

[88] Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* II, pls. 130-1; Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, fig. 35.

not tear out her hair; rather, the gesture of the hand is indicative of lamenting. Hair falling in front of the face became typical in the New Kingdom;[89] the detail was only sporadically depicted in earlier times. For instance, it can be observed on a coffin from Abydos dated by Garstang to the Thirteenth Dynasty – a woman bent forward strides under a coffin carried by male figures.[90] The feature is also attested by representations of the two *ḏr.tj*-mourners. On the Eleventh Dynasty stela C15 in the Louvre, two Kites with hair falling forward are bent over the mummy;[91] one Kite in a Middle Kingdom wooden model of a funerary boat from Gebelein is represented in the same attitude.[92]

The meaning of this motif has been widely discussed. Müller suggested that it might illustrate the moment following the activity of hair-pulling when "die zerrauften Haare vorn über das Gesicht hinwegfallen."[93] The attestation of the motif as a determinative for the words *nwn* ('to dishevel the hair, in mourning') and *j3kb* ('to mourn') corroborates this interpretation.[94] Junker even suggested that the word *nwn* may additionally denote rhythmic movement of the head and translated it as "die herabfallenden Haare hin und her bewegen".[95] According to Desroches-Noblecourt, there may have actually been a custom of not shaving and allowing the hair to grow as a mark of great sorrow and deep sadness, i.e. as a sign of mourning.[96]

3. The context and significance of the scenes discussed

An important aspect that has to be pointed out in regard to the scenes *laying out of the mourning ritual* in the tombs of Iti and Djar is their place in the funerary rites. The three Old Kingdom mourning scenes apparently sited the lamentation in the house ('*Sterbehaus*') after the death of the person has been announced, i.e. before the actual funeral.[97] In the two Eleventh Dynasty examples discussed, however, the mourners are apparently associated with the laying-out of the body after mummification.

In the tomb of Iti (Fig. 1), the image of the mummy itself is not preserved but the incense burner, the bier, the *ḥs*-vase, the ointment jar, and especially the presence of the two *ḏr.tj*-mourners in the central register indicate that the composition illustrates some ritual in the Embalming Hall. As mentioned above, the bed/bier itself may refer to the embalming ritual[98] and one of the functions of the two *ḏr.tj*-mourners was apparently to look after the laid-out mummified body of the deceased (in their roles of Isis and Nephthys).[99] Furthermore, the image of a coffin with a canopy on the neighboring wall[100] and the presence of draft-animals in the bottom register allude to the procession that would follow. The 'performance' of the regular mourners can be thus considered to belong to or to accompany some final embalming rituals.

The exact purpose of the activity performed by the two *ḏr.tj*-mourners might be explained with the help of texts. Münster studied the role and function of Isis and Nephthys represented by the two Kites in the funerary ritual using funerary texts from the Old Kingdom down to the New Kingdom.[101] She could demonstrate that the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and inscriptions on the narrow sides of coffins demonstrate the important role of the goddesses in the embalming ritual. It encompassed ritual mourning, transfiguration, and vivification of the deceased as well as protection and jubilation. The ritual mourning for the deceased (or Osiris, respectively) was performed in the Embalming Hall after mummification and preceded the actual burial and his resurrection.[102] Willems argues that the scenes representing Isis and Nephthys next to the mummification bed in the Embalming Hall (*wꜥb.t, wry.t*) depict the rites known as *Stundenwachen* in the Greco-Roman Period, but that were most probably

[89] Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses*, 147, figs. 181-2.
[90] Garstang, *El Arábah*, 8-9, 34, pls. 10-1.
[91] Gayet, *Musée du Louvre. Stèles de la XII^e Dynastie*, pl. 54; Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, 67-9, fig. 46; Drioton, *RdÉ* 1, fig. 6, pl. 9; Barbotin, *La voix des hiéroglyphes*, 140-1.
[92] Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs* I, pl. 9.
[93] Müller, *MDAIK* 7, 114.
[94] For *nwn*, cf. lemma-no. 81310, and for *j3kb* lemma-no. 21010, in TLA (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/, <accessed 26.02.2014>).
[95] Junker, *MDAIK* 9, 9.
[96] Desroches Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 45, 218-31.
[97] Sarr, *ANKH* 8/9, 81; Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 7; Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11, 2-9, 16-9.
[98] Altenmüller, *SAK* 24, 1-7. In the Old Kingdom tomb of Qar, the embalming rites in the *wꜥb.t* are associated with an *jb3*-dance: Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu,* fig. 24; Altenmüller, *SAK* 24, 7 n. 37. See also Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 16. The combination of rituals related to embalming and to a 'performance' is shown in the tomb of Iti in a comparable way.
[99] See Altenmüller, *SAK* 27, 12.
[100] D'Amicone, *La vita quotidiana*, 70-3.
[101] Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, 22-71.
[102] *Op. cit.*, 33-7, 50, 53-4, 59-60.

enacted as early as the Middle Kingdom.[103] The scene in the tomb of Iti might illustrate exactly these presumably final rites, since the draft-animals and the coffin are represented nearby.

The rituals are apparently not performed in the open air. The three registers of the wall are embedded into a structure having two lotiform columns with closed capitals and a beam (?) laid above them, probably indicating some light construction made of wood and matting that would have been set up when necessary. Similar columns appear on the other walls of the central chamber as well;[104] Smith suggested that the whole chamber was actually designed to resemble a canopy.[105] The columns associated with the *laying-out of the deceased* seem to be in accordance with the CT spell 60, where the Place of Embalming is described as a tent.[106] According to Willems, "a private person's *wry.t* was erected somewhere in one of the local temples" and "at dawn, the coffin was transported from there to the tomb."[107]

The post-mummification phase is represented in the tomb of Djar and shows the actual procession with the coffin and the mummy (Figs. 4-5). Nevertheless, the preceding ritual in the Embalming Hall is implied by two male figures carrying out some ritual operations on the mummy (without mummy mask) that already rests upon the coffin. As pointed out above, the scene combines (1) the traditional procession with the coffin; (2) the preparation of the bed; and (3) the new motif of a mummy. Since several aspects are combined, the role of the female mourners in the tomb of Djar cannot be clearly determined. They seem to follow the procession and be part of it; their legs are slightly apart as if striding and all look at the sledge with the coffin. However, their incorporation into the scene may only be a consequence of the embalming rites depicted or the laying-out of the deceased as in Iti's tomb. They do not necessarily belong to the actual procession.

As regards the position of the *mourning ritual* within the funerary procession, both examples may actually be forerunners of a custom that was not established until the late Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes. In the early New Kingdom, representations of mourning remained rather rare and they are never depicted in the course of the funeral procession itself.[108] The wailing mourners appear either in front of the laid-out deceased[109] or during the obsequies in the garden.[110] This custom continued in use until the reign of Thuthmosis IV, when representations of the funeral underwent a considerable change.[111] From that time onwards, the decorative program illustrated the waterborne transport of the coffin with the mummy across the Nile to the west bank and the related examples repeatedly show the mourners as participants in this procession.[112] By then, but especially since the Nineteenth Dynasty, the regular mourners are also part of the procession accompanying the coffin on a sledge to the tomb[113] and they even participate in the rituals in front of the tomb, such as the Opening of the Mouth.[114] It is thus apparent that, with regard to the position of mourning in the course of the funeral, the scenes in the tombs of Iti and Djar do not follow the tradition of the decorative program of the Old Kingdom but rather foreshadow the development that gradually led to the establishment of the New Kingdom program at Thebes.

[103] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 92-3, 382-4. See also Willems, *Chests of Life*, 144-7, 156-9; Pries, *Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult*, 12-7.

[104] They frame the scenes on the opposite wall (offering bearers, slaughtering scene) and the representations of the tomb owner with his wife on the west wall of the central chamber. See D'Amicone, *La vita quotidiana*, 58-9, 65, 68-9.

[105] Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 85.

[106] CT I, 252c-254c (60). See Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 382; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 146-7. Altenmüller also notes that the Place of Embalming is comparable with constructions associated with the '*Bettenritual*'; see Altenmüller, *SAK* 24, 3-4. According to Willems (*The Coffin of Heqata*, 382 n. 69), in the Middle Kingdom the Purification Tent, known from the Old Kingdom, and the Place of Embalming were fused into one.

[107] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 146.

[108] Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11, 9-10. The processions of the Middle and early New Kingdoms show the so-called People of the Delta instead. Women as well as men are either represented with raised arms (jubilation or mourning gesture) or they draw the rope of the sledge with the coffin or carry the coffin during the last phase of the procession. According to the inscriptions, they should be nine in number. See Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 26-7, 77, pl. 2; Hudáková, *The Representations of Women*, 389-90.

[109] See, e.g., Davies, Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. 24; Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni*, pls. 25a, 65.

[110] Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Mencheper-Ra-seneb*, 62-8, pls. 11-2. See also Seeber, in *LÄ* III, 444-7 n. 6.

[111] Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 1-2; Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11, 11.

[112] Cf. Campbell, *Two Theban Princes*, 96-7. See also Seeber, in *LÄ* III, 444-447 n. 3.

[113] Cf. Settgast, *Untersuchungen*, 35; Seeber, in *LÄ* III, 444-7 n. 4. See, e.g., Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, pls. 24-7.

[114] Cf. Seeber, in *LÄ* III, 444-7 n. 5. See, e.g., Davies, *The Tomb of the Two Sculptors at Thebes*, pls. 19-21.

4. Concluding remarks

After discovering the tomb of Djar in 1929-1930, Winlock wrote: 'One must see the tomb of Djar to realize the monstrous ugliness with which the Upper Egyptian surrounded himself in the generations between the fall of the Memphite kingdom and Mentuhotpe's conquest of Egypt for the benefit of Thebes.'[115] The art Winlock described as ugly obviously is not comparable to work in a residential style, but it is doubtlessly very creative, and in the meantime, its role in the artistic development has been accepted.

The extraordinary funerary compositions preserved in the tombs of Iti and Djar demonstrate the innovative potential of local artistic production in and near Thebes, which was about to become the future capital of the country. The painting style built on motifs that were apparently present in Upper Egypt earlier in the First Intermediate Period, especially in the third and fourth Upper Egyptian nomes as indicated by parallels from the tombs of Ankhtifi and Sobekhotep at el-Moalla as well as from coffins from the same necropoleis and from Gebelein. Nevertheless, the images of a wrapped mummy and a mummy mask, for example, were adopted in accordance with the contemporaneous burial customs of the region. In this regard, the artists were most probably allowed to be inventive in the absence of a tradition for illustrating such elements.

The monuments discussed above are obviously not the product of a single artistic group but rather indicate close contacts between several groups in the area of Thebes – contacts that seem to have been especially intensive in the Eleventh Dynasty when the city gained more and more in importance. This local painting style was gradually abandoned after the reunification when the Old Kingdom Memphite style was again preferred. It apparently did not evolve to become a new canonical style, like the *post-reunification relief style;* it only took over the forms and repertoire of residential art. Following the reunification, the aftermath of the style is to be found only in the tombs of Dagi (TT 103, portico) and Senet (TT 60).[116]

Even if some motifs of the *local Theban painting style* were only used temporarily, the examples are extremely important for our understanding of Middle Kingdom as well as New Kingdom art and its development. The motifs of a mummy and of mourning women might be an indication that the legacy of the local painting art in and around Thebes influenced the funerary scenes in the decorative program of later periods to a greater extent than expected. It was, finally, the Theban tradition that provided the inspiration for New Kingdom art when Thebes became the capital once more.

[115] Winlock, *BMMA* 27, 32-4.

[116] See Jaroš-Deckert, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f*, 134-5; PM I.1, 121-3, 216-7.

Bibliography

Altenmüller, H., "Auferstehungsritual und Geburtsmythos", *SAK* 24 (1997), 1-21.

Altenmüller, H., *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara* (Mainz am Rhein: AV 42, 1998).

Altenmüller, H., "Zum Ursprung von Isis und Nephtys", *SAK* 27 (1999), 1-26.

Barbotin, C., *La voix des hiéroglyphes*, promenade au départment des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Louvre (Paris, 2005).

Bolshakov, A.O., "The Old Kingdom Representations of Funeral Procession", *GM* 121 (1991), 31-54.

Brunner-Traut, E., *Der Tanz im Alten Ägypten nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen* (Glückstadt: ÄF 6, ²1958).

Campbell, C., *Two Theban Princes Kha-em-Usat & Amen-Khepeshf, sons of Rameses III, Menna, a Land Steward, and Their Tombs* (Edinburgh, London, 1910).

D'Amicone, E. (ed.), *La vita quotidiana nell'Antico Egitto: Vivere come al tempo di Iti e Neferu, la "Bella"*, Catalogo della mostra tenuta al Museo Egizio di Torino nel 2006 nell'ambito del progetto "Il filo verde" (Torino, Londra, Venezia, New York, 2006).

Davies, N. de G., *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of his Wife, Senet (No. 60)* (London: The Theban Tombs Series, 2nd Memoir, 1920).

Davies, N. de G., *The Tomb of the Two Sculptors at Thebes* (New York 1925).

Davies, N. de G., *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London: Mond Excavations at Thebes I, 1941).

Davies, N. de G., Gardiner, A.H., *The Tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82)* (London: The Theban Tombs Series, First and Introductory Memoir, 1915).

De Buck, A., *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* I. *Texts of spells 1-75* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 34, 1935).

De Buck, A., *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* II. *Texts of spells 76-163* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 49, 1938).

Desroches Noblecourt, Ch., ""Concubines du mort" et mères de famille au Moyen Empire à propos d'une supplique pour une naissance", *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 7-47.

Desroches Noblecourt, Ch., "Une Coutume Égyptienne Méconnue", *BIFAO* 45 (1947), 185-232.

Dominicus, B., *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1994).

Drioton, M.É., "Une figuration cryptographique sur une stèle du Moyen Empire", *RdÉ* 1 (1933), 203-29.

Duell, P., *The Mastaba of Mereruka* (Chicago, 1936).

Dziobek, E., *Das Grab des Ineni: Theben Nr. 81* (Mainz am Rhein: AV 68, 1992).

Edel, E., *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan,* I. Abteilung, Band 1-3, *Die Architektur, Darstellung, Texte, archäologischer Befund und Funde der Gräber QH 24-QH 209*, aus dem Nachlass verfasst und herausgegeben von Karl-J. Seyfried und Gerd Vieler (Paderborn, 2008).

Edgar, C.C., "Middle Empire Tombs in the Delta", in M.G. Maspero (ed.), *Le Musée Égyptien, Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte* II (Le Caire, 1907), 109-18.

El-Masry, Y., "New Tombs at el-Mo'alla and the Family of Ankhtify", *BACE* 19 (2008), 119-38.

Feucht, E., "Ein Motiv der Trauer", in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*. *Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden u. Schülern*, Band 2: *Religion* (Göttingen, 2004), 1103-8.

Fischer, H.G., *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*. *A Beginner's Guide to Writing Hieroglyphs* (New York, 1979).

Fischer, H.G., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (New York, 1968).

Fischer, H.G., *Varia, Egyptian Studies I* (New York, 1976).

Freed, R.E., "Relief Styles of the Nebhepetre Montuhotep Funerary Temple Complex", in E. Goring, N. Reeves, J. Ruffle. (eds.), *Chief of Seers, Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred* (London, New York, 1997), 148-63.

Freed, R.E., *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief Sculptural Schools of the Late Dynasty XI: with an appendix on the trends of early dynasty XII (2040-1878 B.C.)* (PhD dissertation – New York, 1984).

Galán, J.M., "The Tombs of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11-12) at Dra Abu el-Naga", in J.-C. Goyon, Ch. Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*: *Grenoble, 6 – 12 septembre 2004*, Volume I (Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA: OLA 150, 2007), 777-87.

Gardiner, A.H., "The colour of mourning", *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 162-3.

Garstang, J., *El Arábah: A Cemetery of the Middle Kingdom; Survey of the Old Kingdom Temenos; Grafitti from the Temple of Sety* (London: Egyptian Research Account, 1901).

Gayet, E., *Musée du Louvre. Stèles de la XII^e Dynastie* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Philologiques et Historiques, Fascicule 68, 1886).

Guksch, H., *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Mencheper-Ra-seneb: Theben Nr. 87 und 79* (Mainz am Rhein: AV 34, 1995).

Hudáková, L., *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom Tombs of Officials – Studies in Iconography, Content and Status* (PhD dissertation – Vienna, 2013).

James, T.G.H. (ed.), *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian Stelae* etc., Part 1 (London, ²1961).

Jaroš-Deckert, B., *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f. Die Wandmalereien der XI. Dynastie (nach Vorarbeiten von D. Arnold und J. Settgast), Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970*, Band V (Mainz am Rhein: AV 12, 1984).

Junker, H., "Der Tanz der Mww und das Butische Begräbnis im Alten Reich", *MDAIK* 9 (1940), 1-39.

Kanawati, N., Hassan, A., *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara* II. *The Tomb of Ankhmahor* (Wiltshire: The Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports 9, 1997).

Klebs, L., *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches*, *(VII.-XVII. Dynastie ca 2475-1580 v. Chr.), Material zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1922).

Lacau, P., *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 28001-28126*, Tome I et II (Le Caire, 1904-1906).

Lapp, G., *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie* (Heidelberg: SAGA 7, 1993).

Lüddeckens, E., "Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen", *MDAIK* 11 (1943).

Müller, H., "Darstellungen von Gebärden auf Denkmälern des Alten Reiches", *MDAIK* 7 (1937), 97-118.

Müller, M., "Spatial frames of reference in Egyptian. Diachronic evidence for Left/Rights patterns", in E. Grossmann, S. Polis, J. Winand (eds.), *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian* (Hamburg: Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 9, 2012), 347-78.

Münster, M., *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin: MÄS 11, 1968).

Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hasan* I (London: Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 1st Memoir, 1893).

Petrie, W.M.F., *Deshasheh 1897* (London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 15th Memoir, 1898).

Pries, A.H., *Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult: eine Studie zur Tradition und späten Rezeption von Ritualen im Alten Ägypten,* 1. *Text und Kommentar,* 2. *Dokumentation* (Wiesbaden: Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 2, 2011).

Reisner, G.A., *Models of Ships and Boats*, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 4798-4976 et 5034-5200* (Le Caire, 1913).

Robins, G., "Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480-1350", *JARCE* 36 (1999), 55-69.

Robins, G., *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1997).

Robins, G., "The reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II and the pre-unification Theban style of relief", in G. Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids, Egyptian Regional Art from the Museo Egizio, Turin* (Atlanta, 1990), 39-45.

Roehrig, C.H., "The Early Middle Kingdom Cemeteries at Thebes and the Tomb of Djari", in J. Assmann, E. Dziobek, H. Guksch, F. Kampp, F. (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, *Internationales Symposion Heidelberg 9.-13.6.1993* (Heidelberg: SAGA 12, 1995), 255-69.

Rogge, E., "Die Maske eines Königs, Puschkin-Museum I 1 a 4686, und die königlichen Bestattungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches", in M. Bietak, J. Holaubek, H. Mukarowsky, H. Satzinger (eds.), *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten. Festschrift Gertrud Thausing* (Wien, 1994), 175-90.

Rogge, E., *Totenmasken und mumienförmige Särge*. *Altägyptische Totenhüllen bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (PhD dissertation – Wien, 1986).

Sarr, M.N., "La representation du deuil dans les tombes de l'Ancien Empire égyptien", *ANKH: revue d'égyptologie et des civilisations africaines* 8/9 (1999-2000), 73-85.

Seeber, Ch., "Klagefrau", in *LÄ* III (1980), 444-7

Seidlmayer, S.J., *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich. Studien zur Archäologie der Ersten Zwischenzeit* (Heidelberg: SAGA 1, 1990).

Settgast, J., *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt: Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe, Band 3, 1963).

Simpson, W.K., *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu. G 7101 and 7102* (Boston: Giza Mastabas 2, 1976).

Smith, W.S., *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, ^{2}1949).

Smith, W.S., *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1958).

Steckeweh, H., *Die Fürstengräber von Qaw* (Leipzig: Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin-Expedition 6, 1936).

Steindorff, G., *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* I. *Das Grab des Mentuhotep* (Berlin: Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen, Heft VIII, 1896).

Steindorff, G., *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* II. *Der Sarg des Sebk-O – ein Grabfund aus Gebelen* (Berlin: Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen, Heft IX, 1901).

Theis, Ch., *Deine Seele zum Himmel, dein Leichnam zur Erde*. *Zur idealtypischen Rekonstruktion eines altägyptischen Bestattungsrituals* (Hamburg: SAK Beihefte 12, 2011).

Vandersleyen, C. (ed.), *Das Alte Ägypten* (Berlin: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15, 1975).

Vandier, J., *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne,* Volume IV: *Bas-reliefs et peintures. Scènes de la vie quotidienne*. Ière partie: *Les tombes* (Paris, 1964).

Vandier, J., *Mo'alla. La Tombe d'Ankhtifi et la Tombe de Sébekhotep* (Le Caire: BiEtud 18, 1950).

Vasiljević, V., "Von der Kontinuität des Themas vom Bettenritual in Privatgräbern des Mittleren Reiches", *SAK* 29 (2001), 349-56.

Wenig, S., "Eine Grabkammer des Mittleren Reiches aus Kom Ombo", *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Forschungen und Berichte* 10, *Archäologische Beiträge* (1968), 71-94.

Werbrouck, M., *Les Pleureuses dans l'Egypte ancienne* (Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1938).

Wild, H., *Le Tombeau de Ti*, Fascicule III, *La chapelle* (deuxième partie) (Le Caire: MIFAO 65.II, 1966).

Wildung, D., *Sesostris und Amenemhat: Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (München, 1984).

Willems, H., *Chests of Life*. *A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom*

Standard Class Coffins (Leiden: Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux", Mémoires de la Société d'Études Orientales "Ex Oriente Lux" 25, 1988).

Willems, H., *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418). A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the early Middle Kingdom* (Leuven: OLA 70, 1996).

Winlock, H.E., "The Museum's Excavations at Thebes", *BMMA* 27, No 3, Part 2: The Egyptian Expedition 1930-1931 (March 1932), 4-37.

List of figures

Fig. 1, on plate XIV - Decoration of the south wall, central chamber, tomb of Iti at Gebelein, in the Egyptian Museum, Turin. Image S. 14354/09 – RCGE 19072 © Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie di Torino.

Fig. 2, on plate XIV - Determinative used in the tomb of Ankhtifi, el-Moalla. After: Vandier, *Mo'alla*, fig. 86.

Fig. 3, on plate XIV - *Laying-out of the deceased* scene, south wall, tomb of Sobekhotep, el-Moalla. After: Vandier, *Mo'alla*, fig. 85.

Fig. 4 - Sledge with coffin and mummy – part of the *funeral procession*, south wall of the portico, tomb of Djar, Thebes. Photo M12C_81 © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 5 - Mourning women – part of the *funeral procession*, south wall of the portico, tomb of Djar, Thebes. Photos M12C_40 and M12C_41 © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 6 - Mourning women (?), north wall, tomb of Ankhtifi, el-Moalla. After: Vandier, *Mo'alla*, fig. 54.

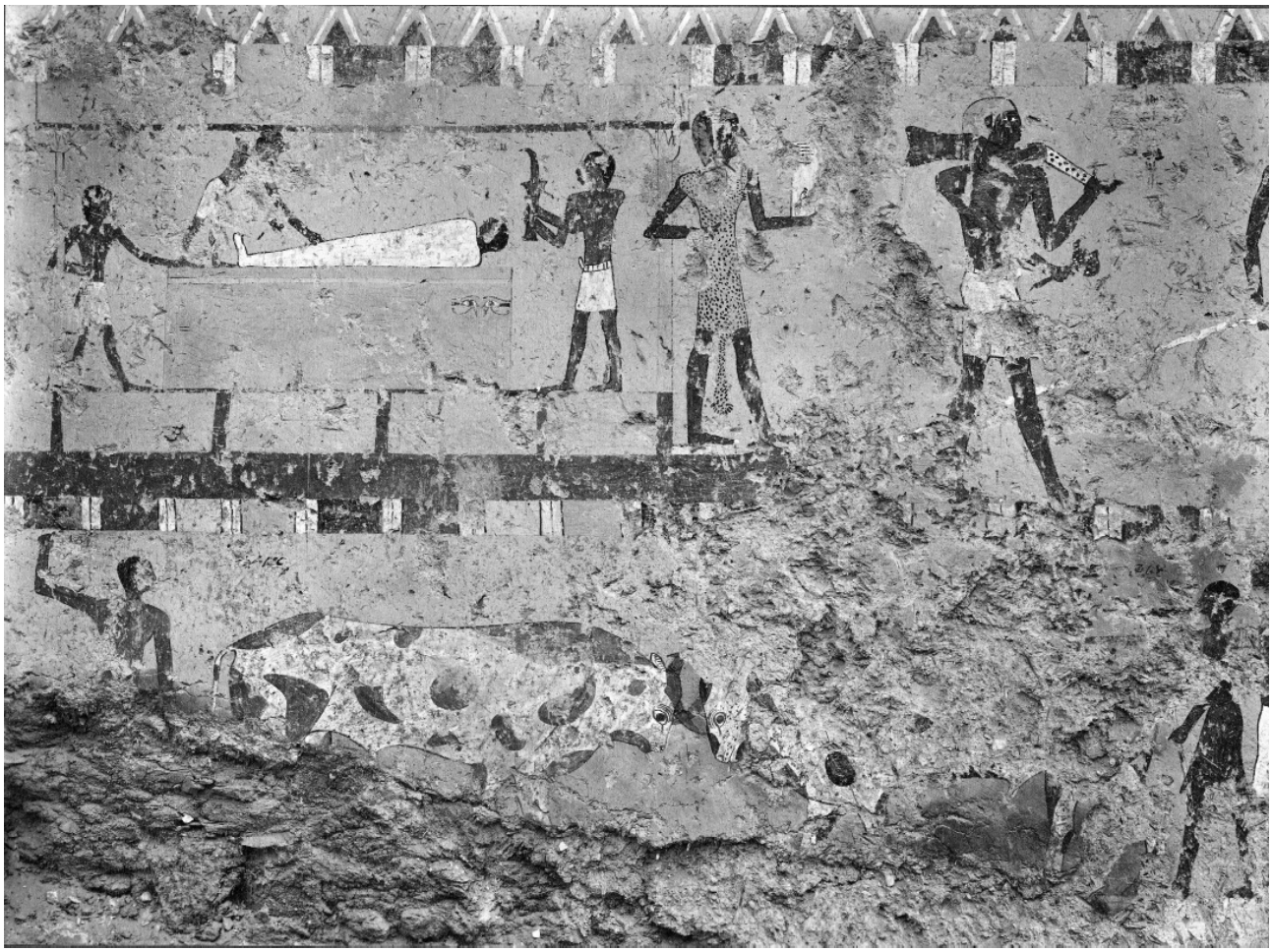


Figure 4



Figure 5

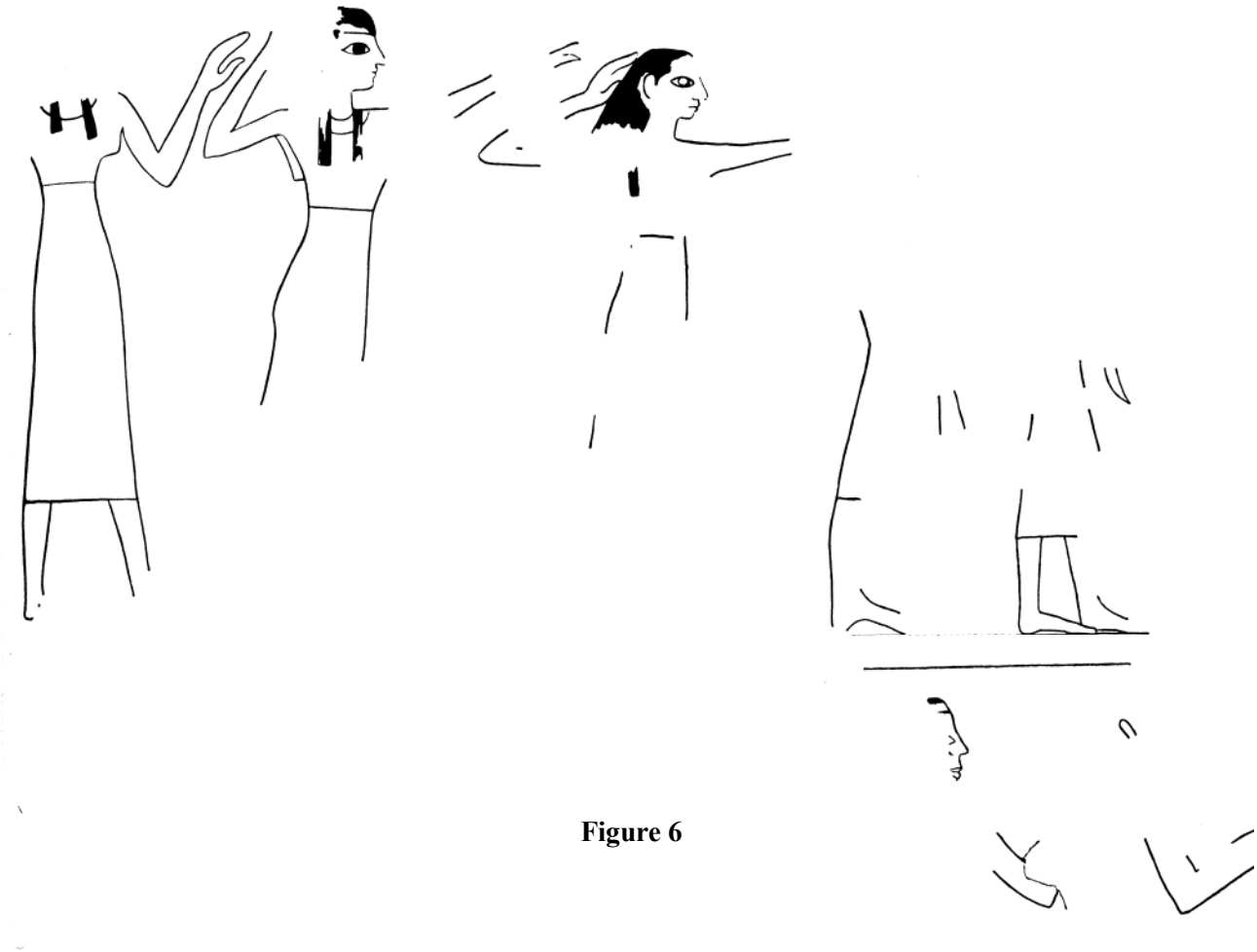


Figure 6

Hudáková, Jánosi, Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London 2016, 65-81

The Menu Please! Individualism vs. standardization in funerary repast scenes from the Early Dynastic Period to the Middle Kingdom*

Andrea Kahlbacher
Institute for Egyptology, University of Vienna

Abstract
The offering table scene is one of the oldest and most often depicted scenes within the Egyptian decorative program. It is known to have existed since Early Dynastic times and to have acquired its typical form during the Old Kingdom. Despite some minor variations, the iconography seems to have remained almost unchanged throughout Egyptian history. It consisted of three basic elements: the seated tomb owner, the offering table, and the pile of offerings. Although restricted to this repertoire, artists succeeded in expressing their creativity by making slight changes to the scene. For the funerary repast scenes of the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom however, it could be argued that individual choice and preference concerning the offerings depicted were crucial. While basic edibles were predominantly displayed in early depictions, the range of items increased vastly during the Old Kingdom, and the pile of offerings came to occupy considerable space on the walls of the tomb. This paper attempts to determine whether individual preference was still of importance for the offering table scene in the Middle Kingdom or whether a standardized repertoire had become more common.

The majority of what is known today about ancient Egypt comes from a funerary context. The concept of life after death played a significant role in Egyptian culture, with the tomb understood as a house for eternity. A major function of the tomb's decorative program in all periods was to ensure the eternal sustenance of the deceased.[1] This need was already indicated symbolically by the design of Early Dynastic seals showing the figure of the deceased, identified by name and a funerary title, seated before an offering table. The simplest way of ensuring eternal sustenance was by displaying the name, title, and a meal; the offering table scene satisfies this requirement by displaying the image of the deceased being sustained in the afterlife. The range of imagery in Egyptian tombs, however, seems to be restricted and it is questionable whether the decorative program reflected personal choice. In this article I will focus on aspects of individualism and standardization within offering table scenes from the Early Dynastic Period to the Middle Kingdom. For this purpose, certain examples have been chosen to illustrate the development within this period.

1. The different types of offering lists

Winfried Barta, analyzing offering lists from the Early Dynastic to the Greco-Roman Period, distinguished two different types: the so-called *ritual list* ('*Ritualopferliste'*) and the *inventory list* ('*Inventaropferliste*').[2] Peter Kaplony defined similar categories, which he named *closer list* ('*Nähere Liste*') and *storeroom list* ('*Magazin-Liste*').[3]

Barta's inventory list (*sḏ3wt / ḥtmt njt pr ḏt* – '*Versiegeltes des Hauses der Ewigkeit'* – 'Sealed things of the house of eternity') consists of all items, which were part of the funerary household, including furniture, headrests, chests, tools, etc. – in other words, an inventory of actual grave goods. In the earliest examples this list was more important than the ritual list. Beginning in the Third Dynasty, the quantity of the items listed is specified (10 ∩ (V20),

* The present paper resulted from research conducted as part of the MeKeTRE Project funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, Project No. P 21571). My special thanks to Mrs. Barbara O'Neill for proofreading the manuscript.
[1] Robins, *DiscEg* 17, 48.
[2] Barta, *Opferliste*, passim.
[3] Kaplony, *Inschriften* I, 229-237.

100  (V1), 1000  (M12)). Initially, the offerings were not arranged in any special way; later they were displayed within registers; and, finally, lists were written within a square frame. The inventory was organized according to type – e.g., linen list, ointment list, etc. A short version of the extended inventory list, expressed simply by single hieroglyphic signs (head of a cow , head of a goose  , bread loaf , etc.) and an indication of quantity, is usually placed close to the deceased, under the offering table.[4]

In the early examples, the ritual or closer list (*ḥ3bjt njt jmnjt* – '*Dauernd ist die Opfergabe*' – 'permanent is the offering') was defined by the proximity of the offerings to the figure of the tomb owner. Offerings and related ritual activities (e.g., pouring libations of water, burning incense) which preceded the meal, are listed to express the recurring offering meal. Offerings in the ritual list are not accompanied by an indication of quantity. Due to its ritual function, this list is closely connected with the offering table scene. Beginning in the Fifth Dynasty the inventory list grew in importance, becoming more elaborate; as with the earlier inventory list, it was structured within a square frame. By the Fifth Dynasty a canonized version of the ritual list emerged (A–list), now also structured within a square frame. This canonized format incorporated initial rites, the offering meal, and the final rites.[5]

The itemized inventory and the list of rituals are both components of the offering list, differing only in their function. The offering list sometimes consists of the ritual and the inventory list while at other times it appears as a single list. The pile of offerings, the actual depiction of the goods, functioned as a supplement to the offerings mentioned by name in the list. Depictions of offerings in these scenes became increasingly elaborate in the course of the Old Kingdom.

2. Examples of offering table scenes from the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom

The earliest examples of the offering table scene can be traced back to the cylinder seals of the Early Dynastic Period (Fig. 1).[6] The deceased sits before a table laden with loaves of bread in the shape of the *t*-hieroglyph. In addition to the repast scene, the name and sometimes a funerary title are also incised on the seal. These components ensure eternal sustenance for the deceased. In the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods the deceased was provided with actual provisions including bread, beverages, vessels, etc. The basic arrangement, first found on cylinder seals, became more elaborate on the offering slabs of the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom phases. From this stage onwards, the offering scene now comprised more components: the tomb owner seated before an offering table, piled high with offerings, and the offering list.

On the Second Dynasty relief slab of Heken,[7] the offering list consists only of the inventory list, arranged in five vertical columns. Different types of linen are represented in the first. The second names oil and vessels and the third lists vessels and foodstuff provided for the deceased. In the fourth and the fifth columns fowl, cattle, and wine found their place (Fig. 2).[8] Although the inventory list displayed a certain range of different goods, it was not standardized, as indicated by the following examples. In the upper register the word "*m3ṯ.t*" appears for a shirt made from a specific type of *it*(*i*).*wy* linen.[9] This word is found only in two other sources datable to the Second and Third Dynasties. One example is found on the slab stela of Inisu Kheket[10] and another on an ivory plaque of Horus Sekhem-khet.[11] In addition to the inventory list, just three objects appear directly above the offering table: a plucked goose, a loaf of bread, and a piece of meat. These few items comprise the pile of offerings.

One of the first traces of the ritual list can be found on the relief of Wepka from Saqqara (Fig. 3).[12] This slab stela is not securely datable within the range from the end of the First to the Third Dynasty.[13] A vessel with water flowing from it is depicted directly in front of the deceased's face. This is typical for the beginning of the ritual list and so are the offerings of *jrp* wine and *rtḥ* bread that follow. The offerings on the right side of the relief belong to the inventory list. Unfortunately, details are unclear so that not everything on the stela can be identified with certainty.

[4] Barta, *Opferliste*, 7-9; Barta, in *LÄ* IV, 586-9.
[5] Barta, *Opferliste*, 7-8, 10-2, Barta, in *LÄ* IV, 586-9.
[6] Kaplony, *Inschriften* I-III, Supplement, passim; Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften*, passim; Bissing, *Tote vor dem Opfertisch*, passim.
[7] Köhler, Jones, *Helwan* II, 130-1 (EM99-4).
[8] Köhler, Jones, *Helwan* II, 130.
[9] Kahl *et al*., *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch* 2, 175.
[10] Köhler, Jones, *Helwan* II, 168-9 (EM99-23).
[11] Goneim, *Horus Sekhem-khet* I, pl. 65b-66..
[12] Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pl. 27.
[13] For a dating from the end of the First to the beginning of the Second Dynasty, see Kahl, *SAK* 24, 142. For dating to the Second Dynasty, see Köhler, Jones, *Helwan* II, 56. And for the range from the Archaic Period to the Third Dynasty, see Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, 10.

Aside from some elements of the ritual list, products of the inventory list dominate the remaining space. The pile of offerings is reduced to depictions of a plucked goose and a piece of meat, both represented in a basket.

The funerary repast scene of Khabausokar, dated to the Third Dynasty, was placed in a stone-lined niche in his tomb at Saqqara. It contains a relatively large ritual list (Fig. 4).[14] The first three entries list various ritual activities and also include oil and food items. In this example, the inventory list, containing more than sixty items (primarily foodstuff), dominates the composition. It is very typical of inventory lists of the early period that food items form the bulk of all offerings. This group is never missing and in some examples it is the only type of offering included.[15] By contrast, representations of offerings – usually amounting to four items including cuts of meat, fowl, and other edibles (some not easily identifiable) – constitute a small part of the scene.

A subtle development is detectible on the Fourth Dynasty slab stela of Neferetiabet (Fig. 5).[16]As documented by the previous examples, the inventory list was more relevant to the repast scene than the ritual list. In this composition they are allotted almost equal space and contain virtually the same number of offerings. Neferetiabet's inventory list cites eleven items, the largest category being edibles. The ritual list begins with the initial rites, followed by an enumeration of ointment, eye paint, fruits, beverages, and bread. Although the offering list underwent significant changes over time, the items shown in the pile of offerings remains more or less the same as in the previous periods. The main components were bread, cuts of meat, and fowl.

Due to the apparent increasing significance of the ritual list, a fixed sequence becomes evident between the end of the Fourth Dynasty and the beginning of the Fifth. In this somewhat standardized rendering, the offerings are listed within rectangular boxes. The offering list in the tomb of Debehen (Fourth Dynasty) is a prototype of the so-called "great ritual list or A–list".[17] However, since this list is not directly associated with Debehen's offering table scene, a comparison between his ritual list and items depicted on the offering table cannot be made. In the tomb of Ptahhotep of the Fifth Dynasty,[18] however, we find a parallel to the A-list prototype in Debehen's tomb (Fig. 6). The ritual list is placed above the tomb owner who sits in front of the offering table. Above and right next to the table, different items are shown in the pile of offerings, which allows a comparison between listed items and those depicted. The ritual list is composed of the initial rites, the offering meal, and the final rites. The offering meal list itself is designed more as a menu than an actual meal. Different categories of food are listed together in groups. It should be noted that the ritual list is more extensive than the inventory, which is reduced to beer, bread, linen, alabaster, cattle, and fowl. The pile of offerings consists of more than 200 items; 94% are edible while only 6% are related to the category "household".[19]

A very similar situation occurs in the offering table scene of Pepiankh III at Meir dated to the Sixth Dynasty (Fig. 7).[20] The ritual list follows the pattern of the standardized A-list and is placed above the offering table scene. The inventory list, consisting of only six elements, is depicted between the offering table and the ritual list. The increasing importance of the pile of offerings is emphasized in this example and in this instance it contains over 90 objects. As in Ptahhotep's offering scene, edibles constitute the major part of offerings depicted. Household items such as vessels, flowers, and furniture make up just 7%.

3. Middle Kingdom examples

In tombs of the First Intermediate Period, there are no well-preserved or published examples of funerary repast scenes which on stelae continued to consist of an offering table scene and an offering list.[21]

[14] Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, 32-4, pl. 1.

[15] Barta, *Opferliste*, 25.

[16] Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, 58-62, pls. 11-2.

[17] Barta, *Opferliste*, 47-50; Hassan, *Giza* VI, 164-6. Apparently Debehen took over an older tomb. It was erected in the Fourth Dynasty as the architecture is typical for this period, whereas the decoration supports a date in the Fifth Dynasty.

[18] Harpur, Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, context drawing 14-6.

[19] Note that it is very difficult to determine vessel typology and, accordingly, the associated functions based exclusively on the depiction within the offering table scene. Here vessels are divided into 2 groups. This distinction is made if the purpose of the respective vessel is indicated. Thus jars for beer or wine (i.e., beverages) are included in the category of edible goods whereas *qbḥ* jars, ewer and basin, and censers are ritual equipment, assigned to the household category. For a typology of vessels in Egyptian tomb decoration, see Balcz, *MDAIK* 3, 50-114; *MDAIK* 4, 18-36; *MDAIK* 5, 45-94; Faltings, *Lebensmittelproduktion*, 156-225, figs. 20-7.

[20] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 34.

[21] Despite the lack of information concerning the offering

An early example of a Middle Kingdom funerary repast scene is found in the tomb of Baket I (BH 29) at Beni Hasan (Fig. 8).[22] This one-chamber tomb dates to the late Eleventh Dynasty. The composition of the repast scene is quite exceptional since the pile of offerings is completely missing. Only the ewer and the basin as well as a small rack with loaves of bread and plucked goose on it are shown under the table. The offering table is very small in relation to the size of the tomb owner seated before it. In the top register offering bearers present various goods to Baket I. The offering list, although largely destroyed, seems to conform to the pattern of the prototype A/B-list[23] and occupies a very prominent position in the entire composition. Exceptional as well is the omission of the inventory list.

Ukhhotep II (B2) built his rock cut tomb at Meir in Middle Egypt during the reign of Senwosret I. In this one-chamber tomb four offering table scenes are depicted, but only that on the south wall[24] is complemented by an offering list (Fig. 9a). Unfortunately, this list is incomplete and some rows in the middle are missing. It is noteworthy, too, that there is no inventory list. Normally we would expect this to be placed close to the deceased or the table. In all of the examples discussed above, foodstuff comprises by far the largest group in the offering lists, as well as in the pile of offerings. In this scene, the category of "household goods" includes vessels, which are presumably used ritually, along with baskets, tools etc., making up 36% of all items and therefore constituting the largest single category.[25]

There are two offering table scenes on the west wall, one on the south (Fig. 9b) and another on the north side (Fig. 9c) of the statue recess. In both scenes the ritual and the inventory list are omitted. Instead the offering table scenes seem to be closely connected to ritual activities, which take place directly in front of them. The scene to the north seems to merge the offering table scene with imagery of priests performing rituals. One priest pours a libation over a small table, which is also part of the pile of offerings with no visible separation between these two scenes.[26]

The fourth offering table scene is depicted on the west wall of the statue recess (Fig. 9d). This scene, however, is reduced to the seated tomb owner, the offering table, and a very small pile of offerings. Directly above the table, 5 objects, all belonging to the category of edibles, are depicted.[27]

The tomb of Amenemhat (BH 2) at Beni Hasan is similar to that of Ukhhotep II in that it also contains four funerary repast scenes. On the south wall of the main chamber we see the tomb owner himself (Fig. 10a) with a separate scene for his wife (Fig. 10b). Amenemhat's offering list is organized within three compartments, separated by a vertical inscription and a vertical double line.[28] The list conforms to the Old Kingdom prototype with some minor exceptions (A/B-list). As in the tomb of Ukhhotep II at Meir, the repast scene is not associated with an inventory list. The "household goods" in the pile of offerings make up 11% and therefore a larger proportion than in the Old Kingdom examples. In this case, individuality was not expressed by the quantity of different items but by the depiction of unique offerings. Amongst the usual goods in the pile of offerings, the fruit of the moringa tree is included. The display of this kind of fruit is very rare nor is it mentioned in the offering list, although *bꜣḳ* oil derived from it is represented.[29] *Bꜣḳ* or Behen oil was used for cooking, in medicine, and for the manufacture of perfume. The moringa tree is also connected with two Memphite deities, *Ḫrj-bꜣq=f* ('*the one who is under his moringa tree*') and *Ḥtp-bꜣq=f* ('*the one who is in his moringa tree*'). The latter deity is very well known during the Middle Kingdom, since he is mentioned in the tomb of Ahanakht at Deir el Bersheh[30] and personified in the tomb of Wakhka II at Qaw el Kebir.[31] Normally the seeds of the moringa tree do not appear among offerings since the Egyptians preferred to present this commodity as a processed ointment,[32] making the depiction of the fruit itself here exceptional.[33]

On the west end of the south wall, Amenemhat's

table scene within tomb decoration of this period, it remains a frequent motive on the stelae; see DAOUD, *Inscriptions*, passim; DAOUD, in EYRE (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 303-8; KUBISCH, *MDAIK* 56, 239-66.

[22] NEWBERRY, *Beni Hassan* II, 32-6, pl. 30.

[23] For the A/B-list see BARTA, *Opferliste*, fig. 5.

[24] BLACKMAN, *Meir* II, pls. 6-8.

[25] In total the edibles are still the largest category but this group consists of bread, beverages, fowl, and red meat, vegetables and fruit. Normally the varieties of bread comprise the largest single category but in this example bread makes up only 20% of all items, whereas objects of the funerary household amount to 36%.

[26] BLACKMAN, *Meir* II, pl. 10.

[27] BLACKMAN, *Meir* II, pl. 12.

[28] NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan* I, 33, pl. 17.

[29] Wb 1, 423-4.

[30] NEWBERRY, GRIFFITH, *Bersheh* II, 35, pl. 17.

[31] PETRIE, *Antaeopolis*, 14, pl. 26.

[32] GERMER, *Heilpflanzen*, 104; GERMER, *Handbuch*, 56-8.

[33] For a detailed colour image, see SHEDID, *Beni Hasan*, fig. 140.

wife is depicted seated before her offering table.[34] Above it is the offering list, which is much shorter than usual and significantly briefer than that of her husband. This list-type, referred to as a C-list by Barta, consists of 22 items and is dated particularly to the Middle Kingdom.[35] In this example the usual proportional distribution is attested with edible goods comprising 91% of offerings and household items only 9%.

In addition to these two offering table scenes in the main room, there are two more in the statue chapel (Figs. 10c-d). In both scenes, the recipient of the offerings is missing. The offering table is placed on the bottom register line in the corner of the wall. Above and next to the table, the offerings are piled up and the offering list (C-list) is placed within this composition. It seems that Amenemhat's statue, which would have been placed close to this position, assumed the function of the depiction of the deceased seated before his offering table, indicating the close connection between the three-dimensional statue and the two–dimensional decoration.[36] Another interesting feature is the significant difference in the distribution of categories of offerings from those scenes in the main chamber. On the north wall there are almost as many household objects (43.5%) as edibles (56.5%). It is also significant that the largest component here comprises ritual objects including vessels and censing equipment. The proportion of household objects on the south wall is also obviously larger (24.5%) than attested in the scenes in the main chamber.

4. Conclusion

The offering list which formed a very important part of the entire offering table scene can be divided into 2 parts: the ritual list and the inventory list. The inventory list contained mostly items related to the funerary household – vessels, tools, etc. The reference of the ritual list, on the other hand, was ritualized activities. Both lists, together with the pile of offerings, displayed the different elements within the repast scene.

A significant development of the offering list and the pile of offerings occurred over time. During the Early Dynastic Period and the early Old Kingdom, the inventory list was either the sole element or formed the main part of the offering list. The range of offerings displayed in the pile was limited to a few items. Each part of the offering list, however, maintained a distinct, individual character. In addition, offerings included in the ritual and inventory lists were associated with items depicted in the pile of offerings.

It is evident that neither the items in the offering lists nor the depiction of the offerings are in any way standardized during the Early Dynastic Period. Barta summarised the situation in the Second Dynasty thus:

> 'Die Bezeichnungen der Speiseopfer sind äußerst vielfältig und lassen keine festgelegte Auswahl erkennen. Vielmehr zeigt ihre individuelle Zusammenstellung innerhalb der einzelnen Listen, daß allein der Wunsch und der Geschmack des Grabinhabers dafür bestimmend waren. Das bedeutet, daß es noch keine Speiseopfer gab, die allgemein als besonders wirksam für die Toten angesehen wurden.'[37]

This means that the personal choice of the deceased was significant in the selection and naming of items included. With the exception of a few offerings including *ḥtȝ* bread, *spḥ* drink, *bšȝ* fruit, fowl species *rȝ*, *ṯrp* and *st*, no other items appear consistently in more than three different funerary repast scenes.[38]

From the Old Kingdom and especially following the Fifth Dynasty, the ritual list became more important. From then on, the ritual list was organized in a fixed sequence, maintaining its form until the end of dynastic times. This development went hand in hand with two further modifications: firstly, the importance of the inventory list as a part of the offering list gradually decreased. Henceforth, it became limited to a repertoire of six to seven items – bread, beer, cattle, fowl, alabaster, linen, and sometimes gazelles.[39] Secondly, the pile of offerings increasing depicted more items. While a strong link between the offering list and the offerings depicted above the table is attested in the early period, this connection gradually became less evident in the later stages of the Old Kingdom.

[34] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 33-4, pl. 18.
[35] Barta, *Opferliste*, 111-6.
[36] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 36-7, pls. 19-20.
[37] Barta, *Opferliste*, 25-6.
[38] Barta, *Opferliste*, 26.
[39] Vasiljević shows that the reason for reducing the inventory list is not necessariliy connected to its decreasing importance in general but rather because an alternative means of expressing the idea was found. In the Early Dynastic Period and the early Old Kingdom, grave goods (houshold items) are mentioned in the inventory list. In the Fourth Dynasty however, offering bearers carrying the items of the inventory list to the tomb owner. Vasiljević, *Recueil de Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie* (A) 19, 80-8.

Junker summarized:

> 'Im Grunde genommen sollten die dargestellten Speisen im Bilde zeigen, was die Liste nur mit Namen nannte. Aber hier und in den entsprechenden Darstellungen macht sich ein Streben nach Selbständigkeit bemerkbar, das einer eingehenden Untersuchung wert wäre. Bei dem Verzeichnis spielt die Überlieferung im Totendienst eine große Rolle. Die alten Bestandteile des Mahles werden streng gewahrt. Dem Schwanken der Listen in der IV. Dynastie wird bedeutsamerweise in der V. ein Ende gemacht. Jetzt werden die Speisen und ihre Reihenfolge so festgelegt, dass sie sich für alle Zeit hielten. Die Wiedergabe der Opfer dagegen ging ihre eigenen Wege. Ein Anschluss an das Verzeichnis ist zwar unverkennbar, daneben aber treten Gerichte auf, die dort nie genannt werden, und andere, die unterdessen aus der Liste gestrichen waren. Vielleicht dürfte die Darstellung mehr der tatsächlichen Auswahl der Speisen beim Mahle der Lebenden entsprechen.'[40]

It seems that in the Middle Kingdom a further decrease in the number of terms in the inventory list occurred. No longer was maintaining the links of the inventory list to the repast scene necessary. It is likely that the inventory list may have become totally replaced at this time by the depictions of offering bearers who present various items to the deceased and by the pile of offerings placed near to or upon the offering table. The ritual list, on the other hand, continued to follow the prototype of the Old Kingdom with the addition of one new ritual, the opening the mouth (A/B-list). Sometimes the A/B-list is replaced by a shorter version, the so-called C-list (cf. Figs. 10b-d).

The individual character of the repast scene, however, was maintained throughout the Middle Kingdom. Although aspects of the offering list were standardized to some degree, the pile of offerings continued to demonstrate the individual creativity of tomb owners and/or artists. On one hand, new products appear among the traditional offerings; on the other hand, the quantity of different categories is slightly altered. While in the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom edibles constituted over 90%, the objects of the funerary household increased in proportion during the Middle Kingdom. Perhaps this development can be interpreted as a substitution for the omitted inventory list.

Even though the scenes in different tombs appear to be the same, Egyptian artists tried to escape uniformity. It was necessary to constantly repeat certain motifs within the funerary repast scenes in all tombs but the Egyptians struggled for individuality. They found new ways to employ well-known motifs and they altered some minor details to be different. Although the funerary repast scene is one of the oldest scenes within the program of Egyptian tomb decoration and is therefore presumed to be standardized, tomb owners and the artists they employed found creative ways to express their individual choices.

[40] Junker, *Giza* IV, 92.

Bibliography

Balcz, H., "Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches", *MDAIK* 3 (1932), 50-114; *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 18-36; *MDAIK* 5 (1934), 45-94.

Barta, W., *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* (München: MÄS 3, 1963).

Barta, W., "Opferliste", in *LÄ* IV (1982), 586-9.

Baum, N., *Arbes et arbustes de l'Egypte ancienne. La liste de la tombe thébaine d'Ineni (n° 81)* (Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA: OLA 31, 1988).

Bissing, F.W.v., *Der Tote vor dem Opfertisch* (München: SAWM 1952, Heft 2, 1952).

Blackman, A.M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir II, The Tomb-Chapel of Senbi's Son Ukh-Hotp (B, No.2)* (London: ASE 23, 1915).

Blackman, A.M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir V, The Tomb-Chapels A, No.1 (That of Ni-anch-Pepi the Black) A, No.2 (That of Pepionkh with the „Good Name" of Heny the Black), A, No.4 (That of Hepi the Black), D, No.1 (That of Pepi), And E, Nos.1–4 (Those of Meniu, Nenki, Pepionkh and Tjetu)* (London: ASE 28, 1953).

Daoud, K.A., "The Herakleopolitan Stelae from the Memphite Necropolis", in C.J. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995* (Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA: OLA 82, 1998), 303–8.

Daoud, K.A., *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis. Translation, commentary and analyses* (Oxford: BAR International Series 1459, 2005).

Faltings, D., *Die Keramik der Lebensmittelproduktion im Alten Reich. Ikonographie und Archäologie eines Gebrauchsartikels* (Heidelberg: SAGA 14, 1998).

Germer, R., *Die Heilpflanzen der Ägypter* (Düsseldorf, Zürich, 2002).

Germer, R., *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen* (Wiesbaden: Philippika 21, 2008).
Goneim, Z., *Horus Sekhem-Khet, The unfinished step pyramid at Saqqara* I (Cairo, 1957).
Harpur, Y., Scremin, P., *The Chapel of Ptahhotep*: *Scene Details* (Oxford: Oxford Expedition to Egypt 2, 2008).
Hassan, S., *Excavations at Giza* VI*: 1934-1935, Part 2: The Offering List in the Old Kingdom* (Cairo 1948).
Junker, H., *Giza* IV. *Die Mastaba des Kꜣjmʿnḫ (Kai-em-anch)* (Wien, Leipzig, 1940).
Kahl, J., "Zur Datierung der frühen Grabplatten mit Opfertischszene", *SAK* 24 (1997), 137-45.
Kahl, J., Bretschneider, M., Kneissler, B., *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch* 2 (*m–h*) (Wiesbaden, 2003).
Kaplony, P., *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* I–III (Wiesbaden: ÄA 8, 1963).
Kaplony, P., *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit Supplement* (Wiesbaden: ÄA 9, 1964).
Kaplony, P., *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden: ÄA 15, 1966).
Köhler, E.C., Jones, J., *Helwan II. The Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Funerary Relief Slabs* (Rahden: SAGA 25, 2009).
Kubisch, S., "Die Stelen der 1. Zwischenzeit aus Gebelein", *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 239-66.
Manuelian, P.D., *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis* (New Haven, Philadelphia: PPYE 7, 2003).
Murray, M.A., *Saqqara Mastabas* I (London, 1905).
Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hasan* I (London: ASE 1, 1893).
Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hasan* II (London: ASE 2, 1893).
Newberry, P.E., Griffith, F.L., *El Bersheh* II (London: ASE 3, 1895).
Petrie, W.M.F., *Antaeopolis* (London: BSAE 51, 1930).
Quibell, J.E., *Excavations at Saqqara (1912-1914)*, *Archaic Mastabas* (Cairo, 1923).
Robins, G., "Problems in Interpreting Egyptian Art", *DiscEg* 17 (1990), 47-58.
Shedid, A. G., *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten* (Mainz am Rhein: Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie 16, 1994).
Vasiljević, V., "Über das Verhältnis von Opferliste zu den Darstellungen der Opferträger," *Recueil de Travaux de la Faculté de Philosphie, Série A: Les Sciences Historiques XIX* (1997), 79-88.

List of figures

Fig. 1 - Cylinder seal of *Tjj*, Early Dynastic Period.
Fig. 2 - Heken, Second Dynasty, Helwan. Redrawn after: Köhler, *Helwan* II, EM99–4.
Fig. 3 - Wepka, Second Dynasty, Saqqara. After: Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pl. 27.
Fig. 4 - Khabausokar, Third Dynasty, Saqqara. After: Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 1.
Fig. 5 - Neferetiabet, Fourth Dynasty, Giza. After: Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, pl. 12. Drawing by Peter der Manuelian.
Fig. 6 - Ptahhotep, Fifth Dynasty, Saqqara. After: Harpur, Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, context drawing 14. Image © Courtesy of Oxford Expedition to Egypt.
Fig. 7 - Pepiankh III, Sixth Dynasty, Meir (A2). After: Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 34. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 8 - Baket I, Twelfth Dynasty, Beni Hasan (BH 29). After: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, pl. 30. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 9a - Ukhhotep II, Twelfth Dynasty, Meir (B2). After: Blackman, *Meir* II, pl. 6. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 9b - Ukhhotep II, Twelfth Dynasty, Meir (B2). After: Blackman, *Meir* II, pl. 15. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 9c - Ukhhotep II, Twelfth Dynasty, Meir (B2). After: Blackman, *Meir* II, pl. 10. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 9d - Ukhhotep II, Twelfth Dynasty, Meir (B2). After: Blackman, *Meir* II, pl. 12. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 10a - Amenemhat, Twelfth Dynasty, Beni Hasan (BH 2). After: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 17. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 10b - Amenemhat, Twelfth Dynasty, Beni Hasan (BH 2). After: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 18. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 10c - Amenemhat, Twelfth Dynasty, Beni Hasan (BH 2). After: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 19. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 10d - Amenemhat, Twelfth Dynasty, Beni Hasan (BH 2). After: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 20. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

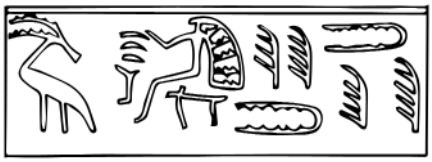


Figure 1

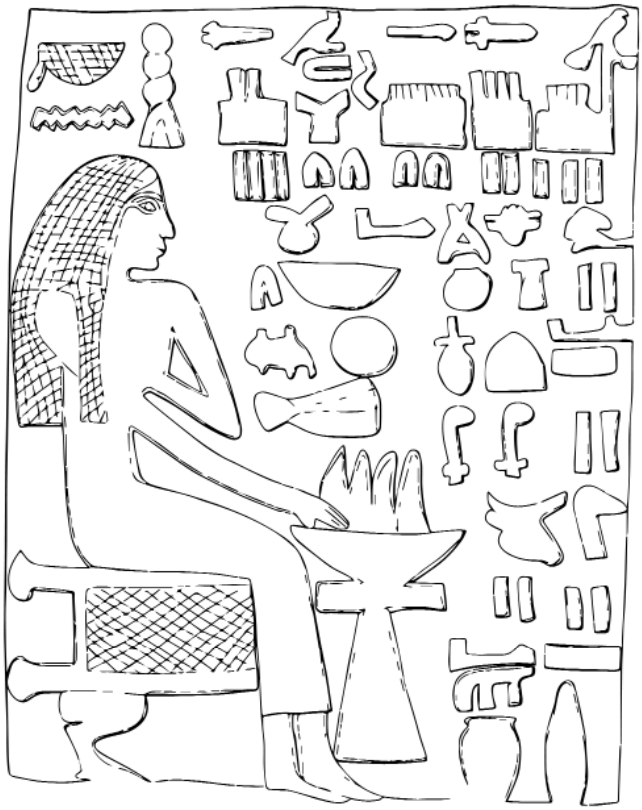


Figure 2

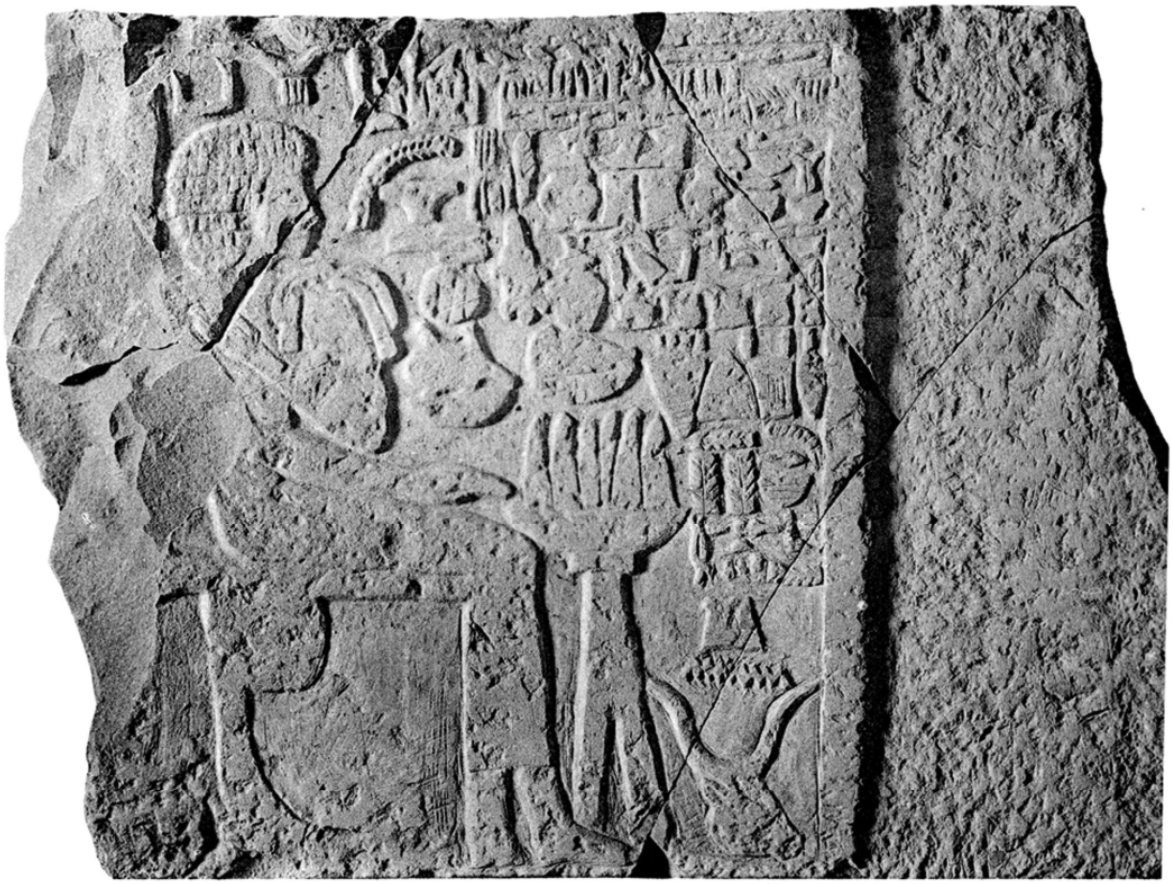


Figure 3



Figure 4

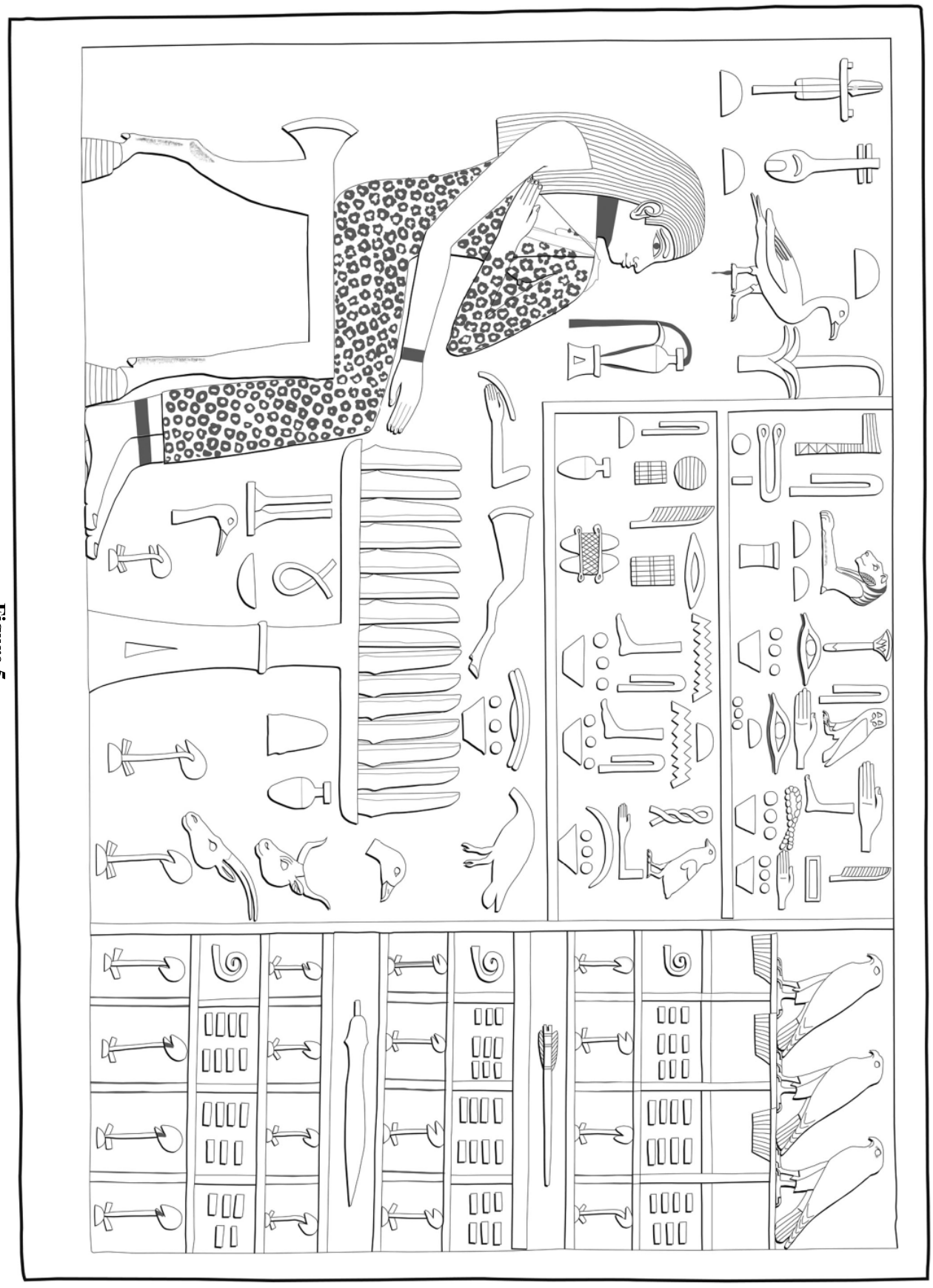


Figure 5

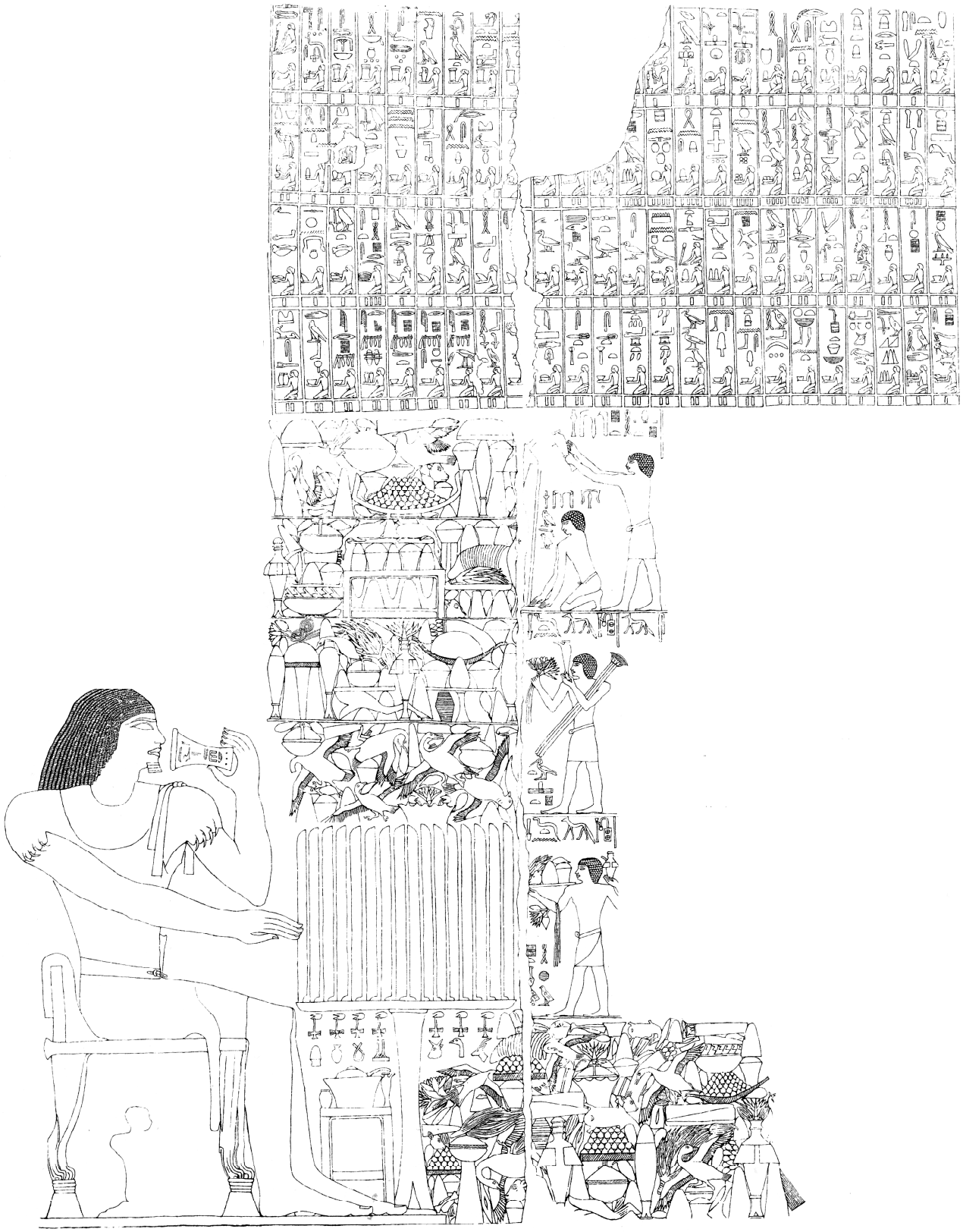


Figure 6

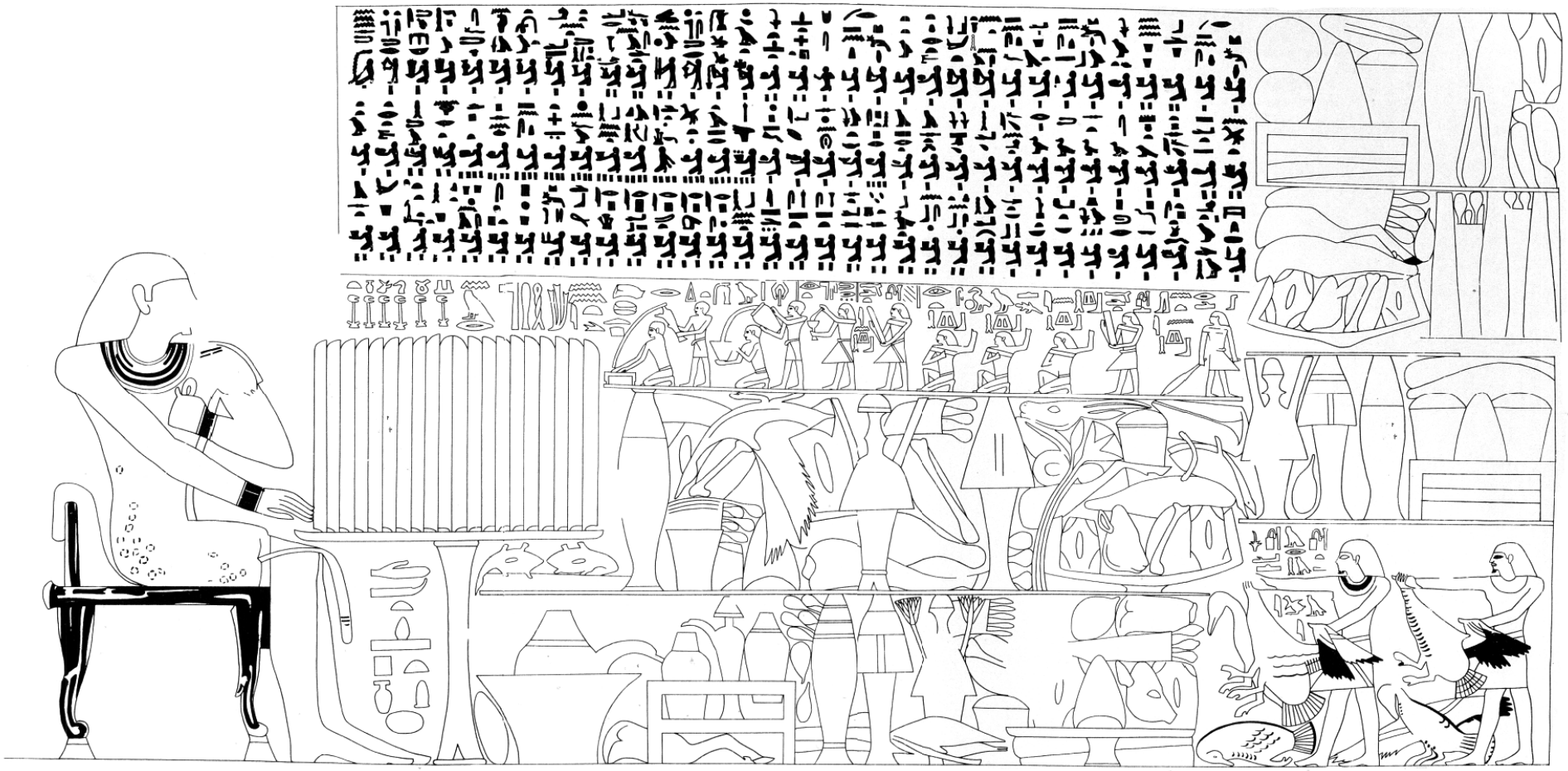


Figure 7

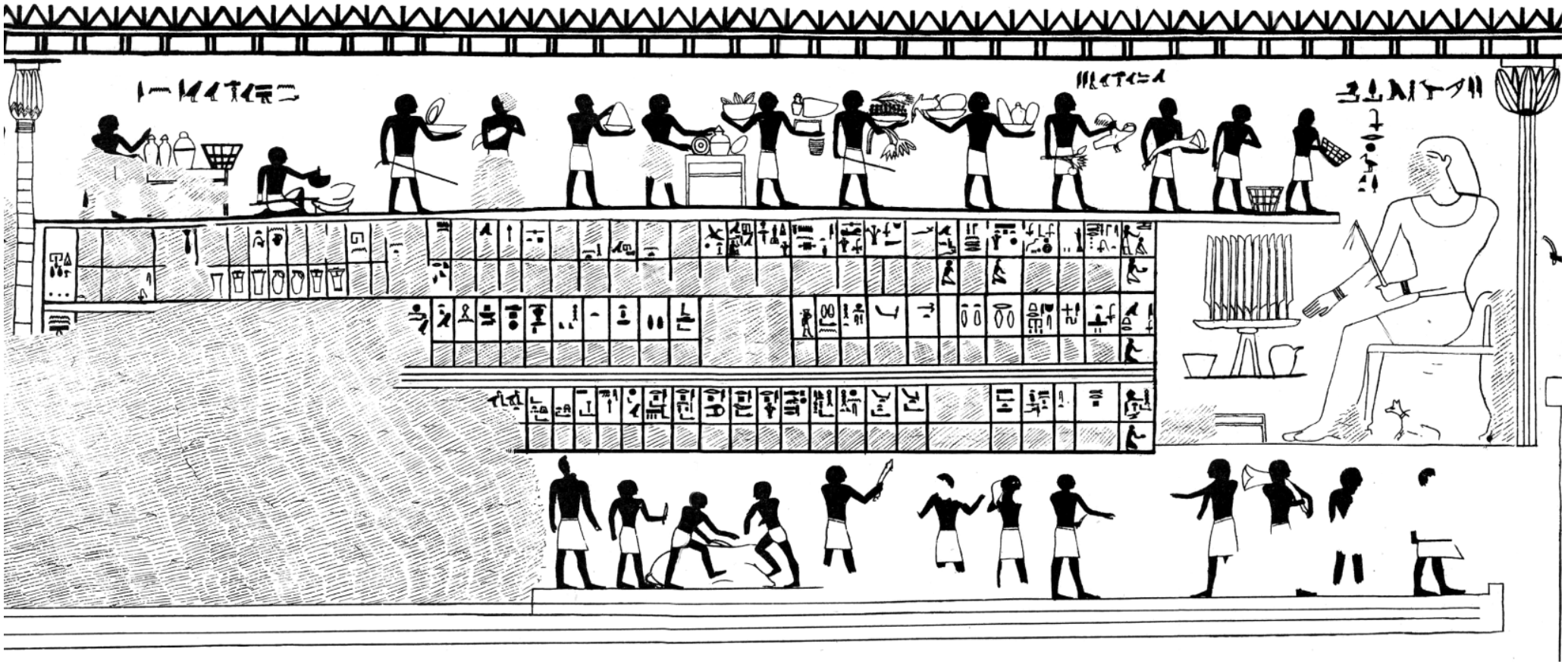


Figure 8

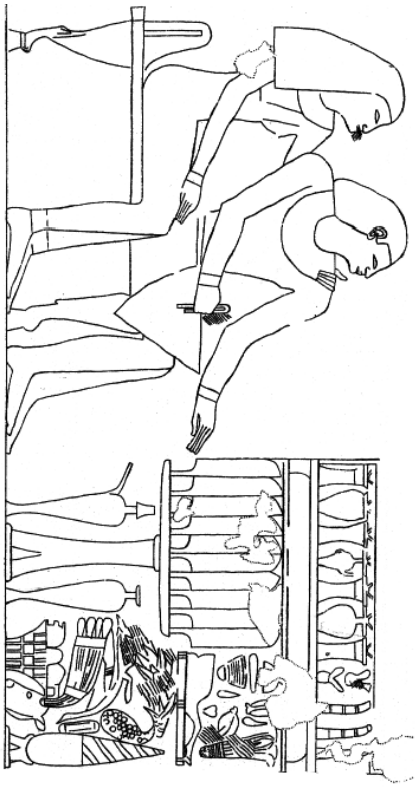


Figure 9b

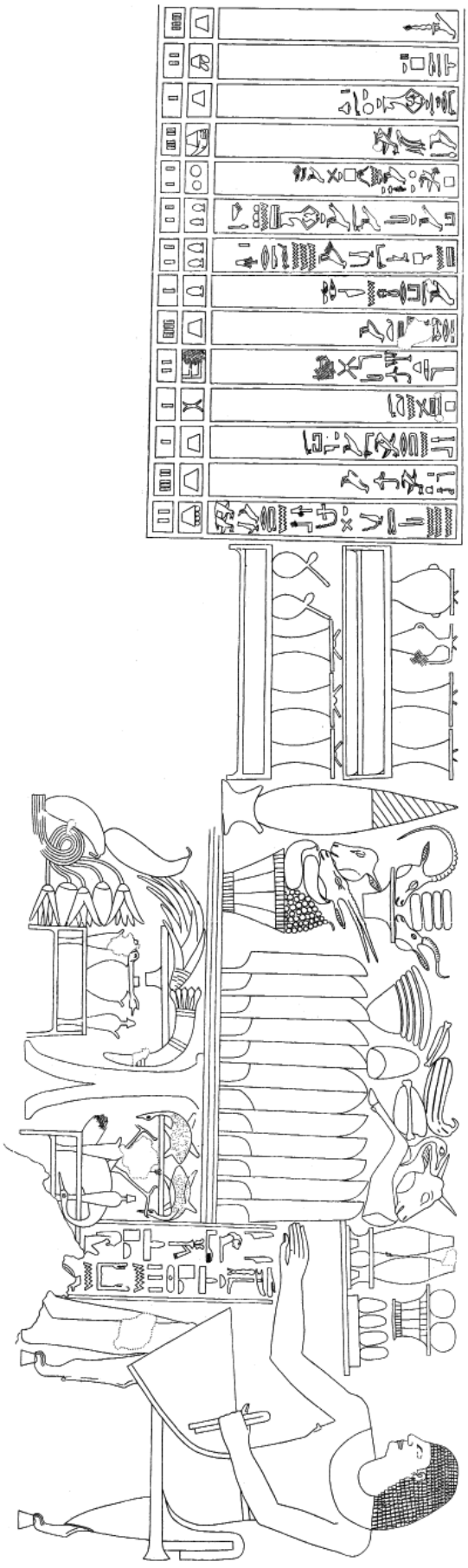


Figure 9a

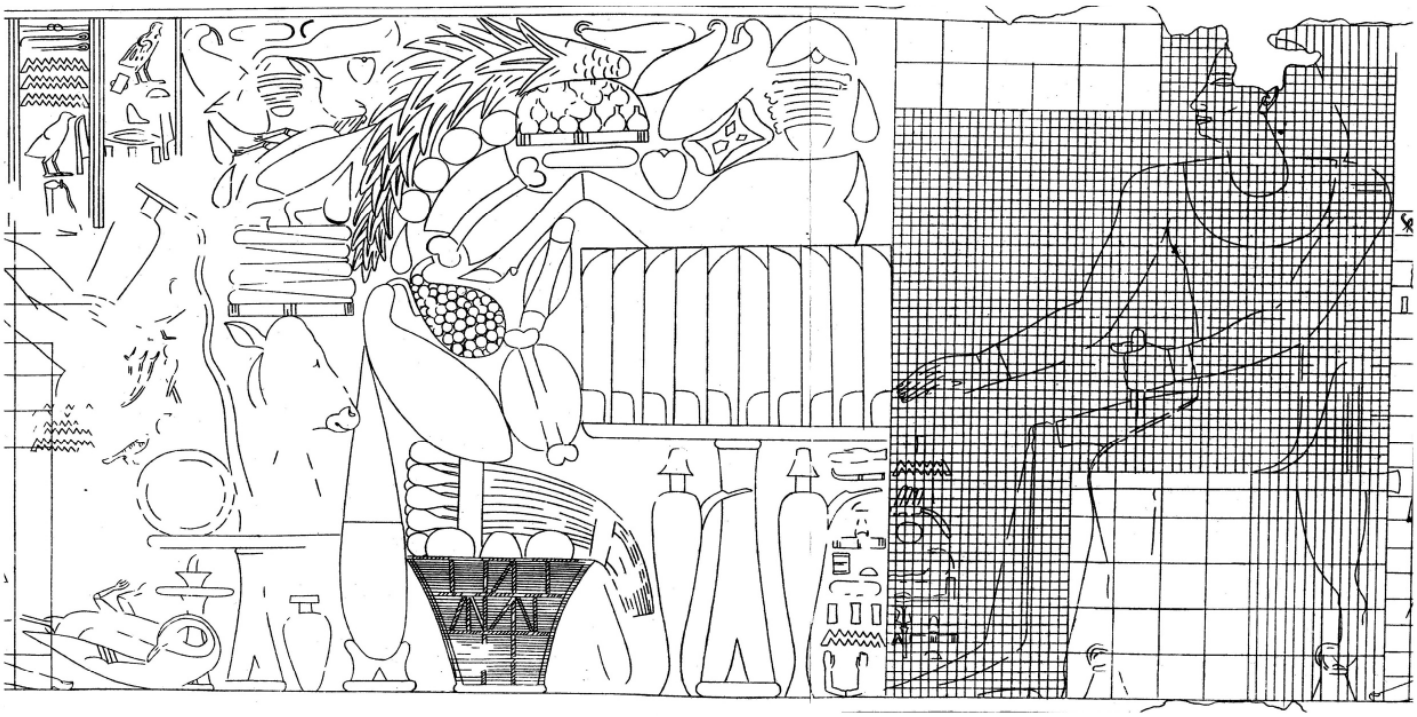


Figure 9c

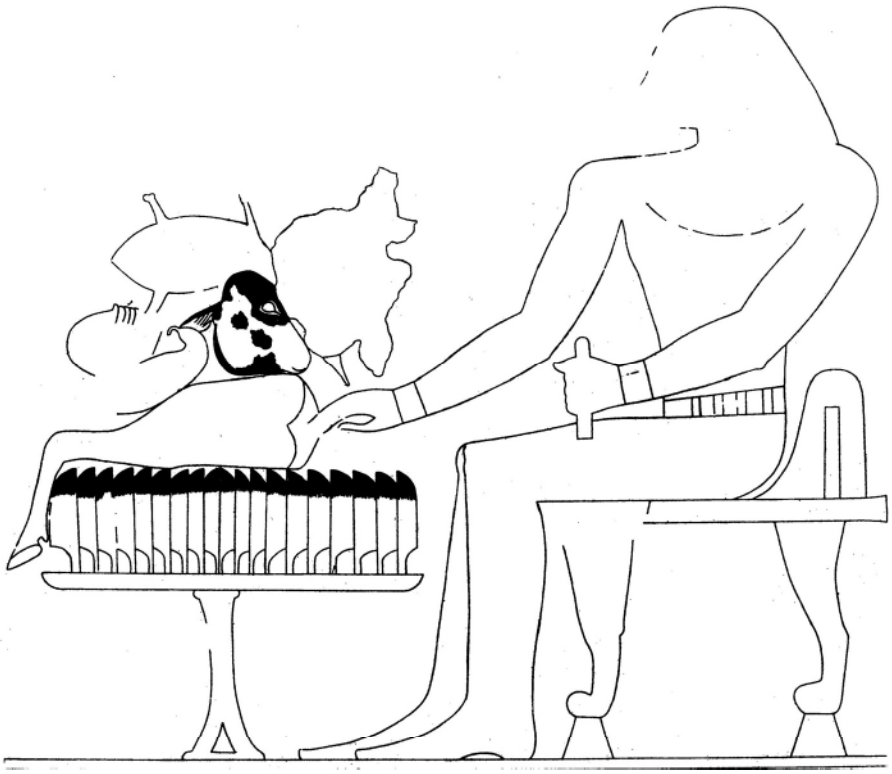


Figure 9d

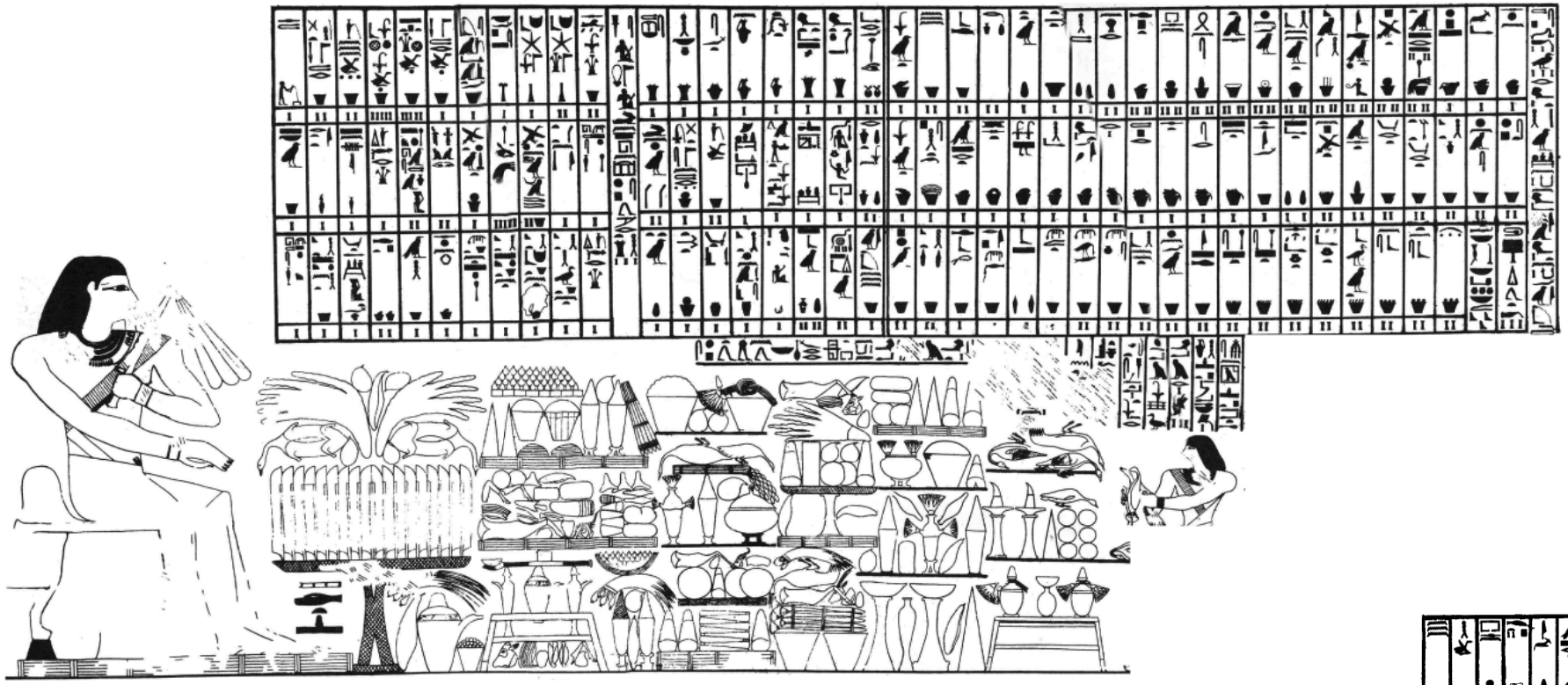


Figure 10a



Figure 10b

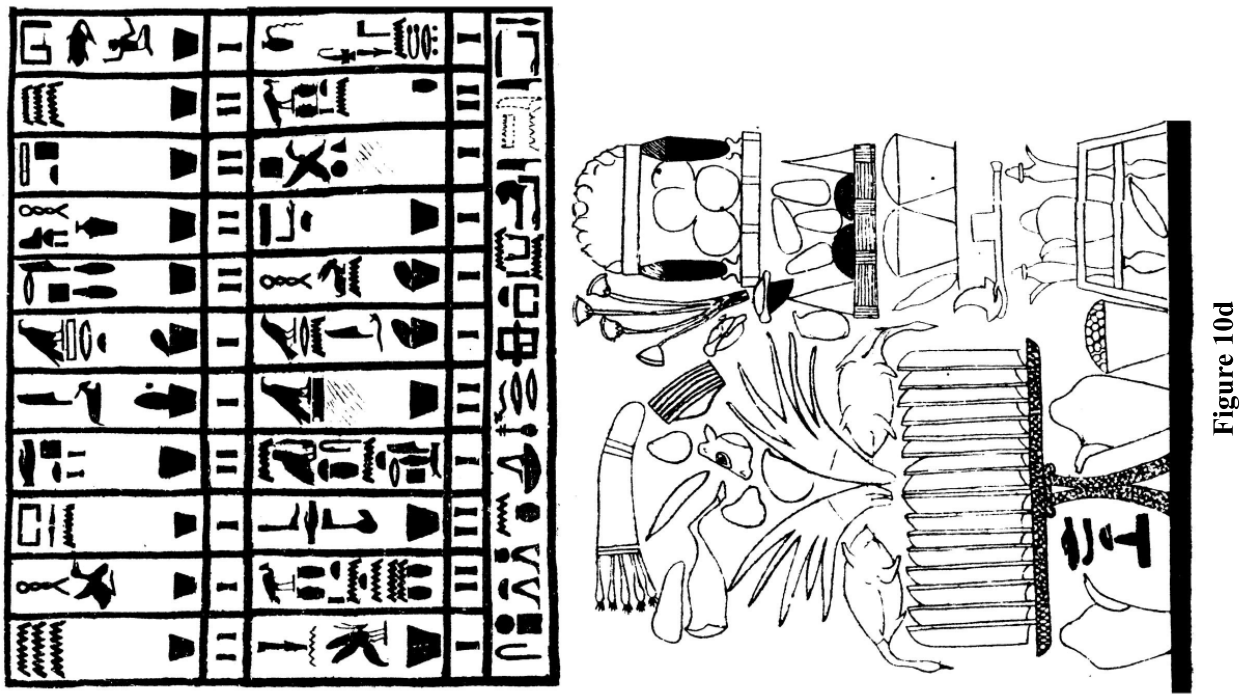


Figure 10d

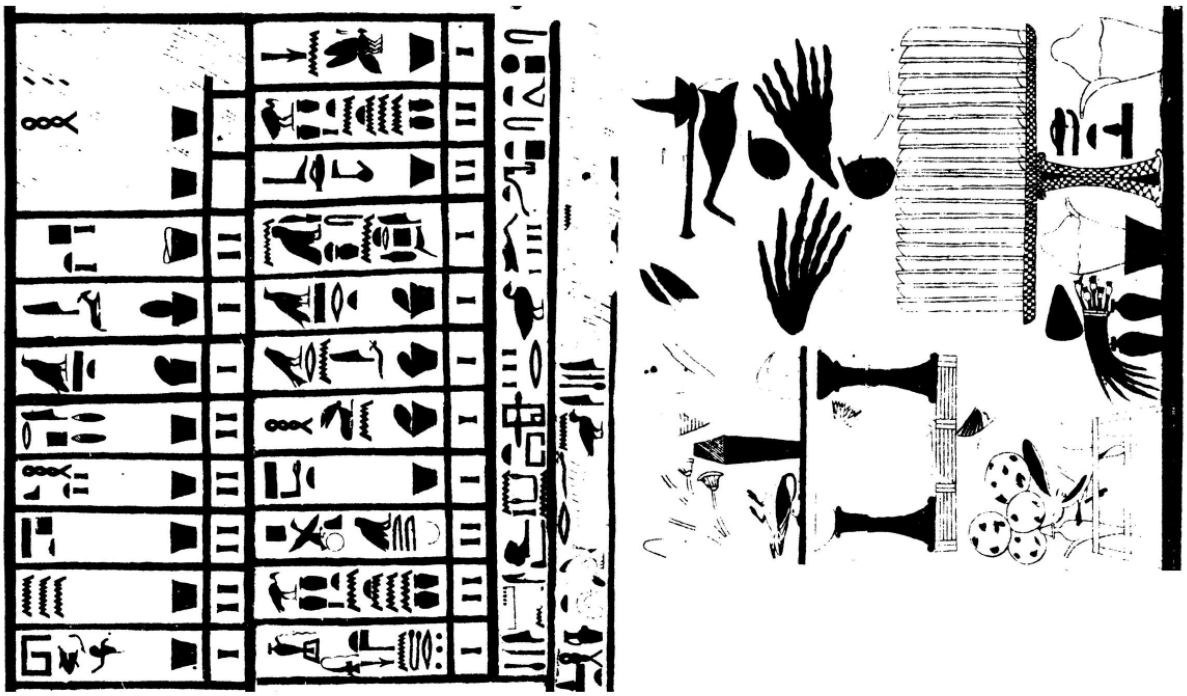


Figure 10c

Hudáková, Jánosi, Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London 2016, 83-94

Did the « reunification style » affect the production of Middle Kingdom royal statuary?

David Lorand
Postdoctoral Researcher FNRS–ULB, Research Associate IFAO

Abstract
This paper tries to assess the appropriateness of the terminology currently used to describe the art and style of reliefs during the reign of Mentuhotep II. Is the pre-unification Theban style of relief*, a style documented exclusively in the Theban area and only before the reunification of the Two Lands? Is the* post-reunification Memphite style *associated solely with the vicinity of Memphis, only after reunification? This paper also tackles the question of what seems to be the 'non-evolution' of the style of statuary during the first half of the Middle Kingdom.*

1. Two relief styles, two construction phases at Deir el-Bahari

Various scientific contributions, old and new, refer to the existence, during the Eleventh Dynasty, of two distinct iconographic styles used in the production of wall reliefs in temples of the gods and in royal mortuary temples. A relative chronology of these two styles is proposed by combining data, on the one hand, from the detailed examination of the reliefs and, on the other hand, from the royal names of Mentuhotep II associated with these reliefs in his mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari and in some other sanctuaries as well.[1]

The *pre-unification Theban style of relief*[2] is mainly characterized by figures carved deeply in sunk relief or, on the contrary, in very bold high relief (Fig. 1). The plastically modelled figures are richly ornamented with regularly overlapping carved, incised, or engraved details. The facial features are also so specific that they contribute to the immediate recognition of this style: the eyebrows, first horizontal across the forehead, then curved at the temples following the contour of the eye; the eye with its clearly delineated eyelids and neatly marked inner canthi is elongated at the temples and extended by a thick cosmetic strip of khôl; the nose is broad and cut deeply into the cheeks; the lips are thick and prominent with almost vertical corners. Some other elements complete this gallery of stylistic features, including the working of the breast, knees, and legs, for example, or the relative proportions of the various parts of the human figure (a small torso and long legs, in particular).

This style shows a slight evolution from its beginnings which date back to the Theban art of the Old Kingdom when Memphite artistic practices were disseminated in Upper Egypt, appropriated, and developed by regional workshops – especially at Dendera[3] – during the First Intermediate Period. Monuments decorated in the *pre-unification Theban style of relief* are few during the reign of Mentuhotep II,[4] but they are easily identifiable: the chapel of Hathor at Dendera (now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo) and the small sanctuary at Gebelein (elements preserved in the Museo Egizio, Turin, and in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo). The various chapels of queens and princesses included in the mortuary temple of Deir el-Bahari

[1] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 10, 19; Freed, in Goring, Reeves, Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers*, 148-63; Freed, in Freed *et al*., *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*, 65-9; Robins, in Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids*, 39-45; Robins, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, 83-90.

[2] See the detailed description given by Robins, in Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids*, 42. See also the recent contributions of Postel, *Égypte* 30, 22; Fiore Marochetti, *Gebelein*, 17-20.

[3] Postel, *Égypte* 30, 24; Freed, in Freed, *et al.*, *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*, 65-6. From Freed's point of view, the Theban Style is obviously influenced by the Dendera Style but shows a more pronounced intricacy of details and a higher sculptural quality.

[4] Dated monuments from the reigns of Wahankh Intef II and Nakhtnebtepnefer Intef III already evince the *pre-unification Theban style of relief*, following Robins, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, 85.

belong to the same phase.[5] However, the reliefs of the chapel of Queen Neferu (Fig. 2) suggest the start of a transition leading to the *post-reunification Memphite style*.[6] The reliefs actually preserve a clear taste for ornamental sculpture on several levels and an ancient grid of proportions, but they already show less salient or less carved figures and a different organization of the objects in the iconographic field.[7]

The royal name associated with these reliefs in the first style of Mentuhotep II's reign is



'Horus Netjeryhedjet, He of the Two Ladies Netjeryhedjet, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebhepetre, the Son of Re Mentuhotep' (titulary B).

The name of the sovereign read on blocks with reliefs of the second style of the reign is



'Horus Sematawy, He of the Two Ladies Sematawy, the Golden Horus Qashuty, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebhepetre, the Son of Re Mentuhotep' (titulary C). It already occurs in the chapel of Queen Neferu at Deir el-Bahari, which, in addition to stylistic considerations, confirms the completion of Neferu's chapel at a turning point between the first and the second relief styles.

Post-reunification Memphite style demonstrates a return to the proportional grid used in the art of the Old Kingdom as well as alterations of some previous stylistic traits: the eyebrows now arch above smaller eyes and the inner canthi are less pronounced; the attitudes are less static; the rendering of the muscular structure of the legs becomes more stylized, although some "naturalism" outweighs previous "expressionism". The superposition of iconographic elements is now largely avoided in the compositions. The most striking change is the very marked reduction of depth (for sunk reliefs) and height (for raised relief) in both royal and other monuments.[8] In the funerary complex of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, the second style of relief is found in the upper colonnades of the temple, the hall, and the sanctuary (Fig. 3).

Archaeological activities at Deir el-Bahari for more than a century, especially those in the second half of the 1960s, clearly showed that the monument of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II experienced several phases of construction and structural changes.[9] Thus, the relative chronology of *pre-* and *post-reunification styles* is established: the cult chapels of queens and princesses Ashaït, Henhenit, Kawit, Kemsit, and Sadhe were designed (Phase B) prior to their embedment into the royal platform imposed by the erection of this definitive structure (Phase C); the colonnades and the sanctuary date to Phase D1-2.

Similarly, the sequence of names of Mentuhotep II ('Netjeryhedjet' for *pre-unification style* and 'Sematawy' for *post-reunification style*) fits the dated documents. An initial titulary (titulary A)[10], not found at Deir el-Bahari, is carved on two private stelae found in the Theban necropolis; one of them, belonging to Intef, son of Ka, is dated to Year 14 of Mentuhotep II (British Museum EA 1203). The terminal titulary (titulary C, with the name 'Sematawy') is preserved in connection with Year 41 of Mentuhotep II in the rock inscription of Khety (between Sehel Island and Aswan – Horus name and *nswt-bitj* name only) and with Year 46 on the stela of Meru (Museo Egizio, Turin 1447), and it also appears on many royal monuments and sacral furnishings including an offering table found at Dendera evoking the first *Sed*-festival of the king[11] (traditionally organized around Year 30). Finally, an intermediate titulary (titulary B, with the name 'Netjeryhedjet') was used between Year 14 at the earliest (*terminus post quem*: stela of Intef, son of Ka) and Year 41 at the latest (*terminus ante quem*: stela of Khety). The *terminus ante quem* is somehow confirmed by the stela of Merer-teti, also dated to Year 41 of Mentuhotep (rock inscription at Mahatta, opposite Sehel Island), if the unique spelling of 'Nebhepetre' with Gardiner Signlist P8 (*ḫpt*-oar) as in titulary C be considered relevant. The intermediate titulary may even end a decade earlier if we admit that the mention of the *Heb-Sed* regeneration festival on the Dendera offering table (with titulary C) indicates an actual dedication of the altar around Year 30, when

[5] For a detailed list of the characteristics of their reliefs, see Freed, in Goring, Reeves, Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers*, 149-51.

[6] Robins, in Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids*, 42; Freed, in Goring, Reeves, Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers*, 67.

[7] Freed, in Goring, Reeves, Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers*, 151-3.

[8] Robins, in Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids*, 43; Robins, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, 90; Freed, in Goring, Reeves, Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers,* 152-4.

[9] Arnold, *Der Temple des Königs Mentuhotep*, 62, emended in Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep*, 45.

[10]  'Horus Seankhibtawy, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Son of Re Mentuhotep'.

[11] Cauville, Gasse, *BIFAO* 88, 27, fig. 2.

such royal ceremonies were, in theory, to be held[12] (see table 1).

2. The terminology for the two styles and actual political events: a reassessment

However, the main problem is not the succession of styles and titularies but the relationship between the succession of styles and the policy of the sovereign, in particular his completion of the unification of the country. Indeed, the monuments made in the *pre-unification style* – mainly at Dendera[13] and Gebelein[14] – with the "Upper Egyptian" name of 'Netjeryhedjet' seem to declare the legitimacy of Mentuhotep II and his control of the geographical area of Lower Egypt and neighboring countries more forcefully than the *post-reunification style* (with the "Two Land" name of 'Sematawy'). Nonetheless, there is no need to speak of a contradiction here if we consider that these are elements of rhetoric, dissociated from the actual progress of reunification, with the decoration of the chapels anticipating or giving shape to the results and ambitions of the pharaoh.[15]

In fact, the only tangible clue clearly dated and asserting Mentuhotep II's claim to control the Delta – and thus his victory over the princes of Herakleopolis – is found in the rock inscription of Merer-teti opposite Sehel Island. Citing Year 41 of Mentuhotep II, Merer-teti is said to be the overseer of the 13th nome of Lower Egypt, well north of the Memphite area. As already mentioned, the *prenomen* 'Nebhepetre' of Mentuhotep II is here written with the oar-sign (P8), as in the terminal titulary of the sovereign with 'Sematawy' ('He who unites the Two Lands'). Because 'Sematawy' – regardless of actual reunification in Year 41 – is generally understood as the manifestation of the *Reconquista* of the entire country under the authority of Mentuhotep II, and considering that part of the reliefs of the funerary temple at Deir el-Bahari – those carved in the so-called *post-reunification style* – evince this name, these reliefs are attributable to a period after the conquest of the north.

But without precise dating of this major event in the political history of the pharaonic kingdom, and since there is no evidence that the sovereign actually changed his name at the time the *Reconquista* was completed – abandoning an "Upper Egyptian" titulary illustrated by the white crown ('Netjery*hedjet*') in favor of a titulary stating his control of the "Two Lands" ('Sema*tawy*') – the common terminology distinguishing *pre-unification* from *post-reunification style* seems inadequate. This distinction, widespread in Egyptological literature, may be functional and clearly defined materially, but it nonetheless rests upon an uncertain chronology.[16] However, we must admit that the overseer of sculptors Intefnakht[17] sojourned at Herakleopolis to get some training under Mentuhotep II, at a date obviously after the *Reconquista*. Therefore, there is a possibility that Memphite influence, so noticeable in the second style, could not have been a reality prior to reunification because the country's partition probably complicated – if not prevented – artistic exchanges.[18]

On the contrary, it can be argued, contra the traditional view, that the transition seen in the reliefs of Neferu's chapel is perhaps due not only to the influence of Memphis after the *Reconquista* was completed. Indeed, there is from the reign of Wahankh Intef II onwards, a tradition of flatter and less ornate relief at Thebes – a tradition that may have been the foundation of the so-called *post-reunification style*, or that at least prepared the ground for it several years

[12] Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte*, 21; Postel, *Protocole*, 131. On the spelling of 'Nebhepetre' with P8, the oar-sign (titulary C) or with Aa5, the oar/rudder(?)-sign (titulary B), see Postel, *Protocole*, 203.

[13] Robins, in Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids*, 41.

[14] Recently republished by Marochetti, *Gebelein* 2010. See earlier Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte*, 21.

[15] Robins (in Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids*, 41) thinks that Mentuhotep's military campaigns against foreign countries referred to in his Dendera chapel probably never happened. They most certainly express the king's legitimacy in protecting Egypt's borders and, thus, his "lawful" presence on the throne of Egypt. See earlier Wildung, *L'Âge d'or*, 40-1.

[16] See the remarks of Vandersleyen, in Bryan, Lorton (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in honor of Hans Goedicke*, 317-20; Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte*, 21. The link between the shift in titulary and historical momentum, although presented as uncertain, is considered relevant by Robins, in Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids*, 40 ("it is generally assumed that the change coincides with the reunification"); Freed, in Goring, Reeves, Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers*, 148 ("exactly when these final alterations took place is uncertain, but, for the purpose of this paper, they are assumed to have marked the culmination of the conquest of the North and reunification of the country. Reliefs bearing the final form of the name are accordingly assumed to be post-reunification"). See also the chronological table in Arnold, *Der Temple des Königs Mentuhotep*, 62.

[17] Stela Egyptian Museum, Cairo RT 3/6/25/1. Clère, Vandier, *Textes*, n. 30; Helck, *ZÄS* 80, 76.

[18] Aldred, *MMJ* 3, 31; Freed, in Freed, *et al.*, *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*, 67.

before its emergence.[19] The victory of Mentuhotep II over the Herakleopolitan princes must have accelerated the artistic process but probably did not initiate it.[20] In addition, the extent of Memphite artistic influence during the Eleventh Dynasty was wide in Middle Egypt, at least as far as Asyut, so that the Theban princes did not necessarily have to wait until the fall of the northern Residence to renew their contact with Memphite models.[21]

If the direct link between artistic style and political unification cannot be proven decisively, then it would perhaps be more appropriate to use a more neutral terminology based on actual observable stylistic characteristics. We would therefore speak of a *(11th Dynasty First Phase) plastically ornate style of relief* and a *(11th Dynasty Second Phase) flat restrained style of relief*.

Whatever the reason(s) which brought this stylistic change to Upper Egypt – spontaneous evolution, artistic mobility, and/or a royal decision[22] – the reliefs of the Deir el-Bahari temple belonging to the final stages of construction in Mentuhotep II's reign display a style very distinct indeed from that in the chapels of the sovereign's queens and princesses.

3. The absence of a stylistic change in the production of royal statuary

Various authors agree that no significant change of the same kind seems to affect the production of statuary during the reign of Mentuhotep II. Known three-dimensional works considered contemporary with the latest architectural development of the temple of Deir el-Bahari, show strong visual and stylistic similarities with reliefs of the first period, carved in the so-called *pre-unification Theban style of relief* (now more accurately termed *(11th Dynasty First Phase) plastically ornate style of relief*).[23] However, we should remain cautious about the dating of these statues.

Actually, three-dimensional representations of Mentuhotep II unearthed in his monument are few, and only three have their heads preserved, allowing comprehensive comparison with reliefs.[24] Other works have been attributed to the pharaoh, but these are uninscribed and lack a provenance or archaeological context, making attribution to specific chronological phases impossible.[25]

The earliest inventoried head, described at the time of discovery as "the head of an Osiride statue of a king, wearing the white crown only, of the Eleventh Dynasty blue-grey sandstone painted white, red and black", is in the British Museum (EA 720) (Fig. 4). It comes from the southwest corner of Mentuhotep II's temple and was brought to light in 1906, during the third season of É. Naville's excavations.[26] Its relatively imprecise archaeological context ("at the further end of the temple") probably corresponds to an area of the building dating to phase C at the earliest (building of the platform during phase C, and erecting the upper surrounding colonnade during phase D). The original location of the statue within the temple cannot be securely deduced from its find spot since several fragmentary works belonging to the processional approach to the temple were found scattered within the entire area of Deir el-Bahari (see infra).

The head associated with New York MMA 26.3.29 was unearthed during H. Winlock's 1921-1922 excavation season from a hole in the southeast corner of the courtyard of Hatshepsut's temple, at some distance from Mentuhotep's architectural structures.[27] The join of the head with the standing body in the *Heb-Sed* garment (also in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and sharing the inventory number with the head; probably discovered in one of the sycamore tree pits in the front court of Mentuhotep's temple) was made for the purposes of the gallery installation and is not guaranteed (Fig. 5).[28] It is, however, possible that the head MMA 26.03.29 originally belonged to one of the other bodies – all headless – that Winlock found toppled in the front court of the Mentuhotep II temple. It could then be part of a statuary program decorating the axial access path to the temple, a processional way

[19] Stela Pushkin I.1.a.1137 of Heny; Stela British Museum EA 614 of Tjetji. Postel, *Égypte* 30, 22.

[20] On the relationship between "history acceleration" and artistic development, see Wildung, *L'Âge d'or*, 52.

[21] Postel, *Égypte* 30, 27. Freed, in Goring, Reeves, Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers*, 154, had earlier expressed this idea.

[22] On the personal role played by the king in such a stylistic change, see Robins, in Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids*, 43-4.

[23] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 19; Robins, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, 94.

[24] Statues Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 26.3.29 (head), British Museum EA 720, and Egyptian Museum, Cairo JdE 36195.

[25] Statues Edinburgh Royal Museum of Scotland 1965.2 and Bristol Museum H 5038 can be added to the list of works attributed to that pharaoh with some degree of certainty. See the suggestions of Aldred, *MMJ* 3, 32-3.

[26] Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, 26, n. 1.

[27] Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep*, 47-8.

[28] Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep*, 46.

completed during phase D2.[29]

In 1903 Howard Carter by chance found the third statue (Cairo JdE 36195) in the *Bab el-Hossan* (Fig. 6). It shows the king seated and wearing the *Heb-Sed* garment and the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. Since the *Bab el-Hossan* was sealed during phase C, the sculpture dates to phase C at the latest.[30]

Finally, the archaeological data provide a *terminus ante quem* for the creation of these statues (or, in the most optimistic option, a *terminus a quo*). But they do not demonstrate that these pieces were made during those architectural phases (i.e., from the end of phase C to phase D2), in the second half of the reign, by a single group of artists, within ten to twenty years maximum, spanning the time from the production of the seated statues (those from the entrance to the complex and the *Bab el-Hossan*) to the completion of the standing statues (from the processional axis).[31] Regardless, stylistically speaking, the last hypothesis assuming a maximum range of twenty years – a single generation – is plausible.

Since it is difficult to link the chronology of the site of Deir el-Bahari to the production of statuary without physical connection with the monument, we are led to question the assumptions of D. Arnold. Based on a comparison with the reliefs of the queens' and princesses' chapels, C. Aldred suggested that the statue Cairo JdE 36195 from the *Bab el-Hossan* had been produced shortly after the completion of the monuments of the wives of Mentuhotep II[32] (i.e., soon after the end of phase B). Similarly, L. Postel argued that the sandstone statues of the king (both standing and seated), which resemble the statue of Intef, the overseer of the troops,[33] were made during the first decades of the reign (before D. Arnold's mid-phase C). Their characteristics (massive body with a schematic, but well-executed treatment of surfaces and expressive and powerful faces) link these sandstone statues to works from the royal workshops of Upper Egypt with roots going back through the First Intermediate Period to Old Kingdom tradition. D. Wildung proposes that these statues were probably carved in Theban workshops unrelated to those of Memphis. These workshops created an original stylistic synthesis of the First Intermediate Period production and an artistic revival initiated by the princes and kings of the Eleventh Dynasty.[34]

In fact, considering stylistic data, changes in titulary, and historical aspects of the Deir el-Bahari site, it is possible to define a middle ground, in fundamental agreement with the views of D. Arnold, C. Aldred, and L. Postel. Indeed, if we consider 1) that the faces of Mentuhotep II's statues are similar to the design of the reliefs of the royal chapels at Dendera and Gebelein; 2) that these three-dimensional works have been produced around phase C (to allow for the deposition of JdE 36195 in the *Bab el-Hossan*); and 3) the chronological relationship between royal names and reliefs at Deir el-Bahari, we can assume that:

- The statues can hardly be earlier than Year 14 of Mentuhotep II. Until that moment, the royal titulary cites 'Horus Seankhibtawy, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Son of Re Mentuhotep' (titulary A). The name 'Netjeryhedjet', related to the reliefs of what I prefer to call the *(11th Dynasty First Phase) plastically ornate style of relief* (the so-called *pre-unification Theban style*) with which the statues have different affinities, appeared later, at an unknown date after Year 14 (titulary B).
- The statues can hardly be later than Year 41 of Mentuhotep II. From that date onwards, the king's titulary (titulary C) comprises the new name 'Sematawy' (instead of 'Netjeryhedjet') and a new spelling for 'Nebhepetre', as in the rock inscriptions of Khety and Merer-teti. But since the name 'Nebhepetre' with the P8 oar-sign spelling of titulary C is related to the *Sed*-festival on an offerings table from Dendera, it could be attested from *Year 30. As the statues of the king are associated with reliefs showing titulary B, they may therefore pre-date *Year 30.
- At least one statue of the group was buried in the *Bab el-Hossan* at the end of phase C, shortly before *Year 35, if we follow D. Arnold.

It is therefore likely that the statues of Mentuhotep II uncovered in his mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari were carved in the middle of his reign and then installed in the monument following its completion. They were thus not necessarily produced during the erection of the architectural structures they were meant

[29] Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep*, 45, 48.

[30] Arnold, *Der Temple des Königs Mentuhotep*, 51-3; Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep*, 49, n. 179.

[31] *Contra* Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep*, 49, n. 179.

[32] Aldred, *MMJ* 3, 30.

[33] Egyptian Museum, Cairo JdE 89858/JdE 91169: Postel, *Égypte 30*, 17. Arnold emphasizes the stylistic characteristics shared by these works and suggests attribution to a single group of artists (*The Temple of Mentuhotep*, 49, n. 179).

[34] Wildung, *L'Âge d'or*, 42-6.

to occupy (see table 1). However, this chronological hypothesis relies on deductions and scant evidence, while the set of useful stylistic data (from reliefs and statues) available to build valid comparisons remains limited and the chronology of changes in the king's titulary still contains several blank spots.

4. Reliefs and statues – two different schemes for their stylistic evolution

It remains unclear why these statues do not show an apparent stylistic evolution similar to that observable in the reliefs. We should take into account the fact that the state of the documentation may be responsible for this apparent lack of change: all but three statues no longer have heads. And since these three statues seem to belong to a single contemporary statuary program, probably produced by a single generation, this greatly reduces the possibility for us to observe any diachronic change. Moreover, the gap between the *(11th Dynasty Second Phase) flat restrained style of relief* and these statues featuring in three dimensions the *(11th Dynasty First Phase) plastically ornate style of relief* is only theoretical if one accepts the dating of the statues: none are potentially contemporary with the second style of reliefs (see table 1). It is therefore impossible to determine if the stylistic subdivision of the reliefs at Deir el-Bahari is also an appropriate subdivision for the statuary due to a lack of sufficient material. For the time being, nothing points to a specifically **pre-* or **post-reunification style of royal statuary* that could be the three dimensional stylistic counterpart of the inappropriately named *pre-* and *post-reunification styles of relief*.

If we expand the chronological spectrum, it is nevertheless possible to identify a stylistic dynamic for royal statuary, distinct from that observed in the reliefs. Indeed, as pointed by L. Postel, the sculptors of the Early Middle Kingdom maintained a vivid Upper Egyptian tradition inherited from workshops of (the end of) the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period.[35] Dated and datable statues of the Early Middle Kingdom show a constant evolution of visual forms while sustaining an underlying stylistic unity: even if it be possible to identify and distinguish the works from the times of various pharaohs,[36] all their statues share a geometric pattern in the rendering of the body outline, and consistent physiognomic features (shape of the eyes, eyebrows, lips, and cheeks) (Figs. 7-8). This stylistic unity is maintained down to the beginning of the reign of Senwosret I.[37]

The study of Senwosret I's statuary corpus shows that some stylistic characteristics of his father Amenemhet I's works were initially adopted and, probably in this way, the underlying elements as well dating back to Mentuhotep II's and Mentuhotep III's reigns (Fig. 9). The chronological distance between the second pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty and the architect of the unification of Egypt in the mid-Eleventh Dynasty, associated with a clear break in the royal line at the end of the reign of Mentuhotep IV, definitively excludes understanding such similarities as a reflection of any familial physiognomic traits passed down from generation to generation[38] (leaving aside the fact that Egyptian art is not a photographic or realistic art[39]). This stylistic proximity of the works made at the beginning of the reign of Senwosret I to those of his predecessors can certainly be explained by a desire to affirm a political and ideological affiliation to prestigious ancestors beyond the establishment of a new family line and transferring the Residence from Thebes to Itj-Tawy. Indeed "self-presentation" as defined by J. Assmann does not depict the physical and individual person of Pharaoh but provides a two- or three-dimensional "repository" for the divine institution of kingship, transcending the biological body of the sovereign.[40] The statues of Senwosret I then insert his kingship in the series of his predecessors rather than in their real genealogy. Such a process allows the pharaoh to strengthen his power, thanks to an iconographic tradition that has a programmatic value, as much as his anthroponomical identity has this very same value.

The sovereign displays impressive statues in the entire country and his image absorbs many prestigious historical references dating back to the times immediately preceding his reign and those of the pharaohs of the Old Kingdom. But these references characterize the crucial moment of his accession to the throne and the launch of his architectural policy for no more than the first decade of his reign. His sculptural identity then tends to change as his reign progresses, gradually giving way to a "naturalism" which should probably be understood as a change in the perception of Egyptian kingship (Fig. 10). It seems that from the reign of Senwosret I onwards – and in any case after its

[35] Postel, *Égypte* 30, 12-7.

[36] See, typically, the work done by Aldred, *MMJ* 3, 27-40.

[37] Fay, *Égypte* 30, 44.

[38] Müller, *Imago Aegypti* 1, 57.

[39] *Contra* Vandersleyen, *BSFE* 73, 5-27.

[40] Assmann, in Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 63.

initial phase – some kind of transition occurred from a pharaonic institution dominated by the presence of the gods and their will, to a royal "portrait" showing the pharaoh as master of his own destiny even if he still needed to report to its divine creators.[41] The "portrait" of Senwosret I thus tends to deviate from earlier Middle Kingdom tradition by focusing royal iconography on future "naturalistic" developments and presages the statuary corpus of Senwosret III and Amenemhet III at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.[42] This trend is also evident in the treatment of temple reliefs. They show a clear difference between the representations dated to Year 10 in the portico façade of Amun-Ra's temple at Karnak – very flat and a bit "sketchy"[43] – and those, finely modelled and ornate, of the White Chapel two decades later, or the reliefs of the Entrance Chapel at el-Lisht[44] carved at the very end of the reign of Senwosret I, if not at the very beginning of Amenemhet II's rule.

In conclusion, we should now probably consider it more likely that there existed an *Early Middle Kingdom royal statuary style* going back to the traditions of Upper Egypt during the First Intermediate Period which evolved more or less continuously until the reign of Senwosret I, when a change occurred in stylistic patterns heralding the art of the Late Middle Kingdom. But we still need to explain why and how reliefs and statuary production seem to follow different schemes of evolution.

Bibliography

Aldred, C., "Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt", *MMJ* 3 (1970), 27-50.

Arnold, D., *Der Temple des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari* I., *Architektur und Deutung* (Mainz am Rhein: AV 8, 1974).

Arnold, D., *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari* (New York: MMAEE 21, 1979).

Arnold, D., *The Pyramid of Senwosret I. The South Cemeteries of Lisht* I (New York: MMAEE 22, 1988).

Assmann, J., "Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture", in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996), 55-81.

Bourriau, J., *Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1988).

Cauville, S., Gasse, A., "Fouilles de Dendera. Premiers résultats", *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 25-32.

Clère, J.J., Vandier, J., *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XI^ème^ dynastie* (Brussels: BiAeg X, 1948).

Fay, B., "L'art égyptien du Moyen Empire (Première partie)", *Égypte* 30 (2003), 31-54.

Fiore Marochetti, E., *The Reliefs of the Chapel of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep at Gebelein (CGT 7003/1-277)* (Leiden, Boston, 2010).

Freed, R.E., "Relief Styles of the Nebhepetre Montuhotep Funerary Temple Complex", in E. Goring, N. Reeves, J. Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers, Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred* (London, New York, 1997), 148-63.

Freed, R.E., "Art of the Middle Kingdom", in R.E. Freed, L.M. Berman, D.M. Doxey, N.S. Picardo, *The Secrets of Tomb 10A. Egypt 2000 BC* (Boston, 2009), 65-87.

Gabolde, L., *Le « Grand château d'Amon » de Sésostris Ier à Karnak. La décoration du temple d'Amon-Rê au Moyen Empire* (Paris: MAIBL 17, 1998).

Helck, W., "Zur Reichseinigung der 11. Dynastie", *ZÄS* 80 (1955), 75-6.

Lorand, D., "La statuaire royale de Sésostris I^er^, Art et politique au début de la 12^e^ dynastie", *BSFE* 180 (2011), 23-43.

Lorand, D., *Arts et politique sous Sésostris I^er^. Littérature, sculpture et architecture dans leur contexte historique* (Turnhout: MonAeg 13, 2011).

Müller, M., "Die Königsplastik des Mittleren Reiches und ihre Schöpfer: Reden über Statuen – Wenn Statuen reden", *Imago Aegypti* 1 (2005), 27-78.

Naville, É., *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, EEF 28, London 1907.

Postel, L., "Les origines de l'art thébain de la XI^e^ dynastie", *Égypte* 30 (2003), 3-30.

Postel, L., *Protocole des souverains égyptiens et dogme monarchique au début du Moyen Empire* (Turnhout: MRE 10, 2004).

Robins, G., "The reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II and the pre-unification Theban style of relief", in G. Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids. Egyptian*

[41] Wildung, in Ziegler (ed.), *Les Pharaons*, 203-4.

[42] Lorand, *BSFE* 180, 38-41; Lorand, *Art et politique*, 231-3, 333-5. Such an evolution does not allow us to assess "psychologically" the sovereign's individuality, "naturalism" still relying on semiotic conventions. See Tefnin, in Broze, Talon (eds.), *L'atelier de l'orfèvre*, 147-56.

[43] Notably the osiride-pillar in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JdE 36809): Gabolde, *Grand château d'Amon*, 89-93, §130-4, pl. 25, 28-9.

[44] Egyptian Museum, Cairo JdE 63942. See Arnold, *Pyramid*, 78-83, pls. 49-51, 53-6.

Regional Art from the Museo Egizio, Turin (Atlanta, 1990), 39-45.

ROBINS, G., *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1997).

TEFNIN, R., "Les yeux et les oreilles du Roi", in M. BROZE, Ph. TALON (eds.), *L'atelier de l'orfèvre. Mélanges offerts à Ph. Derchain* (Leuven: Lettres Orientales 1, 1992), 147-56.

VANDERSLEYEN, Cl., "Objectivité des portraits égyptiens", *BSFE* 73 (1975), 5-27.

VANDERLSEYEN, Cl., "La titulature de Mentouhotep II", in B.M. BRYAN, D. LORTON (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in honor of Hans Goedicke* (San Antonio, 1994), 317-20.

VANDERSLEYEN, Cl., *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil* 2. *De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1995).

WILDUNG, D., *L'Âge d'or de l'Égypte, Le Moyen Empire* (Fribourg, Munich, 1984).

WILDUNG, D., "Une présence éternelle. L'image du roi dans la sculpture", in Ch. ZIEGLER (ed.), *Les Pharaons* (Paris, 2002), 197-209.

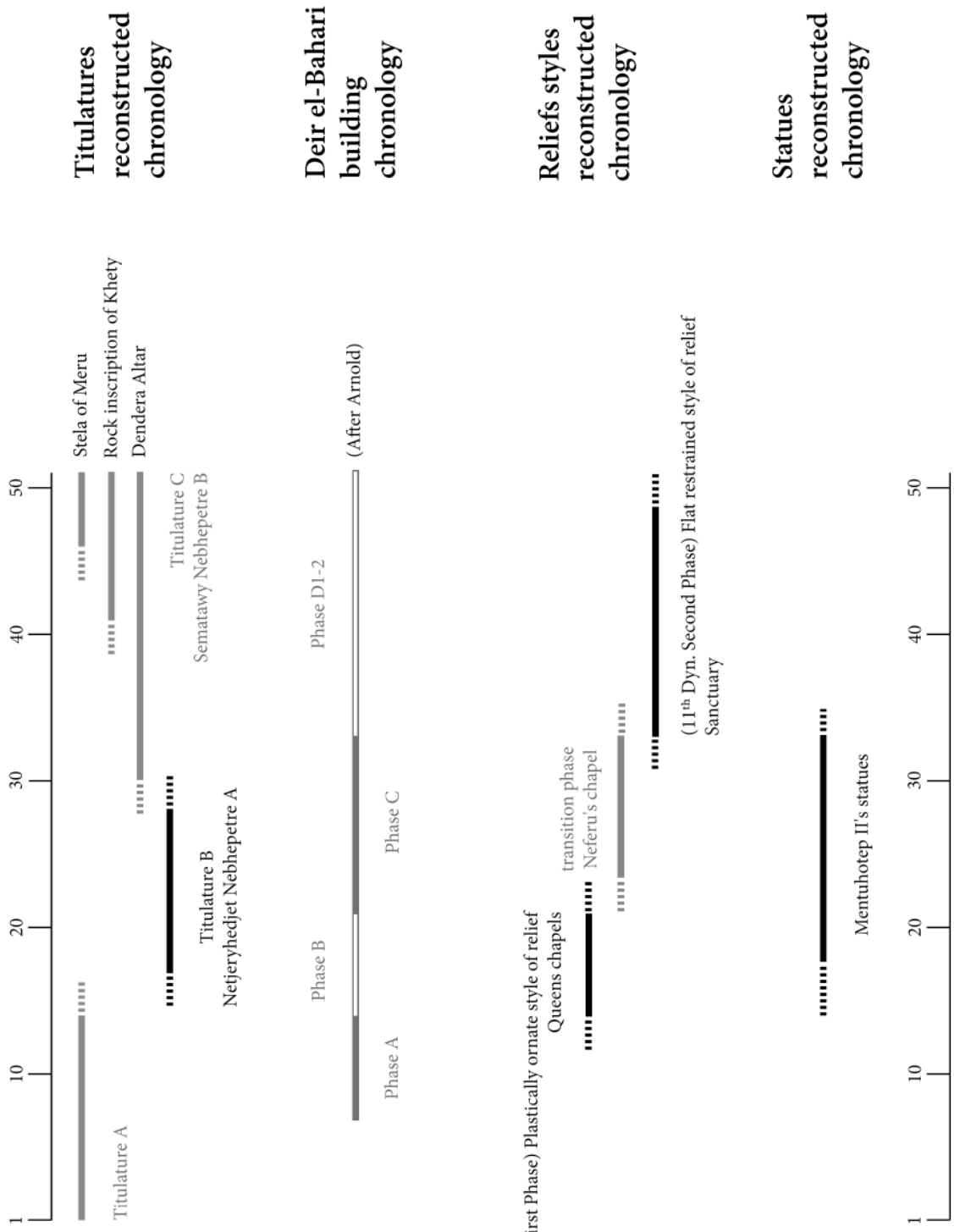

Titulatures reconstructed chronology
Deir el-Bahari building chronology
Reliefs styles reconstructed chronology
Statues reconstructed chronology
1
10
20
30
40
50
Stela of Intef
Stela of Meru
Titulature A
Rock inscription of Khety
Dendera Altar
Titulature B
Netjeryhedjet Nebhepetre A
Titulature C
Sematawy Nebhepetre B
Phase A
Phase B
Phase C
Phase D1-2
(After Arnold)
(11th Dyn. First Phase) Plastically ornate style of relief
Queens chapels
transition phase
Neferu's chapel
(11th Dyn. Second Phase) Flat restrained style of relief
Sanctuary
Mentuhotep II's statues

Table 1

List of figures

Fig. 1, on plate XV- Limestone relief fragment of the Royal Favorite Kemsit, British Museum EA 1450. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 2, on plate XV - Limestone relief fragment of Queen Neferu, Brooklyn Museum 54.49. © Brooklyn Museum.

Fig. 3, on plate XV - Limestone relief fragment of King Mentuhotep II, The Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 07.230.2, gift of Egypt Exploration Fund, 1907. Photograph: David Lorand, reproduced courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 4 - Sandstone head from a statue of King Mentuhotep II, British Museum EA 720. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 5 - Statue of King Mentuhotep II wearing the jubilee garment, The Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 26.3.29. Rogers Fund, 1926. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 6 - Seated statue of King Mentuhotep II, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 36195. Photograph: David Lorand, reproduced courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 7 - Bust of King Mentuhotep III (?) or Amenemhet I (?), Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 67345. Photograph: David Lorand, reproduced courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 8 - Head of King Mentuhotep III (?) or Amenemhet I (?), The Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 66.99.3, purchase, Fletcher Fund and the Guide Foundation Inc. Gift, 1966. Photograph: David Lorand, reproduced courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 9 - Bust from a kneeling statue of King Senwosret I, Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, ÄM 1205. Photograph: David Lorand, reproduced courtesy of bpk/Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Fig. 10 - Statue of King Senwosret I, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 38286. Photograph: David Lorand, reproduced courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Figure 6



Figure 5

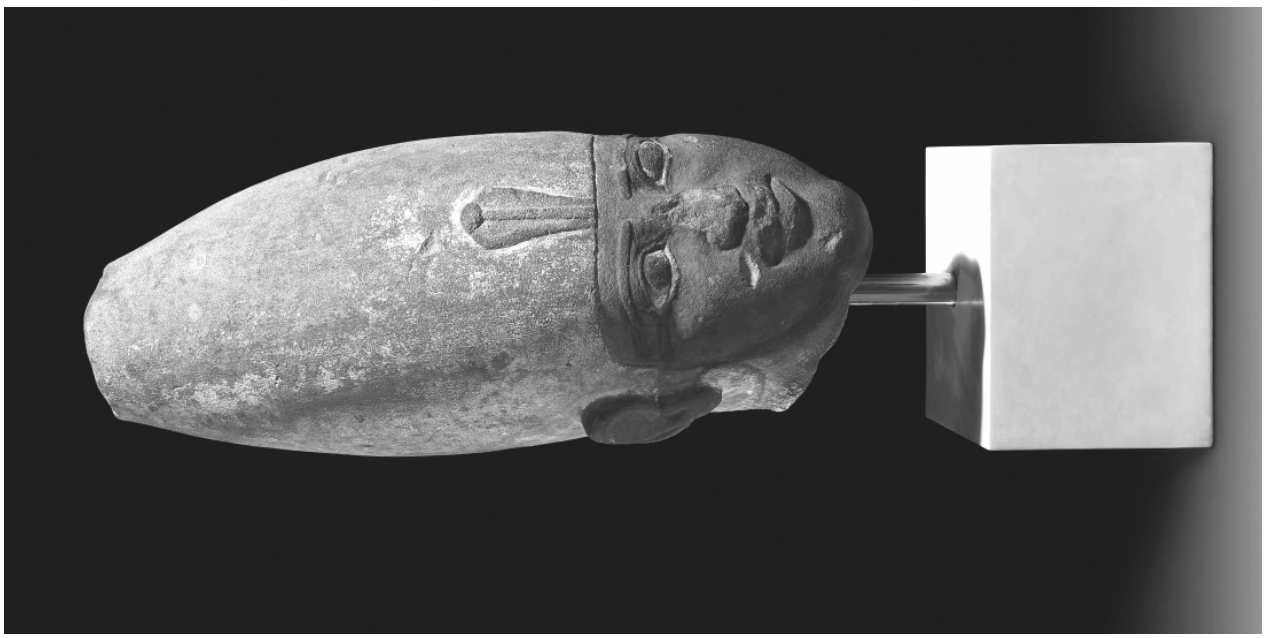


Figure 4

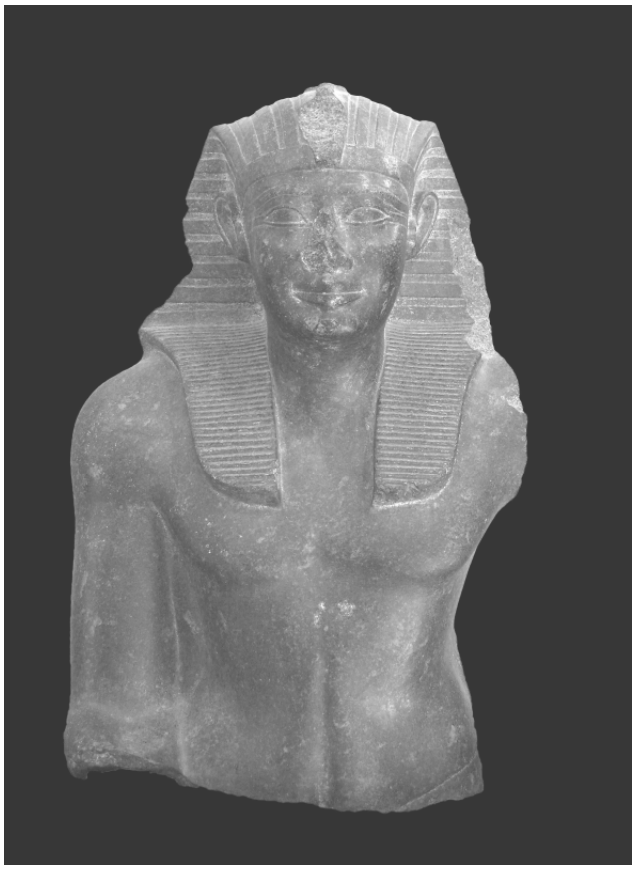


Figure 7

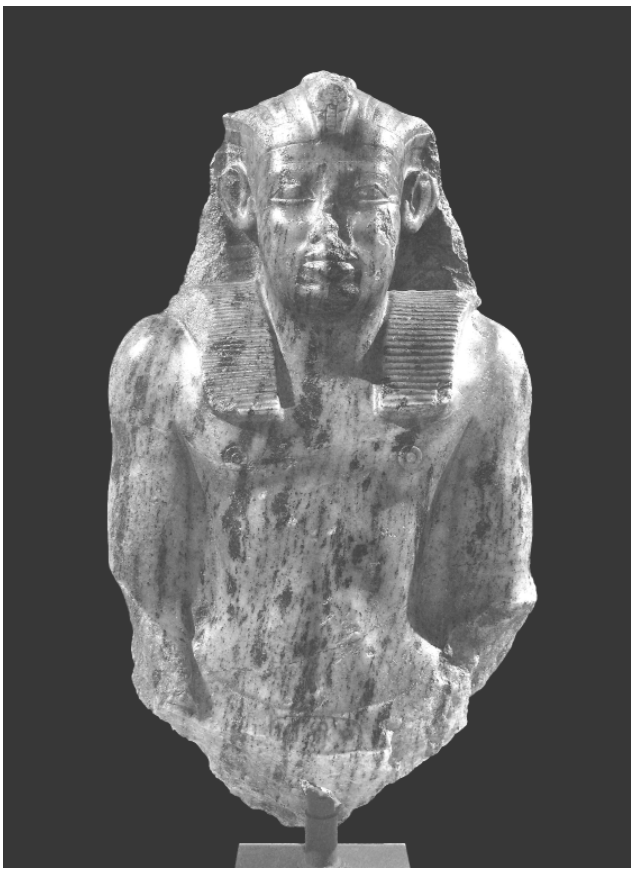


Figure 8

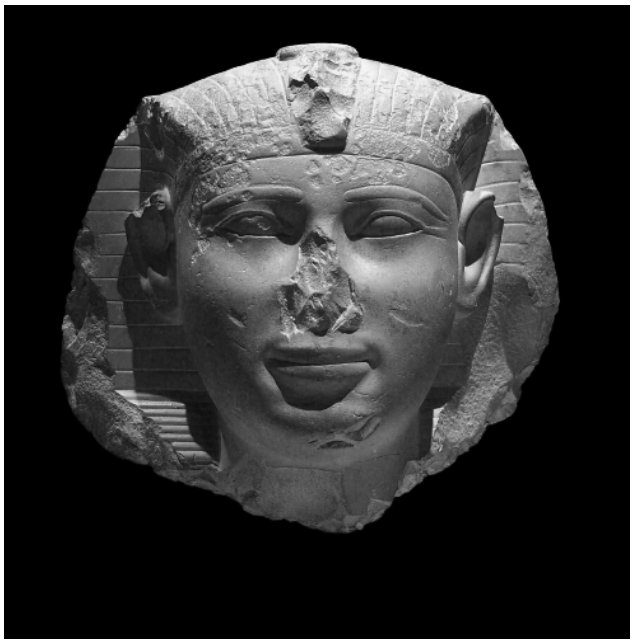


Figure 9

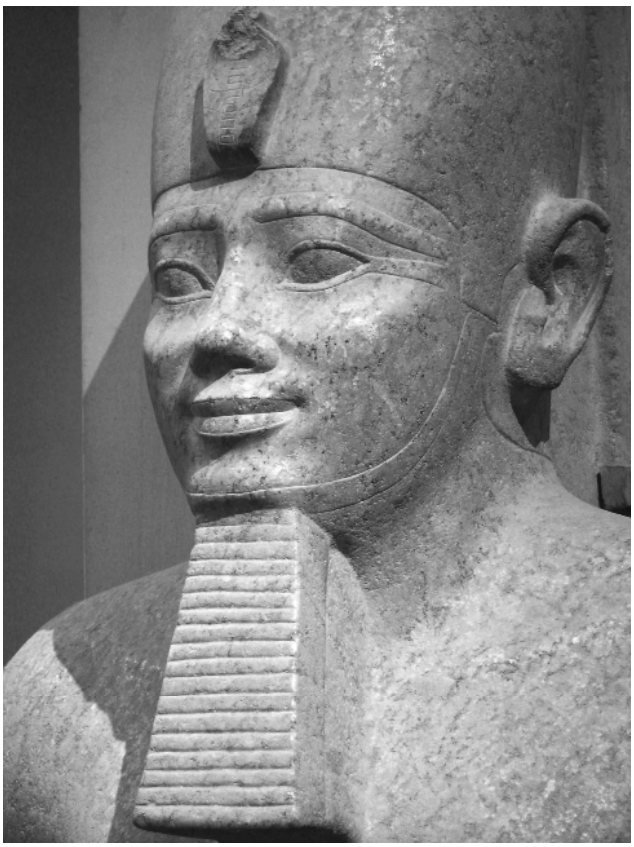


Figure 10

Hudáková, Jánosi, Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London 2016, 95-115

Playing with Traditions
The decoration of Djehutyhotep II's tomb at Deir el-Bersha reconsidered

Gabriele Pieke
Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim

Abstract
The rock-cut chapel of Djehutyhotep II at Deir el-Bersha is one of the most prominent tombs of the Middle Kingdom. It stands out for an innovative concept of decoration, which plays with traditions in an extremely creative way while simultaneously introducing some striking new solutions. The iconographic elements, themes, and motifs, as well as the conceptual layout, are rather strongly linked to the tradition of the Old Kingdom. But some iconographic elements serve as instruments to modernize the images, while ritual scenes, statue representations, and cult scenes display much more traditional forms. Furthermore, a different conception for organizing the surface of the walls and the elaborate compositions on them serves to transform the scenes into contemporary solutions of the Twelfth Dynasty. Djehutyhotep's tomb decoration displays new features side by side with creative reinterpretations of traditional images, demonstrating the processes of innovation, change, and reinterpretation in ancient Egyptian art.

When it comes to Egyptian art history we face the situation that many key issues have not yet been sufficiently studied; in particular, the two-dimensional art of the Middle Kingdom seems to be less a concern of current research than that of most other periods.[1] To get a better understanding of the very complex process of change and innovation in ancient Egyptian art, which in general is characterized by a rather strong, long-lasting tradition,[2] and also with the purpose of describing how these modifications and developments are displayed, for example in reliefs and paintings, it seems appropriate to focus initially on single specific works. In non-royal tomb decoration the reuse and durability of images for centuries are fundamental and definable as key elements. At the same time every single tomb had to redefine principles of conception as well as composition. Thus each case 'plays with traditions'.[3] To follow the processes of innovation, change, and reinterpretation of older images the following remarks are a case study of one of the most outstanding non-royal tombs of the Middle Kingdom, the rock-cut chapel of Djehutyhotep II at Deir el-Bersha.[4] In this particular tomb the iconographic elements, the themes, and the motifs, as well as the conceptual layout, are rather strongly linked to the tradition of the Old Kingdom to a much greater extent than in many other Middle Kingdom tombs.[5]

[1] The focus of research still lies mainly on the statuary of the Middle Kingdom, not on reliefs and paintings. E.g. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*; Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet*; Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*; Polz, *Studien zur Porträtplastik Sesostris' III. und Amenemhets III.*; Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx and Royal Sculpture from the Reign of Amenemhat II*; Wildung, *Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.*; Laboury, *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 30; Müller, *Imago Aegypti* 1, 27-78; Verbovsek, *Gunsterweis des Königs*; Verbovsek, *Die sogenannten Hyksosmonumente*; Connor, *Images du pouvoir en Égypte*. For relief and painting see, e.g., Freed, *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief Sculptural Schools*; Freed, in Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpsons* I; Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*. However, most Middle Kingdom tombs are not properly published nor thoroughly discussed down until the present. Since the work of Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, it is only the current MeKeTRE project at the University of Vienna that focuses on tomb decoration with a much more complex approach (http://www.meketre.org/<accessed 18.11.2015>). For a discussion of a particular tomb's decoration, cf. Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep*; Rabehl, *Das Grab des Amenemhet (Jmnjj) in Beni Hassan*.

[2] Davies, *Canonical Tradition*.

[3] Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 220.

[4] PM IV, 179-81; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I; Willems *et al*., *MDAIK* 62, 307-39.

[5] Cf., e.g., tomb decoration at Beni Hassan, where very early in the Middle Kingdom a site-specific iconographic tradition was established. There is still no broader analysis of Middle Kingdom tomb decoration, but only some more general works as in the case of Beni Hassan: Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*; Kanawati, Woods, *Beni Hassan*. For examples of individual analyses see Rabehl, *Das*

At the same time all of these features demonstrate their very own character and present several creative reinterpretations of traditional solutions as well as strikingly new solutions. The tomb owner's titles included, among others, the 'Great Chief of the Hare Nome' and 'treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt'.[6] Furthermore, he held important religious offices and thus occupied a most prominent position under Senwosret II and Senwosret III. The decoration of Djehutyhotep II's Deir el-Bersha tomb is best known for one scene in particular depicting on a very large scale the transportation of a colossal statue of the patron.[7] This outstanding image represents the reformulation of a long-established, traditional motif.[8] Such deliberate reinterpretations of older images and a number of allusions to the distant past seem to provide a general key concept for the layout of this particular tomb's decoration and thus these features are the focus of the following remarks.[9]

1. Iconographic elements

It is easy to imagine that iconographic elements and particularly the garments worn by the tomb owner serve as strong instruments for modifying traditional images to reflect contemporaneous usage. Dress codes are relevant for the linkage of oneself to a certain period and the fashion in vogue; above all, they are driven by the needs and interest of the patron. The demonstration of social hierarchy plays a major role. In Djehutyhotep II's case, two opposite solutions are displayed; on one hand, a number of features are strongly dependent on Old Kingdom prototypes while, on the other hand, some strikingly new state-of-the-art garments are represented which immediately differentiate the image from the standard repertoire of the Twelfth Dynasty.

1.1 Traditional variants

As part of the thematic complex depicting several outdoor activities of the tomb owner, the 'fishing and fowling' scenes have a tradition which was firmly established in Fifth Dynasty. While the history of these images probably goes back to a royal context,[10] the theme passed into the non-royal repertoire and was frequently used until the Eighteenth Dynasty. As attested by depictions of the tomb owner in this context in other Middle Kingdom tombs, Djehutyhotep II wears a short, plain, and tight kilt with a sash (Fig. 1).[11] According to L. Zelenková, this garment is occasionally recorded in the Fifth Dynasty and the later Old Kingdom for non-royal persons.[12] Its representation in combination with the headband at Deir el-Bersha clearly has been adopted from the previous period, even though the more popular so-called '*marsh-hunting dress*'[13] was not chosen.

The depiction of the patron himself using the clap-net occurs only very occasionally in the Old Kingdom. But it is already attested in a royal context and becomes much more common in the Middle Kingdom.[14] In the scene on the west wall of the inner chapel, Djehutyhotep II (Fig. 2) wears exactly the same garment as King Sahure (Fig. 3) in the comparable depiction from the causeway providing access to his pyramid temple in Abusir.[15] A completely pleated short kilt with a projecting triangular apron is another direct citation of an Old Kingdom royal reference. It has

Grab des Amenemhet (Jmnjj) in Beni Hassan; Kamrin, *The cosmos of Khnumhotep*.

[6] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, 6-8; Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, 449, Dossier 781.

[7] Badawy, *MIO 8*, 325-32; Chevrier, *RdE* 22, 21; Davies, in Davies (ed.), *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities*, 29-35; Willems *et al*., *ZÄS* 132, 173-89. For a very detailed and convincing discussion of the statue see Delvaux, *«Donné en récompense de la part du roi»*, chapter 2.1.

[8] Eaton-Krauss, *Statuary in private tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 60-70, 142-73.

[9] It is most significant that the text passages in the tomb also display a deliberate use of older forms and "archaizing tendencies"; cf. Stauder, in Hays, Feder, Morenz (eds.), *Interpretation of Sinuhe*, 180; Stauder, *Voice and Perspective*, 15, 116-8.

[10] Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 140-1; Zelenková, *BACE* 21, 141. However, the oldest scene in a non-royal context is in the tomb of Nefermaat in Maidum; cf. documentation listed in OEE: Scene-details Database, Scene 1.1. Spear-fishing and/or fowling scene.

[11] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 8-9. Other examples of this garment can be found, e.g., at el-Saff or in Beni Hassan; Zelenková, *BACE* 21, 146.

[12] Zelenková, *BACE* 21, 142-4.

[13] After Zelenková, *BACE* 21, 142, 'it consists of a short kilt and a trapezoidal apron with straight lateral edges widening towards its lower end and almost triangular in shape. Both parts of the garment are plain and held by a type of sash tied with a loop at the front of the body'.

[14] Zelenková, *BACE* 21, 156-7.

[15] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 7, 17; Awady, in Bárta, Coppens, Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2005*, 202, fig. 5.

been pointed out before that a distinct reformulation of an original royal garment which is attested in many different contexts in the Twelfth Dynasty seems in general significant for the iconographic program of the Middle Kingdom.[16]

The garments also worn by Djehutyhotep in ritual scenes are strongly influenced by classical garments of the previous period. The image depicting the tomb owner's statue purified by four sons[17] represents him in a very traditional short, tight so-called 'gala' (half-goffered) kilt (Fig. 4), characterized by one pleated side and an obligatory belt.[18] In the Old Kingdom this kilt is most characteristic of the main offering scenes and thus closely connected to the mortuary cult as well as to related religious contexts.[19] The short chin-beard[20] and the broad collar are also very traditional features of the tomb owner's representations in the Fourth to Fifth Dynasty in the context of the main offering place. Only the specific type of wig links the image of Djehutyhotep to his own time, the Twelfth Dynasty. Even though the shoulder-length hairstyle is very common in the Old Kingdom, the particular convex form at the back of the head and the criss-cross patterning are not known before the Middle Kingdom.

The classical form of the kilt is even worn by the famous colossal statue on the west wall of the inner chamber (Fig. 5).[21] The piece of cloth[22] in the right hand of the figure is also a clear continuation of an old tradition. Next to the *mdw*-staff and the *sḫm*-sceptre, the piece of cloth is the most prominent iconographic element in the Old Kingdom with close links to offering table scenes and the depictions at the main offering place, notably the false door.[23] In the representation of Djehutyhotep's colossal statue, it is again only the wig[24] which adds a slightly contemporary touch to the image.[25]

The main-offering scenes (Fig. 6) on both sides of the niche in the inner chapel are directly related to Old Kingdom models in many respects. The deceased is now represented with a *shendyt*-kilt, which was very rarely used for private persons in the previous period; here it is shown in the classical royal form of that earlier era.[26] Like some other officials of the Middle Kingdom, Djehutyhotep chose a former royal reference for his own depiction,[27] combining it with a broad collar – the standard item of jewelry – and the piece of cloth in one hand. Once more it is his bald head, which serves to embed the image within the Twelfth Dynasty.[28]

For the main image at the north end of offering niche, depicting the tomb owner together with his father Kay (Fig. 7),[29] fully pleated kilts are used, too. While Djehutyhotep II wears a tight short kilt, his father's short kilt has a projecting panel. Both wear a classic broad collar as well as sandals, and, as priests, their heads are bald. The traditional piece of cloth, the *mdw*-staff and the *sḫm*-sceptre are again attributes. But much more striking than the garment and the other iconographic elements is the special piece of jewelry Djehutyhotep and Kay wear. Both figures are distinguished from the ordinary Middle Kingdom repertoire by a so-called Bat-pendant, an extremely rare accessory which immediately enhances the visual impact of the scene and directly connects it to the Old Kingdom.[30] Remarkably, there is only one other example of the Bat-pendant known so far from the Middle Kingdom. On both sides of the stele from the Abydos cenotaph of Mentuhotep, the vizier and chief

[16] Zelenková, *BACE* 21, 149-52.

[17] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 10.

[18] The belt is regularly painted, not carved in relief.

[19] Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 11-30; Bonnet, *Die ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, 40-4.

[20] A short beard is common for non-royal male representations in the mid-Twelfth Dynasty but disappears with Senwosret III. I am very indebted to Simon Connor for this information and also for discussing diverse iconographic elements with me.

[21] Due to the poor state of preservation it is difficult to distinguish the specific type but most likely it is a *gala-kilt* as suggested by the oblique contour line, which would refer to the separately pleated part of the kilt. The second option would be an original royal *shendyt*-kilt, like the one Djehutyhotep II wears in one of his offering table scenes; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 34.

[22] Which is less frequent for non-royal Middle Kingdom statuary than for seated statues in the Old Kingdom; for the latter see Fehlig, *SAK* 13, 64-6.

[23] For its use in the Old Kingdom and interpretations of it see Fehlig, *SAK* 13, 57-64, 69-81.

[24] The statue wears a full shoulder-length, striated wig with pointed lappets.

[25] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 12.

[26] Only the east wall is better preserved and is available for evaluation. Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 34; Zelenková, *BACE* 21, 141-5, 151-2. In the Old Kingdom this kilt is closely associated with scenes of hunting in the marshes: Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 5-6.

[27] Cf. the examples in Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 28 (no. 18), 35 (no. 26); Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet*, 19 (fig. 12), 137 (fig. 117).

[28] Bald heads are literally non-extant in the tomb owner's iconography of the Old Kingdom.

[29] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 33.

[30] Pieke, in Flossmann-Schütze *et al*. (eds.), *Kleine Götter – große Götter*, 344-7, 353-4.

administrative officer in the time of Senwosret I,[31] he is depicted as a standing man whose corpulence is an obvious reference to the previous period.[32] Nevertheless both figures must have captured the attention of the viewer primarily because of the very prominent Bat-pendant even if it is another version of this exclusive amulet. This difference in particular confirms that the images of Djehutyhotep and his father do not evoke the Abydos stela of Mentuhotep but must be linked instead to a much older source.[33] The use of such a peculiar element with a huge visual impact cannot be considered random. On the contrary, the artist as well as the owner of the stele, like Djehutyhotep and the men who decorated his tomb at Deir el-Bersha, must have been aware of the striking Old Kingdom accessory and reproduced it intentionally. Two main types of the Bat-pendant are known in the previous period,[34] one form combining the Bat-face with a *tjt*-like knot of fabric, and a second type, showing the Bat-face atop a '*manchet'* tassel.[35] For both versions, the two crossed ribbons are mandatory, while in some cases a string of beads is visible, too, at the back of the figure. Unlike Mentuhotep on his stela, the tomb owner at Deir el-Bersha as well as his father wear the second type of pendant with tassel. By comparing both Middle Kingdom reliefs it can be stated that they are not connected to each other. Rather, both refer directly to much older images in Saqqara. In both cases a transformation of the older images is clearly indicated by the absence of the crossed ribbons and – as to be expected – also some minor variation of standard type.

1.2. Innovative garments

It is obvious that the use of traditional non-royal and royal garments plays a prominent role in the iconographic program of Djehutyhotep's tomb. Without any doubt this characteristic is not random but was purposefully chosen to enhance the patron's figure. Nonetheless, besides these long established elements some very innovative garments, introduced only in the Middle Kingdom, can also be found as part of his tomb decoration. One iconographic feature that occurs several times seems to be a favorite of Djehutyhotep. In at least four cases, the tomb owner wears a pleated shoulder cape,[36] a special item of clothing which, interestingly, is not yet attested in Middle Kingdom statuary. Furthermore, it differs significantly from any non-royal garment of the Old Kingdom. In the royal sphere the pleated shoulder cape is attested once for Senwosret I in his White Chapel at Karnak.[37] The king's appearance most probably served as a role model also for high officials and influenced the decision making process for the visual program in the tomb at Deir el-Bersha due to the direct status enhancement. In Djehutyhotep's case the shoulder cape can be worn in combination with a traditional, long projecting-panel kilt (Fig. 8)[38] but also with another new iconographic feature, a long transparent kilt, worn over a short tight kilt (Fig. 9).[39] This variant is represented twice, while the kiosk scene on the west wall depicts a third combination. The seated patron, depicted 'watching the great counting' of cattle, wears the pleated shoulder cape together with a pleated projecting-panel kilt (Fig. 10). In addition, he holds a *mdw*-staff and a fly whisk.[40] Another new form of the tomb owner's garment is displayed in the entrance area of the tomb. As part of the desert hunt theme, Djehutyhotep is dressed in a strikingly long cloak bearing a pattern of horizontal lines (cf. Fig. 11).[41] In general, long cloaks are well attested in non-royal male statuary in the Twelfth Dynasty,[42] but the pattern of horizontal lines is better known from representations of the typical long kilts

[31] Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 20539; Mariette, *Abydos*, pl. 23 (image reversed); Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, 150-8, pls. 41-2; Sauneron, *Karnak* V, pl. 28.

[32] Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 131-4; Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, 183–4, Dossier 262.

[33] Pieke, in Flossmann-Schütze *et al*. (eds.), *Kleine Götter – größe Götter*, 345-7, 353-4.

[34] *Op.cit*., 347-52.

[35] Wb II, 47.11.

[36] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 9, 12-3, 19-20.

[37] Pillar 1s, scene 3. Senwosret I wears it together with a pleated projecting-panel kilt and kilt jewellery: PM II.2, 62; Lacau, Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris I^er^*, 58–9, II, pl. 13; Project Karnak:, http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/karnak/?iu=1093 <accessed 18.02.2016>.

[38] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 11.

[39] *Op.cit*., pls. 13, 20.

[40] *Op.cit*., pl. 19. The fly whisk goes back to the Old Kingdom; cf., e.g., Moussa, Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 24a. In the Middle Kingdom it can be held in the hands of both men and women. It further appears in the frises d'object of the Middle Kingdom; Jéquier, *Frises d'Object*, 258.

[41] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 7. Cf. also the tombs in Meir: Blackman, *Meir* III, pl. 18 and another variant with one free shoulder: Blackman, *Meir* VI, pl. 18.

[42] E.g., the sitting figure of Ankhrekhu, London, BM, EA 1785, late Twelfth Dynasty: PM VIII, 378.

of the Middle Kingdom.[43]

As a whole, Djehutyhotep's iconography includes several noteworthy clear references to Old Kingdom prototypes. Furthermore, the traditional garments as well as the piece of cloth in the tomb owner's hand are closely associated with ritual scenes and statue representations. The use of royal kilts is evident in several cases and the integration of the extremely rare Bat-pendant is a direct citation from the Old Kingdom. Unlike in the previous period, pleated versions of all kind of garment are very much favored. However, new items of clothing are used for so-called 'daily life' scenes like hunting in the desert, fishing, and observing the cattle count, as well as in the scene of the colossal statue's transportation. In all these cases the elements chosen cannot be considered random. By contrast, they are used either to associate the tomb owner with older generations[44] or to single out the figure of the patron and that of his father from ordinary tomb decoration, most prominently in the case of the Bat-pendant. The pleated shoulder cape links the image of Djehutyhotep to the king and the royal court. Various iconographic elements are employed as effective and forceful means to anchor Djehutyhotep in his own time and represent him as a prestigious person.

2. Themes and motifs

As for the themes and motifs displayed, only some main tendencies and representative examples shall be mentioned here to demonstrate the reuse of traditional images and their transformation and reinterpretation into new, modern variants.[45] Desert hunting scenes were part of the Old Kingdom program since the early Fourth Dynasty when they occur for the first time in the Maidum mastabas.[46] In the case of Djehutyhotep the representation of this theme is remarkably large, covering the entire east wall of the entrance area (Fig. 11).[47] Two large nets full of captured desert animals clearly define the main layout of the composition. Djehutyhotep watches rather than participates in the action. Unlike, for example, in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan,[48] the more traditional version for non-royal persons was chosen for the Deir el-Bersha representation. Direct interaction and the shooting of arrows by the main figure is known from the Old Kingdom only in a royal context, as in the case of Sahure,[49] where the king is the only archer in the scene. Moreover, a fully framed image of a desert hunt[50] is not very common in non-royal tombs of this period, where the desert terrain is normally integrated into other scenes – in general, observed by the tomb owner.[51] In the second half of the Old Kingdom we find a layout strongly inspired by the royal image, with a desert landscape set between two large nets, as in Mereruka's case and that of his son as well: they stay outside, merely observers.[52] A key element of the landscape in such scenes during the Old Kingdom is the relatively unpeopled desert. The main actors are animals – dogs or lions – which hunt the wild creatures of the desert, while only a very small number of men are directly involved.[53] In this regard, the Middle Kingdom representation of Djehutyhotep is clearly intended to transform the borrowed images. The motif of animals overlapping the net or a special fence for a number of cattle in the lower part of the wall have been introduced into the scenery. Further – and this is a major variation – a great number of people and even the tomb owner's sons participate in a variety of hunting activities (Fig. 11).[54]

The representation of the tomb owner fishing and fowling on both sides of the entrance to the inner chapel seems at first glance to be a literal citation of

[43] E.g., the standing figure of Senebtyfy, London, BM, EA 24385, early Thirteenth Dynasty: PM VIII, 341; James, Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 26, fig. 28.

[44] Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode* I, 281-90.

[45] For a more general discussion of this evidence, cf. Pieke in Gillen *et al*. (eds.), *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt* (in press).

[46] Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 82; OEE: Scene-details Database, Scene 2.1. Desert-hunt or desert-landscape scenes.

[47] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 7.

[48] Tomb BH 3: PM IV, 144-9 lists it as Khnumhotep III; Shedid, *Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, 57, fig. 96; Newberry, *Beni Hassan* I, pl. 30.

[49] Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Re* II, pl. 17.

[50] This kind of composition is later reused in the tomb decoration of the Eighteenth Dynasty, cf., e.g., TT 100, Rekhmire; de Garis Davies, *The tomb of Rekh-mi-Re*, pl. 43.

[51] For the references see OEE: Scene-details Database, Scenes 2.1. Desert-hunt or desert-landscape scene.

[52] Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka* I, pls. 23B, 25; Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *The tomb of Meryteti*, pl. 46. It can be assumed that the scenes in the chamber C 01, west wall, of the son is a close citation of the image in A 03, west wall, only preserved in the lower registers.

[53] Cf. OEE: Scene-details Database, Scene detail 2.1.2. Hunter in the desert.

[54] At least 14 human figures can be counted in the desert scene and among them, the three sons of Djehutyhotep.

Old Kingdom images.[55] The antithetical depiction of the tomb owner hunting in the marshes belongs to the classical program of Old Kingdom tombs, regularly found in the entrance area of the chapels.[56] 'Fishing and fowling' is a theme which endured for centuries and entered Middle Kingdom tradition. In the case of Djehutyhotep the tomb owner is accompanied by several family members – his three sons as well as two female figures, most probably his wife and daughter, who stand right next to the patron in the boat.[57] But unlike in the older tradition, the woman standing in front of the main figure is in each case equipped with the same weapons – spear and throw stick – as the tomb owner (Fig. 12).[58] Another obviously new feature is the turned head of the female figure in front. From a compositional viewpoint, this small innovation disrupts the main orientation of the scene that no longer is related to the entrance into the main cult chapel. In addition, and untypical for Old Kingdom wall conception as well, two registers with minor figures are integrated below the main scenes.[59] Once again some very traditional images were reinterpreted by modifications of detail and innovative variants.

Upon entering the main tomb chapel, some more distinct innovations can be encountered, even though almost all the topics represented are clearly based on the traditional Old Kingdom repertoire.[60] However, the purification theme on the eastern entrance wall is an outstanding new image depicting the tomb owner's statue purified by his sons (Fig. 4).[61] The other part of the wall (Fig. 8) displays a more traditional image of the tomb owner followed by a group of attendants, mainly his sons, even though the ritual performances like censing are better known from statue transportation scenes.[62]

The west wall seems much more striking (Fig. 5), especially as regards the overall conception and the concrete layout of themes.[63] The general arrangement in two main registers and several image panels is certainly inspired by temple decoration and has no immediate forerunner in the non-royal context of the Old Kingdom. Thus – as, for example, in the lower southern part – some scenes are interwoven (Fig. 13). Even though the main orientation of the scenes depicted is clearly northwards, two seated figures of the tomb owner on the lower part of the wall are turned to the south and so related visually to the beholder entering the tomb.[64] Some minor figures are also oriented towards the tomb's entrance which enlivens the rather complex composition.[65] In addition, the large seated statue compliments the two seated figures in the lower register, even though oriented in the opposite direction, while two other images of the tomb owner are linked iconographically by the conspicuous shoulder cape.[66] Almost all themes represented refer back to the previous period even though they are transformed compositionally into their very own versions. The transport of the colossal statues in particular has attracted the attention of visitors and scholars from the very beginning.[67] Representations of statues are extremely rare in Middle Kingdom tomb decoration; the theme does not belong to the standard repertoire as in the Old Kingdom.[68] As references to

[55] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 8-9.

[56] Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 139-41; OEE: Scene-details Database, Scene 1.1. Spear-fishing and/or fowling scene.

[57] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 8-9.

[58] This in combination with the fly whisk

[59] The lower register, only preserved on the right/east side, depicts offering bearers bringing products of the marshes, while the second register represents boatmen engaged in various activities. All motifs seem to have Old Kingdom forerunners.

[60] Notably, statue transport, bird hunting, counting of cattle, boat scenes, kiosk scene, fishing, poultry scene, offering bearers; palanquin carried by attendance, gardening scenes, workshop scenes of different kinds.

[61] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 10; Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, 175; Otto, *Ägyptisches Mundöffnungsritual*, 7.

[62] Eaton-Krauss, *Statuary in private tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 68-71, pls. 10-24. Compare *MEKETREpository*: http://www.meketre.org/repository/, <accessed 18.11.2015> (theme: Transport of statue).

[63] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 12-9.

[64] The clap-net scene and the kiosk scene with the seated patron: Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 17, 19. In general, the beholder is most often forgotten in the analyses of Egyptian monuments, even though recent studies could demonstrate that the reception of images played an important role and was taken into consideration in the production process; compare Laboury, *RdE* 59; Pieke, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds.), *Old Kingdom, New Perspective*, 259-80.

[65] Mainly the accompanying figure in the clap-net scene, some figures in the cattle counting scene as well as upper register of the statue transportation; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 12, 15, 17-8.

[66] *Op.cit*., pls. 13, 19.

[67] See the reference in PM IV, 180, and Willems, *ZÄS* 132, 173-89.

[68] Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, 59-61, who refers for this theme only to two tombs in Beni Hassan and the chapel of Djehutyhotep II. Compare also *MEKETREpository*: http://www.meketre.org/repository/, <accessed 18.11.2015> (theme: Transport of statue). For the Old Kingdom, see Eaton-Krauss, *Statuary in private tombs of the Old Kingdom*.

the previous period are very prominent in the tomb, it is highly likely that Djehutyhotep and/or the artist responsible for the general iconographic program of the wall decoration were/was also inspired, as in other cases, by one of many Old Kingdom scenes of statue transport.[69] Even if a real statue from the quarries of Hatnub can certainly be expected, it is highly unlikely that the sculpture was in actuality 13 cubits (6.75 m) tall as stated in the text.[70] To a much greater degree the image and the text should rather be understood as an interpretation and artistic elaboration to enhance the impact of the image.[71] Indubitably, a concrete wish to attract the immediate attention of visitors played a key role in the conception of this particular wall.

The north wall (Fig. 14) also demonstrates a rather modern, non-classical layout even though here, too, most of the themes have a long tradition.[72] Only the bird-catching scene is highly unusual in several senses.[73] The west wall includes a scene of fowling with a clap-net featuring the seated tomb owner who is the main actor pulling the rope.[74] The scene on the north wall doubles this theme from a conceptual viewpoint. However, the composition differs. Here Djehutyhotep and his eldest son, both similarly assuming the striding posture with their heads unusually turned, pull the rope to close the clap-net. Again the patron's wife attends the scene as in the fishing and fowling scenes at the entrance. The other version of the tomb owner fowling with a clap-net obviously derives from royal iconography, since once again a parallel from Sahure's reliefs can be mentioned here.[75] However, the active participation of a non-royal tomb owner is in general very rare, as is found, exceptionally, in the famous tomb of Ty at Saqqara which shows the tomb owner himself giving the signal to close the clap- net.[76] From a compositional point of view the several episodes on the north wall of Djehutyhotep's chapel are allotted unequal amounts of surface: the composition highlights the large figure of the deceased on the right – once more with his favorite garment, the shoulder cape – as well as the smaller figures of Djehutyhotep and his son in the clap-net scene directly above the cult niche. While the main figures are oriented to the west, the direction of movement links several minor registers and the bottom register with the large east wall. The observation of fishing and fowling, as well as animal husbandry and the delivery of fish and fowl, are once more topics of a classical tradition.[77]

Only brief mention shall be made here of the east wall with a number of daily life scenes – mainly different kinds of crafts and agricultural motifs.[78] New and rare images for the Middle Kingdom are the production of linen and the manufacture of mud-bricks.[79] Most prominent on the wall is the unexpected number of relatives – particularly female members of the family, daughters and sisters (Fig. 15), who attend the tomb owner and his wife.[80] Once more the layout of the wall represents entangled picture units and a small bottom register functioning as a base which links up with the representations on the rear wall. In addition, individual elements, such as an empty carrying chair and the tomb owner's favorite dog (Fig. 15), connect the image by means of composition to the opposite wall.[81]

In the Middle Kingdom, unlike in the previous period, the main cult focus is regularly a seated figures of the deceased, rather than a false door.[82]

[69] *Op.cit*., 60-9.

[70] It would be the largest statue executed for a private person known to us.

[71] Cf. Delvaux, «*Donné en récompense de la part du roi*», chapter 2.1, who directly compares the case of Djehutyhotep with the image in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Ptahshepses in Abusir; Pieke, in Flossmann-Schütze *et al.* (eds.), *Kleine Götter – große Götter*, 342. For unrealistic depictions of the tomb owner in general, see Roth, in Fitzenreiter, Herb (eds.), *Dekorierte Grabanlagen im Alten Reich*, 243-4.

[72] For Old Kingdom scenes of animal husbandry, fowling, and fishing, cf. OEE: Scene-details Database, Theme 1. Marsh-related activities; Theme 4. Pasture and animal husbandry scenes and Theme 7. Bird-procession and poultry-yard scenes.

[73] OEE: Scene-details Database, Scene 1.13. Clap-net or bird-trapping scene.

[74] Behind Djehutyhotep's figure at least five smaller figures are also involved in pulling the rope; two more can be reconstructed in the destroyed parts of the scenes; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 12, 17.

[75] Awady, in Bárta, Coppens, Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir an Saqqara in the year 2005*, 202, fig. 5; Awady, *Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway*, 215-28, fig. 98, pls. 13-4.

[76] Wild, *Le tombeau de Ti* I, pl. 122.

[77] OEE: Scene-details Database, Scene 1.13. Clap-net or bird-trapping scene; Scene 1.15. Dragnet or seine-netting scene; Scene 1.23. Fish-bearer(s); Scene 1.14. Workers placing captured marsh birds in cages; Theme 7. Bird-procession and poultry-yard scenes.

[78] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 24-31.

[79] Cf. *MEKETRE*pository: http://www.meketre.org/repository/, <accessed 18.11.2015> (theme: Linen production and theme: Manufacture of mud-bricks).

[80] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 26-7.

[81] *Op. cit*., pls. 28-30.

[82] For a discussion on the main cult place, cf. Kahlbacher, Hudáková, in Neunert, Gabler, Verbovsek (eds.), *Nekropolen: Grab–Bild–Ritual*, 89-111.

A statue of Djehutyhotep, nowadays lost, would have been expected at the center of his cult niche. There the patron and his father are depicted facing each other at the north wall (Fig. 7). In the Old Kingdom, the depiction of the tomb owner's father is virtually absent from tomb decoration[83] – a significant difference from the Middle Kingdom. To the left and to the right the small lateral walls of the niche exhibit an offering table scene (Fig. 6) flanking the main representation in the center. These images on the lateral walls in particular display a very traditional layout. In the Old Kingdom the main offering scene comprises a number of elements – the offering list, a stock of offerings, a great many offering bearers, slaughtering scenes, and priests performing rituals in the upper part.[84] Djehutyhotep's main offering scenes include all these constitutive elements of the Old Kingdom prototype. As mentioned above, only the iconography of the deceased link the images to another, more contemporary era.

To summarize, it can be stated that most themes and motifs in the decoration of Djehutyhotep's tomb have a long tradition going back to the Old Kingdom, while only a few can be cited as explicit innovations of the Middle Kingdom. In all cases of reproduction, reinterpretation, and citation the images were transformed conceptually and compositionally as well as iconographically into new 'modern' variants.

3. Conception

Just a short comment shall be made about the overall concept, which directly provides information about possible changes in funerary belief and society. Apart from the choice and the layout of themes, the entire chamber displays an elaborate system of axes and references. In the Old Kingdom, west and north were the most important cardinal points, since the hereafter was located there; the orientation of the main figure demonstrates a strong affinity to both of these directions and is displayed accordingly. Djehutyhotep and his attendants also refer directly to such an orientation. Both the conceptual layout and the composition of themes depicted are especially oriented towards the west and the north. For example, the entrance walls of the chapel depict the tomb owner facing the doorway to the inner chamber. Even though the layout is mainly related to the canonical, antithetical composition of the fishing and fowling scene, the northwards orientation certainly plays its own role in it. Furthermore, the north wall and the southern part of the west wall of the chapel present the tomb owner striding towards the west and the north (Fig. 16). On the other hand, the patron acts from these directions in a seated posture. The statue shrine with the two offering table scenes also typifies the explicit presence of Djehutyhotep in this particular area (the west) where he desires to receive offerings.[85]

The main cult image in the niche signals another very important focus of the decoration, namely the integration and enhancement of the tomb owner's family. In quite a number of scenes the tomb owner is accompanied by family members (Fig. 17).[86] Djehutyhotep's three sons are second only to their father when it comes to occupying prominent positions in the decoration of the entire tomb. They play an important role as attendants in several contexts and they also perform rituals for their father's benefit.[87] And the wife of the tomb owner is regularly represented in very close association with him,[88] while his daughters and sisters play a role mainly on the east wall of the inner chamber[89] and at the entrance.[90] Unlike during the Old Kingdom, the father's figure is emphasized in the main cult place; elsewhere he is regularly mentioned in the texts though not depicted.[91] With regard to the conceptual layout it is important to mention that – as in the Old Kingdom – the family representations are very dominant in the outer parts of the tomb and on the east side of the chapel. These places were considered the 'realm of the living' while the west and north belong more closely to the tomb owner himself. In this sense, as mentioned earlier, the deceased acts from these locations mostly in a seated position, while when heading to the north or west, he strides. Altogether the orientation of the main figure, as well as the orientation of the subordinate scenes, tends to refer to those cardinal points associated

[83] For some rare depictions of the father, see, e.g., the tomb of Meresankh III or the unusual scenes where the father receives a lotus blossom from his son, the tomb owner. Cf. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh* III, fig. 4; Altenmüller, in Spiekermann (ed.), *«Zur Zierde gereicht…»*, 17.

[84] For the royal cult model of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, respectively, cf. the conception of the main offering scenes beginning with Sahure: Jánosi, in Gundlach, Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel: Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, 156-7; Jéquier, *Pepi II* II, pls. 61-104.

[85] Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 32-4.

[86] *Op.cit*., pls. 8-13, 17, 20, 24, 28-30, 33.

[87] *Op.cit*., pls. 7-13, 20.

[88] *Op.cit*., pls. 8-9. 17, 20, 24.

[89] *Op.cit.,* 33.

[90] *Op.cit*., pls. 8-9, 20, 28-30.

[91] *Op.cit*., pls. 6, 10, 16, 33.

with the afterlife. This leads us to conclude that the deceased's desire to exist in the north and the west is given strong emphasis in the visual layout and decoration within the entire tomb. The conception and the composition of the scenes support the semantic importance of each picture. Thus the motif of the statue procession, for example, is most of all characterized by the principle of simple repetition and sequence, again heading directly to the north. Obviously the composition chosen for this scene immediately supports the concrete importance of the image and its semantic allusion.

The general concept of the main cult place in the form of a statue niche and not a false door demonstrates a new Middle Kingdom tradition. Furthermore, the rather complex compositions of the west and east walls are much more closely linked to sophisticated temple traditions than to classical non-royal tomb decoration of the previous period. In general the conception and composition indicate a specific pattern of deliberate selection of traditional themes on the one hand and a wish for certain redeployment on the other hand.

4. Conclusion

Both the conceptual layout of themes and their composition are especially oriented towards the west and the north. The belief that the deceased would reside in these regions is strongly supported by the visual layout and decoration within the tomb, demonstrating a close parallel to the previous period. However, the inclusion of the father in the main offering image is a Middle Kingdom development. Nonetheless, the greater part of the themes and motifs depicted go back to the tradition of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. By using a different conception for organizing the wall and elaborate compositions, the images are transformed into new contemporary solutions. Allusion to the distant past and the creative playing with iconographic precursors play a key role in the decoration of the entire tomb of Djehutyhotep II. In this process, iconographic elements serve as strong instruments to modernize the image of the tomb owner, while mainly ritual scenes, statue representations, and cult scenes display a much stronger bond to former times. As a whole, the iconography, themes, and motifs, as well as the overall conception and compositions, demonstrate close links to previous times. Nevertheless, the images play very creatively with these traditions and supplement them with some striking innovations.

The modifications and reinterpretations of older images could not be achieved by Djehutyhotep alone but must have been implemented by the artist who was responsible for the general layout of the decoration.[92] At the same time it is highly unlikely that the conceptualizing artist made the final decision about some outstanding images such as, in particular, the large statue transportation scene and the use of the Bat-pendent. Especially in the latter case, the choice of iconographic variant seems to have been driven by the immediate interest of the patron. The resurgence of this very rare motif displays a specific concern to highlight the image by the use of older 'historical' forms. A similar pattern can also be assumed for the very prominent scene of statue transport.

As there are no immediate forerunners for such elaborate tomb decoration nor models for such a sophisticated chapel at Deir el-Bersha, it is clear that the artist and the patron were aware of older images elsewhere. In this context, the Memphite necropolises and most especially Saqqara must have been points of interest, as directly indicated by the quotation of the specific type of Bat-pendant. A number of Old Kingdom tombs and temples could easily have been visited there and a countless number of scenes studied for later reinterpretation.[93] In this regard the tomb decoration of Djehutyhotep provides an insight into artistic discourse in the Twelfth Dynasty, indicating direct first-hand knowledge of and esteem afforded existing monuments and their decorative program. Doubtless a particular effort was made to associate the tomb to the previous period using well-chosen references. The tomb owner at Deir el-Bersha linked himself to the past by employing and reinterpreting specific older images. The reformulation of forms plays a key role in this process but at the same time some innovations, especially the strikingly new garments, were immediately conducive to further highlight the visual impact of the patron's image and the entire monument.

Bibliography

Altenmüller, H., "Väter, Brüder und Götter. Bemerkungen zur Szene der Übergabe der Lotosblüte", in A. Spiekermann (ed.), *« Zur Zierde*

[92] In several parts of the tomb artists are integrated in the scene, especially on the west and the south walls of the chapel; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 11-2, 15.

[93] Cf., for example, the case of Ihy and Hetep in Saqqara; Freed, *Observations on the dating and decoration of the tombs of Ihy and Hetep at Saqqara*.

gereicht… ». Festschrift Bettina Schmitz zum 60. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 2008 (Hildesheim: HÄB 50, 2008), 17-28.

Awady, T. el, "The royal family of Sahura. New evidences", in M. Bárta, F. Coppens, J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2005. Proceedings of the conference held in Prague (June 27–July 5, 2005)* (Prague, 2006), 191-218.

Awady, T. el, *Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway. History and decoration program in the Old Kingdom* (Prague: Abusir XVI, 2009).

Badawy, A., "The transport of the colossus of Djehutihetep", *MIO* 8 (1963), 325-32.

Blackman, A.M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir* III. *The Tomb-Chapel of Ukh-Hotp son of Ukh-Hotp and Mersi (B, No. 4)* (London: ASE 24, 1915).

Blackman, A.M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir* VI. *The Tomb-Chapels of Ukhhotpe son of Iam (A, No.3), Senbi son of Ukhhotpe son of Senbi (B, No. 3), and Ukhhotpe son of Ukhhotpe and Heny-Hery-Jb (C, No. 1)* (London: ASE 29, 1953).

Bonnet, H., *Die ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Leipzig: UGAÄ 7/2, 1917).

Borchardt, L., *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Re* II. *Die Wandbilder* (Leipzig: WVDOG 26, 1913).

Bourriau J., *Pharaohs and mortals. Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom. Exhibition organised by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 19 April–26 June, Liverpool, 18 July–4 September 1988* (Cambridge, 1988).

Chevrier, H., "Technique de la construction dans l'ancienne Égypte II. Problèmes posés par les obélisques", *RdE* 22 (1979), 19-23.

Connor, S., *Images du pouvoir en Égypte à la fin du Moyen Empire et à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire* (PhD dissertation: Université libre de Bruxelles – Bruxelles, 2014).

Davies, W.V., *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cambridge, 1989).

Davies, W.V., "Djehutyhotep's Colossus Inscription and Major Brown's Photograph", in W.V. Davies (ed.), *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities: A Tribute to T.G.H. James* (London: BMOP 123, 1999), 29-35.

Delvaux, L., «*Donné en récompense de la part du roi*» (*djw m ḥswt nt ḫr nsw*): s*tatuaire privée et pouvoir en Égypte ancienne* (PhD thesis – Strasbourg, 2008).

Duell, P., *The Mastaba of Mereruka* I–II (Chicago: OIP 3, 39, 1938).

Eaton-Krauss, M., *The representations of statuary in private tombs of the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden: ÄA 39, 1984).

Épron, L., Daumas, F., *Le tombeau de Ti, Première partie. Les Approches de la Chapelle* (Cairo: MIFAO 65/1–2, 1936).

Evers, H.G., *Staat aus dem Stein. Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reiches* (München, 1929).

Fay, B., *The Louvre Sphinx and Royal Sculpture from the Reign of Amenemhat II* (Mainz am Rhein, 1996).

Fehlig, A., "Das sogenannte Taschentuch in den ägyptischen Darstellungen des Alten Reiches", *SAK* 13 (1986), 55-94.

Franke, D., *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v.Chr.)* (Wiesbaden: ÄA 41, 1984).

Freed, R., *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief Sculptural Schools of Late Dynasty XI with an Appendix on the Trends of Early Dynasty XII (2040–1878 B.C.)* (PhD dissertation: New York University – New York, 1984).

Freed, R., "Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12", in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* I (Boston, 1996), 297-336.

Freed, R., "Observations on the dating and decoration of the tombs of Ihy and Hetep at Saqqara", in M. Bárta, J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2000* (Prague: Archív orientální Supplementa 9, 2000), 207-14.

Gadamer, H.-G., *Wahrheit und Methode. Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik, Gesammelte Werke* I*, Hermeneutik* I (Tübingen, 1990).

Garis Davies, N., *The tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition XI, Reprint, 1973).

Habachi, L., *The Sanctuary of Heqaib. Elephantine* IV (Mainz am Rhein: AV 33, 1985).

Harpur, Y.M., *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in orientation and scene content* (London, New York, 1987).

Harpur, Y.M., *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum. Discovery, Destruction and Reconstruction* (Prestbury, Cheltenham: Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom 1, Oxford Expedition to Egypt, 2001).

Harpur, Y.M., P. Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep. Scene Details* (Oxford: Oxford Expedition to Egypt 2, 2008).

James, T.G.H., Davies, W.V., *Egyptian Sculpture* (London, 1983).

Jánosi, P., "Die Entwicklung und Deutung des Totenopferraumes in den Pyramidentempeln des Alten Reiches", in R. Gundlach, M. Rochholz,

(eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel: Struktur, Funktion und Programm. Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992* (Hildesheim: HÄB 37, 1994), 143-63.

Jéquier, G., *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (Cairo: MIFAO 47, 1921).

Jéquier, G., *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II* II. *Le temple* (Cairo: Fouilles à Saqqarah, 1938).

Kahlbacher A., Zelenková Hudáková, L., "Kultstelle in Bewegung. Position und Konzeption der Scheintür, Statue und der dazugehörigen Dekoration in den Felsgräbern von Meir und Beni Hassan im Mittleren Reich", in G. Neunert, K. Gabler, A. Verbovsek, (eds.), *Nekropolen: Grab–Bild–Ritual. Beiträge des zweiten Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie (MAJA 2)* (Wiesbaden: GOF 54, 2013), 89-111.

Kamrin, J., *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan* (London: Studies in Egyptology, 1999).

Kanawati, N., Abder-Raziq, M., *Mereruka and his Family* I. *The tomb of Meryteti* (Oxford: ACE Reports 21, 2004).

Kanawati, N., Woods, A., *Beni Hassan. Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province* (Cairo, 2010).

Klebs, L., *Die Reliefs und Malereien des alten Reiches (2980–2475 v. Chr.). Material zur ägyptischen Kunstgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1915).

Klebs, L., *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches. (VII.–XVII. Dynastie ca. 2475–1580 v. Chr.). Materialen zur ägyptischen Kunstgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1922).

Laboury, D., "Le portrait royal sous Sésostris III et Amenemhat III. Un défi pour les historiens de l'art égyptien", *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 30 (2003), 55-64.

Laboury, D., "Colosses et perspective. De la prise considération de la parallaxe: dans statuaire pharaonique de grandes dimensions au Nouvel Empire", *RdE* 59 (2008), 181-95.

Lacau, P., Chevrier, H., *Une Chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak* I–II (Le Caire, 1956).

Lange, H.O., Schäfer, H., *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches* I–IV, *Catalogue General des Antiquités Égyptienne du Museé du Caire. Nos 20001–20780* (Berlin, 1902).

Mariette, A., *Abydos. Description des Fouilles* II (Paris, 1880).

Moussa A.M., Altenmüller, H., *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay* (Mainz am Rhein: AV 5, 1971).

Müller, M., "Die Königsplastik des Mittleren Reiches und ihre Schöpfer: Reden über Statuen – Wenn Statuen reden", *Imago Aegypti* 1 (2005), 27-78.

Newberry, P.E., *El-Bersheh* I. *The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep* (London: ASE 3, 1895).

Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hasan* I–IV (London: ASE 1, 2, 5, 7, 1893–1900).

OEE: Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database; Linacre College, Oxford 2006, http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oee_ahrc_2006/, <accessed 18.11.2015>.

Otto, E., *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (Wiesbaden: ÄA 3, 1960).

Pieke, G., "The evidence of images. Art and working technique in the mastaba of Mereruka", in N. Strudwick, H. Strudwick (eds.), *Old Kingdom, New perspective. Egyptian art and archaeology 2750–2150 BC* (Oxford, Oakville, 2011), 259-80.

Pieke, G., "Djehutihoteps seltenes Schmuckstück und seine Vorläufer: Anmerkungen zur Typologie und Tradierung des Bat-Gehänges", in M.C. Flossmann-Schütze, M. Goecke-Bauer, F. Hoffmann, A. Hutterer, K. Schlüter, A. Schütze, M. Ullmann (eds.), *Kleine Götter – große Götter: Festschrift für Dieter Kessler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vaterstetten: Tuna el-Gebel 4, 2013), 341-60.

Pieke, G., "Lost in Transformation. Artistic Creation between Permanence and Change", in T. Gillen (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions in ancient Egypt* (Aegyptiaca Leodiensia, in press).

Polz, F., *Studien zur Porträtplastik Sesostris' III. und Amenemhets III*. (Heidelberg, 1990).

Project Karnak, CNRS, Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak, Karnak (v 0.1.5), Projet d'index global des inscriptions des temples de Karnak, http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/karnak/, <accessed 18.02.2016>.

Rabehl, S., *Das Grab des Amenemhet (Jmnjj) in Beni Hassan oder der Versuch einer Symbiose. So nah und doch so fern: Die Verschmelzung von Zeitgeist und lokaler Tradition im Grabprogramm von BH 2 des Amenemhet aus der Zeit Sesostris I.*, (PhD dissertation: Ludwid-Maximilians Universität München – München, 2006): http://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/5073/ , <accessed 18.11.2015>.

Roth, A.M., "Multiple Meanings in Carrying Chair Scene", in M. Fitzenreiter, M. Herb. (eds.), *Dekorierte Grabanlagen im Alten Reich – Methodik und Interpretation* (London: IBAES VI, 2006), 243-53.

Reisner, G.A., *A History of the Giza Necropolis* I (Cambridge, 1942).

Sauneron, S., "Les deux statues de Mentouhotep", *Karnak* V 1970/1972 (1975), 65-76.

Shedid, A.G., *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 1994).

Silverman, D.P., Wegner, J., Simpson, W.K. (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven, Philadelphia, 2009).

Simpson, W.K., *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston: Giza Mastabas 1, 1974).

Staehelin, E., *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (Berlin: MÄS 8, 1966).

Stauder, A., *The Earlier Egyptian Passive: Voice and Perspective* (Hamburg: Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 14, 2014).

Stauder, A., "Linguistic Dissonance in Sinuhe", in H.M. Hays †, F. Feder, L.D. Morenz, (eds.), *Interpretations of Sinuhe. Inspired by two Passages. Proceedings of a workshop held at Leiden University, 27-29 November 2009* (Leuven, 2014), 173-88.

Verbovsek, A., *"Als Gunsterweis des Königs in den Tempel gegeben ...". Private Tempelstatuen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (Wiesbaden: ÄAT 63, 2004).

Verbovsek, A., *Die sogenannten Hyksosmonumente. Eine archäologische Standortbestimmung* (Wiesbaden: GOF 46, 2006).

Wild, H., *Le tombeau de Ti, La chapelle*, *Premiere partie* (Cairo: MIFAO 65/1–2, 1953).

Wildung, D., *Sesostris und Amenemhet. Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (München, 1984).

Wildung, D. (ed.), *Ägypten 2000 v.Chr. – Die Geburt des Individuums* (München, 2000).

Wildung, D., "Looking back into the future: the Middle Kingdom as a bridge to the past", in J. Tait (ed.), '*Never had the like occurred': Egypt's view of its past* (London: Encounters with Ancient Egypt, 2003), 61-78.

Willems, H.O., Peeters, C., Verstraeten, G., "Where did Djehutihotep erect his colossal Statue?", *ZÄS* 132 (2005), 173-89.

Willems, H.O., de Meyer, M., Depraetere, D., Peeters, Ch., op de Beeck, L., Vereecken, St., Verrept, B., Depauw, M., "Preliminary report of the 2003 campaign of the Belgian Mission to Deir al-Barsha", *MDAIK* 62 (2006), 307-39.

Zelenková, L., "The Royal Kilt in Non-Royal Iconography? The tomb owner fowling and spear-fishing in the Old and Middle Kingdom", *BACE* 21 (2010), 141-66.

List of figures

Fig. 1 - Djehutyhotep, wearing a short, tight kilt with a sash, fowling in the marshes. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 8. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 2 - Djehutyhotep, wearing a royal garment, fowling with a clap-net. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 17. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 3 - King Sahure fowling with a clap-net. After: Awady, in Bárta, Coppens, Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2005*, fig. 5.
Fig. 4 - Tomb owner wearing traditional garments and a modern wig, south wall of the chapel. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I,* pl. 10. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 5 - West wall of the chapel with traditional and innovative elements. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 12. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 6 - Traditional representation of a main offering table scene with the tomb owner wearing a shendyt-kilt. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 34. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 7 - Tomb owner and his father wearing Bat-pendants and pleated kilts, main cult niche. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 33. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 8 - Tomb owner wearing a shoulder cape and a long projecting-panel kilt, south wall of the chapel. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 11. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 9 - Tomb owner wearing a shoulder cape and a long, transparent kilt. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 13. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 10 - Kiosk scene, west wall of the chapel, depicting the tomb owner wearing an innovative garment. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 19. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 11, on pl. XVI - Scene of hunting in the desert depicting the tomb owner wearing an innovative garment and new minor motifs. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 7. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 12, on pl. XVI - Concept and composition of the outer north wall. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pls. 8-9. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 13 - Concept and composition of the west wall of the chapel. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 12. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 14 - Concept and composition of the north wall of the chapel. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 20. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 15 - Section of the east wall with family members and links to the west wall of the chapel. After: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 24. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 16 - Orientation of the tomb owner's figure.
Fig. 17 - Distribution of family members in the tomb decoration.

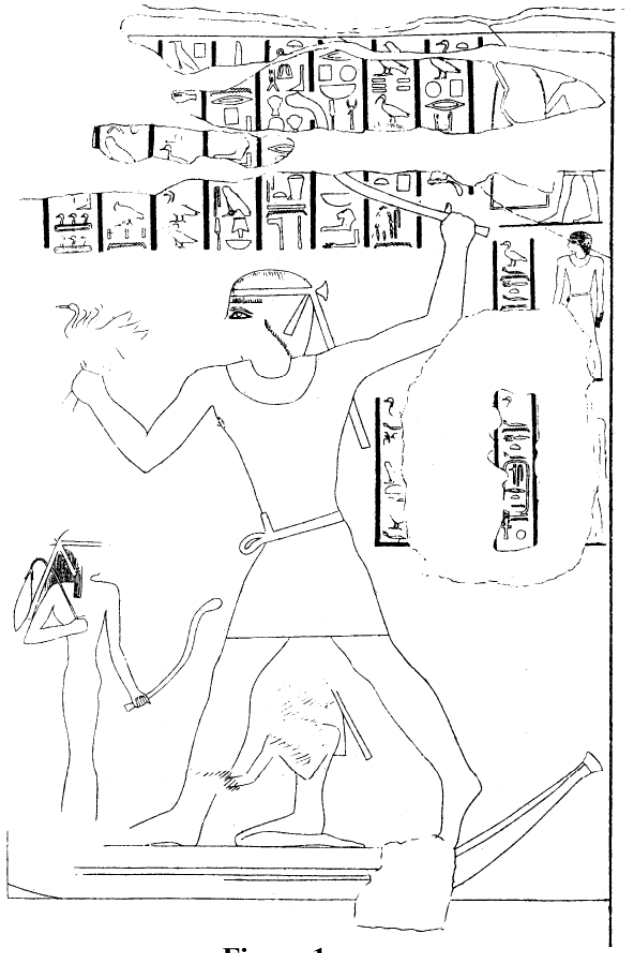


Figure 1

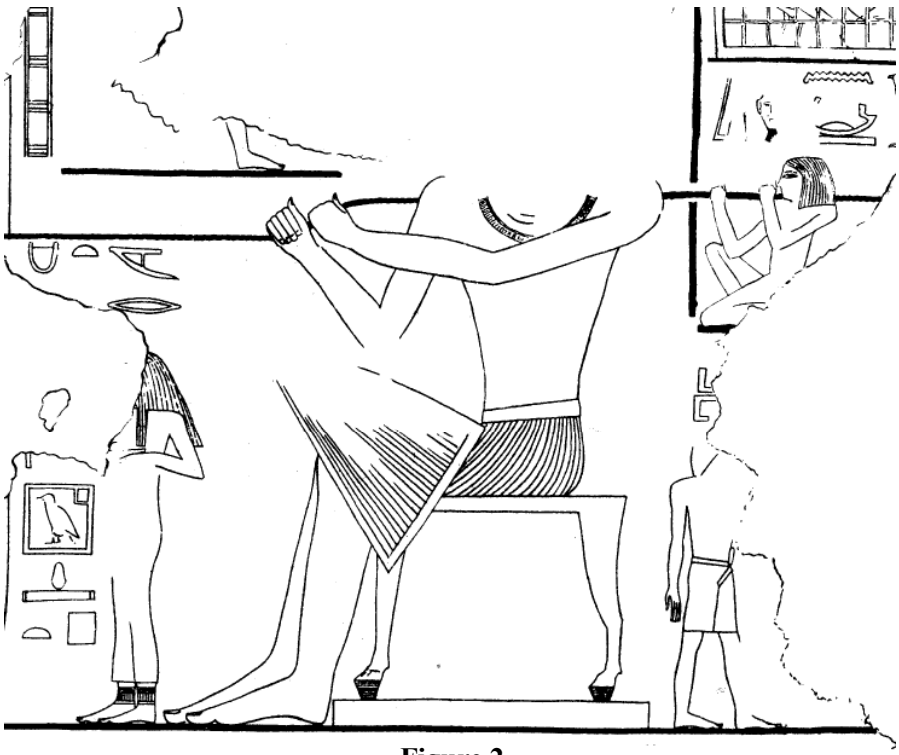


Figure 2

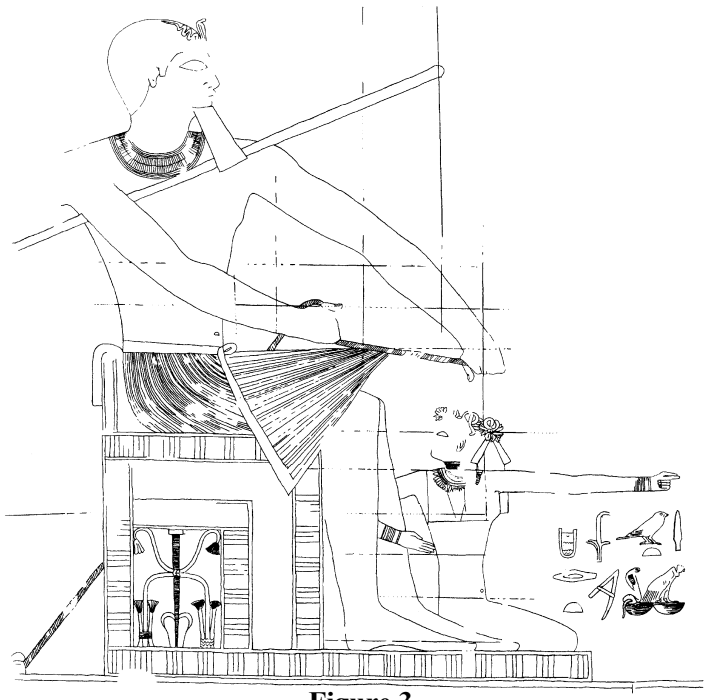


Figure 3

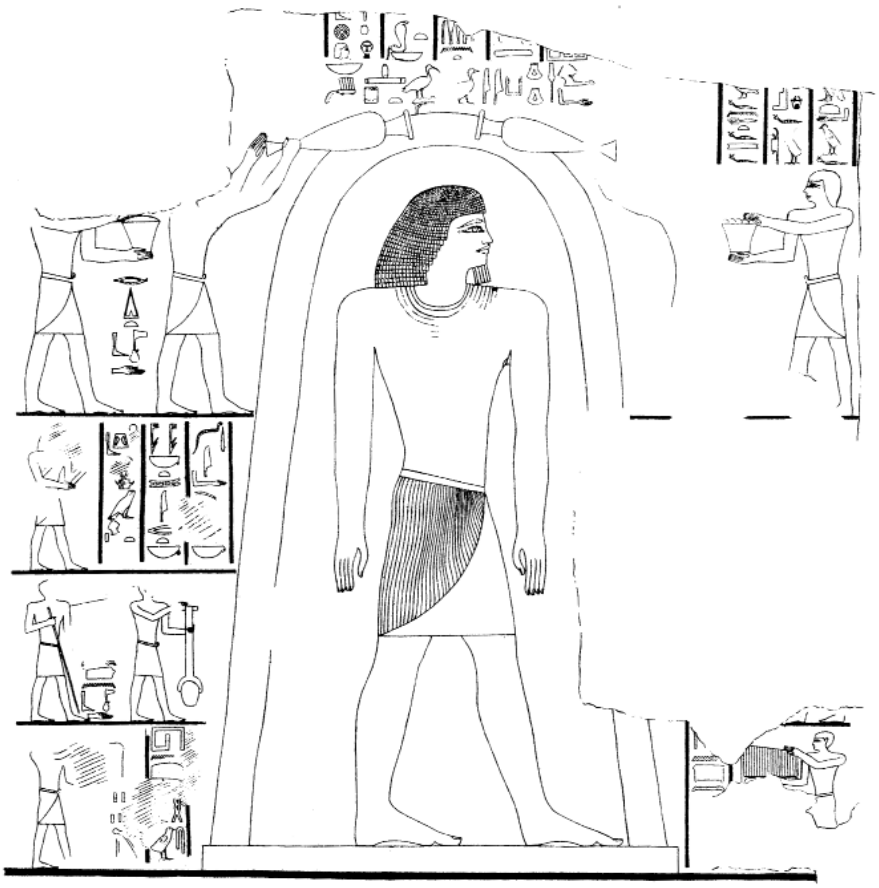


Figure 4

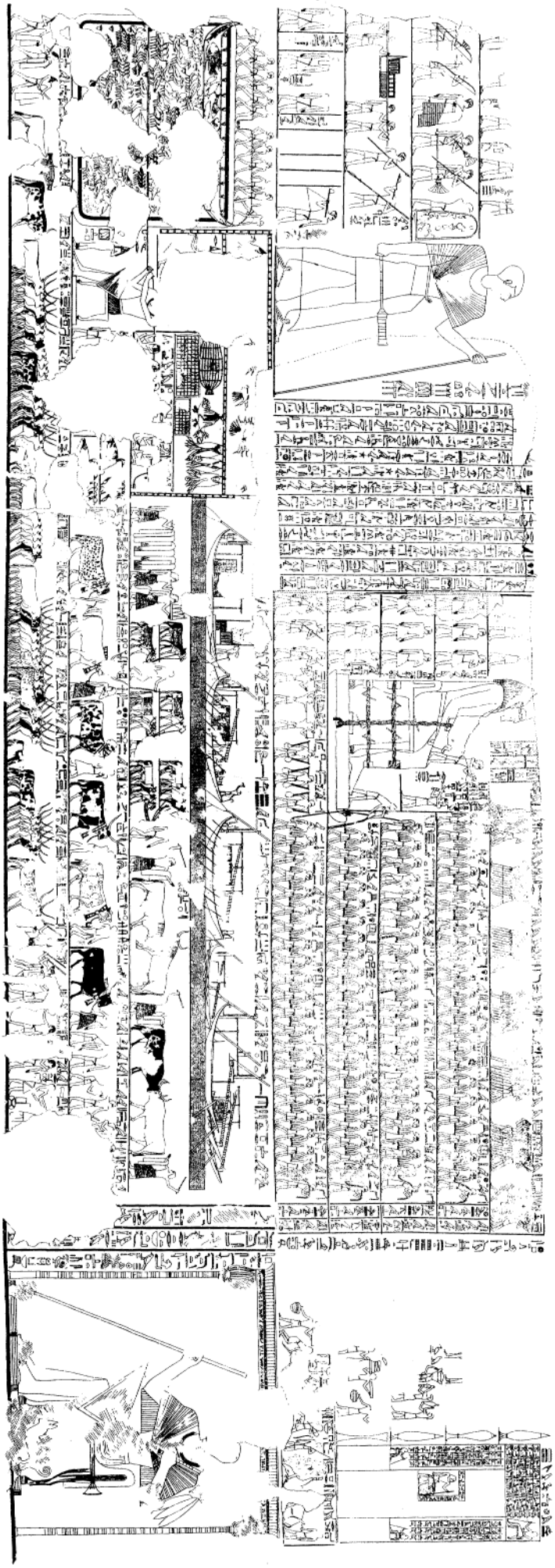


Figure 5

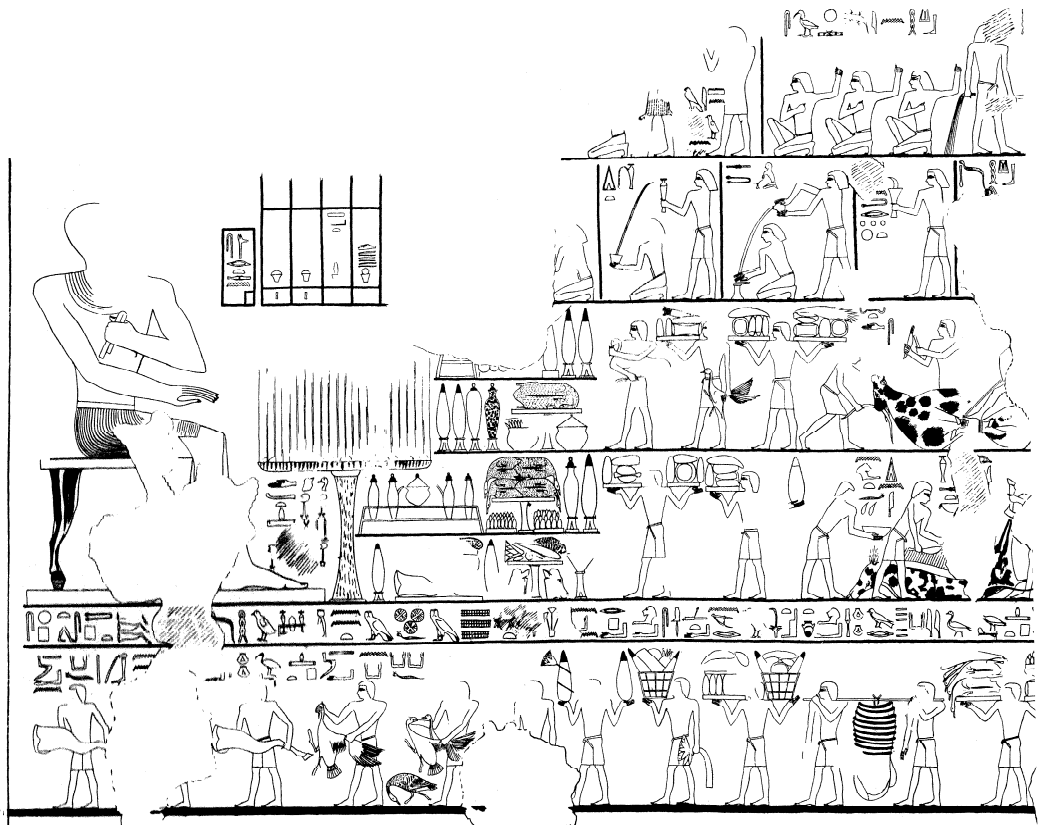


Figure 6

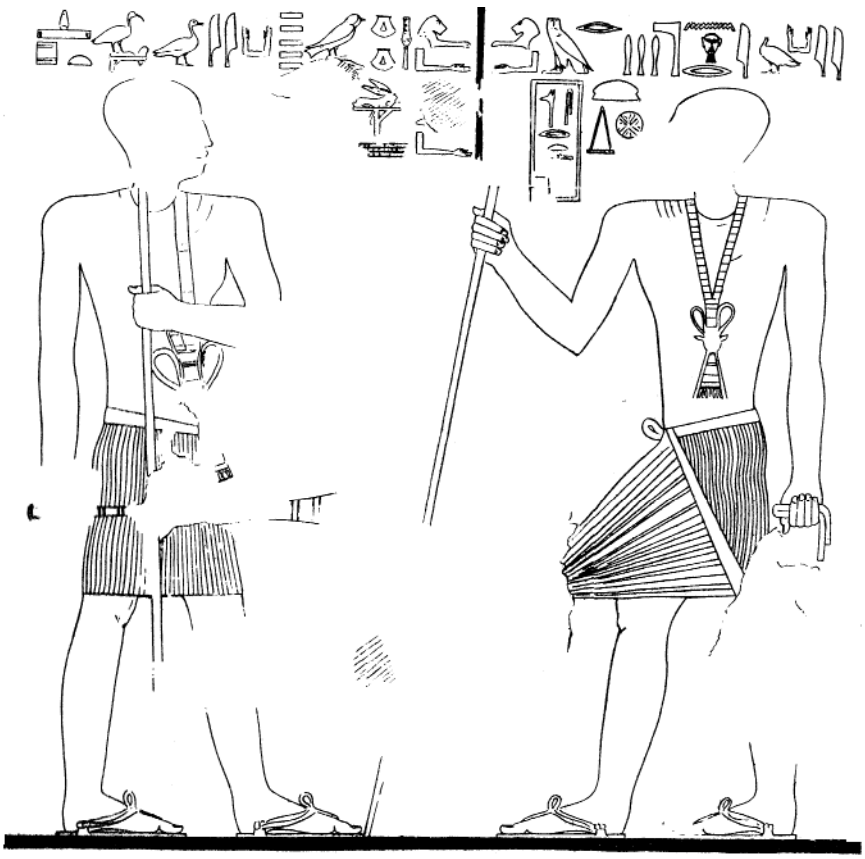


Figure 7

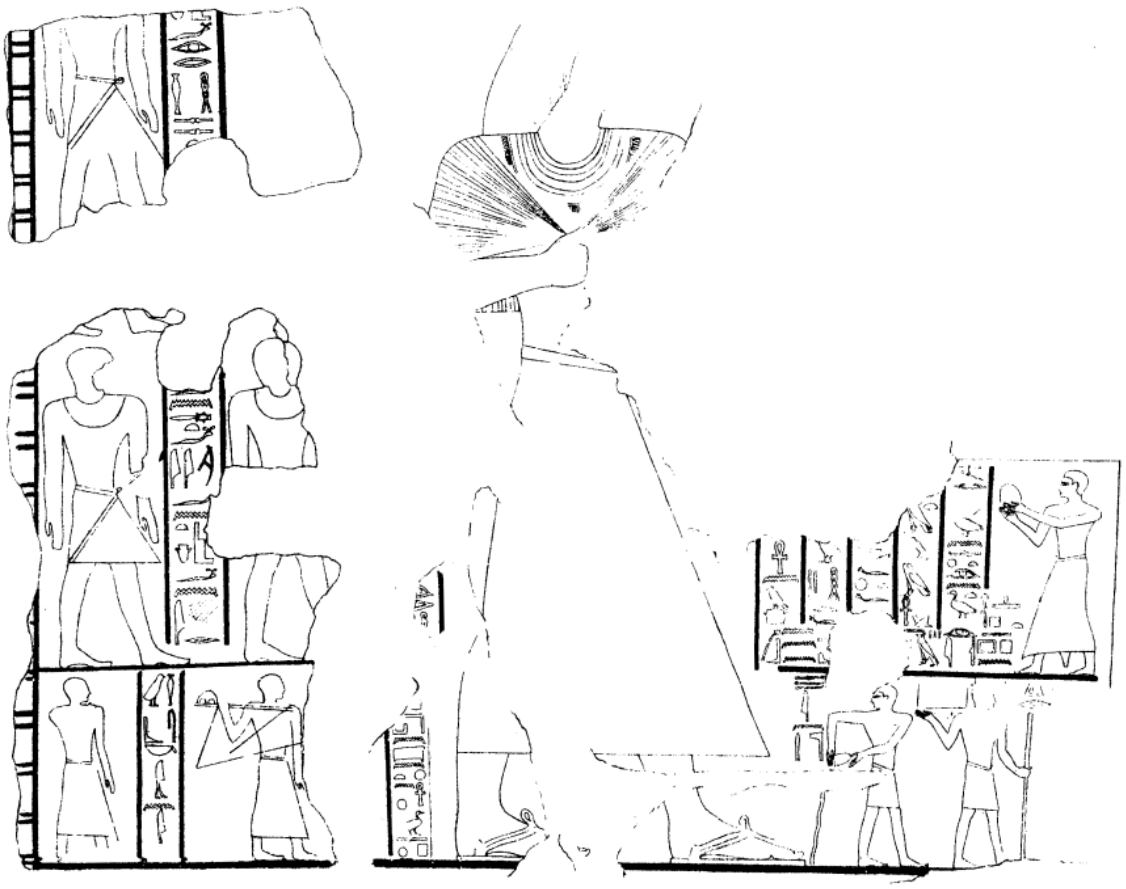


Figure 8

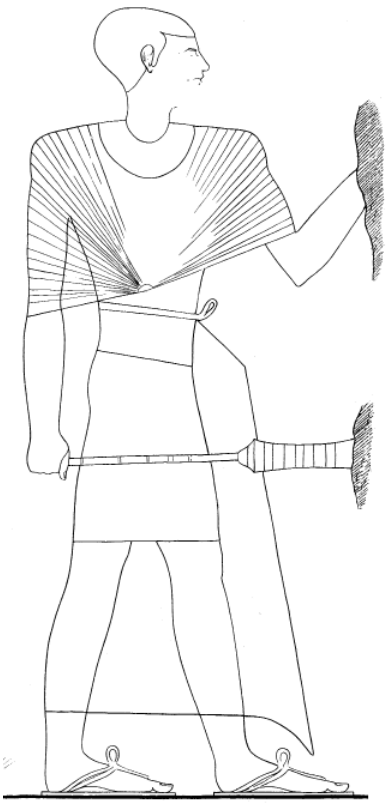


Figure 9



Figure 10

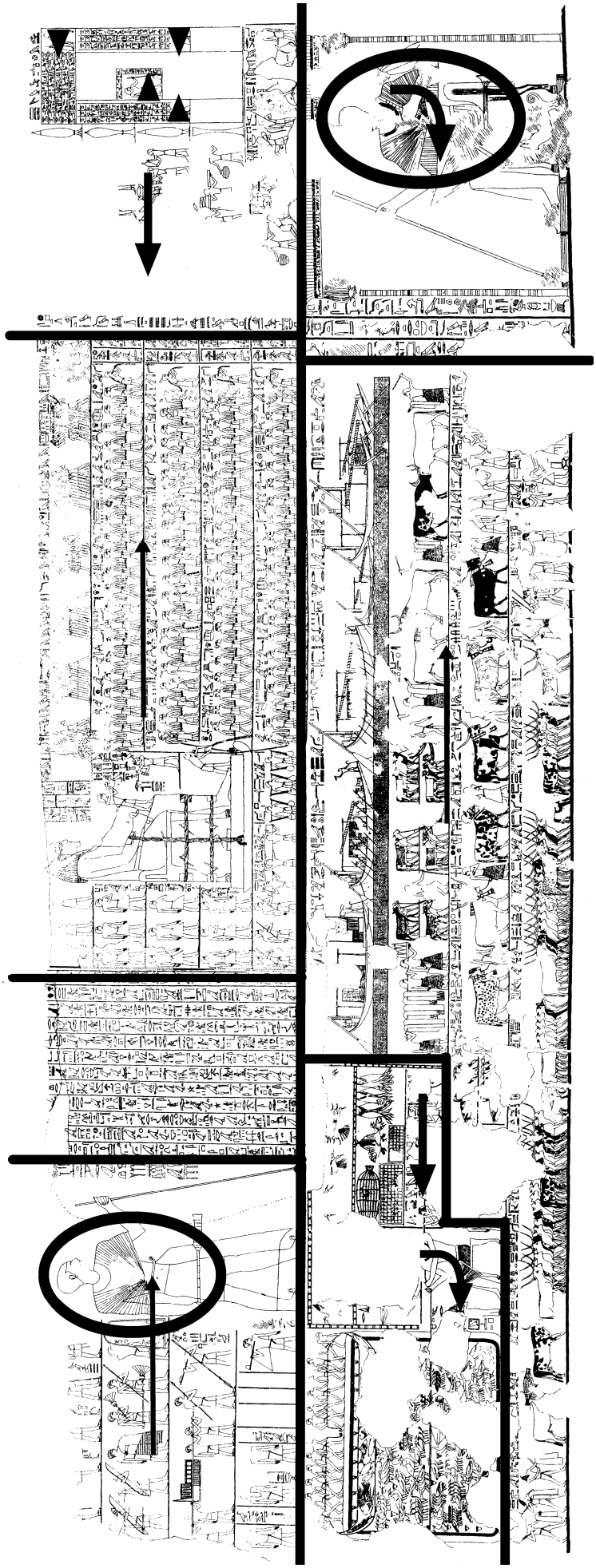


Figure 13

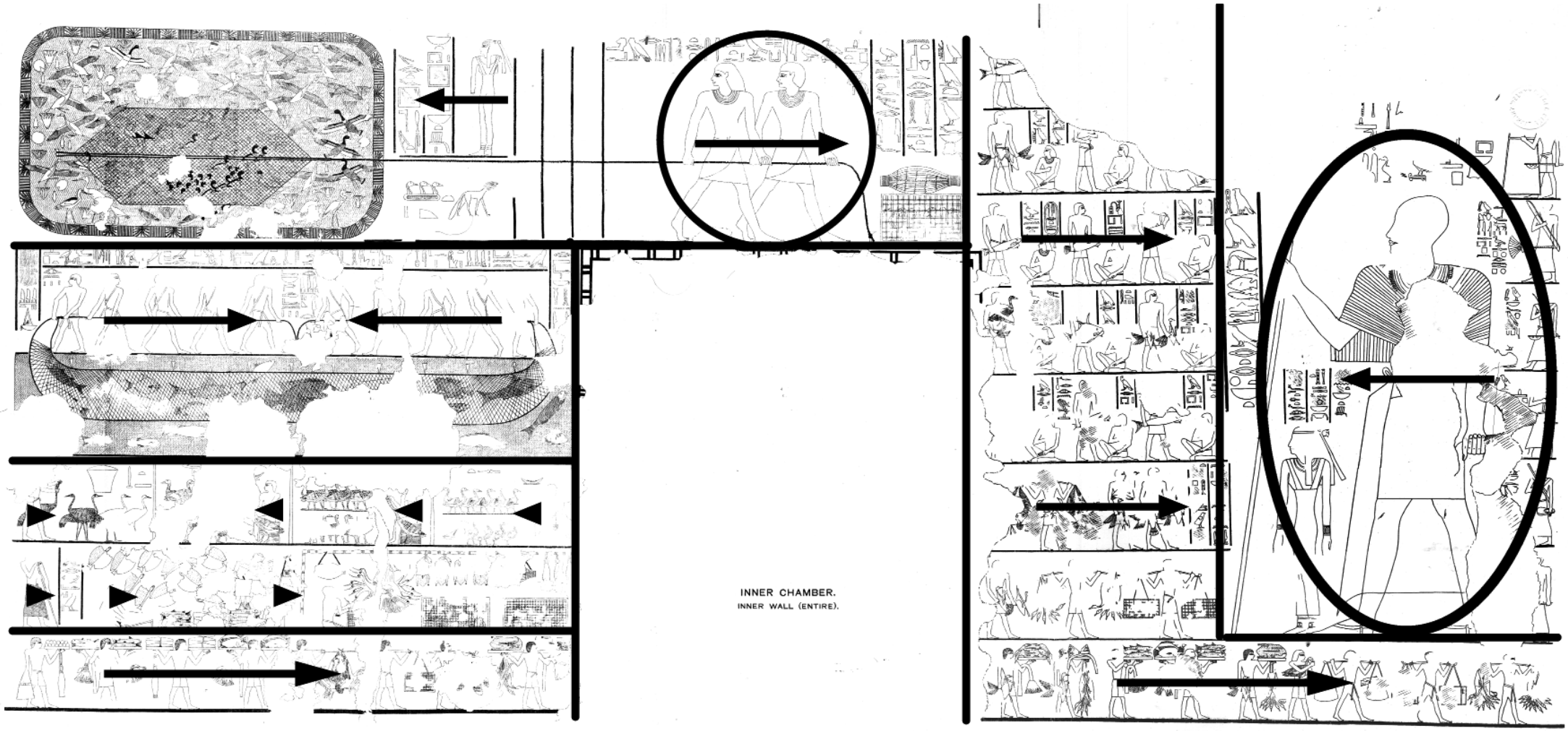


Figure 14

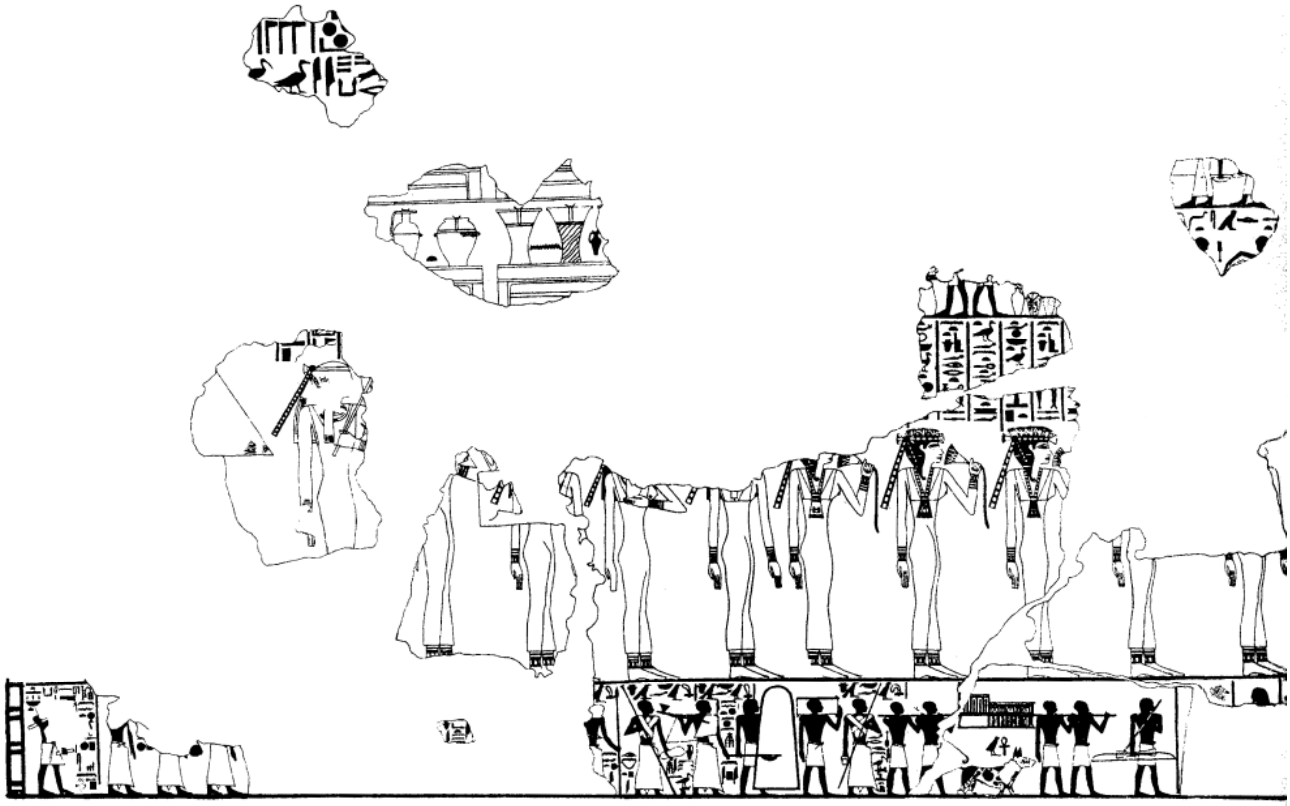


Figure 15

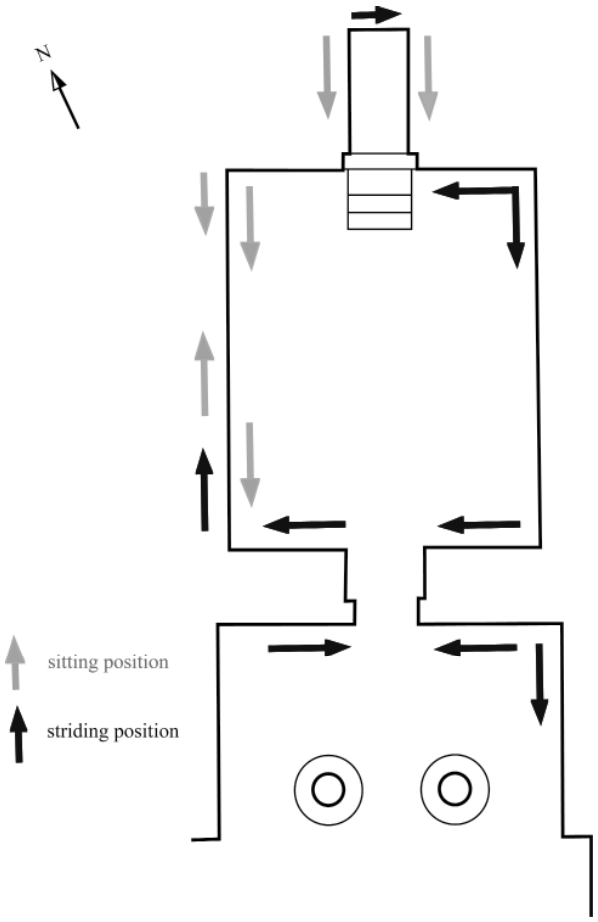


Figure 16

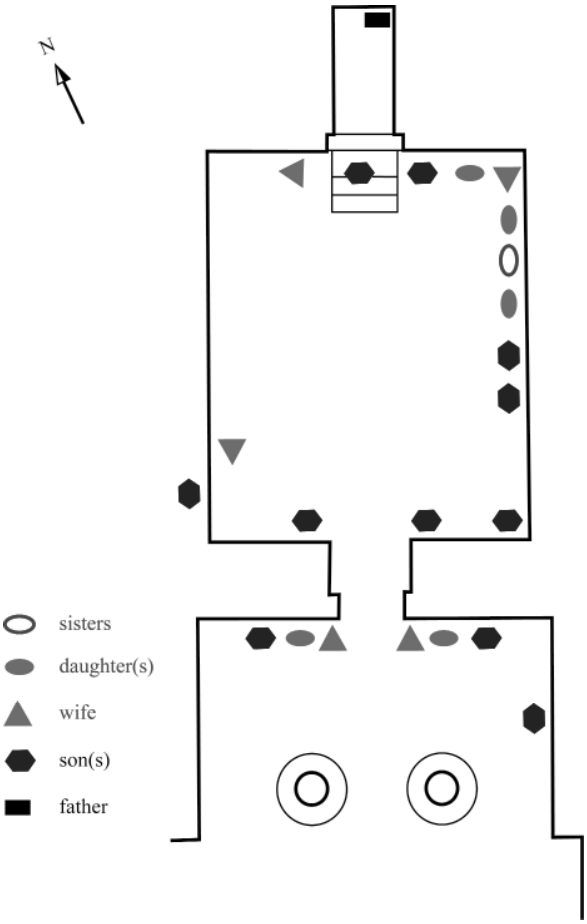


Figure 17

Hudáková, Jánosi, Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London 2016, 117-132

Dogs, dwarfs, and carrying chairs*

Vera Vasiljević
University of Belgrade

Abstract
The carrying-chair scene, an important status signifier in the decoration of private tombs of the Old Kingdom, is seldom encountered in the Middle Kingdom iconography. The paper deals with the iconographic differences between the Old and Middle Kingdom scenes. It focuses on the use of the associated motifs of carrying chair, dwarfs and dogs and their presence in a broader funerary context, in order to examine whether the carrying-chair scene reflects changes in funerary beliefs and social life of the Middle Kingdom.

1. Introductory remarks

The scene representing a tomb owner in a carrying chair, often surrounded by his retinue, is documented in several dozen Old Kingdom private tombs, but it is relatively rare in the Middle Kingdom, and does not occur in the private funerary context thereafter. The carrying-chair scenes of the Middle Kingdom also exhibit some iconographic changes. The initial questions of this survey are: is the change a superficial one, merely the result of a formal, iconographic 'updating' of the Old Kingdom model? Are the funerary meaning of the scene and its quality as an explicit visual statement about the high social status of the carrying-chair owner affected too, and if so, is it possible to discern how and to what extent the iconography of the scene and the decreasing number of such scenes reflect a change in funerary beliefs, social relationships, the political situation, and/or the local circumstances? The analysis encompasses a comparison of the Old and Middle Kingdom iconography of the scene as a whole, and three motifs related to it – the carrying chair, dwarfs, dogs – individually, as well as some relevant archaeological and textual data.

2. The Old Kingdom
2.1. The carrying-chair scene

Like those duties that were originally exclusively royal (or were at least conceived of as such), but were gradually delegated to the members of the royal family and eventually to the highest levels of the bureaucracy, in the course of the Old Kingdom some royal privileges and symbols of status were bestowed upon members of the elite, too.[1] Such a privilege was the right to be transported in a carrying chair, conferred on a limited number of individuals. The elite who had a carrying chairs at their disposal were the highest-ranking officials (viziers, nomarchs), persons who enjoyed royal favor, as well as some relatives of the king, including women. The *carrying chair* became an important visual expression of social status, and was represented in the elite tombs of the Old Kingdom, predominantly in scenes showing the tomb owner being transported in it, so-called carrying-chair scenes. It is documented in several dozen Old Kingdom private tombs. The basic motifs are the tomb owner[2] in the carrying chair and the porters, though more often than not there is the tomb owner's retinue, too, made up of officials, personal attendants,[3] and (rarely more than one) animal keeper, leading or minding dogs and/or monkeys. The carrying chair and its occupant are the centerpiece of the scene and are usually represented on a larger scale than the other persons. The animal keepers – occasionally dwarfs – were often represented under the carrying chair, between the two groups of porters. They thus fill the space that otherwise may have been left empty, but

* I am indebted to Katalin A. Kóthay for her help with some references and especially for allowing me to use the manuscript of her article which awaits publication.

[1] Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 58; Grieshammer, in *LÄ* VI, 830-1; Drenkhahn, in *LÄ* V, 1271; Rössler-Köhler, in *LÄ* V, 335.

[2] In one case, Shepseskafankh, the father of the tomb owner, is represented in a carrying chair, not the tomb owner Iymery (Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, 38-9, fig. 32, pl. 16).

[3] On the scope of the terms *personal attendants* and *servants with personal objects* as used here see Vasiljević, *Gefolge des Grabherrn*, 1-3, 83-5.

at the same time they occupy a prominent place in the center of the scene, though visually subordinate to the representation of the tomb owner himself. In a variant of the carrying-chair scene, the owner sits in (on) the chair resting on the ground, and the porters are not shown.

The iconographic context varies – the official in his carrying chair inspects agricultural work, visits his/her own tomb, listens to music, etc. In some cases, the scene seems to be an independent tableau without any obvious connection to other scenes. The interpretations of the Old Kingdom carrying-chair scene encompass a reflection of the daily life of the era, an expression of social status, and a funerary meaning.[4]

Closely related to the carrying-chair scenes are representations in which an empty chair is being brought by attendants/offering bearers. Being both a signifier of status and important for the Afterlife, the carrying chair is occasionally represented as a part of the tomb equipment, in a storeroom with other goods serving the same purpose,[5] and it is mentioned in the inventory of several offering lists.[6] The production of a carrying chair is a motif occurring in workshop scenes,[7] but only one actual carrying chair has ever been found (belonging to Queen Hetepheres I).[8]

A written testimony of the exceptional value of the carrying chair for those privileged to use it and for their contemporaries is preserved in three texts: a) the biographical inscription of Hetepherenptah,[9] b) an inscription of an anonymous official,[10] and c) the (auto)biographical inscription of Washptah.[11] All three texts inform us that carrying chairs, as well as the crew that went along with them, were provided by a king, and thus confirm the privileged status of those who owned/used them.

There are sixty-four Old Kingdom carrying-chair scenes known to me at present; they date from the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasty and can be associated with fifty-six persons (mostly men)[12]: a) fifty-five scenes are documented in the cemeteries of the Residence, from Giza, via Abusir, Saqqara, and Dashur to Medum in the south; they belong to forty-seven persons;[13] b) in the provincial cemeteries of Deshashe, Meir, Deir el-Gabrawi, Hawawish, and Kom al-Ahmar/Sharuna, there are eight more scenes, belonging to as many officials. Taking into account the examples attested in representations of storerooms and workshops, those mentioned in offering lists, as well as autobiographies, holders of the title 'Great one of the carrying chair',[14] and the single actual find, additional carrying-chair owners may be added. All in all, there are at least sixty-five individuals who can be considered owners or users of a carrying chair during the Old Kingdom.

2.2. Dwarfs

A dwarf[15], a person of small stature with disproportionately short limbs,[16] is a well attested

[4] Roth, in Fitzenreiter, Herb (eds.), *Dekorierte Grabanlagen*, 247-8; Van Walsem, in Fitzenreiter, Herb (eds.), *Dekorierte Grabanlagen*, 301-3.

[5] In three tombs; two of them do not have carrying-chair scenes in their decoration, cf. Vasiljević, *SAK* 41, 396-7, n. 13.

[6] See Vasiljević, *SAK* 41, 396, n. 10.

[7] There are seven examples, cf. Vasiljević, *SAK* 41, 396-7. n. 14. In five cases the motif is used in tombs whose owners are represented in a carrying chair. The remaining two are on blocks kept in museums, i.e. the context is not fully known – and consequently whether or not they also comprised carrying-chair scenes (= Kaemrehu, CGC 1534; Tepemankh UC 14309).

[8] Reisner, Smith, *Hetep-Heres,* 33-4., fig. 34, pl. 27.

[9] Sethe, *Urk.* I, 231.14; Kloth, in Kloth, Martin, Pardey (eds.), *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück*, 228-9.

[10] Goedicke, *JEA* 45, 10; Fischer, *OMRO* 41, 12; Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 40-1, 150.

[11] Sethe, *Urk*. I, 43.16; Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, fig. 4c; Kloth, in Kloth, Martin, Pardey (eds.), *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück*, 229.

[12] Vasiljević, *Gefolge des Grabherrn*, 62 (Tabelle); additions in Vasiljević, *SAK* 41, 396, n.12. Two further examples from Kom al-Ahmar/Sharuna should be added: from the tomb G7 of Pepiankh/Ipiankh (Schenkel, Gomaà, *Scharuna* I, 113-4, pls. 56-7) and the tomb V23 of Pepiankh/Hui (*op.cit*., 194-6, Beilage 15).

[13] The relief fragment published by Eisenberg (*Art*, no. 328) is probably part of the carrying-chair scene of Ankhmahor, as indicated in the comment at OEE: Scene-details Database (Scene 11.7.43: New York, Royal-Athena No. 328, http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oee_ahrc_2006/, <accessed 22.08.2013>).

[14] Jones, *Index* I, no. 1420 (except Seneb who is also represented in a carrying chair).

[15] Until now, the most comprehensive study of human dwarfs in ancient Egypt, dealing with a wide scope of data and issues concerning dwarfs and spanning the time from the Predynastic Period to the end of the Fourth century AD, is by Veronique Dasen (*Dwarfs*, published in 1993); the publication contains an extensive list of literature on the subject, and the text is provided with numerous footnotes; therefore earlier studies about dwarfs will be quoted in this paper only to a limited extent.

[16] Persons of small but proportional stature are virtually unrecognizable in Egyptian representations, due to the use of different scales for figures in the same scene, either

icon in Old Kingdom tomb decoration, and, to a certain extent, in the sculpture of the era. A dwarf who minds the tomb owner's dogs and/or monkeys is the most common motif among those comprising the icon.[17] The dogs are almost always tall, slender hunting hounds,[18] while monkeys (*gf*) are of the subfamily *cercopithecinae*, usually identified as the green monkey.[19] Exceptionally, one of the dwarfs in the tomb of Niankhnesut leads a cheetah as well as a monkey.[20] Dwarfs have other roles, too: they are often represented as personal attendants, carrying different objects in their hands,[21] or as jewelers[22]. Occasionally, they are shown among entertainers[23] or bringing cattle,[24] whereas dwarfs taking part in bird-catching[25] or acting as boat pilots[26] are each attested twice.

None of the dwarfs mentioned up to now (represented in more than sixty scenes) enjoys high social status. Some of them wear pointed kilts, indicative of their higher status among other servants/attendants in a scene. Dwarfs who mind their masters' pets or who are personal attendants are always represented close to the tomb owner. Only those performing such tasks were occasionally identified by a short inscription: in some cases their titles[27] (mostly defining their occupation), with or without personal names,[28] were added to the representations. But in

in order to emphasize the status of a person/object by its larger size ('*Bedeutungsmaßstab*') or to adapt a figure to the available space by decreasing its size; some representations of proportional dwarfs (e.g. Epron, Daumas, *Ti* I, pl. 16 – labelled *jwḫw*, see n. 33) are taken into account. Since the main subject of this paper is iconography, the medical issues concerning the causes of dwarfism and the effects of its different types on the appearance of the body will not be dealt with further here, see Seyfried, in *LÄ* VI, 1432; Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 7-15. For the words/terms used to denote dwarfs, and comments on the possibility of linking them with a specific type of dwarfism or social standing, see Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 25-33.

[17] Besides the 22 scenes of the kind mentioned by Dasen (*Dwarfs*, 114), some further examples were discovered or published subsequently: e.g., in the tomb of Khnumentj (G2374; Brovarski, *Senedjemib* I, fig. 86); a relief fragment from the tomb of Ankhmahor/Zezi (Kanawati, Hassan, *Ankhmahor*, 70-1, pl. 71, TNE95:F146); in the tomb of Nyankhnefertem (Myśliwiec, Kuraszkiewicz, *Nyankhnefertem*, 198, fig. 61, pl. 130); and in the tomb of Inti in Abusir (Bárta, in Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, fig. 8).

[18] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 116. Whether these dogs are to be classified as *tzm* (similar to 'Basenji'), greyhound, or saluki (cf. Osborn, Osbornovà, *Mammals*, 59-66), is not relevant in the present context. For a statuette of a man with a dog, from the tomb G 7715, see Smith, *History*, 101, pl. 28d.

[19] Possibly also Patas (or red) monkey, but difficult to discern in the iconography of the era. On monkeys, see Vandier d'Abadie, *RdE* 16, *RdE* 17, *RdE* 18; Osborn, Osbornovà, *Mammals*, 39-42. Dasen (*Dwarfs*, 116) notes that if the pets represented are baboons (cynocephali), they are always led by a servant of normal height.

[20] Müller, *Sammlung Kofler-Truniger*, 56 (K 415A).

[21] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 110-4. Besides two-dimensional representations, there are two servant statues, one showing a dwarf carrying a bag of clothing and the other, pots; both are made of limestone (Breasted, *Servant statues*, pls. 50a-b).

[22] They are always male, in up to three pairs, usually making broad collars. Dasen (*Dwarfs*, 118) mentions twelve reliefs with dwarfs as jewelers.

[23] Dasen (*Dwarfs*, 122) mentions three reliefs and two figurines with the subject. All reliefs are from Giza: a) a female, perhaps just keeping the tall box for the dancers – tomb of Debehen (Hassan, *Giza* IV, fig. 119); b) a dwarf 'singer', with a monkey below, in the same pose – tomb of Kaaper (Fischer, *JNES* 18, fig. 8); c) a dancing (female?) dwarf with a flower headband and a sistrum – tomb of Nunetjer (Junker, *Giza* X, fig. 44). Statuettes: a) a limestone servant statue, a dwarf playing harp – tomb of Nikauimpu (Breasted, *Servant Statues*, 87, pl. 81b); b) the ivory statuette of a naked dwarf with clasped hands, possibly a mechanical toy, similar to the Middle Kingdom dancing dwarfs – provenance unknown, Walters Art Gallery 71.504 (Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 278, E 118, pl. 30.1).

[24] In the tombs of Ireru (Hassan, *Giza* III, 65-7, fig. 57, pl. 22); Kakhent (El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Hammamiya*, pls. 44-5); Inpuhotpe, two dwarfs leading oxen (Junker, *Giza* IX, 167-8, fig. 75, pl. 15); Niankhkhnum (Hassan, *Giza* VI.3, 139, fig. 131); Inti (Kanawati, McFarlane, *Deshasha,* pl. 32).

[25] Akhethotep (Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, fig. 37); Hesi (Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *Hesi*, pls. 27, 29, 31, 56).

[26] A dwarf at the stern of a boat, commanding the rowers, in the tomb of Inti (Kanawati, McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 33), and a dwarf with a short stick (?) in hand, standing on the boat cabin (Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 266, pl. 24.2 – Hannover, Museum August Kestner, no. 1935.200.201). Dasen's third example (*Dwarfs*, 126, E 38b), a man on the prow, with a scepter in hand in the tomb of Khakhent, Hammamiya (A2), is probably not a proportional dwarf, but just a person represented on a smaller scale, of the same size as the man at the stern of the same boat (see El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Hammamiya*, pls. 50-1).

[27] Examples: *šmsw*, leading a dog – tomb of Neferirtenef (Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12); a personal attendant – tomb of Nikauhor (Quibell, *Saqqara 1907-1908*, pl. 42.2); *jr*(*w*)*-m-šsr*, leading a dog – tomb of Niankhnesut, Saqqara (Müller, *Sammlung Kofler-Truniger*, 56f, (cat. A90) K 415A).

[28] E.g., name only: *Nfr-ḫw.w*, a personal attendant of Wehemka (Kayser, *Uhemka*, fig. on p. 36-7); *Ḳd*(*w*) *n.s*, personal attendant of Niankhkhnum (Moussa,

some cases, the inscription identifies the animal either by species or by name, without naming the dwarf.[29]

Regular employment of dwarfs for certain tasks (such as taking care of the tomb owner's wardrobe) found expression in titles and epithets like 'one who belongs to s[...]dwarfs', 'overseer of s[...]dwarfs of the god's palace', 'overseer of *iwḥw*-dwarfs', 'dwarf of the Great palace/of the king'; [30] this is also confirmed by data showing that duties connected with dwarfs could be held by the same family through several generations.[31]

Several Old Kingdom dwarfs enjoyed higher social status. The mastaba of Seneb at Giza, the themes of the scenes in which he was represented, and the sculptures found in the tomb, are in themselves a clear sign of his rank, further confirmed by the titles he held, which included sacerdotal and administrative duties.[32] Among Seneb's titles, one concerns dwarfs in charge of robing,[33] while another may concern animal-keepers or dwarfs in charge of pets,[34] but it is the title 'the Great one of the carrying chair' that unequivocally indicates his high status, and he is indeed represented in a carrying chair.[35] The titles of Perniankhu from his tomb in Giza identify him as a 'dwarf of the palace', and basalt, the material used for his statue (JE 98944), speaks of royal favor.[36] Only two modest titles, *ka*-priest and overseer of linen, were inscribed on the statue of the dwarf Khnumhotep, found at Saqqara (CGC 144).[37] The statues of these three individuals were well executed and represent them in postures that were usual for officials.[38]

A significant role in elucidating the social importance of dwarfs during the Old Kingdom is played by a section in the Pyramid Texts in which the king, identified with *dng*, a pigmy, performs *jbꜣ nṯr*, a dance in front of gods (PT 1189). The close relationship of Spell 517 and the interest of a king in a real pigmy is reflected in the letter of Pepi II to Harkhuf, which concerns a *dng* brought for the young king from "the land of the horizon-dwellers".[39] Though dwarfs in general may have played a role in some rituals, there is insufficient data to substantiate beyond doubt any connection between dwarfs and a specific deity at the time.[40]

ALTENMÜLLER, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 58-60). Title and name*: isww ʿnḫ-rʿ.ḏd.f* and *isww ʿnḫj-wḏs*, tomb of Nesutnefer (JUNKER, *Giza* III, fig. 28); *ḫtmw Ḥtp*, leading a dog, tomb of Niankhnesut, Saqqara (MÜLLER, *Sammlung Kofler-Truniger*, 56f., (cat. A90) K 415A); *jwḥw Ppj*, a pet minder, tomb of Ti (EPRON, DAUMAS, *Ti* I, pl. 16); *jrj*(?)-*gf Ḥbb*, a personal attendant with sandals in hand and a monkey, tomb of Shepsipumin (KANAWATI, *Hawawish* II, fig. 21); *jmj-r sšr ḥm-kꜣ Rḏj*, a personal attendant with a box, tomb of Mereri (DAVIES *et al*., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pls. 5, 8b); *jmj-rw sšr Nfr-wdnt*, leading a dog and a monkey, tomb of Seshemnefer-Tjetji (JUNKER, *Giza* III, fig. 100); *jmj-r pr ʿnḫ.f*, giving a box to his master, tomb of Khentika Ikhekhi (JAMES, APTED, *Khentika*, pl. 31)

[29] E.g., above a (female) monkey *gf.t* (SIMPSON, *Kayemnofret*, fig. 14); dog's name only: tomb of Intj, Abusir (BÁRTA, in BÁRTA (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, fig. 8).

[30] JONES, *Index* I-II, nos. 268, 837, 1762, 1763, 1810, 1811, 2748; FISCHER, *ZÄS* 105, 47ff.; FISCHER, *GM* 187, 35-9.

[31] a) Shedi, whose offering basin was found at Saqqara, held the titles 'overseer of *s*-dwarfs of the god's palace' and 'one who belongs to *s*-dwarfs'; the latter title was inherited by his son Nebeminenet (FISCHER, *ZÄS* 105, 47-52); b) Manefer, represented in the partly preserved *Speisetischszene* from Giza, CGC 1652, was *inter alia* 'one who belongs to *s*-dwarfs of the god's palace', and the names of other persons fulfilling the same duty – presumably his relatives/antecedents – are listed on the same monument under the heading 'He who belongs to the dwarfs of the god's palace' (FISCHER, *ChronEg* 43/86, 310-2).

[32] JUNKER, *Giza* V, 3-124; DASEN, *Dwarfs*, 126-131.

[33] JUNKER, *Giza* V, 12; JONES, *Index* I, no. 2748.

[34] JUNKER, *Giza* V, 10-12; JONES, *Index* I, nos. 29, 268: (*jmj-r*) *jwḥw*. Cf. *jwḥw Ppj*, a dwarf leading a monkey and a dog in the tomb of Ti (EPRON, DAUMAS, *Ti* I, pl. 16).

[35] JONES, *Index* I, no. 1420; JUNKER, *Giza* V, 13, 83-4, figs. 4a, 6, 20.

[36] HAWASS, *MDAIK* 47, 157-62; FISCHER, *GM* 187, 35-9; JONES, *Index* I, nos. 1810, 1811.

[37] The same titles were held by Redji, a dwarf carrying a box, from the tomb of Mereri (DAVIES *et al*., *Saqqara Tombs* I, pl. 6; DASEN, *Dwarfs*, 131), but also by men of normal height: one who is striding under the carrying chair of Sabu/Ibebi (CGC 1419; EL-KHADRAGY, *SAK* 33, fig. 5) and a personal attendant of Ptahshepses (VERNER, *Abusir* I, pl. 1).

[38] Seneb – statues of limestone and wood and a granite statue base: JUNKER, *Giza* V, 107-9, 121); Perniankhu – basalt: HAWASS, *MDAIK* 47, 158; Khnumhotep – limestone: BORCHARDT, *Statuen* I, 105-6. The limestone statue of Petpennesut, identified only by name without a title (JdE 37719), found in G 1105, may also have represented a person of small stature; his limbs are not short, but the head is disproportionally large (SMITH, *History*, pl. 25d).

[39] SETHE, *Urk*. I, 128-31; BREASTED, *Ancient Records* I, §§ 350-3; GOEDICKE, *JNES* 40, 17.

[40] DASEN, *Dwarfs*, 132-3; SEYFRIED, in *LÄ* VI, 1433; cf. SCHEEL, in ALTENMÜLLER, GERMER (eds.), *Miscellannea Aegyptologica*, 159-64.

2.3. Dogs

During the Old Kingdom, most dogs[41], whether represented in the course of a hunt, or near the tomb owner, are of one type – tall, slender hunting dogs, *ṯzm*.[42] The pair of stocky dogs represented in Mereruka's tomb are exceptional.[43] Old Kingdom *ṯzm* hounds wear a collar and are usually on a leash, but sometimes they are without a keeper. When close to the master, they are shown under his seat, or they accompany him in outdoor activities, including transportation in a carrying chair. They are occasionally shown in other contexts listed by Regine Schulz, e.g., as watchdogs in the workshop of craftsmen and in offering scenes.[44]

That dogs were used as watchdogs, too, in the Old Kingdom, is further documented by the inscription on the reused stone slab found in a late Sixth Dynasty mastaba (G 2188), published by Georg Reisner. The inscription, consisting of ten lines, informs the reader of the royal order to build a mastaba and to perform a ceremonial burial, including the use of a coffin from the royal treasury, linen, and ointments, for the *ṯzm* dog *Abutiu*, the guard of the king.[45]

The fact that dogs were often shown with monkeys, which were probably kept for entertainment, does not necessarily imply they were 'lapdogs'. Many, if not all Old Kingdom dogs represented near the tomb owner should perhaps be understood primarily as working dogs (hunting dogs or watchdogs), on account of their qualities in that capacity, and only secondarily as the favorites, the pets of their master.[46]

Dog burials in the Old Kingdom continue the practice attested since the Predynastic Period, and the archaeological context of dog skeletons confirms that they were valued by their masters – buried close by or with them, occasionally in coffins and with grave goods.[47] The importance ascribed to individual dogs – not only to the generic idea of a dog – is documented as early as the Early Dynastic Period, by stelae for dogs, with names inscribed, found at Abydos.[48] The naming of dogs continued during the dynastic period.[49]
The data indicate that Old Kingdom dogs are to be understood as more than working dogs or pets, that they are – as Regine Schulz expressed it – "attributes of their masters, and express in the different contexts dynamic and magical power (especially in combination with monkeys and dwarves), vigilance and protection."[50]

3. The First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom

3.1. The carrying-chair scene

There are eight two-dimensional representations of the carrying chair from the Middle Kingdom belonging to six persons and coming from different sites – Niankhpepy from Hierakonpolis,[51] Kheti from Thebes,[52] Wahka II at Qau el-Kebir (a block found in the tomb),[53] Djehutyhotep at Deir el-Bersha[54], Khnumhotep II from Beni Hasan,[55] and a block found in an anonymous tomb at Lisht.[56] Two models were found, in tomb 1524 at Sedment,[57] and in the tomb of

[41] Fischer, in *LÄ* III, 77-81; Schulz, in Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 315-25; Goldwasser, *Classification*, 91-109. For a comprehensive collection of the data on dogs in ancient Egypt from prehistory to the end of the Middle Kingdom, see Zahradnik, *Hund*.
[42] Wb V, 409, 1-2; Osborn, Osbornovà, *Mammals*, 57. The majority of dogs may have been male, but at least in one case, a she-dog with puppies was represented (Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pl. 4).
[43] The pair of stocky dogs is represented twice, on the west and the east wall of the room A13: Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 146, 168.
[44] Schulz, in Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 317-8, with notes.
[45] Cairo JdE 67573: *ṯzm wnn stp-z r ḥm.f*; Reisner, *BMFA* 34, 96-9.
[46] Two dogs with their keeper in a workshop, in the tomb of Intj at Deshashe, and a dog shown twice with Khafreankh (G 7948), inspecting agricultural work – once on a large scale, and again on a small scale, among the workers, may be understood as working dogs; both are mentioned by Schulz, in Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 318, n. 16, 323, figs. 2-3.
[47] Zahradnik, *Hund*, 22-9, 277-86.
[48] Zahradnik, *Hund*, 195-7.
[49] Janssen, *MDAIK* 16; Fischer, *JEA* 47; Simpson, *JEA* 63; Fischer, *MMJ* 12; Vachala, *GM* 190; Kuraszkiewicz, *GM* 202; Zahradnik, *Hund*, 344-63.
[50] Schulz, in Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 318.
[51] PM V, 197(2); Davies, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 113-7.
[52] TT 311, fragments of the scene now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, fig. 21g.
[53] Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber*, pl. 12b. My warm thanks go to Fiore Marochetti for reminding me of this fragment.
[54] Three representations of a carrying chair: Newberry, *Bersheh* I, pls. 12, 13, 18, 24, 29.
[55] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 29.
[56] Arnold, *Lisht*, 86-7, 98, pl. 167a. (MMA 15.3.1143, now in Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum).
[57] Petrie, Brunton, *Sedment* I, pl. 17.4 (Manchester Museum 6596 a-e). The model is a unique example of a carrying chair suspended from a pole (two men carry the

Karenen at Saqqara.[58]

Although carrying chairs are sparsely documented in two-dimensional representations during the Middle Kingdom,[59] by contrast to the Old Kingdom, some differences may be observed. The lower, box-like part of the carrying chair seems to be deeper than in the Old Kingdom, so that the armrest is not much higher than its upper edge; the backrest may be vertical as in the Old Kingdom, but there are also backrests sloping backwards (Fig. 1).[60] Only two of the carrying chairs had a canopy, one belonging to Khety and one to Djehutyhotep, which is placed on the deck of a boat. Both are luxuriously decorated, with elaborate woodworking, as are two of Djehutyhotep's carrying chairs and one belonging to Khnumhotep. One important difference from the Old Kingdom examples is the position of the center of gravity – it is now lower, the carrying poles being fastened higher than before, above the bottom of the seat. With the Sedment model, the center of gravity is even lower: the seat is hanging under the (one) pole.

Unfortunately, except for the carrying-chair scenes from Deir el-Bersha and Beni Hasan which are well preserved, the other examples provide little information on the original, Middle Kingdom concept of a given scene or its context. The upper part of the scene from Hierakonpolis was discovered damaged;[61] the Theban example consists of mere fragments; and the relief from Lisht, and especially the one from Qau el-Kebir, supply us only with data on the existence and the form of the chairs.

For a number of reasons, including the differences in their form, context, the way they were used etc., a comparison of two- and three-dimensional representations is possible only to a limited extent. Therefore, no conclusions on the composition of the Middle Kingdom scenes can be drawn, but some observations will be mentioned (Table 1). Only Djehutyhotep's retinue is comparable in the number of persons and the variety of roles they played, to those from the Old Kingdom. The once common dogs and dwarfs, represented in the immediate vicinity of their lord, as well as servants with personal objects, are almost completely missing from the Middle Kingdom carrying-chair scenes. A dog is present in one case, under Djehutyhotep's carrying chair. A dwarf, probably leading a dog in the tomb of Nyankhpepy[62] is the only animal keeper preserved in these scenes. Two servants with a fan in one scene at el-Bersha and one in the Sedment model are the only personal attendants in the Middle Kingdom carrying-chair scenes. Whereas during the Old Kingdom the presence of over ten porters was not uncommon, and in some cases over twenty porters were represented,[63] their number decreased in the Middle Kingdom – a maximum of eight is documented only once, in Hierakonpolis.[64] In all the Middle Kingdom examples of the scene where the owner is depicted, he is sitting *in* the chair (on its bottom or slightly above it), not *on* it.[65]

3.2. Dwarfs

The number of preserved two-dimensional representations of dwarfs decreased after the Old Kingdom.[66] A dwarf leading a gazelle is represented in the tomb of Meru (N3737), at Naga ed-Der, dated to the First Intermediate period.[67] Four of the Middle Kingdom two-dimensional representations are from Beni Hasan tombs (BH 2, BH 17, BH 29, BH 33),[68]

pole on their shoulders).

[58] QUIBELL, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, 74-5, pl. 16 (JdE 39130).

[59] The overall number of preserved Middle Kingdom decorated tombs is significantly lower than in the Old Kingdom cemeteries. Although a rough statistical estimate shows that the percentage of the occurrences of carrying-chair scenes in tomb decoration is approximately the same in both periods, the actual difference in numbers has to be observed.

[60] The lower part of the body of the person sitting in a carrying chair, partly visible in the Old Kingdom through the openings on the sides, is now not visible, being screened by the panelled sides. Both models of carrying chairs are open in front.

[61] The upper part of the decoration is now completely missing, see the British Museum archive photo in DAVIES, *Nekhen News* 11, 18.

[62] WEEKS, *Anatomical knowledge*, 170, B3, fig. 11 (on p. 227): 'a clearly rachitic achondroplast stands atop the sedan chair of Men-pepi'.

[63] Twenty or more porters: Kagemni (VON BISSING, *Gemni-kai* I, 15-6, 28, 33, pls. 22-3); Khnumenti (BROVARSKI, *Senedjemib* I, 120-1, pl. 91, fig. 86); Meryteti /Meri (KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIQ, *Mereruka* I, 26-7, pls. 7a-b, 47); perhaps Nimaatre, too (HASSAN, *Gîza* II, 221, fig. 240).

[64] One of the three Djehutyhotep's chairs is placed on the deck of a boat, those from Lisht and Saqqara are placed on the ground, and the context of the example from Qau el-Kebir is unclear.

[65] On the manner of sitting in a carrying chair, see VASILJEVIĆ, *SAK* 41, 399-402.

[66] DASEN, *Dwarfs*, 134.

[67] SMITH, *History*, 225, fig 91; WEEKS, *Anatomical knowledge*, 184, E 22.

[68] Amenemhat, BH 2 (NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan* I, 31, 37, pl. 12); Khety, BH 17 (NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan* II, 61, pl. 16.); Baqt I, BH 29 (NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan* II, 36, pl. 32); Baqt

	Old Kingdom	Middle Kingdom
Number of scenes	64	10
Number of owners	56	8
Number of porters	2–24	2–8
Carrying chair		
• Center of gravity	high	low
• Carrying poles attached	at the bottom of the chair	above the bottom of the chair
Form of the seat		
• back-rest	upright	upright
		sloping
• footrest – with or without	with	both
Way of carrying/showing the chair		
• porters, on the shoulders	x	x
• porters, in hanging arms	x	
• by donkeys	x	
• placed on the ground	x	x
• placed on the boat	x	x
Retinue		
• Officials /employees	x	x
• armed men		x
• dogs, dwarfs and personal attendants	common	rare

Table 1

one is from the tomb of Niankhpepi at Hierakonpolis – a usurped and (re-)decorated Old Kingdom tomb,[69] and three figures represented on Abydos stelae are recognized as dwarfs.[70]

There are only a few roles that dwarfs play in these representations: the female dwarf in the tomb of Amenemhat (BH 2) is a personal attendant, carrying a fan; the dwarf from Hierakonpolis leads a dog (?); and on the stela of Kemehu the dwarf leads a bullock.[71] Other dwarfs seem to be present in scenes without being assigned a specific task.[72] In the tombs of Baqt I (BH 29) and Khety (BH 17), the inscriptions describe the physical appearance of the persons represented: a dwarf (*nmw*), a man with malformed feet (*ḏnb*), and a man with a deformed back (*jw*). This gives the impression that they were simply displayed as bodies, not as persons[73] – some of the attendants from the same scenes are labelled according to their activity/occupation – sandal-bearer, treasurer.

Statues representing dwarfs were relatively rare in the Old Kingdom; all but one were found in tombs, and they are made of the materials usual for the sculpture of the period: stone, but also wood and ivory.[74] The situation in this respect changed in the Middle Kingdom: three-dimensional representations are well attested, and those with known provenance come from cemeteries, settlements (Lahun), and temples (Byblos).[75] Their size and material differ

II, BH 33 (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, 40).

[69] See n. 51.

[70] Simpson, *Terrace*, ANOC 17/2 (Senebsumai, CGC 20459); ANOC 20/1 (Wepwawetaa, Leiden V,4); ANOC 48/1 (Kemehu, CGC 20725).

[71] Other Middle Kingdom examples show persons of normal height leading/driving a bullock, cf. Satzinger, Stefanović, *JCSMS* 11, 27, n. 2 (BM 1679; Brooklyn Museum of Art, 37.1349E; Louvre C 17 = ANOC 52/2).

[72] In the tombs of Khety and Baqt I, and on the stelae of Senebsumai and Wepwawetaa. The dwarf on the latter stela is clumsily depicted, with one arm too long, and a proportional head and torso. The representation of the dwarf in the tomb of Baqt II is unpublished, and his presence, only mentioned in Newberry's publication of the tomb, is confirmed by Rabehl, *Amenemhet*, 131.

[73] *Contra*: Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 135: "This lack of employment enhances their prestige status."

[74] See nn. 23, 38.

[75] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, E 119-97; almost a half of them were found in the deposit of the Temple of Obelisks in Byblos.

from the older ones: most are made of glazed ware, and they often measure only a few centimeters tall; wood, ivory, limestone, and lead were also used, in some cases for figures of a somewhat larger size.[76] Both male and female dwarfs were represented. Many of the figures are shown unoccupied – standing, with arms at their sides or hands placed on the belly; some are musicians, dancers, and nurses, or they carry an object; others carry animals on their shoulders or in their hands; figures of dwarfs having or supporting dishes or burners on their head (stands or lamps) were found at Lahun[77] (Table 2). Small figures of dwarfs may well have had, as Veronique Dasen proposes, a protective role – in everyday life protecting fertility and family; in the afterlife, the rebirth of the deceased; and some of them were possibly related to deities.[78] Only two statues are singled out by Dasen as perhaps representations of real persons who had some social position in society.[79] Two tombs provide evidence of this, at Beni Hasan and Asyut where the skeletal remains of their owners, a female and a male dwarf respectively, were found, with their personal objects and funerary equipment.[80]

3.3. Dogs

The popularity of dogs increased considerably during the First Intermediate Period and continued in the Middle Kingdom – representations of several dogs standing by their master are not unusual, and there is a greater variety of type and size, as well as of the roles/tasks they perform. *jwjw* or *jw*, a (probably onomatopoeic) generic term for dog, is attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards,[81] corresponding to the greater variety of dogs' types recorded in iconography.

As before, dogs were also used for hunting, and they are invariably tall, lean dogs (greyhound, saluki).[82] H.G. Fischer pointed out that by the Middle Kingdom dogs were used in military activities, such as policing the desert.[83] The Middle Kingdom titles of 'custodian of hounds' and of their supervisors[84] reflect the number of dogs used and their importance for activities they participated in.

Those dogs represented in scenes involving cattle are probably also to be understood as working dogs (livestock/cattle guardian dogs?),[85] and possibly a dog shown standing on the prow of a boat as well.[86]

Members of all ranks of the ruling class were frequently represented with a dog – in tomb decoration, on stelae, and in some cases on coffins – or, quite often, with several dogs. When the master is seated, the common place of the dog is under the chair, standing, sitting or resting.[87] If the master stands, the dog is usually alert, standing, sometimes alongside the staff the official holds. The most prominent individual represented in this manner is King Wahankh Intef II, on the stela found in his tomb at Thebes (CGC 20512): he is shown with five hounds, all named.

The majority of the Middle Kingdom representations show dogs with relatively long legs and a narrow waist, though their height may vary. Dogs with short legs and more or less stocky bodies were also present, but it seems that these animals with dwarfism[88] suited only the taste of a few high-ranking persons (Fig. 2).[89] The only well-preserved Middle

For reasons to include the Byblos finds in the corpus of Egyptian dwarf figures see Kóthay, *BMH* 116-117. Among the finds from Egypt, some were a kind of lamps/burner-stands, partly dated to Thirteenth Dynasty.

[76] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 135-7. Old Kingdom statues of dwarfs of status are 30-48 cm tall, whereas the contemporary servant /entertainer figures measure 5-20 cm in height (see Dasen, *Dwarfs*, E112-E118).

[77] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 135-42. For dwarfs carrying an animal, possibly a puppy, see examples from museums in Budapest and Bruxelles, and a find from Byblos, see Kóthay, *BMH* 116-117.

[78] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 140-2.

[79] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 142-3: E 135, Nihor, from el-Riqqa, inscription on the back pillar (Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis* VI, 16, pl. XII.8-9); E 197 – anonymous, of unknown provenance (the inscription on the plinth names a woman, and the figure represents a man).

[80] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 143 (S15, S16).

[81] Fischer, in *LÄ* III, 77, n. 7; Wb I: 48 (3), 50(1).

[82] Decker, Herb, *Sport*, 315-29.

[83] Fischer, in *LÄ* III, 78, n. 23. Dogs may be represented among marching soldiers (Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pls. 26, 35; Zahradnik, *Hund*, 186-9), or they may be a part of battle scenes (Baqt III, BH 15, and Amenemhat, BH 2: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, pl. 4; id., *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 14).

[84] Fischer, in *LÄ* III, 78; Andreu, in *LÄ* IV, 1069; Zahradnik, *Hund*, 328.

[85] In the tombs of Senbi at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* I, pl. 11), and Khety at el-Bersha (Newberry, *Bersheh* I, pl. 17).

[86] A fragment of a wall relief from Coptos, UC 14324 (Zahradnik, *Hund*, 255, fig. 154). In Meir, a dog is represented with a fisherman on a papyrus boat (Blackman, *Meir* II, pl. 4).

[87] Resting dogs: Fischer, *ArtAs* 22/3, 247, n. 5. Dogs are represented sometimes even though they had to be 'squeezed' into the small available space, e.g., stela CGC 1649 – Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 65-7, pl. 17.

[88] For a more detailed analysis of dog types, see Zahradnik, *Hund*, 318-20.; Osborn, Osbornovà, *Mammals*, 57-68.

[89] Khety and Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan (Newberry, *Beni*

	Old Kingdom	Middle Kingdom
two-dimensional representations		
• Leading pets	x	x
• Jeweler	x	
• Personal attendant	x	x
• Entertainer	x	
• Bird catcher	x	
• Bringing cattle	x	x
• Boat pilot	x	
three-dimensional representations		
• Entertainer	x	x
• (Personal) attendant	x	x
• Woman with child		x
• Animal-keeper		x
• non-specified role (no task)		x
• dwarf-shaped stands and burners		x

Table 2

Kingdom representation of a dog in a carrying-chair scene is in the tomb of Djehutyhotep (see above). Individuals wishing to indicate their involvement in military and policing activities – including persons of high rank – were often represented on their stelae with dogs, and whenever the quality of representation is fair, the hounds are of the taller type,[90] not short-legged.

As in the earlier periods, the names of dogs were often added to their two-dimensional representations,[91] indicating that a dog's individual identity was of value to its master. This is how we should understand burials of dogs which could comprise grave goods or a coffin, as attested by some finds.[92]

The number of three-dimensional representations of dogs dated to the Middle Kingdom is considerably higher than in the Old Kingdom.[93] They were shown either alone, standing or lying on the ground, or in interaction with a human, be it an adult or a child.[94] It is conspicuous that all standing dogs have short legs and a stocky body. It is tempting to recognize in them the short-legged adult dogs of the kind that were pets of members of the elite. On the other hand, their appearance may be due to avoidance of a potential fragility of the figure if the animal's legs were long, or the figures may be identified as puppies, as some of them have been described.[95] Seen in the context of other small figures, the figures of dogs probably had an apotropaic function, both for the dead and for the living.[96]

Hasan I, pl. 30; id., *Beni Hasan* II, pl. 16), Djehutyhotep at el-Bersha (Newberry, *Bersheh* I, pls. 12, 29), Sarenput I at Qubbet el-Hawa (Müller, *Felsengräber*, pl. 6a). Due to the relatively poor execution, it is not clear whether the dog on the stela of Dedusobek, a simple draughtsman (CGC 20596 – Zahradnik, *Hund*, 257, pl. 36; Stefanović, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 190, pl. 41.1), is also an example of this kind or a puppy.

[90] E.g., a man with a bow and a dog – Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 27, 31, 36-41; person of rank – Kay, Berlin ÄM 22820 – Zahradnik, *Hund*, 241-3, pl. 32.

[91] See n. 48-9.

[92] Zahradnik, *Hund*, 283-8; Tooley, *JEA* 74.

[93] Most of them are up to 10 cm tall, seldom larger, made of glazed ware, but also of limestone or bone, see Zahradnik, *Hund*, 295-314.

[94] All three motifs are attested earlier, either in the Early Dynastic Period or by Old Kingdom figurines, see Zahradnik, *Hund*, fig. 172, pls. 40-1, 43. The motif of a she-dog lying down with suckling puppies is new in plastic arts (Zahradnik, *Hund*, pls. 58-9), but a similar representation, with a standing she-dog, was present in the Old Kingdom (see n. 42).

[95] Zahradnik, *Hund*, 299-300, 304-7, pls. 46, 49, figs. 174, 176-7, 179; Kóthay, *BMH* 116-117, n. 6-7.

[96] Kóthay, *BMH* 116-117.

4. In conclusion: iconographic, religious, or social reasons for the change?

The available data give the impression that during the Old Kingdom the individual meanings of the three icons – dogs, dwarfs, and carrying chairs – whether represented in two or three dimensions, whether alone or together, were more or less the same. All three motifs, though to a different degree, were signifiers of the status of the tomb owner, and had the same function in the Middle Kingdom decoration of private tombs and stelae. Still, it has to be stressed that the examples of carrying chairs and two-dimensional representations of dwarfs are relatively rare, and are largely outnumbered by those of dogs. The carrying-chair scene became relatively rare in the Middle Kingdom, and – if the existing examples may be considered representative – its composition changed, with dogs and dwarfs seldom present, although the overall number of their representations increased. The reasons for the changes do not have to be all of the same nature.

When comparing Old and Middle Kingdom data, a salient change can be noticed in the form of the carrying chair itself. Not only is its form altered to a certain degree, but its center of gravity is lower, fewer porters were engaged to carry it, and in the only well preserved scene, the porters, the carrying chair, and its occupant are represented on the same scale. The chair seems to constrain the man's body, and the scene does not appear as impressive as in the Old Kingdom.[97] This may reflect an actual change in the construction of the object (making it more suitable for daily use), but also a change in the attitude towards a less social and/or practical value. There is no data to show if the carrying chair became a more common means of transport than before, and was thus no longer a symbol of prestige, or if it gradually fell out of use in the private sector.[98] A new way of expressing social status was the presence of armed men in the retinue of high officials (Fig. 1). During the First Intermediate Period, local governors had their own troops, and with the war for the reunification of the country, the motifs of battles and soldiers became a visual testimony[99] of involvement in the struggle and of personal achievements. After the war, the motif of armed men in one's private retinue was a sign of a nomarch's power, and as a signifier of status it was used into the Twelfth Dynasty.[100]

Dogs and dwarfs in two- and three-dimensional representations have different sets of meanings in the Middle Kingdom. Their three-dimensional representations can be classified as apotropaic objects,[101] and their primary role was to protect both the living and the dead. Although the owners of the figurines were probably from the upper levels of society, the ideas that were expressed by the figurines were probably spread across society, just like other ideas that initiated changes in the funerary religion of the time. For their part, the contemporary two-dimensional representations of dogs and dwarfs

[97] Although during the Old Kingdom the tomb owner was the person of the highest rank among those represented in the tomb, the carrying-chair scene gave additional emphasis to the special status of the person in question; see Vasiljević, *SAK* 36, 333-6; Roth, in Fitzenreiter, Herb (eds.), *Dekorierte Grabanlagen*, 244; Van Walsem, in Fitzenreiter, Herb (eds.), *Dekorierte Grabanlagen*, 303.

[98] It is not possible to determine whether the carrying chair mentioned in the story of 'King Cheops and the Magicians' (7.12-14; Simpson, *Literature*, 23) reflects knowledge of royal habits in the Old Kingdom or practices contemporary with the time when the story was first committed to writing. Hans Goedicke (*JEA* 51, 41-2, 47) suggested that Sinuhe, with the help of the king, travelled back to Egypt in a carrying chair. After the Middle Kingdom, all representations of a carrying chair come from royal iconography, thus confirming its continuous presence in royal decorum since the formation of the state, although no representations are preserved from the Middle Kingdom (Vandier, *Manuel* IV, 328-9, 354-63).

[99] Qubbet el-Hawa (Setka: Jenkins, *BACE* 11, 77-8, pl. 19; on the date of the tomb: *op.cit.*, 69), el-Moalla (Ankhtifi: Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 126-9, fig. 63), Asyut (Iti-ibi, Heti II, Iti-ibi-iqer, and Northern Soldiers Tomb: El-Khadragy, *SAK* 37, figs. 4-5, pls. 3-4; Kahl *et al*., *SAK* 36, 85, pl. 3; El-Khadragy, *SAK* 36, 108-13, figs. 2-4; Kahl, *Asyut*, 74-84, figs. 53, 56, 60, 65), Iti at Gebelein (Leospo, in Donadoni Roveri, D'Amicone, Leospo, *Gebelein*, 48; Jaroš-Deckert, *Jnj-jtj.f*, 108, fig. 29), Intef in the Assasif (Jaroš-Deckert, *Jnj-jtj.f*, 27-30, 37-44, 76-7, pls. 14, 17, 23). Fischer, in Vandersleyen (ed.), *Das alte Ägypten*, 293; for autobiographical narratives and statements on the subject, see Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 24-31.

[100] Fischer, in Vandersleyen (ed.), *Das alte Ägypten*, 293; Gnirs, in Petschel, von Falk (eds.), *Pharao siegt immer*, 75. E.g., Amenemhat at Beni Hasan (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 13), Djehutyhotep at Deir el-Bersha (Newberry, *Bersheh* I, pls. 12-3, 24, 29). Relationship with the king being important for one's status, it was visually expressed by scenes showing fulfilment of tasks on the king's behalf, like control of the immigration of foreigners (Khnumhotep II: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 30). Representations of the king or the personifications of his name had the same aim: Vasiljević, *Imago Aegypti* 1.

[101] For exceptions concerning dwarfs, see n. 79.

reflect the roles they had in daily life, and represent the ideas of the elite.

In the Old Kingdom, two-dimensional representations of dogs were a status signifier for members of the elite, and had the same quality during the Middle Kingdom. Alongside the elite,[102] in their tombs or on a stela, four or five dogs can now be shown in a single scene.[103] A new type of dog appears in iconography, exclusively with high-ranking persons – a dog with signs of dwarfism, perhaps a rarity of special value; the older types of dogs remain the most common variant of the motif in all kinds of scenes. A dog and a human figure seem to form now a kind of a gender-specific ideogram – a male individual with authority as well as responsibilities. Its variant, a man in arms (bow and arrows), was used on the stelae of persons who had military or policing duties, but also by individuals of a lower class, serving only as a gender-specific way of representation, not necessarily corresponding to the realities of one's social standing in life.[104] Representations of dogs with soldiers, and at the hunt, or with workers, reflect the roles of working dogs and contribute to completing the picture of the presence of dogs in various spheres of daily life in the Middle Kingdom.

Middle Kingdom two-dimensional representations of dwarfs are scarcer than their Old Kingdom counterparts, and dwarfs now have fewer roles. The reason may be the more accurate observation of the frequency of their occurrence[105] in society, suggesting perhaps that the Old Kingdom representations inflated their numbers, motivated by a wish to enhance the status of an official by exhibiting dwarfs among his attendants, jewelers etc. That the interest in dwarfs was at least partly[106] due to their unusual appearance, is shown by the Beni Hasan representations of dwarfs paired with other persons with deformed bodies, a motif already used during the Old Kingdom, though not in such visually prominent places as in the Middle Kingdom.[107] Two-dimensional representations of dwarfs reappear during the Amarna period, but then only closely associated with the royal family, i.e., no dwarfs were represented as attendants or employees of a private person who was a member of the elite.[108]

During the Old Kingdom, dogs, dwarfs, and carrying chairs were closely connected with the carrying-chair scene, but the connection was not exclusive. Draftsmen used the motifs of dogs and dwarfs, independently or together, in other scenes, too, and continued to do so during the Middle Kingdom, when the association with the carrying-chair scenes broke down. There is no sufficient indication that the carrying-chair scene retained its funerary connotations during the Middle Kingdom,[109] and the scene disappeared at the end of the Middle Kingdom from the decoration of private tombs, suppressed by new symbols of status, and by the growing importance of the themes explicitly related to the funerary ritual. Middle Kingdom representations of dwarfs and dogs in the tomb decoration of the elite may have reflected the roles they had in real life, whereas the contemporary figurines of dogs and dwarfs, led 'parallel' lives – belonging to the class of apotropaic objects with the primary role of protecting both the living and the dead.

The analysis focused on iconography, which is very much intertwined with religious beliefs. However, as iconography is a product of political and social circumstances, and relationships, too, and cannot be fully understood in isolation from them, outside the cultural, social, historic context, some

[102] Dogs are not on a leash. Animal-keepers striding with dogs on a leash are seldom depicted – Zahradnik, *Hund*, 265-7, 275, figs. 158, 160, pls. 38-9.

[103] Stela of Wahankh Intef II.

[104] Decker, Herb, *Sport*, 314, pl. 142 (J 49); Seidlmayer, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects*, 237-8.

[105] An example from the Old Kingdom may indicate that, at least in some cases, a representation of a dwarf, even when his name and title were not inscribed, may correspond to his real presence in the household of an official: in the tomb of Ipj (Beni Hasan no. 481), a dwarf with a dog was represented below his master's chair, and in one of the subsidiary shafts, a dwarf was buried in a coffin (Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 264-5, 32).

[106] On the Egyptian attitude towards handicapped persons, its aspects in daily life, and (proclaimed) ethic concepts see Fischer-Elfert, in Liedtke (ed.), *Behinderung*, 93-116.

[107] Smith, *History*, 314: female attendants of Hetepheres I (pyramid G I-b) and one hunchbacked woman (with a fan) among the female dwarfs of Watetkhether, the wife of Mereruka (Reisner, Smith, *Hetep-Heres*. 4, fig 3; Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* II, pl. 69). Further examples are present with Amendjefaes, the wife of Seshemnefer I, G 4940 (Kanawati, *Giza* I, 63, pls. 42, 47; Weeks, *Anatomical Knowledge*, 170, B2), in the tomb of Ti (two animal keepers: Wild, *Ti* II, pl. 126), in the tomb of Nukauhor (a dwarf and a hunchbacked animal keeper: Quibell, *Saqqara 1907-1908*, 115, pl. 62,2). A man with a deformed chest and a dwarf, both animal keepers, is represented in two separate scenes in the tomb of Nikauisesi (Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *Nikauisesi*, pls. 48, 55).

[108] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 143, 208-9.

[109] A possible exception is the model from Karenen's tomb (see n. 58), where musicians are also represented. On the funerary meaning of the connection of the carrying chair with music and dance, see Altenmüller, *BSEG* 9-10, 30.

non-iconographic data related or relevant to the subject were taken into account.[110] Thus, the available Middle Kingdom data indicate that the motifs of carrying chairs, dwarfs, and dogs, whether combined in one scene or not, reflect their presence and roles in daily life, and were used in tomb decoration as signifiers of status. At the same time, a new status signifier surpassed them in importance: representation of troops and armed men in the tomb owner's retinue expressed not only his status (as the carrying chair had in the Old Kingdom), it also implied power over people, active participation when military force was needed, and was better suited for the self-presentation of the highest-ranking members of the elite. To the extent that the data allow, the changes that the carrying-chair scene underwent since the Old Kingdom, can be identified in part as iconographic, either representing the contemporary appearance of details, or corresponding to some changes observed in the form or composition of two-dimensional non-royal tomb decoration of the Middle Kingdom. Still, the main reasons for the changes concerning the scene as a whole, and the motifs under scrutiny here, are to be recognized in the change that took place in society after the end of the Old Kingdom.

Bibliography

Altenmüller, H., "Das „Sänftenlied" des Alten Reiches", *BSEG* 9-10 (1984-1985), 15-30.

Andreu, G., "Polizei", in *LÄ* IV (1982), 1068-71.

Arnold, D., *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* (New York: MMAEE 29, 2008).

Bárta, M., "The Sixth Dynasty tombs in Abusir. Tomb complex of the vizier Qar and his family", in M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague May 31-June 4, 2004* (Prague, 2006), 45-62.

Bissing, F.W.v., *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* I (Berlin, 1905).

Blackman, A.M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir* I. *The Tomb-Chapel of Ukh-hotp's Son Senbi* (London: ASE 22, 1914).

Blackman, A.M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir* II. *The Tomb-Chapel of Senbi's son Ukh-ḥotp (B, No. 2)* (London: ASE 23, 1915).

Borchardt, L., *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleute im Museum von Kairo* I. *Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 1-380* (Berlin: CGC, 1911).

Breasted, J.H., *Ancient Records of Egypt* I (Chicago, 1909).

Breasted, J.H., *Egyptian Servant Statues* (Washington: BollSer XIII, 1948).

Brovarski, E., *The Senedjemib Complex* 1. *The Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378)* (Boston: Giza Mastabas 7, 2000).

Dasen, V., *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford, 1993).

Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi* II. *Tombs of Zau and Tombs of the Northern Group* (London: ASE 12, 1902).

Davies, W.V., "Dynastic tombs at Hierakonpolis; the lower group and the artist Sedjemnetjeru", in W.V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 113-25.

Davies, W.V., El-Khouli, A., Lloyd, A.B., Spencer, A.J., *Saqqara Tombs* I. *Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London: ASE 36, 1984).

Davies, V., "A look at lower tombs", *Nekhen News* 11 (1999), 18-9.

Decker, W., Herb, M., *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten. Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibsübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz & verwandten Themen* 1-2 (Leiden: HbOr 14, 1994).

Drenkhahn, R., "Statussymbol", in *LÄ* V (1984), 1270-71.

Duell, P., *The Mastaba of Mereruka* I-II (Chicago: OIP 31, 39, 1938).

Eisenberg, J.M., *Art of the Ancient World. 50th Anniversary Edition* VII [1, 68] *Royal-Athena Galleries* (New York, Beverly Hills, London, 1992).

El-Khadragy, M., "The Offering Niche of Sabu/Ibebi in the Cairo Museum", *SAK* 33 (2005), 169-99.

El-Khadragy, M., "Some Significant Features in the Decoration of the Chapel of Iti-ibi-iqer at Asyut", *SAK* 36 (2007), 105-35.

El-Khadragy, M., "The Decoration of the Rock-cut Chapel of Khety II at Asyut", *SAK* 37 (2008), 219-41.

El-Khouli, A., Kanawati, N., *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya* (Sydney: ACE Reports 2, 1990).

Engelbach, R., *Riqqeh and Memphis* VI (London: BSAE 19, 1915).

Epron, L., Daumas, F., *Le tombeau de Ti* I (Le Caire: MIFAO LXV.1, 1939).

[110] The scope of these data and differences, in the extent to which they were used here, are partly influenced by the limits set for the original purpose of this paper (at the MeKeTRE Study Day), and partly reflect the extent of the existing data potentially pertinent to the subject.

Fischer, H.G., "An Example of Memphite Influence in a Theban Stela of the Eleventh Dynasty", *ArtAs* 20/3 (1959), 240-52.

Fischer, H.G., "A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty", *JNES* 18 (1959), 233-72.

Fischer, H.G., "The Inspector of Youths *Nfr-n-Ḥfw*", *OMRO* 41 (1960), 1-13.

Fischer, H.G., "A Supplement to Janssen's List of Dogs' Names", *JEA* 47 (1961), 152-3.

Fischer, H.G., *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI-XI* (Roma: AnOr 40, 1964).

Fischer, H.G., "Monuments of the Old Kingdom in the Cairo Museum", *ChronEg* 43/86 (1968), 305-12.

Fischer, H.G., "More Ancient Egyptian Names of Dogs and Other Animals", *MMJ* 12 (1978), 173-8.

Fischer, H.G., "Five inscriptions of the Old Kingdom", *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 42-59.

Fischer, H.G., "Hunde", in *LÄ* III (1980), 77-81.

Fischer, H.G., "Flachbildkunst des Mittleren Reiches", in C. Vandersleyen (ed.), *Das alte Ägypten* (Berlin: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 17, 1985), 292-7.

Fischer, H.G., "Some Titles Associated with Dwarfs and Midgets", *GM* 187 (2002), 35-9.

Fischer-Elfert, H.-W., "Lache nicht über einen Blinden und verspotte nicht einen Zwerg! Über den Umgang mit Behinderten im Alten Ägypten", in M. Liedtke (ed.), *Behinderung als pädagogische und politische Herausforderung. Historische und systematische Aspekte* (Bad Heilbrunn: Schriftenreihe zum Bayerischen Schulmuseum Ichenhausen 14, 1996), 93-116.

Gnirs, A., "Die gesellschaftliche Rezeption des Krieges", in S. Petschel, M. von Falk (eds.), *Pharao siegt immer. Krieg und Frieden im Alten Ägypten* (Bönen, 2004), 75-6.

Goedicke, H., "A Fragment of a Biographical Inscription of the Old Kingdom", *JEA* 45 (1959), 8-11.

Goedicke, H., "Sinuhe's reply to the King's Letter", *JEA* 51 (1965), 29-47.

Goedicke, H., "Harkhuf's Travels", *JNES* 40 (1981), 1-20.

Goldwasser, O., *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes: Wor(l)d Classification in Ancient Egypt* (Wiesbaden: GOF 38.3, 2002).

Grajetzki, W., *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom* (London, 2009).

Grieshammer, R., "Übernahme königlicher Rechte und Pflichten", in *LÄ* VI (1986), 830-1.

Hassan, S., *Excavations at Giza* II. *1930-1931* (Cairo, 1936).

Hassan, S., *Excavations at Giza* III. *1931-1932* (Cairo, 1941).

Hassan, S., *Excavations at Giza* IV. *1932-1933* (Cairo, 1943).

Hassan, S. *Excavations at Giza* VI.3. *1934-1935* (Cairo, 1950).

Hawass, Z., "The Statue of the Dwarf *Pr-n*(*j*)-ʿ*nḫ*(*w*) Recently Discovered at Giza", *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 157-62.

Helck, W., *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt: ÄF 18, 1954).

James, T.G.H., M. Apted, *Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi* (London: ASE 30, 1953).

Janssen, J.M.A., "Über Hundenamen im pharaonischen Ägypten", *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 176-82.

Jaroš-Deckert, B., *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f, die Wandmalereien der XI. Dynastie* (Mainz: AV 12, 1989).

Jenkins, M.R., "Notes on the Tomb of Setka at Qubbet el-Hawa, Aswan", *BACE* 11 (2000), 67-81.

Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* I-II (Oxford: BAR-IS 866.1-2, 2000).

Junker, H., *Giza* III. *Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Wien, Leipzig, 1938).

Junker, H. *Giza* V. *Die Mastaba des Śnb (Seneb) und die umliegenden* Gräber (Wien, Leipzig, 1941).

Junker, H., *Giza* IX. *Das Mittelfeld des Westfriedhofs* (Wien, 1950).

Junker, H., *Giza* X. *Die Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide, Westteil* (Wien, 1961).

Kahl, J., *Ancient Asyut. The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research* (Wiesbaden, 2007).

Kahl, J., M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, "The Asyut Project: Fourth Season of Fieldwork (2006)", *SAK* 36 (2007), 81-103.

Kanawati, N., *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish. The Cemetery of Akhmim* II (Sydney, 1981).

Kanawati, N., *Tombs at Giza* I. *Kaiemankh (G 4561) and Seshemnefer I (G 4940)* (Warminster: ACE Reports 16, 2000).

Kanawati, N., Abder-Raziq, M., *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara* V. *The Tomb of Hesi* (Warminster: ACE Reports 13, 1999).

Kanawati, N., Abder-Raziq, M., *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara* VI. *The Tomb of Nikauisesi* (Warminster: ACE Reports 14, 2000).

Kanawati, N., Abder-Raziq, M., *Mereruka and his Family* I. *The Tomb of Meryteti* (Oxford: ACE Reports 21, 2004).

Kanawati, N., Abder-Raziq, M., *Mereruka and his Family* II: *The Tomb of Waatetkhethor* (Oxford: ACE Reports 26, 2008).

Kanawati, N., Hassan, A., *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara* II: *The Tomb of Ankhmahor* (Warminster: ACE Reports 9, 1997).

Kanawati, N., McFarlane, A., *Deshasha. The Tombs of Inti, Shedu, and Others* (Sydney: ACE Reports 5, 1995).

Kayser, H., *Die Mastaba des Uhemka. Ein Grab in der Wüste* (Hannover, 1964).

Kloth, N., "Die Inschrift des *Ḥtp-ḥr-n(j)-Ptḥ* aus dem Alten Reich: Eine phraseologische Betrachtung", in N. Kloth, K. Martin, E. Pardey (eds.), *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück, Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag* (Hamburg: BSAK 8, 2003), 225-30.

Kloth, N., *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie und Entwicklung* (Hamburg: BSAK 9, 2002).

Kóthay, K.A., "A dwarfish figure carrying a dog: some thoughts on the representation of bodies and the migration of iconographic themes and motifs in Egyptian art", *BMH* 116-117 (2012), *in print.*

Kuraszkiewicz, K., "Two Dogs' Names from Saqqara", *GM* 202 (2004), 79-80.

Leospo, E., "La necropoli dalla fine dell'Antico Regno al Medio Regno", in A.M. Donadoni Roveri, E. D'Amicone, E. Leospo, *Gebelein: Il villaggio e la necropolis* (Torino, 1994), 41-59.

Lichtheim, M., *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies chiefly of the Middle Kingdom. A Study and Anthology* (Freiburg, Göttingen: OBO 84, 1984).

Moussa, A., Altenmüller, H., *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz: AV 21, 1977).

Müller, H.W., *Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern* (Berlin, 1964).

Müller, H.W., *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches* (Glückstadt: ÄF 9, 1940).

Myśliwiec, K., Kuraszkiewicz, K., *Saqqara* IV*: The Funerary Complex of Nyankhnefertem* (Warsaw, 2010).

Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hasan* I-II (London, ASE 1-2, 1893).

Newberry, P.E., *El Bersheh* I (London: ASE 3, 1895).

Osborn, D.J., Osbornovà, J., *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1998).

Petrie W.M.F., Brunton, G., *Sedment* I (London: BSAE 34, 1924).

Quibell, J.E., *Excavations at Saqqara 1906-1907* (Le Caire, 1908).

Quibell, J.E., *Excavations at Saqqara 1907-1908* (Le Caire, 1909).

Rabehl, S., *Rabehl, S., Das Grab des Amenemhet (Jmnjj) in Beni Hassan oder der Versuch einer Symbiose. So nah und doch so fern: Die Verschmelzung von Zeitgeist und lokaler Tradition im Grabprogramm von BH 2 des Amenemhet aus der Zeit Sesostris I.,* (PhD dissertation: Ludwid-Maximilians Universität München – München, 2006): http://edoc.ub.unimuenchen.

Reisner, G.A., "The Dog Which was Honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt", *BMFA* 34, No. 206 (1936), 96-9.

Reisner, G.A., Smith, W.S., *A History of the Giza Necropolis* II. *The Tomb of Hetep-Heres the Mother of Cheops: A Study of Egyptian Civilization in the Old Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

Rössler-Köhler, U., "Sänfte", in *LÄ* V (1984), 334-9.

Roth, A.M., "Multiple Meanings in Carrying Chair Scenes", in M. Fitzenreiter, M. Herb (eds.), *Dekorierte Grabanlagen im Alten Reich. Methodik und Interpretation* (London: IBAES VI, 2006), 243-54.

Satzinger, H., Stefanović, D., "Offerings for the kas of six ladies (British Museum Stela no. 1679)", *JCSMS* 11 (2009), 27-34.

Scheel, B., "Ptah und die Zwerge", in H. Altenmüller, R. Germer (eds.), *Miscellannea Aegyptologica. Wolfgang Helck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Hamburg, 1989), 159-64.

Schenkel, W., Gomaà, F., *Scharuna I. Der Grabungsplatz – Die Nekropole – Gräber aus der Alten-Reichs-Nekropole* (Mainz am Rhein, 2004).

Schulz, R., "Dog Missing His Master. Reflections on an Old Kingdom Tomb Relief in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore", in M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague, May 31-June 4, 2004* (Prague, 2006), 315-25.

Seidlmayer, S.J., "Die Ikonographie des Todes", in H. Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms. Proceedings of the international symposium held at Leiden University 6-7 June 1996* (Leuven: OLA 103, 2001), 205-52.

Sethe, K., *Urkunden des Alten Reiches* I (Leipzig, 1933).

Seyfried, K.-J., "Zwerg", in *LÄ* VI (1986), 1432-5.

Simpson, W.K., *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven: PPYE 5, 1974).

Simpson, W.K. (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry* (New Haven, 1977).

Simpson, W.K., "An Additional Dog's Name from a Giza Mastaba", *JEA* 63 (1977), 175.

Simpson, W.K., *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1992).

Smith, W.S., *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston, 1949).

Steckeweh, H., *Die Fürstengräber von Qâw* (Leipzig: Sieglin Exp. 6, 1936).

Stefanović, D., "*sš ḳdwt*: The attestations from the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period", in K.A. Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society. Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13-15 May 2010* (Budapest, 2012), 185-98.

Tooley, A., "A coffin of a dog from Beni Hasan", *JEA* 74 (1988), 207-11.

Vachala, B., "Zwei Hundenamen aus Abusir", *GM* 190 (2002), 83-7.

Vandier, J., *Mo'alla. La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep* (Le Caire: BiEtud 18, 1950).

Vandier, J., *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* IV. *Bas-reliefs et peintures, scènes de la vie quotidienne* (Paris, 1964).

Vandier d'Abadie, J., "Les singes familiers dans l'ancienne Égypte", *RdE* 16 (1964), 147-67; *RdE* 17 (1965), 177-88; *RdE* 18 (1966), 143-201.

Vasiljević, V., *Untersuchungen zum Gefolge des Grabherrn in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches* (Belgrad: Zentrum für Archäologische Untersuchungen 15, 1995).

Vasiljević, V., "Der König im Privatgrab des Mittleren Reiches", *Imago Aegypti* 1 (2005), 132-44.

Vasiljević, V., "Der Grabherr und seine Frau. Zur Ikonographie der Status- und Machtverhältnisse in den Privatgräbern des Alten Reiches", *SAK* 36 (2007), 333-45.

Vasiljević, V., "Female owners of carrying chairs: Sitzsänfte and Hocksänfte", *SAK* 41 (2012), 395-406.

Verner, M., *Abusir* I. *The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. Reliefs* I (Prague, 1977).

Walle, B. van de, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef* (Bruxelles, 1978).

Walsem, R. van, "Sense and Sensibility. On the Analysis and Interpretation of the Iconography Programmes of Four Old Kingdom Elite Tombs", in M. Fitzenreiter, M. Herb (eds.), *Dekorierte Grabanlagen im Alten Reich. Methodik und Interpretation* (London: IBAES VI, 2006), 277-332.

Weeks, K.R., *The Anatomical Knowledge of Ancient Egyptians and the Representation of the Human Figure in Egyptian Art* (PhD dissertation: Yale University, 1970).

Weeks, K., *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, *Including G 6010 (Neferbauptah); G 6020 (Iymery); G 6030 (Ity); G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)* (Boston: Giza Mastabas 5, 1994).

Wild, H., *Le tombeau de Ti* II (Le Caire: MIFAO LXV.2, 1953).

Zahradnik, E., *Der Hund als geliebtes Haustier im Alten Ägypten anhand von bildlichen, schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen. Altes und Mittleres Reich* (Berlin, 2009).

Ziegler, Chr. (ed.), *Le mastaba d'Akhethetep* (Paris: Les fouilles du Louvre à Saqqara I, 2007).

List of Figures

Fig. 1 - The carrying chair and retinue of Djehuty-hotep. After NEWBERRY, *Bersheh* I, pl. 29. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

Fig. 2 - Sarenput's dogs, Qubbet el-Hawa. Photo Vera Vasiljević



Figure 1



Figure 2

Colour plates