

EGYPT AND BEYOND



ESSAYS PRESENTED TO
LEONARD H. LESKO



Leonard H. Lesko, in his office at Brown University

Egypt and Beyond

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upon his Retirement from the
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at Brown University
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Edited by
Stephen E. Thompson
and
Peter Der Manuelian

Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies
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A Second Style in Egyptian Relief of the Old Kingdom

Edward Brovarski

SOME EIGHT YEARS AGO, IN THE AFTERMATH of the untimely death of William A. Ward, Leonard Lesko invited Lanny Bell and myself to offer courses on Egyptian Art and Archaeology at Brown University. In the intervening time, it has been a pleasure to work in close collaboration with Len and to get to know him (and his wife and partner Barbara) much better than before. In fact, our initial acquaintance goes back many years to the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago. In 1966 Len was preparing to leave Chicago for Berkeley, where he was Professor of Egyptology for sixteen years, before coming to Brown in 1982. Barbara and I actually became acquainted during a class in ancient Egyptian history taught by Professor Klaus Baer, and her mother, Mrs. Lee Switalski, Secretary in the Museum Office, was in point of fact the first person I met (as an entering graduate student) at the Oriental Institute, when asking directions to office of the Graduate Advisor, Professor Klaus Baer.

As Charles Edwin Wilbour Professor of Egyptology at Brown University, Len breathed new life into a department of Egyptology that was on the verge of being phased out by the university. He has taught numerous interdisciplinary courses on Egyptian literature, religion, and history to generations of undergraduates and graduates, and shepherded a number of graduate students through to their M.A. and Ph. D. degrees. Like their mentor, who has written extensively on the topic, several of these graduates have exhibited a lively interest in the funerary literature of ancient Egypt. Len early realized the importance of a widely based program in Egyptology and has not only encouraged the teaching of Egyptian art and archaeology, but seen to it that graduate students in the department have received training in epigraphy and archaeology in Egypt through the joint Cairo University–Brown University Expedition, which has now worked for a total of five seasons in the Abu Bakr Cemetery at Giza.¹ Having encouraged Lanny Bell and myself to teach art and archaeology, I hope Len will find the following essay of interest.

In an important recent article entitled “A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom,” Edna R. Russmann examined in detail Egyptian sculpture made during the course of the late Old Kingdom.² The same group of Sixth Dynasty sculpture had earlier been studied by William Stevenson Smith³ and Cyril Aldred,⁴ but Russmann expands on the observations made by these authorities and, more than either, calls attention to the way in which the second Old Kingdom style renders the human form.

Although we are concerned in the present article with two-dimensional relief sculpture as opposed to sculptures in the round, statues in the “Second Style” share with certain Sixth Dynasty reliefs a number of common features. Indeed, Russmann remarks in a footnote: “The second style is also evident in late Old Kingdom relief, but differences in certain of its characteristics in this medium, as well as in the chronology of its development, require further

1 See the articles by Prof. Drs. Tohfa Handoussa and Ali Radwan in the present volume.

2 *MDAIK* 51 (1995), pp. 269–79.

3 W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1949), pp. 84–86 (hereafter *HESP*).

4 C. Aldred, “Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt,” *MMJ* 3 (1970), pp. 29–35.

study.”⁵ Before examining the reliefs in question, it behooves us to take a brief look at the statues executed in the second Old Kingdom style.

In his discussion of the sculpture of Dynasty VI in *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, William Stevenson Smith called attention to what he considered the most important group of stone pieces of this period, the series of statuettes from the Giza tomb of Nekhebu (G 2381).⁶ As Smith noted, Nekhebu’s tomb was one of the later additions to the great family complex of tombs begun by Senedjemib Inti at the end of the Fifth Dynasty.⁷ According to his autobiography Nekhebu lived in the middle to late reign of Pepy I.⁸ This circumstance is also reflected in his court name, Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre, “Ptah wills that Meryre lives.” The statues all belong to the same type of figure, showing a man seated in the usual attitude with the right hand clenched, thumb up, on the right thigh, and the left hand open, palm down, on the other thigh. All have a wide face framed by a full wig. As Smith describes them, the faces in the majority of the statues are marked by large, staring almond-shaped eyes surmounted by eyebrows in relief, a nose broad at the base of the nostrils, and a big, carefully drawn mouth.⁹

Subsequently, Cyril Aldred studied the “Nekhebu style” from the point of view of its manifestations at the end of the Old Kingdom and its influence on the revived three-dimensional sculptural style of the early Middle Kingdom.¹⁰ In addition to the salient features of the face noted by Smith, Aldred called attention to a number of others: (1) the ears placed high; (2) the shallow crown of the head; (3) the pronounced inner canthi of the eyes; (4) the sharp line or ridge that defines the mouth; and (5) the muscles emphasized around the corners of the mouth and nose.¹¹

In her recent article Russmann further adds that: (1) there is usually little modeling of the facial planes, except for the prominent ridges or folds that extend from the nostril wings to the side of the mouth or jaw (previously remarked by Aldred); (2) the lower part of the face tapers sharply, in a way that crowds, but also emphasizes the mouth; (3) the latter is characteristically represented as a pair of thick lips, sometimes with a slight upturn; (4) the lips end abruptly at either side, leaving the corners open.¹²

The Nekhebu statues according to Smith have a plump body in which the modelling of subsidiary planes is simplified.¹³ One piece in particular shows a pronounced, if schematic rendering of the fat breast and abdomen.¹⁴ As previously mentioned, more than either Smith or Aldred, Russmann calls attention to the way in which the second Old Kingdom style renders the human form. Characteristic are: (1) overlarge heads; (2) long, narrow bodies pinched at the waist; (3) muscles little in evidence or altogether suppressed, especially on the arms, which are often extremely attenuated, and (5) hands undersized or oversized with fingers exaggerated in length.¹⁵

In contrasting the statues of the Sixth Dynasty and those of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, Russmann observes that the most striking difference is in the depiction of the human form. “Unlike most three-dimensional figures of the earlier Old Kingdom, with their natural-looking

5 Russmann, “Second Style,” p. 274, n. 49.

6 *HESP*, pp. 84–85.

7 See George A. Reisner, “A Family of Builders of the Sixth Dynasty, about 2600 B.C.,” *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (November, 1913), pp. 53–66; Edward Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex, Part 1, Giza Mastabas 7* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2001), p. 3.

8 Dows Dunham, “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo,” *JEA* 24 (1938), pp. 1–8; Nigel Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London: KPI, 1985), pp. 113 (90).

9 *HESP*, pp. 84–85, pl. 26a–c. A seventh head with a haggard, thin face conforms to a different type; *ibid.*, p. 85.

10 Aldred, “Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom,” p. 29ff. Aldred applies the term “mannerism” to the sculptures executed in this style. Russmann, “Second Style,” pp. 270–71, vehemently denies the appropriateness of both the terms “mannerism” and “formalism” as applied to the late Old Kingdom sculptural style.

11 Aldred, “Royal Portraits,” p. 29.

12 Russmann, “Second Style,” pp. 271–72.

13 *HESP*, p. 84.

14 *HESP*, p. 85, pl. 26b 2/1 (MFA 13.3156).

15 Russmann, “Second Style,” pp. 269–70.

proportions, musculatures, and physiognomies, those of the Sixth Dynasty show exaggeration of some features and suppression of others. They have overlarge heads, set on bodies that are long, narrow, and pinched at the waist.¹⁶

Russmann observes as well that the short wig is still frequently represented, although with a somewhat different shape and proportions. Nevertheless, the flared, shoulder-length hairdo composed of long, parallel strands descending from a center part appears with greater frequency than before.¹⁷ In the Sixth Dynasty, moreover, the sides typically show a concave curve, and the ears may be fully exposed.¹⁸

Russmann traces the origins of the late Old Kingdom sculptural style back to certain statues or statue groups with features that, to her, appear to belong to the transitional period between the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty.¹⁹ In particular she has followed its development back to a group of statues belonging to the official Metjetji (*Mtj*), which she dates to the time of King Unis, or slightly later.²⁰

When she remarks that the Second Style is also evident in late Old Kingdom relief, Russmann does not specify which body of late Old Kingdom reliefs she has in mind. I first became aware of a sculptural style different from that of earlier Old Kingdom relief, while studying the reliefs of Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre Nekhebu (G 2381) for a projected volume in the Giza Mastaba series of the Museum of Fine Arts.²¹

The reliefs that first attracted my attention form the entrance thicknesses of Nekhebu's Giza chapel, now stored disassembled in the Egyptian basements of the Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 1a, b; pl. 1a, b).²² The figures are in deeply outlined sunk relief. The execution is accomplished. On the left thickness, Nekhebu is garbed as a lector priest with a broad sash across his chest.²³ The tab of his short, plain kilt is partly visible behind his body. In contrast, on the right thickness, he wears a leopard-skin vestment. Although he has a shoulder-length wig on the left thickness, on the right one he wears a short wig whose locks overlap from the crown of the head to the base of the neck and covers the ears.²⁴ Beneath the leopard skin, part of the selvedge of the flaring front panel of his short kilt is to be made out.

As is only to be expected in two-dimensional representations, certain features which are apparent in three dimensions are absent. For example, since the face in Egyptian relief is seen in profile, the tapering of the lower part of the face and the broad-based nostrils visible in the statues could not be depicted. Nevertheless, the features that the two reliefs of Nekhebu do share with the Sixth Dynasty statues are readily apparent. Specifically, the crown of the head is shallow.²⁵ The ears are set high on the head. The eyes are very large and wide open. Moreover,

16 Ibid., p. 269.

17 Ibid., pp. 271–72.

18 Ibid., p. 272, n. 32.

19 Ibid., pp. 269–79.

20 Yvonne Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in orientation and scene content*, Studies in Egyptology (London and New York: KPI, 1987), p. 274, assigns Metjetji's reliefs and paintings tentatively to the reign of Pepy I. Peter Munro, "Bemerkungen zur Datierung *Mtj*'s, zu seinen Statuen Brooklyn 51.1/Kansas City 51-1 und zu verwandten Rundbildern," in Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, 4 vols. BdE 106/1–4 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale, 1994), 1, pp. 245–77, down dates Metjetji (and Meryre-nefer: Qar, the owner of Giza tomb G 7101) to the late Heracleopolitan Period. In a forthcoming article, "The Date of Metjetji," I hope to show that both individuals do indeed belong to the Sixth Dynasty. The reliefs of Metjetji and Meryre-nefer: Qar are discussed below, pp. 62–66, 70.

21 *The Senedjemib Complex*, Part 2, forthcoming.

22 I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Rita E. Freed, John F. Cogan and Mary L. Cornille Chair, Art of the Ancient World, for permission to illustrate the various reliefs of Nekhebu discussed in the present article. Figs. 1a and b were drawn by William Stevenson Smith.

23 MFA 13.4348; EG 481. For the "Rückenlatz" at Nekhebu's back, a fairly common element of the lector priest's garb, see Elisabeth Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptische Tracht im Alten Reich*, MÄS 8 (Berlin: Bruno Hessling 1966), pp. 80–81.

24 MFA 13.4349; EG 482. The blocks forming the right thickness are inaccessible at present.

25 This is not a feature that is confined to relief in the Second Style. It occurs regularly in earlier relief as well. It is a feature of all the reliefs in the Second Style discussed below and will not be mentioned again.

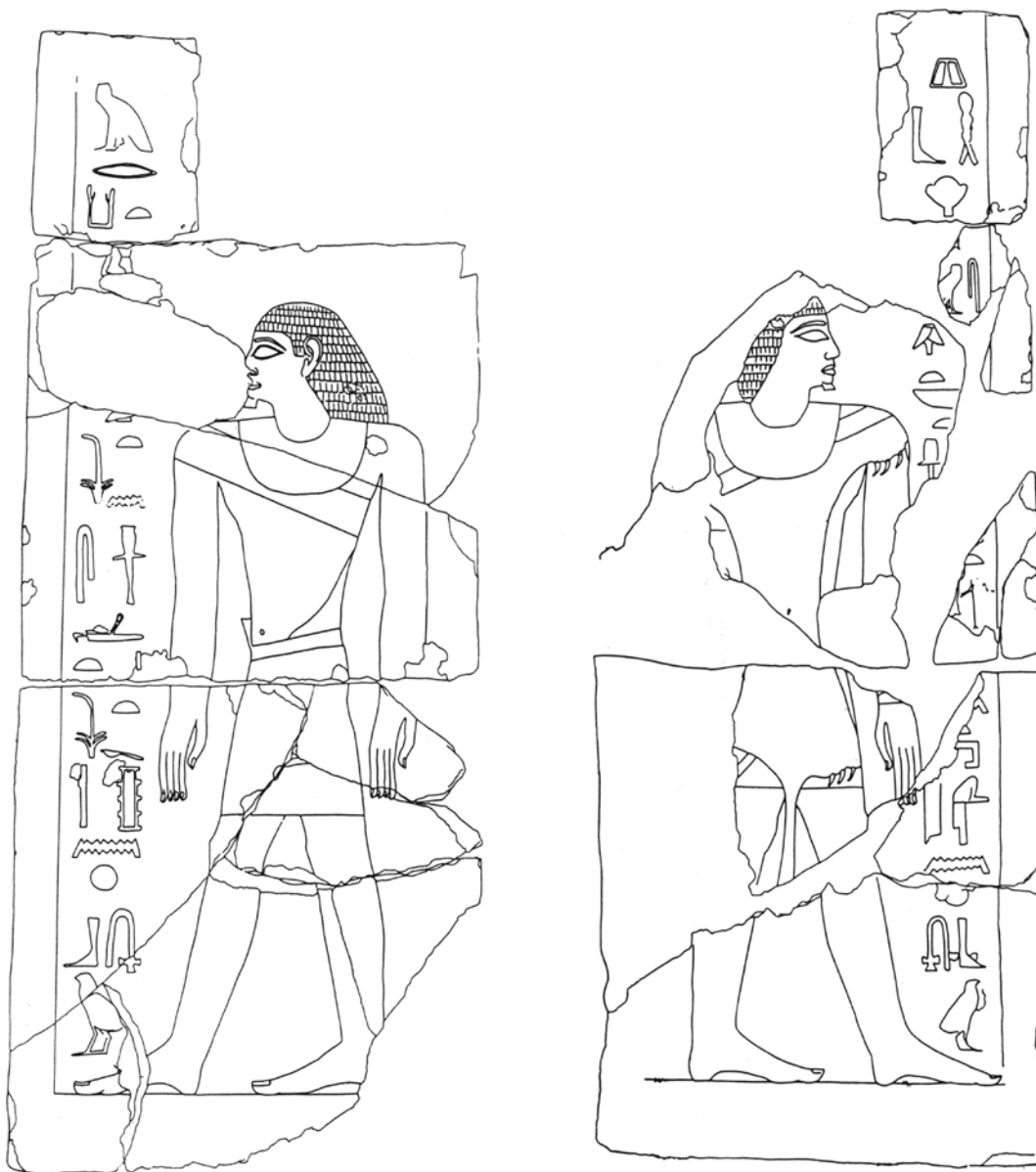


Fig. 1. Left (a) and right (b) entrance thicknesses of Nekhebu, MFA 13.4348/49.

as is apparent from the photographic detail and drawing of the left thickness (fig. 2a; pl. 4a), the pronounced inner canthus of the eye cuts deeply into the nose.²⁶

In relief sculpture of the earlier Old Kingdom, the upper lid or even both lids of the eye are not uncommonly drawn in relief.²⁷ In the Nekhebu reliefs both the top and bottom of the eye are instead represented by the sharp edge of the top of the deep vertical cut of the sunk relief (fig. 2a; pl. 4a). The other, rounded side of the cut outlines the eyeball. The eye is more or less

²⁶ Figs 2a–f were copied by the author and inked by Kea Johnston, artist, Cairo University–Brown University Expedition.

²⁷ Cherpion, in *Age of the Pyramids*, figs. 60–66, 70.

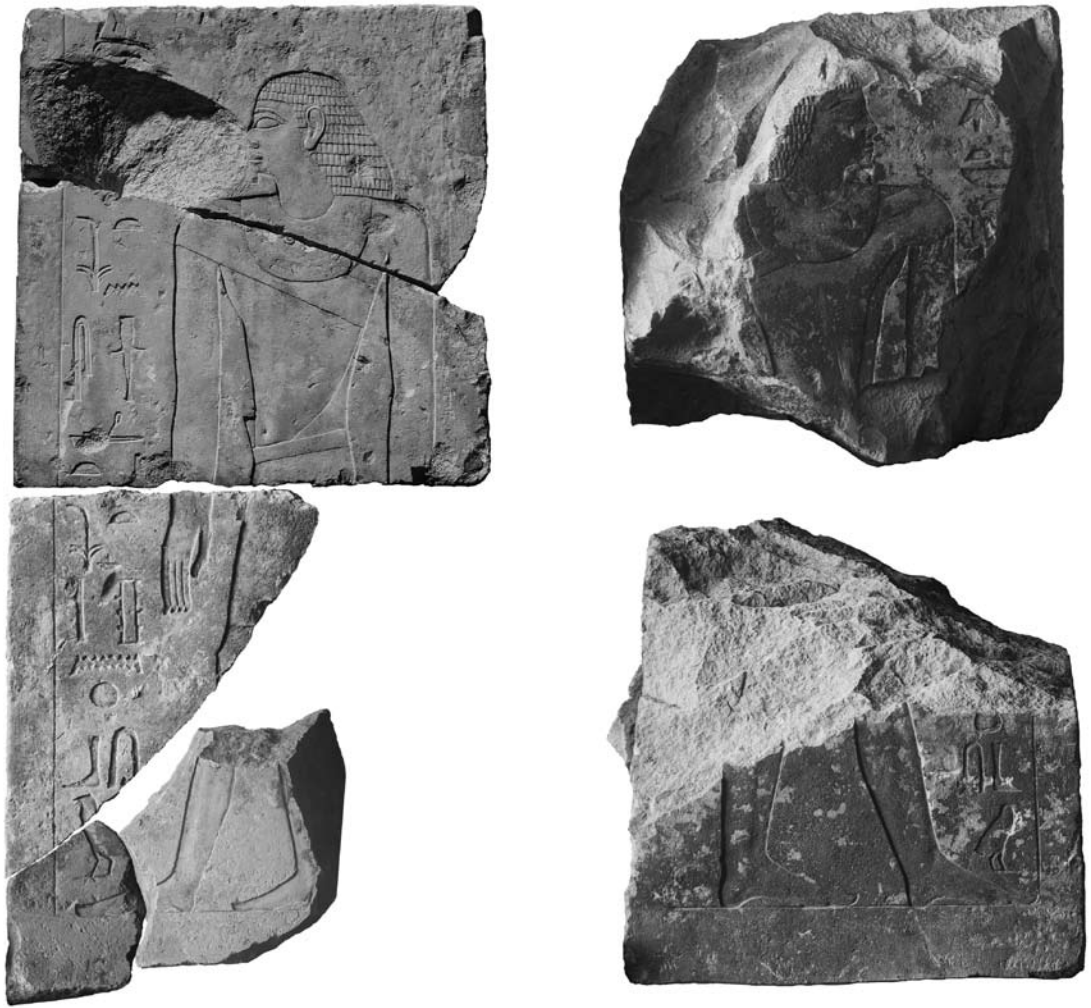


Plate 1. Left (a) and right (b) entrance thicknesses of Nekhebu. MFA 13.4348 and 13.4349. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

on a level with the surface of the block and, on the left thickness, the pupil is indicated in a paper-thin raised relief. The last feature occurs infrequently in reliefs in the Second Style.²⁸

In contrast to the statuary, the mouth in the two entrance thicknesses is not overly large. Nor are the lips thicker than in earlier relief sculpture, but the mouth is carefully drawn and the sharp line or ridge that defines it extends right around the corners of the mouth, describing a very large circle.²⁹ Russmann has observed that the lips in statues carved in the second Old Kingdom style end abruptly at either side, leaving the corners open. In the Nekhebu reliefs,

²⁸ It is apparent in the reliefs of Mery-teti and Meryre-ankh discussed on p. 69 below.

²⁹ Cf. Nadine Cherpion, "The Human Image in Old Kingdom Nonroyal Reliefs," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, exhibition catalogue (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), pp. 112; 115, n. 90.

where the lips meet, at least in the figure on the left thickness (fig. 2a; pl. 4a),³⁰ there is a deep circular drill hole, a feature that appears sporadically in other reliefs in the same style,³¹ and which has the same effect.

Nekhebu's ear on the left thickness is elongated and elegantly rendered (figs. 1a, 2a, 3f; pls. 1a, 4a).³² The depiction is not wholly realistic, since the helix does not quite join the concha, as it does in real life, while the S-curve of the antihelix is unexpected. On the other hand, the lobe of the ear is fuller and less stylized than is generally the case with reliefs executed in the Second Style (fig. 3h–l). The detached helix recurs in the tomb of Mereruka (fig. 3d) and at a later date in the pyramid temple of Pepy II (fig. 3j). In neither tomb or pyramid temple is this consistently so, however (fig. 3e, k).³³ In other instances of the ear in the Second Style, the helix may similarly be detached or, alternatively, the helix may join the antihelix (fig. 3h–i, k–l). In either case, the antihelix adopts a more natural arc than it does in Nekhebu's relief (fig. 3h–l). Similar renditions of the ear are seen as early as the reigns of Sahure (fig. 3a), Neuserre (fig. 3b) and Unis (fig. 3c).³⁴

It has already been pointed out above that Nekhebu's ear on the left thickness is set high on his head. Indeed, the bottom of the ear lobe in Nekhebu's relief is on a level with the bottom of the nostrils. In the tomb of the vizier Mereruka the position of the nose varies considerably; the bottom of the ear may be set between the nose and lip,³⁵ align with the upper lip,³⁶ line up with the midpoint of the two lips.³⁷ At least once, however, the ear is lined up with the bottom of the nose, as in Nekhebu's relief.³⁸ The ear is not always placed so high in reliefs in the second Old Kingdom style, but the bottom of the ear is on a line with the bottom of the nose in about half of the cases.³⁹ In addition, in Nekhebu's relief and in most other instances of the ears in the Second Style, the ear is set strictly vertically.

30 The sources for pl. 4 are the following: (a) head of Nekhebu from left thickness, MFA 13.4348; (b) head of Meryre-nefer: Qar, MFA 25.1518, after William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu G 7101 and 7102*, Giza Mastabas, vol. 2 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976), pl. 34a; (c) head of Tjetju (after Cecil M. Firth, and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries 2*, Excavations at Saqqara 7 [Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1926], pl. 38; (d) head of Biu, courtesy of the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago; (e) head of Ipi, after *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, fig. 69; thanks are due Nadine Cherpion and Dorothea Arnold for permission to reproduce the detail here; (f) head of unknown man, courtesy of the Princeton University Art Museum.

31 For example, the relief on Qar on the west wall of his tomb, drawn in fig. 2c below.

32 The sources for fig. 3a–l are the following: (a) Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sashu-re*, 2 vols, WVDOG 14, 26 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1910–1913): pl. 45 (hereafter *Sahure*); (b) Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re* 3 (Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1928), pl. 27 [425]; (c) A. Labrousse, J.-Ph. Lauer, and J. Leclant, with the collaboration of C. Berger and I. Pierre, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, Mission Archéologique de Saqqarah 2, BdE 73 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1977), fig. 54; (d) The Saqqarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols., OIP 39 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 2, pl. 151 (hereafter *Mereruka*); (e) *ibid.*, pl. 156; (f) left-hand entrance thickness of Nekhebu; copied by the writer, inked by Kea Johnston; (g) Hartwig Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, AV 42 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998): pl. 18; (h) north wall of mastaba of Tjetju (see pages 70–71); copied by the writer, inked by Kea Johnston; (i) Meryre-nefer: Qar (see pages 62–66), court, north wall; copied by the writer, inked by Kea Johnston; (j) Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 3: *Les approches du temple* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1940), pl. 20; (k) Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 2: *Le temple* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1938), pl. 17 (hereafter *Mon. fun.* 2, 3); Cherpion, in *Age of the Pyramids*, fig. 69.

33 In one depiction of the ear in Pepy II's mortuary temple, the tragus actually joins the helix.

34 For other earlier examples, see e.g. *Age of the Pyramids*, cat. nos. 112, 122(?), 145. In statuary, see *ibid.*, cat. nos. 43, 54, 67, 68.

35 See e.g. *Mereruka* 2, pls. 175, 188.

36 See e.g. *Mereruka* 1, pls. 28, 35, 94; 2, pls. 151, 156;

37 See e.g. *ibid.*, pls. 88, 94, 96; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 149.

38 *Ibid.*, pl. 159.

39 Anonymous relief (B/1), [...]hesuf (B/2), Khnum-hesuf/Khnumenti (B/9), Khuy (B/7), Ankhnebef [left thickness] (C/3); for Qar and Tjetju, see pages 62–66, 70–71.

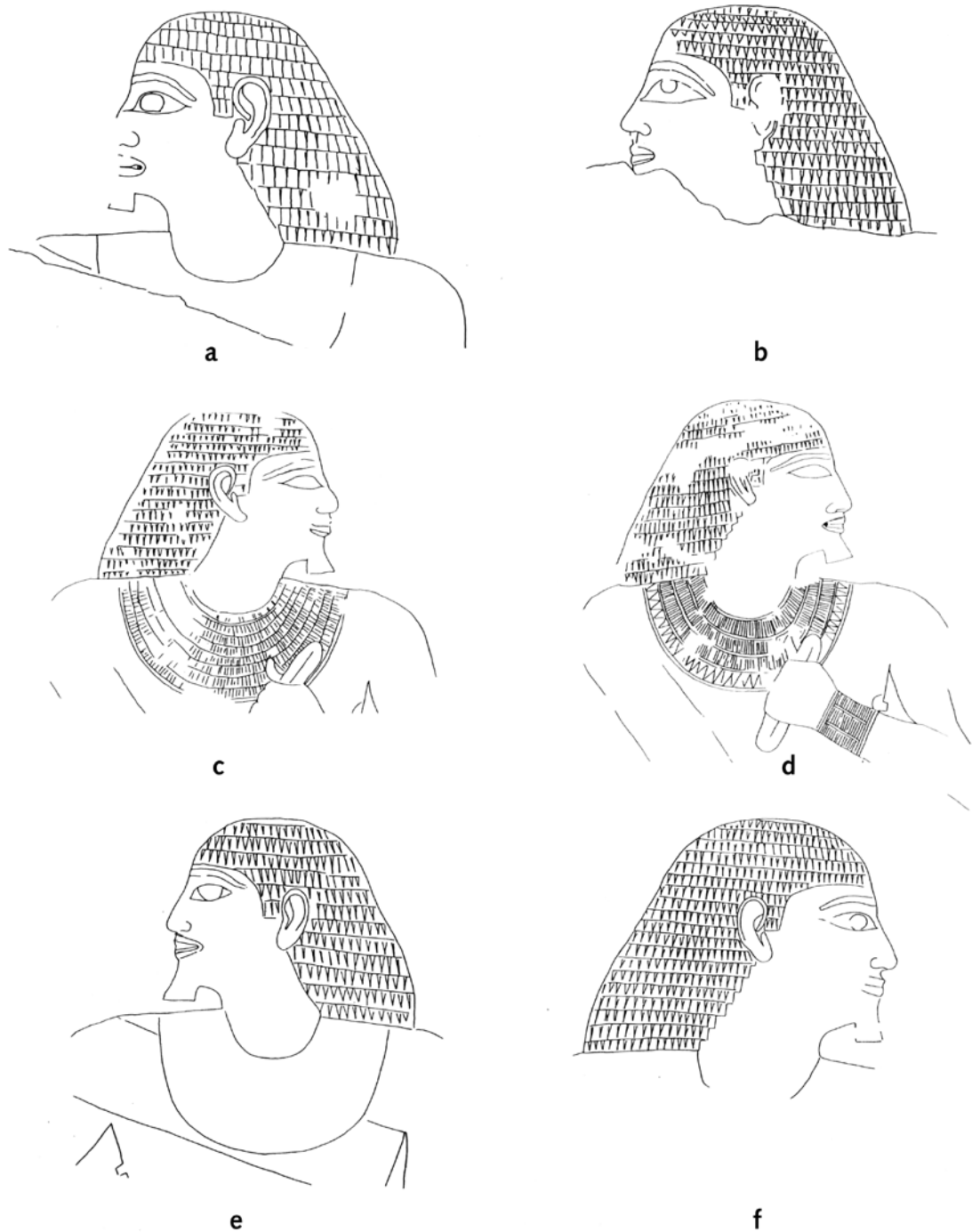


Fig. 2. Heads of Nekhebu (a–b), Meryre-nefer: Qar (c–d), and Mery-teti (e–f).

As Russmann has noted of contemporary statues, muscles are little in evidence in the depictions of Nekhebu on the two entrance thicknesses. Only in the case of the area of the abdomen and the legs is there any evidence of musculature (pl. 1a, b). In the case of the abdomen, this consists of the usual more or less elongated tear-drop shaped furrow at the base of which is the navel, but parallel to this is the indication of another abdominal muscle. As far as the legs are

concerned, there is superficial modelling on the lower limbs. On both thicknesses, the arms and legs appear thick and heavy. Even so, the hands are oversized and the length of the fingers greatly exaggerated.

Characteristic of the second Old Kingdom style in relief is a new style of shoulder-length wig in which the ears are exposed and the surface is entirely covered with horizontal rows of overlapping locks. This new style wig is, in fact, worn by Nekhebu on the left entrance thickness (fig. 1a; pl. 1a). This is not to say that the other wig types do not occur in reliefs executed in this style—in fact, we have already seen that Nekhebu wears a short wig that covers the ears on the right entrance thickness of his tomb. Nor does it mean that this particular type of layered wig does not appear in reliefs executed in other relief styles.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the shoulder-length, layered wig in which the ears are exposed is one of the hall marks of the second Old Kingdom style in relief.

Fischer has observed⁴¹ that the shoulder-length wig originally consisted of long locks that showed an overlapping pattern at the bottom only.⁴² In the Sixth Dynasty the overlapping pattern is sometimes extended to the entire surface of the shoulder-length wig. This treatment is borrowed from the short wig, to which it is more appropriate.⁴³

The reliefs of Izi of Edfu provide what are among the earliest examples of the overlapping rows of locks on the longer wig that were known to Fischer (pl. 8a).⁴⁴ Izi served in office under kings Izezi, Unis, and Teti. It was the latter sovereign who appointed him to be nomarch at Edfu. It is not clear whether Teti also raised Izi to the vizierate,⁴⁵ but the fact that one of Izi's sons bears the name Pepy-seneb argues that the decoration of Izi's tomb, and presumably his death as well, took place in Pepy I's reign, presumably in its earlier years.⁴⁶ It might even have been the latter sovereign who raised Izi to the dignity of vizier. In any event, this seems to date the first appearance of the shoulder-length wig with an overlapping pattern of locks in relief to the early part of the reign of Pepy I.

Of course, the reliefs of Izi's chapel were executed by a provincial craftsman and in the quality of their execution do not compare to the reliefs of Nekhebu. Nevertheless, it may be noted that the ears are fully exposed in both Izi's and Nekhebu's reliefs.⁴⁷ The distinctive shape of Nekhebu's wig on the left entrance thickness should also be remarked (pl. 1a; figs. 1a, 2a). Although it is flat at the back (like Izi's), it turns in at the bottom, as though the artist's intent was to show the manner in which the hair bunched up across the shoulders.⁴⁸

Nadine Cherpion has observed that a number of the features which are apparent in the Second Style are already attested at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and continue to be seen in

⁴⁰ For the term "layered wig," see Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 132.

⁴¹ Henry George Fischer, "The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 1 (1962), pp. 17, n. 80.

⁴² See e.g. William Kelly Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, 1992), fig. B, pl. 10b; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 11b.

⁴³ Fischer, "The Goddess Bat," p. 17, n. 80.

⁴⁴ M. Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1935), pl. 14 (1, 2); K. Michailowski et al., *Tell Edfou 1939* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1950), fig. 35, p. 52; *idem*, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), pl. 66.

⁴⁵ Naguib Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster: Aris et Phillips, 1980), pp. 22–23.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31. There is no indication in M. Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, FIFAO 10, pt. 2 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1935) p. 26, that the name Pepy-seneb was a subsequent addition.

⁴⁷ This is not true of another shoulder-length wig worn by Izi on a lintel from his tomb, Louvre E 14 329; Christiane Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire vers 2686–2440 avant J.-C.* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1990), cat. no. 9. The wig is exceptional in another regard, the corkscrew curls being unusually large and detailed with the twists of hair clearly shown. The lintel is executed in sunk relief and this figure of Izi is also in the Second Style. Izi's eye is large, the naso-labial fold perhaps shown (see page 81), and the beads of his broad collar individually carved.

⁴⁸ Nekhebu's (and Izi's) shoulder-length wig represents one clear point of departure from both the Sixth Dynasty statues in the Second Style. The wigs worn in the statues are flaring and typically show a concave curve. Moreover, they either consist of long locks or are plain and lack any indication of curls; see Russmann, "Second Style," p. 272.

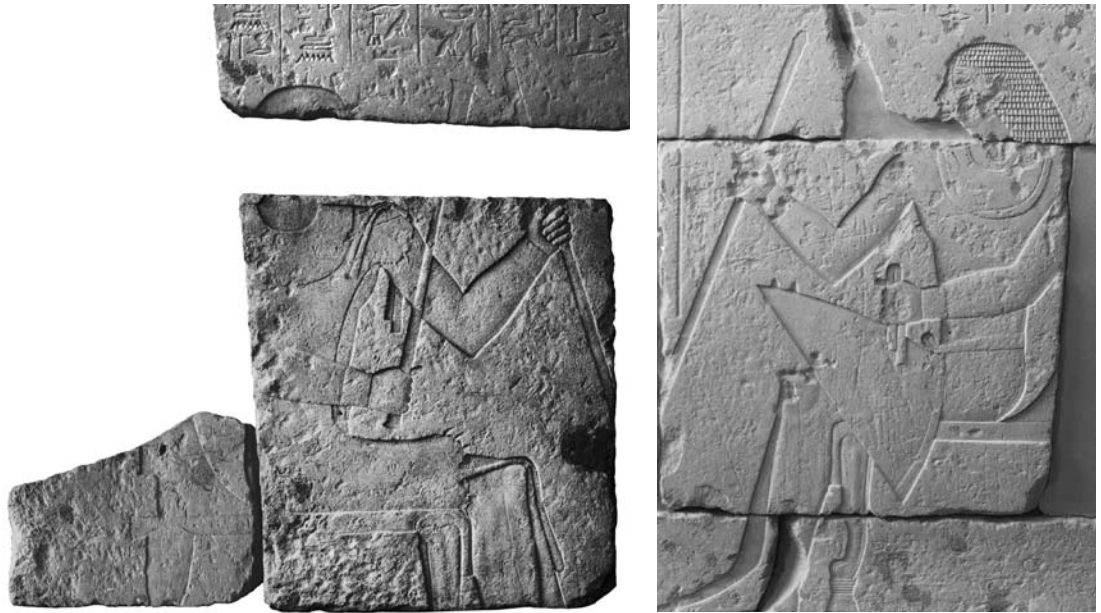


Plate 2. Figures of Nekhebu at bottom of Cairo (a) and Boston (b) autobiographical inscriptions; Cairo JE 44608 and MFA 13.4331. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

mastabas with the names of Teti or Pepy I, although they are more marked in the Sixth Dynasty than before. These features include quite large eyes, round cheeks, and rimmed lips with the rim extending around the corners of the mouth.⁴⁹ We have previously drawn attention to the large eyes and rimmed lips in Nekhebu's entrance thicknesses, but it should be mentioned that the cheek is also rounded, though not nearly so markedly as at the end of the Fifth Dynasty or in the beginning of the Sixth.⁵⁰

Two additional sunk relief figures of Nekhebu in the "Second Style" appear at the bottom of his autobiographical inscriptions in Boston and Cairo.⁵¹ Both figures are seated. The eye of the figure in Boston (pl. 2b; fig. 2b) is very large. It is curiously rendered with the pupil suspended from the top of the eye, as in the hieroglyphic sign of the eye in the column of text above and behind Nekhebu's head. Once again the sharp line or ridge that defines the full-lipped mouth extends right around the corners of the mouth. The philtrum is clearly marked. The ear is vertical and set high on the head.

In both the Boston and Cairo figures, Nekhebu's arms are flexed and, for that reason, the outline of the biceps is more apparent than in the hanging arms of the standing figure on the left thickness of his tomb. The area of the knee in the Boston figure is indicated with subtle modelling of the surface.

Charles F. Nims commented that it is a characteristic of sunk relief of all periods that the inner details are shown in raised relief.⁵² The alteration of sunk and raised relief in both the figures in Boston and Cairo is very competently handled. In the Boston figure, the left arm, which is in raised relief, crosses the upper portion of the torso, which is sunk (pl. 2b). The left

⁴⁹ Cherpion, in *Age of the Pyramids*, p. 112.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 110–111, 112 and n. 89 (Kagemni, Mereruka, Ni-anekh-nesut).

⁵¹ D. Dunham, "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo," pl. 1 (MFA 13.4331). The Cairo inscription is Cairo JE 44608. Pl. 2a and b are from a photo montage by William Stevenson Smith.

⁵² Review of *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections*, by John D. Cooney (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1965), in *JAOS* 88, no. 3 (July–September 1968), p. 546.

hand and the top of the handkerchief are in sunk relief, while the bottom of the handkerchief, where it crosses the sunk relief front panel of the kilt, is in sunk relief.

The sculptor of the Boston relief also carved the cylinder and disc-beads which make up the uppermost strand of Nekhebu's beaded collar. His original intent may have been to carve the cylinder beads that comprised the remainder of the collar, but only the lowermost row was marked off, and alternatively this could have been intended for the pendants that commonly formed the lowermost row of broad collars. Otherwise, the details of the broad collars on both thicknesses were apparently added in paint.

The alteration of sunk and raised relief is even more complicated in the Cairo figure, which is garbed in a leopard skin (fig. 2a). For example, Nekhebu's collar, right arm where it crosses the leopard skin, the cincture of the same, and the knot at the shoulder of the leopard skin, are all on one plane. The leopard skin itself is also in raised relief above the belt, but not so high, while the bottom part of the skin below the belt is executed in sunk relief. The left arm, the breast, and the front of Nekhebu's torso are also in sunk relief, but at a lower level still. The other streamers of the shoulder knot are again in sunk relief, but passing behind the left arm as they do, are in even deeper sunk relief. The treatment of the tail of the leopard, which overlaps the knees, is also very accomplished.

A spear-fishing scene from the right-hand wall of Nekhebu's portico conveys an impression of raised relief in the Second Style (pl. 3).⁵³ The relief is low. Nekhebu's figure is well proportioned with powerful arms and legs. The wig worn is the short wig with overlapping horizontal rows of curls and the ears are covered. The details of the broad collar worn by Nekhebu are painted only, not carved. The fingers are long and gracefully curved around the shaft and butt end of the harpoon.

A comparison of the principal figures in Nekhebu's spear-fishing scene and in the fowling scene in the tomb of Mereruka is instructive in a number of regards.⁵⁴ Mereruka's figure is executed in the bold relief that is typical of the early Sixth Dynasty and which is also apparent in the tomb of his older contemporary, the vizier Kagemni.⁵⁵ His face exhibits the features which Cherpion has pointed out (see pages 56–57) are already attested at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, but which are more marked in the Sixth Dynasty: quite large eyes, round cheeks, and rimmed lips with the rim extending around the corners of the mouth. In Mereruka's case the naso-labial fold is also indicated, as is a depression beneath the eye which is probably intended to show how the eye is set within its socket.⁵⁶ Regrettably, Nekhebu's face is damaged. Even so, the eye is clearly large and the canthus cuts into the nose much more deeply than is the case with Mereruka's figure.

In Nekhebu's relief, the flat surfaces of the relief are plain and largely devoid of modeling, and only at the navel and the knees is a superficial attempt at anatomical rendering visible. This contrasts markedly with the figure of Mereruka where, in addition to the customary tear-dropped shaped depression of the navel, there is a parallel indentation that may be intended to represent one of the muscles of the abdomen. There is also a fairly detailed rendering of musculature on the thigh in addition to the more customary rendering of musculature on the lower part of the raised rear leg.⁵⁷

53 MFA 13.4332. For a drawing of the scene, see William Stevenson Smith, "The Judge Goes Fishing," *BMFA* 56 (1958), fig. 2.

54 *Mereruka* 1, pl. 15. The upper part of the figure of Mereruka in the corresponding spear-fishing scene (*ibid.*, pl. 9) is lost above the legs. The preserved part is reproduced in line drawing only without an accompanying photograph.

55 *HESP*, p. 208.

56 Both of these features also occur in portraits of Kagemni; see e.g. Yvonne Harpur, "Evolution of an Expedition," *Egyptian Archaeology* 12 (1998), front cover and figure on page 20.

57 Extraordinarily, in the seated figure of the vizier reproduced in *Mereruka* 1, pl. 63, the musculature of the neck is actually shown.



Plate 3. Spear-fishing scene from the right-hand wall of Nekhebu's portico; MFA 13.4332. Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

In contrast to Nekhebu's spear-fishing scene, the figures on his segmented architrave are executed in a somewhat higher relief (pl. 5a).⁵⁸ The eye is large, wide open, and without lids, while the canthus cuts into the nose. The naso-labial fold is indicated and, within the arc described by the rim, the lips end abruptly, leaving the corner open. The philtrum is well-defined. Except for the deep furrow of the navel, and a limited indication of musculature on the legs of certain of the figures, the flat surface of the relief is devoid of anatomical modeling. Details of the costume such as jewelry were added in paint, except for the elaborate apron with tassels of beads worn by two of the figures, which is in raised relief. Four of the figures wear shoulder-length wigs, while a fifth figure has a short wig. In both cases, the ears are covered

58 MFA 13.4335. The architrave is reproduced here courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See the large scale color illustration of one of the figures in *Masterworks from the Age of the Pyramids* (Nagoya/Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 2002), p. 82.

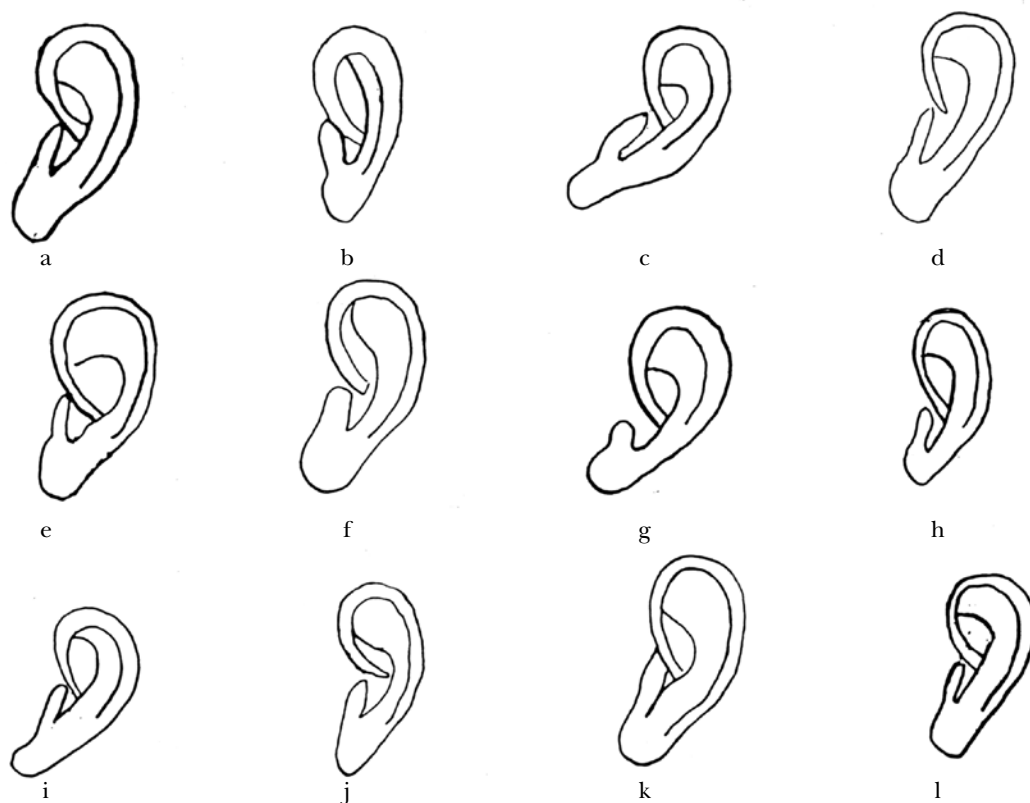


Fig. 3. Forms adopted by the ear in relief sculpture of Dynasties V–VI.

and the rows of curls are not indicated. The shoulder-length wigs are once more flat at the back and turn in at the bottom.

The treatment of Nekhebu's standing figures on the architrave once again shows dissimilarities when compared with standing figures of Mereruka or with figures of the deceased in raised relief from the tombs of Teti's viziers Kagemni and Ankhmahor or in that of the High Priest of Re, Ni-ankh-nesut.⁵⁹ For example, a number of large-scale standing figures of Mereruka, who probably served King Teti in the second half of his reign,⁶⁰ have quite detailed indications of musculature on the abdomen, including the hipbone, and on the legs.⁶¹ On the other hand, this is not true of all of the standing figures of Mereruka,⁶² and there is considerably less interest in anatomical rendering in the early to middle part of the reign of Pepy I, in

59 See Cherpion, in *Age of the Pyramids*, p. 112 and n. 95; fig. 68.

60 Strudwick, *Administration*, p.100 (68); Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 274.

61 E.g. *Mereruka* 2, pls. 176–78. At least one standing figure of Kagemni shows indications of the deltoid muscle on the forward shoulder and a fairly detailed treatment of musculature on the abdomen and on the hanging rear arm; see Harpur, "Evolution of an Expedition," front cover. Nadine Cherpion (*Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire* [Brussels: Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne, 1989], p. 112 and n. 95) observes that a relief of Ni-ankh-nesut in Cleveland (= Lawrence M. Berman with Kenneth J. Bohac, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art* [Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1999], cat. no. 76) exhibits modeling in the upper part of the body.

62 E.g. *Mereruka* 2, pls. 179, 183.

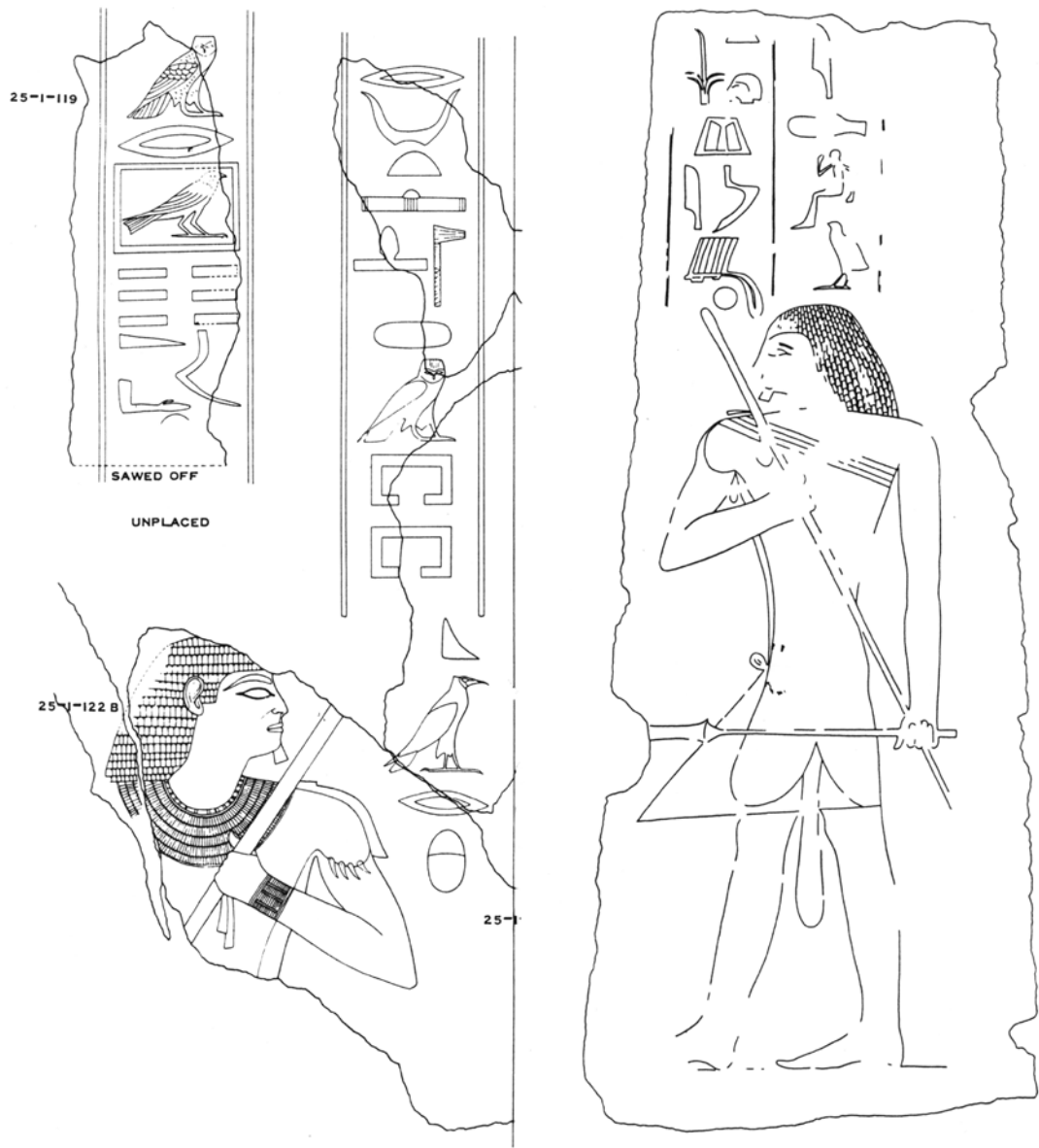


Fig. 4. Reliefs of Meryre-nefer: Qar (a) and Idu I: Nefer (b).

the tombs of the viziers Khentika: Ikhekhi and Mehu (see page 6g), where a relief not so very different from Nekhebu's architrave, with flat surfaces and little modelling, is the rule.⁶³

Russmann believes that the second Old Kingdom style in sculpture provides us with the earliest documented occurrence of deliberate stylistic change.⁶⁴ Be that as it may, it should be

63 E.g. T.G.H. James, with the collaboration of M. R. Apton, *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi*, ASE 30 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1953), pl. 16; Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, pls. 4b, 5a, 11, 15, 18, 30. Already in the minor figures in the tombs of Kagemni, Mereruka, and their contemporaries, the surface of the relief is quite flat and plain, with the navel indicated, but with musculature confined to the legs, when it appears at all; see e.g. *Mereruka* 1, pls. 12, 15, 18, and passim; Harpur, "Evolution of an Expedition," figures on pp. 18, 19.

64 "Second Style," p. 273.

apparent from the above that this was not the case with relief in the Second Style, which beyond much doubt evolved from earlier developments at the end of the Fifth and beginning of the Sixth Dynasties.

The Second Style is attested elsewhere at Giza. In the Eastern Field, the Second Style in sunk technique occurs on the exterior face of a fragmentary jamb of Meryre-nefer: Qar found reused in pit G 7102 E, one of four subsidiary pits associated with the tomb of Qar's father, Idu (fig. 4a).⁶⁵ Both Idu and Qar were tenant-farmers of Pepy I's pyramid, and for that reason their tombs were decorated no earlier than the reign of that king.⁶⁶ On stylistic grounds, Idu is assigned by Harpur to the reign of Merenre or early Pepy II,⁶⁷ and Qar to the early part of the reign of Pepy II.⁶⁸

The relief block served originally as part of the corner of the entrance passage and showed a standing figure of Qar.⁶⁹ Only the head, front shoulder and arm, and a small section of Qar's upper torso are preserved. Nevertheless, a number of the characteristics apparent in Nekhebu's reliefs are also evident here, even though the eye is not quite so large and both lids are indicated in relief. Although the ear likewise appears to be somewhat smaller, it is once again elegantly rendered, set vertically, and placed high on the head. The sharp ridge extends around the corners of the mouth and, where the lips meet, there is a deep circular drill hole. A feature that is well portrayed here, and which is also apparent on Nekhebu's architrave, is the small fold of flesh that represents one of the naso-labial folds, that is, the muscles extending from the wings of the nose to the upper lip. The philtrum is well defined as well. The naso-labial fold is a feature that Cherpion points out already occurs in reliefs of the Fifth Dynasty⁷⁰ and which we have already observed occurs in the Sixth Dynasty sculpture in the second Old Kingdom style (see page 50). We have already seen that the naso-labial fold occurs in the reliefs of Kagemni and Mereruka. It continues to appear with some regularity in reliefs in the Second Style.⁷¹

Two other features appear in Qar's reliefs which also occur in Nekhebu's reliefs, but which were not mentioned above. First of all, Qar's nose descends directly from his forehead.⁷² Second, the eye is slightly oblique. Both of these features occur in a little more than half of the reliefs executed in the second Old Kingdom style that are included in the present paper.

For the first time we see here another characteristic of the best examples of the Second Style in relief, especially of relief executed in this style in the second half of the Sixth Dynasty. This is the intricately carved drawing of the accessories to the costume.⁷³ In Qar's case the careful treatment of the broad collar and bracelet in particular should be noted.⁷⁴ The carving is so detailed that it is possible to distinguish the cylinder and disc-beads which make up the uppermost strand of Qar's collar.⁷⁵

Parenthetically, it may be noted that the figure of Qar holds a staff diagonally across the breast. So too does a second figure of Qar in sunk relief on an entrance jamb to Room D of his

65 Fig. 4a is after Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 42; see also *ibid.*, p. 30, pl. 34a. Munro, "Bemerkungen zur Datierung *Mittj's*," pp. 245-77, dates Qar's tomb to the Heracleopolitan Period, but see above note 20.

66 See Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, p. 31.

67 *Decoration*, pp. 265, 267.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 267 (years 1-34 Pepy II).

69 Gerry D. Scott and Charles. C. Van Siclen, with the assistance of Caroline Richardson, *Egypt Revealed: Archaeological Treasures from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (San Antonio, TX: San Antonio Museum of Art, 2001), p. 9.

70 In *Age of the Pyramids*, p. 108.

71 In addition to the examples discussed in the text, see [...]hesuf (Appendix B/3), Khnum-hezef (B/11); Akhethetep: Ipi (C/4); offering bearer (C/6).

72 Cf. Cherpion, in *Age of the Pharaohs*, p. 112.

73 Note, however, that Izi of Edfu's jewelry is also carved; see page 56, pl. 7a.

74 *HESP*, p. 208.

75 For this feature, see Edward Brovarski, "Old Kingdom Beaded Collars," in Jacke Phillips ed., *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East: Studies in Honor of Martha Rhoads Bell 1* (San Antonio, TX: Van Siclen Books, 1997), p. 137. The outlines of the separate beaded zones of one of Kagemni's collars are incised and the beetle-shaped pendants carved, but the individual beads themselves are not indicated; see *ibid.*, p. 149, fig. 5h; Harpur, "Evolution of an Expedition," front cover.

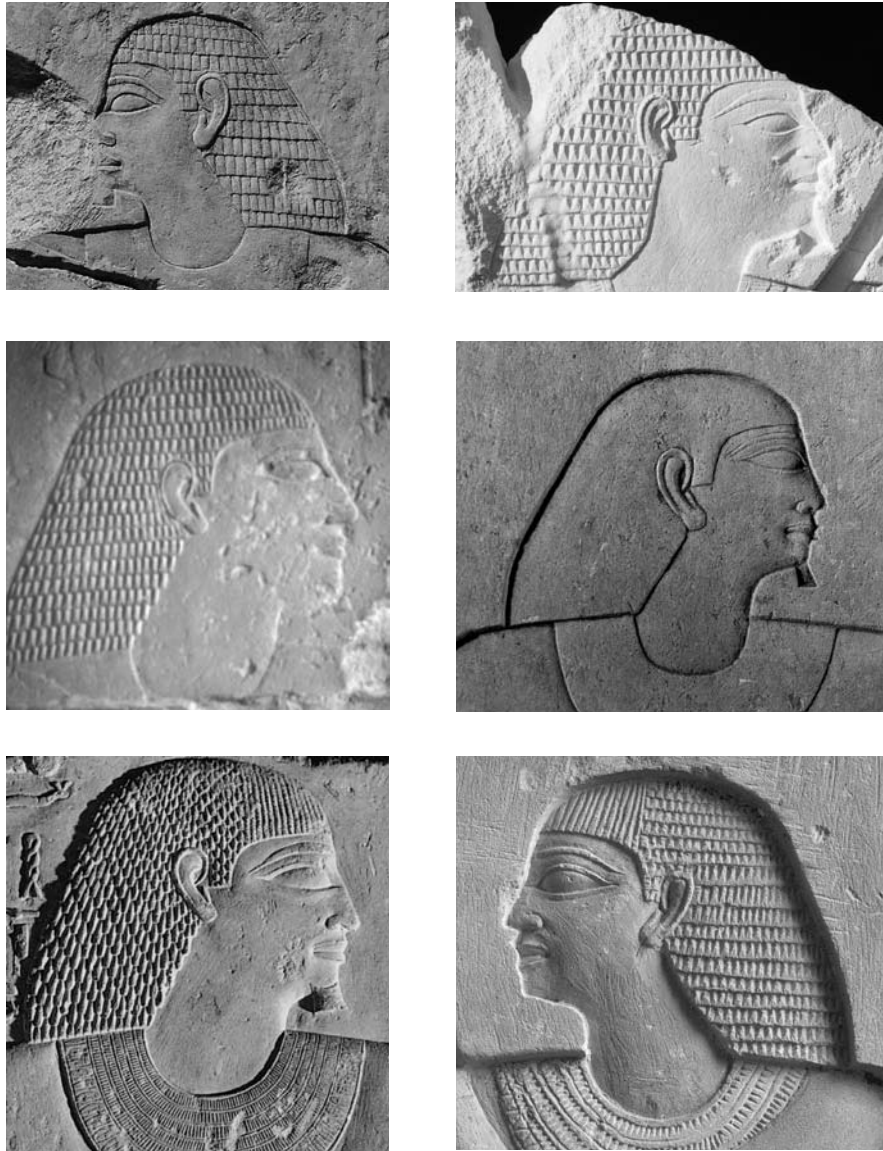


Plate 4. Heads of Nekhebu (a), Meryre-nefer: Qar (b), Tjetju (c), Biu (d), Ipi (e) and Princeton Relief (f).

tomb⁷⁶ and the vizier Idu I: Nefer on a relief from his Giza tomb (fig. 4b).⁷⁷ Idu I, however, holds a scepter in his hanging hand, whereas the second figure of Qar grasps one end of his panther skin. Pepyankh: Heni the Black at Meir similarly holds a staff diagonally across the breast⁷⁸ but,

⁷⁶ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figure 21.

⁷⁷ Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, acc. no. 31698; drawn by Peter Der Manuelian. Reproduced here courtesy of the Field Museum. The relief seemingly formed the pendant piece to the entrance jamb illustrated in Hermann Junker, *Giza VIII* (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1947), fig. 31, pl. 13c. The latter relief exhibits many of the characteristics of the second Old Kingdom style.

⁷⁸ Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 4, ASE 25 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1924), pl. 26 [1].



Plate 5a. Detail of architrave of Nekhebu, MFA 13.4335. Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Plate 5b. Tomb wall of the Estate Manager Ipi; CG 1536–1537.

like Idu I, he grips a scepter in the same hand. Harpur assigns Idu I to the reign of Teti,⁷⁹ but Strudwick's dating to the period from the end of the reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II is more convincing.⁸⁰ According to Harpur, Pepyankh dates between years 1–54 of Pepy II.⁸¹ The similar attitudes, which are otherwise rare, underline the near contemporaneity of all three tombs.

On the west and north walls of Qar's courtyard appear two scenes of the tomb owner at table, which once again illustrate the raised relief counterpart to the Second Style in sunk relief. Both the relief on the west wall (pl. 6a) and that on the adjacent north wall are carved on blocks of fine, white limestone let into the walls of the court.⁸² William Stevenson Smith notes of these reliefs that they are in a low, delicate style that produces a pleasant impression at first sight. The relief is flat and shows a sharp edge along the outlines of the figures.⁸³ As far as the facial features are concerned, a sharp ridge extends around the corners of the mouth and there is a deep circular drill hole where the lips come together (fig. 2c–d). The eye is large and both the top and bottom of the eye are represented by a sharp edge.

In contrast to Nekhebu's reliefs, Qar's jewelry on both the west and north walls of the court is intricately detailed, as we have just seen. Furthermore, the figure on the west wall exhibits modelling in the upper part of the body, including indications of musculature on the upper left arm and the hipbone, as well as more extensive modelling on the front leg. Such elaborate modelling is exceptional in reliefs executed in the second Old Kingdom style.⁸⁴

In another well-cut figure of Qar in raised relief from the middle landing of the entrance stair, the eye is very large and wide open, both lids are carved in relief, the pronounced canthus cuts into the nose, the naso-labial fold is present, the philtrum is indicated, and the fingers of the hand are quite elongated.⁸⁵ The mouth is rimmed and there is a drill hole where the lips come together. The ear is set vertically, but it is not carved with the finesse that is usual in the second Old Kingdom style in relief (see page 54). In this case, the details of the broad collar were added in paint, not carved, although the details of the bracelets are incised.



A loose block from the upper stairs,⁸⁶ showed Qar fowling, with a figure of his son Idu behind him. Regrettably, the figure of Qar is lost below the small of the back, and the depiction of Idu is missing its legs. Idu's short wig with overlapping rows of curls covers the ear, but Idu's shoulder-length wig, likewise with rows of curls in relief, exposes it. The ear is smaller than Nekhebu's ear or the figures on the north and west walls of the court. Nevertheless, it is elongated and elegantly formed with the helix detached(?). Interestingly enough, Idu's eye is proportionately much smaller than in Qar's figure. In Qar's case, both lids are indicated in relief, while Idu's eye lacks lids. The surface of the relief in all three figures depicted on the blocks from the middle landing and upper stairway is flat and plain, save for the navel of Idu's figure.

In both the corner block from the entrance of Qar's tomb and the raised relief block from the middle landing of the entrance stair, the ear is vertical, just as it is in the reliefs of Nekhebu. In the raised reliefs from the west and north walls of the court, this is not the case, and the ears are set somewhat obliquely (fig. 2c–d; pl. 6a).

79 *Decoration*, p. 267.

80 Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 68 (2); cf. Kanawati, *Gov. Reforms*, pp. 34–35 (Pepy I).

81 Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 280.

82 For the relief on the north wall, see Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. 8a. It is interesting to observe that Qar holds two different forms of handkerchief on the two walls; on the north wall, the cloth is partly folded and on the west wall completely folded, like the hieroglyphs  and ; see Henry G. Fischer, "An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues," *MMJ* 10 (1975), pp. 148–154, 184.

83 *HESP*, p. 211.

84 The more detailed treatment of the muscles of the thigh and lower leg also occur in a handsome relief in the Second Style now in the National Museum, Copenhagen, which is illustrated in pl. 8b. I would like to thank Anne Haslund Hansen, Assistant in the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, for permission to reproduce the relief in the present article.

85 Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. 4a, fig. 18a, and Frontispiece.

86 *Ibid.*, pl. 5a. *Masterworks from the Age of the Pyramids*, pp. 98–99, provides a color photograph of this relief on a larger scale.

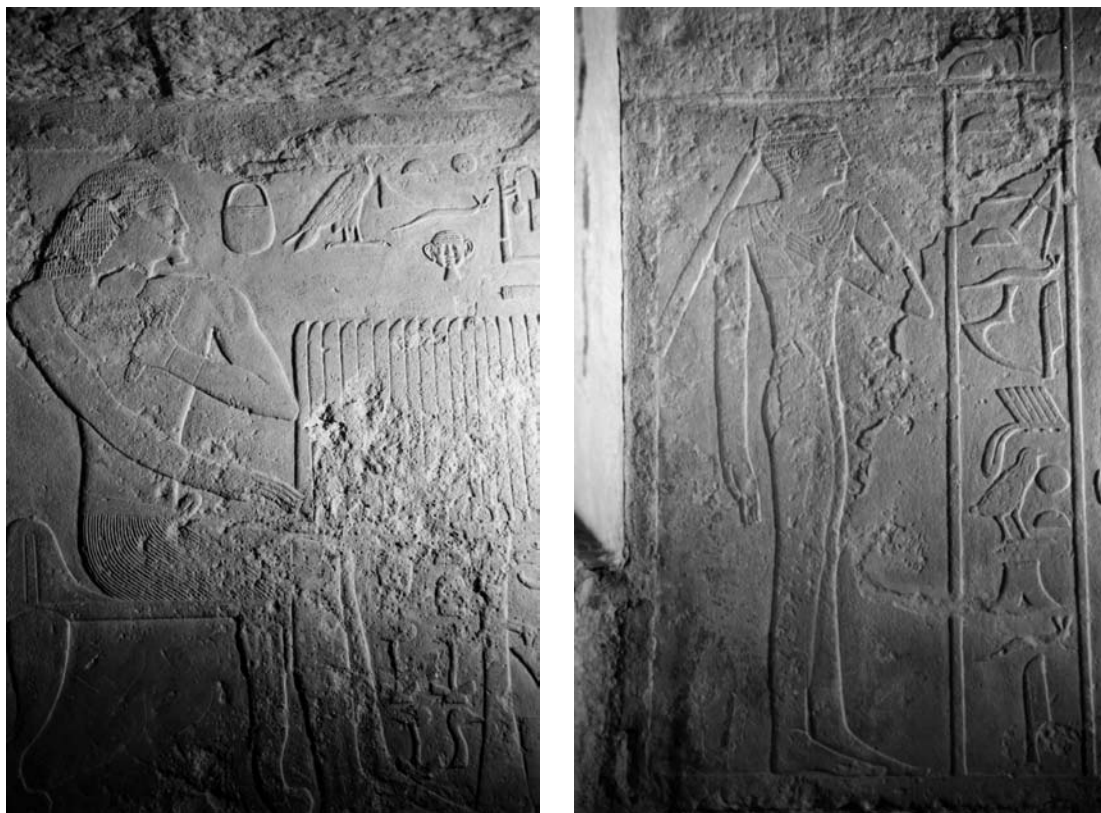


Plate 6. Table scene (a) and figure of wife (b) on west wall of chapel of Meryre-nefer: Qar (G 7101). Photographs by Stephen R. Phillips.

In the fragmentary entrance jamb, in the table scene from the middle landing, and in the fowling scene from the upper stairs, the ear is once again set high, with the bottom of the ear lobe on a level with the bottom of the nose. On the relief from the west wall of the court, Qar's ear is even higher. Contrariwise, on the adjacent north wall, the ear lobe is on the same level as the top of the lips (fig. 2c).

As we have seen Nekhebu's reliefs date to the reign of Pepy I and the reliefs of Qar's probably belong to the early part of the reign of Pepy II. The passage of time may be responsible for the differences apparent in the corpus of reliefs from the two tombs. Some of these have already been noted, especially the detailed carving of the jewelry in Qar's reliefs. In addition, the limbs of the figures of Qar are more attenuated than those of Nekhebu. This is apparent from the illustrations of Qar's reliefs in pls. 6a and fig. 4a, but the slimness is even more apparent in three sunk relief figures of Qar, as represented here by the figure on the east end of the north wall of Room D (pl. 7).⁸⁷ The sunk relief is very deep. All three figures wear shoulder-length wigs which leave the ear exposed and short kilts with projecting front panels. In contrast to the other reliefs of Qar, the figures are cut in the nummulitic limestone of the Giza plateau and no attempt has been made at carving the details of the accessories. This probably also explains why the wigs lack the overall pattern of locks, although shoulder-length wigs without overlapping rows of locks certainly appear in the Second Style, as for example on the architrave of Nekhebu (fig. 5a). The attenuated outlines of the two dogs under Qar's chair are truly remarkable.

⁸⁷ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 26b, 28; pls. 10b, 11c, 12a–b.



Fig. 5. Arrangement of small, rectangular tables and jar racks under the offering table in chapels of Tjetju (a), Meryre-nefer: Qar (b), and Anghi: Intji (c-d).

The different figures of Qar show the degree of variation that was possible in the second Old Kingdom style, even within a single tomb. Those differences should perhaps be ascribed to different sculptors. On the other hand, it is possibly the second Old Kingdom style was not as strictly demarcated in relief as it seemingly was in statuary. But the same would then have to be said of the earlier Old Kingdom style, as represented by the figures of Mereruka, for example, for these also show considerable variability both in facial features and in the anatomical detail of the body (see pages 54, 60).

As is only to be expected, given the date of Nekhebu's tomb, work in the new style was also being produced at both North and South Saqqara by the reign of Pepy I. Few examples of relief from Pepy I's pyramid complex have so far been published, but one fragment of relief decoration from the entrance hall of the mortuary temple of Pepy I at South Saqqara shows the head of the king who is nursed by a goddess.⁸⁸ The relief is bold, like the relief in the mastabas of the viziers of Teti and Pepy I, and the cheek very rounded. The eye is damaged because the original inlay was pried out. Nonetheless, it is clear that that eye was large. The mouth is rimmed with what appears to be a drill hole in the corner, while the naso-labial fold curves downwards towards the mouth. The longish ear has a form quite similar to Qar's (fig. 3i). It is longish, set vertically, and placed high on the head. The stripes of the royal *nemes*-headcloth are incised. The eyebrow is in raised relief and the cosmetic line around the eye is continued by a band

⁸⁸ Audran Labrousse, in collaboration with Marc Albouy, *Les pyramides des reines: une nouvelle nécropole à Saqqâra* (Editions Hazan, 1999), figure on p. 88.



Plate 7. Tomb of Meryre-nefer: Qar (G 7101), Room D, north wall, east end. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

of relief representing eyepaint. The band of eyepaint does not occur in private reliefs in the second Old Kingdom style.

A fragment of decoration from the court of the mortuary temple of Queen Ankhenespepy II at Saqqara preserves the upper part of the body of the queen-mother. If this figure is any indication, the second Old Kingdom style of relief was also utilized in other parts of Pepy I's pyramid complex.⁸⁹ Only the queen's head has been reproduced, but her portrait exhibits many of the features of the face of Pepy I described in the last paragraph. The eye is large and wide open, while the inner canthus cuts into the nose. In contrast to the fragment from Pepy I's mortuary temple, the raised relief is low and flat, as it generally is in examples of the Second Style included in the present article. The queen's lappet wig is plain, and the individual strands of hair are not carved.

At North Saqqara, the Second Style seemingly does not occur in the chapels of the viziers Mereruka or Mehu. Mereruka probably served King Teti in the middle to later part of his reign.⁹⁰ The date of Mehu is more controversial. Altenmüller dates Mehu's demise to the reign of Teti,⁹¹ but I find the arguments of Strudwick and Harpur more persuasive, and elsewhere have likewise argued for a date for Mehu's tomb in the early to middle reign of Pepy I.⁹²

If the Second Style does not appear in the chapels of Mereruka and Mehu, it does occur on the walls of the chapels of their sons Mery-teti (fig. 2e) and Meryre-ankh.⁹³ This is particularly evident in the seated figures of Meryre-ankh on the long walls of his offering room and in the standing figures of Mery-teti on the entrance thicknesses of his chapel. In both cases it is evinced by the new type of shoulder-length wig (with horizontal rows of overlapping locks) which leaves the ears free; the vertically set, longish ear;⁹⁴ the very large, wide open eye with pupil in relief; the pronounced inner canthus which cuts into the nose, and the sharp-lined ridge around the mouth. In both instances too the wig turns in at the back of the head, in a similar fashion to Nekhebu's reliefs. In Meryre-ankh's case, but not Mery-teti's, the naso-labial ridge is indicated. The details of Mery-teti's broad collar and bracelets were added in paint, while Meryre-ankh's jewelry is carved, although summarily in the case of the broad collars. Once again in both chapels the relief is low and flat with musculature confined to the navel and the legs.

In Mery-teti's case, the pupil of the eye is carved on the left entrance, but apparently not on the right thickness, while the eye slants more prominently on the right thickness than on the left. In addition, on the right thickness, the inner canthus is very pronounced.

It is likely that Mery-teti served as vizier in the middle to late reign of Pepy I.⁹⁵ If the vizier Mehu's tomb indeed belongs to the early or middle reign of Pepy I, presumably the chapel of Meryre-ankh was decorated either at the end of the reign of Pepy I, in the reign of Merenre, or in the first part of the reign of Pepy II.⁹⁶

89 Audran Labrousse, "La nécropole de la famille royale de Pépy Ier: Campagne 1999–Rapport Préliminaire," *ASAE* 77 (2003), fig. 9, p. 139.

90 See e.g., Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 82, 290 [197]; Kanawati, *Gov. Reforms*, pp. 24–26; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 100 (68); Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 274.

91 *Grab des Mehu*, p. 83.

92 Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 101 (69); Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 274; Edward Brovarski, "False Doors & History: The Sixth Dynasty," in Miroslav Bárta, ed., *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology* (Prague, Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2006), pp. 71–131.

93 Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, pls. 81, 86, 103 (Meryre-ankh); cf. pls. 56, 64 (Mehu). On the identity of Meryre-ankh, see *ibid.*, p. 77–82.

94 It is difficult to make out the details of the ears on the north and south walls of Meryre-ankh's chapel in *ibid.*, pls. 81, 86, 123, and unfortunately no drawing is provided.

95 See e.g., Charles F. Nims, "Some Notes on the Family of Mereruka," *JAOS* 58 (1938), pp. 638–47 (Pepy I); Kanawati, *Gov. Reforms*, p. 35 (3) (Pepy I); Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 97 (63) (middle reign of Pepy I); Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 274 (middle to late Pepy I). Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 80, 290 [189], assigns Mery-teti to his period VI C, that is, Merenre to Pepy II, but admits that a certain element of uncertainty enters into the ranking chart obtained from this tomb because he only had access to the not completely reliable copies of Georges Daressy, *Le mastaba de Mera*, MIE 3 (Cairo: Institut d'Égypte, 1898).

96 Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 77 (33); Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 274.

The date of the tomb of Metjetji (*Mttj*) is also controversial.⁹⁷ Russmann observes that two of Metjetji's statues belong to the Second Style in sculpture, while another is more recognizably in the tradition of the Fifth Dynasty.⁹⁸ It is therefore not at all surprising that certain of Metjetji's reliefs also exhibit characteristics of reliefs in the Second Style. This is especially true of the two figures from the façade of Metjetji's tomb, now in Toronto and Berlin.⁹⁹ The shoulder-length wigs cover the ears of the two figures, but we have already seen other examples of this type of wig on the architrave of Nekhebu, although in Metjetji's reliefs the strands of hair are carved. The eyes of the figures are not nearly so large as in Nekhebu's reliefs, but then neither are Qar's eyes in the reliefs on the north and west walls of his court. Lids are lacking and the inner canthi cut into the nose. The mouths are rimmed and the naso-labial lines indicated. The jewelry (except for the bracelets on the right-hand figure) is also carved. So too are the elaborate pleats and folds of Metjetji's kilts. The limbs of the two figures and those of Metjetji's small sons are very attenuated.

This attenuation is also visible in the figures of Metjetji and one of his sons on a fragmentary architrave from his tomb.¹⁰⁰ Here Metjetji wears a short wig which covers the ears, but the features of the face are similar to those of the two façade figures, even though the eye appears larger here. In this instance, the beads of the broad collars worn by Metjetji and his son are not carved, presumably because the figures are on such a small scale.

Although the faces of the two figures from the entrance thicknesses have a number of features in common with the façade figures and the limbs display a similar attenuation, the extensive treatment of the musculature on the arms, legs, belly (including the iliac crest), especially on the left thickness, harken back to the relief style of the earlier Sixth Dynasty. Both figures wear a plain shoulder-length wig that covers the ears, similar to the wigs on Nekhebu's architrave (pl. 5a). The details of the jewelry were painted, not carved. The limbs of Metjetji's sons and daughters on the two entrance thicknesses are once again very attenuated, however.

The once extensive relief scenes of daily life from Metjetji's tomb are now represented by a scene of fowling in the marshes and smaller fragments of a carrying chair scene and an agricultural sequence.¹⁰¹ The raised relief in all three fragments is low and the flat surfaces of the relief largely devoid of modelling. Only at the knees of the large figure in the fowling scene and on the legs of the subsidiary figures in the carrying chair scene is there evidence of anatomical rendering.

Metjetji's eye in the carrying chair scene is large with both lids carved. The mouth is rimmed. It is difficult to tell from the published photograph if the naso-labial fold is present. The ear is elongated and vertically set, but is placed low on the head. The broad collar was painted. The arms are not particularly attenuated, nor are the fingers overly long. As is the case with the entrances thicknesses, it does not seem that the carrying chair scene is in the Second Style.

Considering that the earliest examples we possess of reliefs in the Second Style, those of Izi of Edfu and Nekhebu, belong to the reign of Pepy I, in all likelihood the façade reliefs of Metjetji, and by extension his tomb and statues, are no earlier in date than the same reign. This is, in fact, the date assigned by Harpur to Metjetji's tomb.¹⁰²

A fine example of the second Old Kingdom style in raised relief derives from the chapel of the vizier Tjetju (*Ttju*). On the north wall of his chapel, Tjetju sits at table.¹⁰³ Tjetju's shoulder-

97 E.g. Hans Goedicke, "Zwei Inschriften aus dem Grab des *Mttj* aus Saqqara," *ZÄS* 83 (1958), pp. 18–27 (Unis); Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 274 (Pepy I); Peter Munro, "Bemerkungen zur Datierung *Mttj*'s," pp. 245–277 (late Herculopolitan Period) (see n. 20 above); see further Nicole Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, SAK Beihefte 8 (Hamburg, Helmut Buske, 2002), p. 20.

98 Russmann, "Second Style," pp. 274–75.

99 Peter Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi* (Bern: Abegg-Stiftung, 1976), nos. 7–8.

100 *Ibid.*, No. 4. The architrave fragment is now in the Louvre, see Ziegler, *Ancien Empire*, cat. no. 20.

101 *Ibid.*, Nos. 1–3. For the fragmentary paintings from Metjetji's tomb, which include additional scenes of daily life, see Ziegler, *Ancien Empire*, cat. no. 20.

102 See note 97.

103 Firth–Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pl. 38.

length wig has a slight concavity at the back, but turns in at the bottom like Nekhebu's wig (fig. 2f; pl. 4c). The elegantly rendered, longish ear (fig. 3h) is set high, the earlobe on a level with the bottom of Tjetju's nose. The eye is large and the eyeball is carved. Both top and bottom of the eye are represented by the same sharp edge that is evident in Nekhebu's reliefs. The mouth is damaged but appears to be rimmed. The relief is low and flat and there is no indication of anatomical modeling visible on its surface. In addition Tjetju's nose descends directly from his forehead.

Tjetju erected his modest mastaba in the angle between the store-rooms of Kagemni and the east wall of Mereruka in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara.¹⁰⁴ For that reason it is certainly later than these mastabas. Its exact date, however, is much debated. The two dates usually put forward for the tomb are the reign of Pepy I and the First Intermediate Period. The arguments offered in defense of the alternative propositions are too involved to repeat here. Nevertheless, as Nigel Strudwick notes in summation,¹⁰⁵ the former date is suggested by the presence of the title *shd hmw-ntr Mn-nfr-Ppy*, "Inspector of priests of (the pyramid) 'The Beauty of Pepy Abides,'"¹⁰⁶ and by the discovery of a jar lid of Pepy I in Tjetju's burial chamber, while the later date is predicated by Baer utilizing his system of standard title sequences.¹⁰⁷ My own opinion regarding the date is based on both archaeological and iconographical criteria.

The archaeological evidence that has not previously entered into the discussion of Tjetju's date is the presence of hollow limestone food cases in the form of geese, etc. to hold meat offerings in his burial chamber.¹⁰⁸ Tjetju's cases are apparently full-sized, hollow limestone cases intended to hold actual food offerings. The practice was not a common one, and I know of only five other examples of the usage. What appear to be the earliest such food cases come from the Giza burial chamber (G 2385 A) of the Vizier Khnumenti, who evidently served King Teti in that office.¹⁰⁹ The other examples of food cases like these are less closely dated.

Full-sized food cases to hold actual offerings were also found by Cecil Firth in a subsidiary shaft in the mastaba of Khentika: Ikkhekhi.¹¹⁰ The shaft likewise produced three limestone statuettes depicting a naked boy identified as "the Sole Friend, Ikhekhi."¹¹¹ Harry James thinks the statuettes may represent a "Sole Friend and Lector Priest Ikhekhi," who occurs on the south wall of Room VII in Khentika's mastaba, offering to a seated figure of the owner.¹¹² If the identification is correctly made, the Ikkhekhi buried in Shaft A would in all likelihood have been a contemporary of Khentika: Ikhekhi's, who himself probably functioned as vizier in the early to middle reign of Pepy I.¹¹³

Another group of food cases were found by Reisner at Giza in G 2381 Z, a shaft intruded to the east of the mastaba of Nekhebu and south of his serdab.¹¹⁴ In the thieves' debris were found a set of limestone cases identical to those from Khnumenti's burial chamber. Reisner was of the opinion that the objects were too important and numerous to have been contained in the burial chamber G 2381 Z and concluded that they had been thrown out by thieves from another shaft, probably G 2382 A, a shaft and burial chamber that Reisner assigned to Nekhebu.¹¹⁵ If

104 Ibid., pp. 28–30

105 *Administration*, p. 161.

106 Henry George Fischer, *Egyptian Studies*, vol. 3: *Varia Nova* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), p. 75.

107 *Rank and Title*, p. 154 [576].

108 Firth–Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemetery* 1, p. 30 (iii).

109 See Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, Part 1, pp. 30–34, 127–129, pls. 99a–101a.

110 James, *Khentika*, pp. 3–4, 54, pl. 20 [118].

111 Evidently Cairo 47758–47760; see J. Capart and M. Werbrouck, *Memphis à l'ombre des pyramides* (Brussels: Vromant, 1930), p. 263.

112 James, *Khentika*, p. 5; pl. 20 [118], p. 54.

113 See Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 125 (109); Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 275; Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, p. 89.

114 See Edward Brovarski, in Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara and Catharine H. Roehrig eds., *Mummies & Magic* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988), cat. no. 26.

115 "A History of the Giza Necropolis," vol. 1, pt. 2, Department of Art of the Ancient World, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA, p. 619.

Reisner is correct, the second lot of food cases would belong to the middle or later part of the reign of Pepy I, like Nekhebu himself, whose autobiography describes his service under that sovereign (see page 50). If Reisner is incorrect, there is very little else on which to base the date of G 2381 Z, except that it was presumably at least as late as Nekhebu's tomb.

Gustave Jéquier also found a number of broken food cases in the form of pieces of meat and fowl within the enclosure wall of Queen Oudjebten's pyramid complex at South Saqqara, and especially in the area of her chapel.¹¹⁶ A fragmentary endowment decree, which makes arrangements for Oudjebten's mortuary cult, is seemingly dated to year 65 (*hst-zp 33*) of Pepy II.¹¹⁷ Jéquier assumed the date represented that of the death of the queen, and a premature death at that, since the inscriptions in her burial chamber had only been traced in black paint and never carved.¹¹⁸ If Jéquier is correct, the queen would have died in the last third of the reign of Pepy II. This would then represent the latest date which we presently know for the use of the these full-sized actual food cases.

More recently, the Czech expedition working at Abusir has found a fifth set of limestone food cases in a subsidiary burial chamber in the mastaba of the Judge Inti at South Abusir. Inti himself was the son of the judge and vizier Qar, the founder of the tomb complex.¹¹⁹ The burial chamber in question apparently belonged to the *zš r n nswt* and *shd zšw nswt* Pepy-ankh: Inti, whose relationship to the owner of the mastabas is not clear; perhaps he was a younger son or a grandson. The group of twelve limestone food cases was found in front of the sarcophagus.¹²⁰ According to Miroslav Bárta, Qar's tomb belongs to the reign of Teti, while the preferred date for the tomb of Inti is Pepy I (personal communication). Until further information becomes available, it is difficult to say whether Pepy-ankh: Inti passed away in the reign of Pepy I, Merenre or even Pepy II.

We thus seem to possess evidence for this interesting funerary custom extending from the reign of Teti to the later part of the reign of Pepy II. In the same context, it is also important to note that Jéquier discovered two sets of large, solid food-models smaller than the limestone food cases in tombs at South Saqqara.¹²¹ As Reisner remarked, these large-scale solid models seem to have developed from the limestone food cases and to represent the same offerings.¹²² Indeed, it seems likely that they replaced the earlier, actual food cases. In a recent article Henry Fischer has argued that most of the South Saqqara burial chambers published in Jéquier's *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* are later than the reign of that king and that the majority probably date to the Heracleopolitan Period.¹²³ My own view is that the majority of the burial chambers are actually contemporary with the second half of Pepy II and the period

116 Gustave Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, Fouilles à Saqqarah 10 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1928), pp. 20–21.

117 Ibid., p. 18, fig. 17; Hans Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich*, ÄA 14 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), p. 155, fig. 13.

118 Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, p. 12.

119 See Gae Callender and Miroslav Bárta, "A Family of Judges at Abusir South," *KMT* 7, no. 2 (Summer, 1996), pp. 33–39; Miroslav Bárta, "The Sixth Dynasty Tombs at Abusir. Tomb Complex of the Vizier Qar and his Family," in Miroslav Bárta, ed., *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, pp. 45–62.

120 See Salima Ikram, "The Old Kingdom Offering List Reified," in *ibid.*, pp. 167–73.

121 *Mon. fun.* 3, p. 67, fig. 67 (Kha-bau-khnum: Biu); Gustave Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II*, Fouilles à Saqqarah 11 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1929), pp. 28–29, fig. 29 (Heneni) (hereafter *Tomb. part.*).

122 "A History of the Giza Necropolis," vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 623. Reisner was well aware of a set of smaller alabaster models of food offerings found in G 4733 E, which he assigned to the first part of Dyn. V; see now, Brovarski, in *Mummies & Magic*, cat. no. 25. For model food offerings of the First Intermediate Period from Dara, see Raymond Weill, *Dara: Campagnes de 1946–1948* (Cairo: Organisme générale des imprimeries gouvernementales, 1958), pls. 36 f–h, 39 b.

123 Henry G. Fischer, "Quelques particuliers à Saqqâra," in Catherine Berger and Bernard Mathieu eds., *Etudes sur l'Ancien Empire et al nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer* (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1997), pp. 177–89.

immediately following, as Jéquier originally conjectured.¹²⁴ This includes the decorated burial chamber of the vizier Kha-bau-khnum: Biu, the owner of one of the sets of large-scale models, whom I would assign to the later reign of Pepy II or to the Seventh Dynasty.¹²⁵ This in turn would imply that the large-scale model offerings had replaced the actual food cases towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty.

Unless new deposits of actual food cases are ultimately found that contradict this observation, the presence of such in Tjetju's burial chamber argues that he too belongs to the Sixth Dynasty and not to the First Intermediate Period.¹²⁶

The iconographical feature of dating significance is the presence of three small rectangular tables and a jar rack beneath the far side of Tjetju's offering table (fig. 5a).¹²⁷ Set on the tables are two nested ewers and basins and 5 *št*-loaves of bread. Placed in the jar rack are two *hez*-vessels with a *nemset*-jar set on the top of the rack between them. Beginning in the reign of King Teti, it is not uncommon to find a jar-rack containing *hez*- or *qeb*-vessels along with one or a pair of nested ewers and basins underneath the offering table in table scenes both on the walls of tombs and in the panels of false doors.¹²⁸ The ewers and basins may¹²⁹ or may not¹³⁰ be set on small tables.¹³¹ Thereafter, the same arrangement appears to be the norm until the reign of Merenre or the first half of the reign of Pepy II,¹³² when multiple racks or multiple tables coupled with ewers and basins are sometimes found. In the table scene on the west wall of the tomb of Idu, Giza G 7102, a nested ewer and basin rests on a groundline rather than upon a table and an ideographic offering list fills the quadrant opposite instead of another table, as in Tjetju's case (fig. 5b).¹³³ In addition, on one side of the leg of the offering table is set a table supporting two *nemset*-jars, while diagonally opposite are three *qeb*-vessels in a jar rack. We have already seen that Idu's tomb was probably decorated in the period extending from the reign of Merenre to the early part of that of Pepy II (page 62). A closer parallel to Tjetju's arrangement appears in the niche-chapel of the chief metalworker Ankh: Intji at Saqqara (fig. 5c),¹³⁴ which

124 See Edward Brovarski, "The Late Old Kingdom at South Saqqara," in Laure Pantalacci and Catherine Berger-el Naggar, eds., *Des Neferkare aux Montouhotep*, TMO 40 (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2005), pp. 31–71.

125 Ibid., pp. 43–47.

126 Hollow food cases for actual offerings were revived in the Twelfth Dynasty, but these were made from alabaster, not limestone; see e.g. I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. 13, 219; Mark Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), pp. 180, 184.

127 The sources for fig. 5 follow: (a) copied by the author; (b) Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 41; (c) Georges Goyons, "Le tombeau d'Ankhou à Saqqarah," *Kēmi* 15 (1969), pl. 8 (9, lower); (d) *ibid.*, pl. 8 (10, lower). figs. 5a–b were inked by Kea Johnston.

128 Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 21; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, fig. 38c.

129 E.g. Alexandre Barsanti, "Fouilles autour de la Pyramide d'Ounas (1899–1900): I. Le Mastaba de Samnofir," *ASAE* 1 (1900), p. 157, fig. 12; Said Amer el Fikey, *The Tomb of the Vizier Re^c-wer at Saqqara*, *Egyptology Today* 4 (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1980), pl. 8; A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Spencer, and A. El-Khouli, *Saqqara Tombs*, vol. 2: *The Mastabas of Meru, Semdenti, Khui and Others*, ASE 40 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1990), pl. 12; N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 3: *The Tombs of Neferseshemre and Seankhuiptah*, The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 11 (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1998), pl. 72.

130 E.g. Jean Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Vromant, 1907), pl. 99; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi* 1, ASE 11 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902), pl. 19; Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, ERA 11 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1905), pl. 29; Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (Ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo* 1, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1937), pl. 21 (CG 1418) (hereafter *Denkm.* 1); James, *Khentika*, pl. 21, probably also pl. 14.

131 In Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 30, one of two nested ewers and basins is set on a low table, while the other is not.

132 For an example of paired ewers and basins and *hez*-jars in racks from the end of the reign of Pepy II, see Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 4, ASE 25 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1924), pls. 9, 12.

133 Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. 41.

134 Goyon, "Le tombeau d'Ankhou," pl. 8 (9, lower). On the opposite side-piece (*ibid.*, pl. 8 (10)), there are only two tables and one jar rack (fig. 5d).

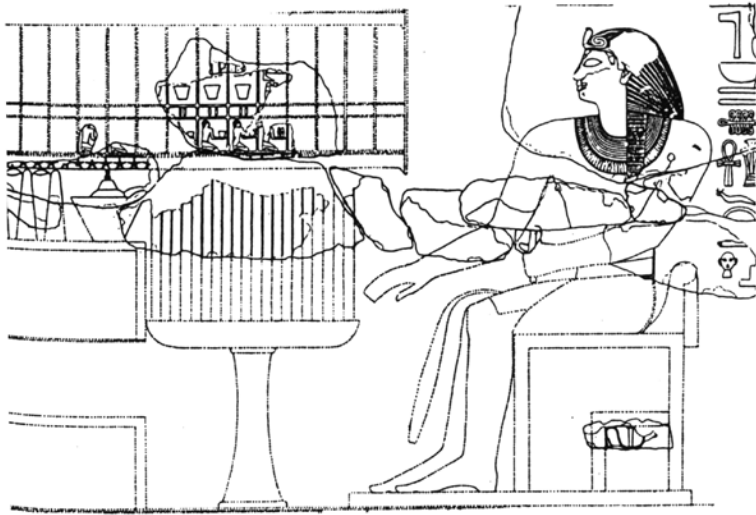


Fig. 6a. Table scene on the south wall of the offering room in the pyramid temple of Pepy II.

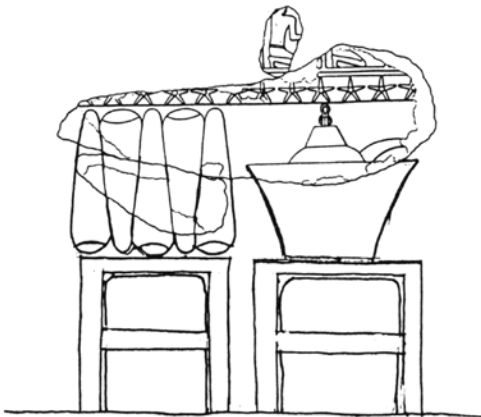


Fig. 6b. Reconstruction of small tables bearing a nested ewer and basin and bread loaves alongside the offering table in the same scene.

Harpur dates to the end of Dynasty VI or later.¹³⁵ Beneath the offering table in Ankhi: Intji's chapel are set two racks containing *qebeh*-vessels and two service tables, one with a single ewer and basin and a larger one with two ewers and basins set upon it. Neither Idu's nor Ankh: Intji's scenes contain the arrangement of bread loaves on the small rectangular table that appears in Tjetju's tomb, however.

Indeed, the only possible parallel I have so far been able to identify for this specific feature is the table scene on the south wall of the offering room of the pyramid temple of Pepy II at South Saqqara (fig. 6a).¹³⁶ The scene is badly damaged, and Jéquier restored one large rectangular table beneath the surviving fragment of relief which shows a nested ewer and basin and five *št*-loaves of bread. In fact, all that remains of the table is a small fragment of its upper right corner, and it is more likely that the loaves and vessels rested on individual tables (fig. 6b). On

¹³⁵ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 273.

¹³⁶ Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 2, pls. 61, 66.

the pattern of Tjetju's table scene, the tables may well have been balanced by a second ewer and basin on a service table and *hezet*- or other vessels in a rack. The major difference between the two table scenes is that Pepy's tables and rack(?) were set alongside the offering table rather than beneath it.

If my restoration of the scene in the pyramid temple is correct, the iconographical parallel suggests that Tjetju served Pepy II as vizier towards the end of the first half of his reign, by which time the decoration of the royal mortuary temple was most probably completed and the cemetery surrounding the king's pyramid at South Saqqara presumably had come into use.¹³⁷ If, on the other hand, the scene on the south wall of Pepy's offering chamber is simply too damaged for the proposed restoration to be credible, on the basis of the iconographic parallels of the multiple small tables it would still be possible to assign Tjetju to the period extending approximately from the reign of Merenre to the end of the Sixth Dynasty or possibly slightly later, if Harpur is right about the date of Ankhi: Intji. At the same time, the archaeological evidence offered by the food cases is probably sufficient to indicate a date for Tjetju no later than the end of the reign of Pepy II.

The Second Style is also attested in the wall reliefs of Pepy II's pyramid temple. In contrast to earlier reliefs in the Second Style, Pepy's temple was decorated in the high, bold relief which also characterizes Saqqara in the Sixth Dynasty.¹³⁸ Regrettably, Jéquier has provided few photographs of those reliefs. Nevertheless, the faces of the bowing officials ranked behind the vizier Idi in the antechamber of the pyramid temple¹³⁹ and those of the offering bearers on the north wall of the sanctuary¹⁴⁰ exhibit several of the features associated with the Second Style: the large, wide-open eyes, the noses descending directly from the forehead, the small, rimmed mouths, and the large, elegant ears set vertically high up on the head (in the case of the officials). If anything, the eyes of the offering bearers in the sanctuary are larger and their fingers more attenuated than those of the officials in the antechamber. A notable divergence from the earlier reliefs of Nekhebu though is the carving of the eyelids in relief in both scenes, the upper lid alone in the antechamber and both lids in the sanctuary. The overlapping locks on the short wigs of the offering bearers on the north wall of the sanctuary are meticulously rendered, the short wigs and the shoulder-length wig worn by one of the bowing officials in the antechamber of the temple are quite plain. Although the scenes in the mortuary temple are carved in a bolder relief than is the case with Nekhebu or Meryre-nefer: Qar (G 7101), the surface of the relief is nonetheless flat, and the bodies of the figures of the bowing officials and the offering bearers are largely lacking in anatomical detail except for an indication of the musculature of the knee.

Even though the face is dreadfully battered, the large (once inlaid) eye and the longish, vertically set, elegant ear are evidence that the head of Pepy II on the south wall of the sanctuary was also carved in the Second Style.¹⁴¹ The design on Pepy II's *nemes*-headcloth is incised and, although the cylinder beads of his broad collar are not carved, the beads of the upper strand of his collar are indicated and the pendants of the same are so meticulously detailed it is possible to make out their individual elements.

The features of the fragmentary head of an Asiatic from the south wall of the vestibule are better preserved and provide a beautiful example of the rimmed mouth of the Second Style.¹⁴² The eye (with an upper lid) is large and wide open, the philtrum carefully drawn, and the naso-labial line well defined.

¹³⁷ Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 61 [73A]; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 63–65.

¹³⁸ *HESP*, pp. 203–204, 208.

¹³⁹ Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 2, pl. 49.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 91; *HESP*, pl. 54.

¹⁴¹ Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 2, pls. 63, 64; cf. pl. 51; see also pls. 12, 17 and *ibid.*, 3; pl. 20.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pl. 40.

The necropolis around the pyramids of Pepy I, Merenre, and Pepy II at South Saqqara has likewise produced a number of reliefs in the Second Style.¹⁴³ The tomb wall of the Estate Manager (*ḥqs ḥwt*) Ipi was found by Maspero to the west of the pyramid of Pepy I at South Saqqara.¹⁴⁴ Three distinct scenes are represented. On the left Ipi and his wife Zenbet and two daughters, both named Ankh-nes-pepy (*ꜥnh-n.s-Ppy*), view an agricultural sequence and a register of butchers cutting up an ox (fig. 5b).¹⁴⁵ In the middle Ipi, seated in his palanquin, inspects a flotilla of ships. A damaged scene on the right once showed Ipi and Zenbet receiving offering bearers.¹⁴⁶ Unlike the reliefs of Qar, which are executed in a low, delicate style, Ipi's tomb is executed in the bolder relief which was utilized in Pepy II's pyramid temple. The very large, wide-open eye, the naso-labial fold, the rimmed mouth, the longish, vertically set, elegantly rendered ear, placed high on the head, as well as the careful attention paid to Ipi's wig, kilt, and accessories are characteristic of the Second Style. As is the case with the courtiers of Pepy II, the upper rim of Ipi's eye is indicated in relief (pl. 5a). As is the case with the reliefs of Nekhebu and Qar, Ipi's nose descends directly from his forehead (see page 62). Ipi's broad collar is so detailed that even the click-beetles which form its lower border are distinctly portrayed.¹⁴⁷ Like most of the other reliefs in the Second Style discussed in the present article, the bodies of the figures lack anatomical detail.

Taking the names of Ipi's daughters into account, Ipi's tomb has to be at least as late as Pepy I. Indeed, in all likelihood the daughters were named after Pepy I's wives, Queens Ankh-nespepy I and II. What's more, as Harpur observes, the presence of a mirror and boxes under the chair of the deceased are good indications that the relief dates to the reign of Pepy II, and probably to the second half of the reign.¹⁴⁸ With the exception of a parallel in the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi, which probably belongs to the first third of Pepy II's long reign,¹⁴⁹ other instances of a box¹⁵⁰ or a box and a mirror¹⁵¹ under the owner's chair are not well dated. Even so, none are demonstrably earlier than the example in Ibi's tomb and some may conceivably belong to the end of the Old Kingdom (Dynasties VI–VIII).

Both of the preserved figures of Ipi wear a new wig type. The wigs are shoulder-length (with ears exposed) and are composed of vertical strands of curls *en échelon* which radiate from

143 I have expressed my belief elsewhere that the superstructures and accompanying burial chambers from South Saqqara date to the reign of Pepy II or later; see above, note 124.

144 Gaston Maspero, *Trois Années de Fouilles dans les Tombeaux de Thèbes et de Memphis*, MMAF 1, fasc. 2 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1885), pl. facing p. 200.

145 Fig. 5b is after *HESP*, pl. 56b.

146 For bibliography, see Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, assisted by Ethel W. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, vol. 3, pts. 1 and 2, 2nd ed. rev. and augmented by Jaromír Málek (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1974–1981), pp. 671–72.

147 See L. Keimer, "Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie des colliers égyptiens," *ASAE* 31 (1931), pp. 145–86; *ibid.*, *ASAE* 32 (1932), pp. 129–150; Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London: Methuen, [n.d.]), pp. 26–27.

148 *Decoration*, pp. 218–19.

149 Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 56, 288 [32]; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 280.

150 N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi* 2, ASE 12 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900), pls. 9 (Djau and Djau Shemai), 17 (Hemre Izi) (hereafter *Gebr.* 2); Henry George Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dyns. VI–XI*, AnOr 40 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1964), pls. 11, 12 (Inkaf); *idem*, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B. C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, New York, 1968), pl. 8 (Uti); Mohamed Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pls. 6 (1) (TT 413, Unis-ankh), 8 (TT 405, Khenty); William Kelly Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part 1* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1980), fig. 17 (G 2001, Tjetu); Naguib Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: the Cemetery of Akhmim* 2 (Sydney, Australia: The Macquarie Ancient History Association, 1981), fig. 24 (H 24, Shepses-pu-min/Kheni-ankhu).

151 Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 21 (G 2001, Tjetu); Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (Ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo* 2 (Cairo: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1964), pl. 83 (CG 1618, Abydos, Semen's son Kha) (hereafter *Denkm.* 2).

the crown of the head (fig. 4b).¹⁵² The exact point at which this new type of shoulder-length echeloned wig first appears is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, King Pepy II wears a short wig with strands of echeloned curls on a fragmentary relief from his mortuary temple.¹⁵³ The short wig with strands of curls *en échelon* is also worn by a statue of the High Priest Ni-ankh-pepy: Hepi the Black of Meir.¹⁵⁴ Utilizing his system of title sequences, Baer assigned Ni-ankh-pepy to the reign of Merenre or early Pepy II. On stylistic grounds, Harpur dates him to the first third of the reign of Pepy II,¹⁵⁵ a date which correspond well with the first occurrence of the same wig type in Pepy II's mortuary temple.

The earliest datable example of the shoulder-length echeloned wig in relief in a private context which is known to me appears on one of the figures at the bottom of the jambs of the High Priest of Memphis Sabu: Tjety,¹⁵⁶ who probably served Pepy II in that capacity in the second half of his reign, in view of the fact that his name and titles appear to have been added to the original decoration of the royal mortuary temple.¹⁵⁷ A second occurrence of the wig is in a relief of the vizier Idu I: Nefer now in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (fig. 4b), which arguably dates to the early part of the same reign (see note 77). A third instance appears on one of two flanking limestone reliefs in the "Second Style" belonging to the *smr wꜣty ḥry-ḥbt (dbst)* Khui (Appendix C/2).

It therefore seems that the new type of shoulder-length echeloned wig first appeared in the early part of the reign of Pepy II. Once it came into fashion, the new wig type remained popular for a long time. At the very end of the Old Kingdom (Dynasty VIII) or the beginning of the Heracleopolitan Period (Dynasty IX), it is worn by Unis-ha-ishetef (*Wnis-ḥs-īšt.f*) on the walls of his tomb in the Unis Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara.¹⁵⁸ Elsewhere it appears at Dendera in the late Old Kingdom and the early Heracleopolitan Period (Dynasty IX),¹⁵⁹ and at Moalla,¹⁶⁰ Thebes,¹⁶¹ and Naga-ed-Deir¹⁶² in the Ninth Dynasty. It is known at Dendera, Thebes, and Abydos

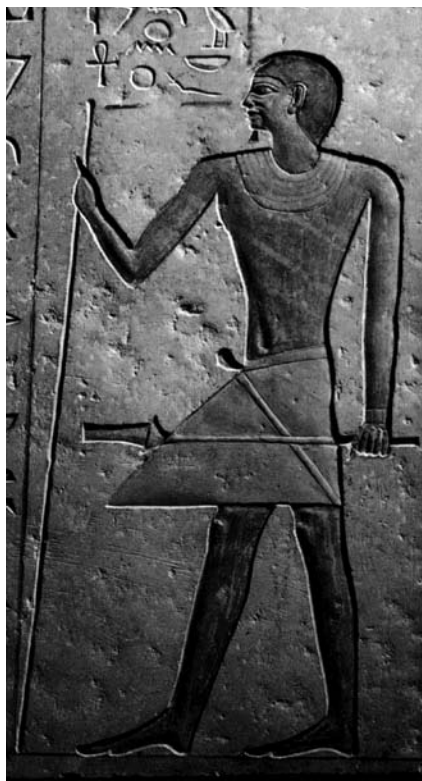
- 152 For this type of wig, see Edward Brovarski, "The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1989; Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services, 1997), pp. 197 (2); cf. Harvey, *Wooden Statues*, pp. 15 [W.6, W.6a, W.6.b], 16 [W.8, W.8a], 17 [W.9-10].
- 153 Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 2, pl. 108.
- 154 See Harvey, *Wooden Statues*, p. 15 (W.6), cat. no. A 55.
- 155 *Decoration*, p. 280. Pace Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 1, ASE 22 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914), pp. 5-11, Naguib Kanawati ("The Chronology of the Overseers of Priests at El-Qusiya in the Sixth Dynasty," *GM* 111 [1989], pp. 75-80) makes Ni-ankh-pepy the son rather than the father of Pepyankh the Middle, but is not precise about where this places him, whether at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later. I hope to discuss the chronology of the officials buried at Meir and Quseir el-Amarna in a forthcoming article.
- 156 Borhardt, *Denkm.* 1, pl. 100 (CG 1756). The photograph provided is too small to make out much detail, but if the fragment of a jamb with the name Tjety in Munich (Appendix A/1) is part of CG 1756, as PM 3², p. 463 conjectures, then the jamb figures on it are probably also in the Second Style.
- 157 Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 2, pl. 74; Dietrich Wildung, in Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977), col. 1258.
- 158 The wig appears on two figures at the bottom of the jambs of Unis-ha-ishetef's false door, and so does not appear in the drawing of the façade of Unis-ha-ishetef's tomb published by Peter Munro, "Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West: 4. Vorbericht über die Arbeiten der Gruppe Berlin/Hannover in Saqqara," *GM* 59 (1982), figure on page 100. It is to be seen in photographs taken by the present writer in the early 1970s.
- 159 E.g. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Denderah* (with extra plates), EEF 17 (London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900), pls. 2 rt3 (Men-ankh-pepy: Meni); 7 t2r1/3 (Nefer-seshem-Pepy: Seneni); 7 rb, lb(?) (Tjauti: Resi); 8 lt1/2, lt3, rt3 and center (Mereri). For the dates of the individuals concerned, see Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 85-91, 119-128, 136-153.
- 160 Jacques Vandier, *Moa'lla: la tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébek-hotep*, BdE 18 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1950), pl. 6 [upper right].
- 161 Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, fig. 2 (Seni-iqer).
- 162 E.g. Dows Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* (London: Oxford University Press for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1937), nos. 37, 42, 69, 78. For the date, see Brovarski, "Naga-ed-Dêr Inscriptions," p. 197 (2).



a



b



c



d

Plate 8. Reliefs in the second Old Kingdom style: Izi of Edfu (a), Senedjemib (b), Ankhnebef (c), Princeton University Art Museum relief (d).

in Dynasty XI.¹⁶³ Twelfth Dynasty examples include occurrences on the stele of Mentuhotep, son of Hepi¹⁶⁴ and in the chapel of Ihy in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara.¹⁶⁵

A remarkable detail of the echeloned wigs worn by Ipi is the longer locks of hair over the forehead (pl. 4e). This distinctive feature also appears in association with the shoulder-length echeloned wig on the false door of Unis-ha-ishetef mentioned in the last paragraph. It is likewise found in a small number of other reliefs in combination with the shoulder-length, layered wig. However, none of the occurrences of the latter known to me are closely dated. The first appears in the stele of Semen's son Kha (*Smn z3 H3*) from Abydos in Cairo, which Henry Fischer thinks is probably later than the Sixth Dynasty.¹⁶⁶ The second example occurs on a jamb from the right side of a false door in the Princeton Art Museum (pls. 4f, 8d).¹⁶⁷ The anonymous owner is shown with arms outstretched in worship or praise¹⁶⁸ and dressed in a patterned kilt of late Old Kingdom and early Heracleopolitan type.¹⁶⁹ The sunken relief is in the second Old Kingdom style and resembles the figures on the false door of the High Priest of Memphis Sabu: Tjety, mentioned above, except for the eye, which is larger in the Princeton relief.

The earliest dated occurrence of the tomb owner with arms outstretched in worship or praise that is known to me occurs on the door thicknesses of the tomb of Djau: Shemai and his son Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi¹⁷⁰ and of Mery at Hagarsa.¹⁷¹ The nomarch Djau seemingly held office in the later part of the reign of Pepy II.¹⁷² The tomb of Mery probably belongs to the second half of the same reign.¹⁷³ The gesture continued in popularity through the late Old Kingdom, the Heracleopolitan Period (Dyns. IX–X), and into the Middle Kingdom,¹⁷⁴ so it only serves as a *terminus ante quem non* for the Princeton Relief, which must be at least as late as Pepy II.

The echeloned wig with longer locks of hair over the forehead also appears in wooden statuary.¹⁷⁵ The earliest occurrence known to me is on a striding male statue from tomb N. IV

- 163 E.g. Labib Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods," *MDAIK* 19 (1963), pl. 7; H. E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), pl. 4; Svetlana Hodjash and Oleg Berlev, *The Egyptian-Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1982), cat. no. 26 (Moscow 4071).
- 164 Hans Goedicke, "A Neglected Wisdom Text," *JEA* 48 (1962), pl. 2, pp. 25–35; H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Painting from the Petrie Collection*, Part 2 (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1979), pl. 18, p. 20 (UC 14333). For the date, see Rita Evelyn Freed, "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.)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1984; Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1985), p. 210 and n. 796 (hereafter *MKER*).
- 165 Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemetery* 2, pl. 39. On the date, see Rita E. Freed, "Observations on the Dating and Decoration of the Tombs of Ihy and Hetep at Saqqara," in Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí eds., *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 2000), pp. 208–211 and David P. Silverman, "Middle Kingdom tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery," in *ibid.*, pp. 273–74.
- 166 Henry George Fischer, *Egyptian Studies 1: Varia* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), p. 16. For CG 1618, see note 151.
- 167 Appendix B/10.
- 168 See Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3d ed. rev. (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 445 [A 30].
- 169 See Patricia A. Bochi, "Of Lines, Linen, and Language: A Study of a Patterned Textile and its Interweaving with Egyptian Beliefs," *CdE* 71 (1996), pp. 221–30.
- 170 *Gebr.* 2, p. 3. The figure is not illustrated, but Davies says that the deceased on the west entrance thickness is "figured with upraised arms."
- 171 Naguib Kanawati, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa* 1, The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 4 (Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1993), pl. 42 (b).
- 172 See Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 78–85; Wolfgang Schenkel, *Frümittelägyptische Studien* (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 1962), *passim*; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 1, p. 57; Brovarski, "Naga-ed-Dêr Inscriptions," pp. 124–25.
- 173 Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 1, p. 57.
- 174 See Edward Brovarski, "False Doors and History: the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom," in David P. Silverman, Josef Wegner, and Jennifer Wegner eds., *Archaism and Continuity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, forthcoming), *passim*.
- 175 Harvey, *Wooden Statues*, pp. 16, 277, 367, fig. 1a (W.8, W.8a).

at South Saqqara, now in Neuchâtel, Switzerland.¹⁷⁶ The tomb belonged to two different individuals, Biu and Pepi, and probably dates to the end of Dynasty VI or the immediately succeeding period (*infra*). The statue actually derives from Biu's burial chamber.¹⁷⁷ The second example is a head from a destroyed statue of the Thinite nomarch Tjemrery, who in all probability belongs to Dynasty VIII.¹⁷⁸ The earlobes are revealed in the first instance, but the ears are covered in the second.¹⁷⁹

Although the tomb of Unis-ha-ishetef might conceivably belong to the early Heracleopolitan Period, rather than the end of the Old Kingdom, the majority of the parallels for the echeloned wig with longer locks of hair over the forehead in relief and statuary belong to the end of Dynasty VI or to late Old Kingdom. Ipi's relief in all probability belongs to the same time period.

A relief in the Second Style from Biu's niche-chapel is now in the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago, OIM 10814 (pl. 4d).¹⁸⁰ The block was found in 1884 by Gaston Maspero in tomb N. IV.¹⁸¹ By the time Gustave Jéquier re-excavated the tomb sometime between 1924 and 1929, the block was already in Chicago.¹⁸² The nature of the decoration of Biu's burial chamber suggests that he was buried late in Dynasty VI or in Dynasty VII.¹⁸³

The relief is in a finely executed sunk relief. Only the top part of Biu's figure is preserved, but the large, wide-open eye, the rimmed mouth, and the longish, vertically set ear are diagnostic. As is the case with the reliefs of Nekhebu and Qar, Biu's nose descends directly from his forehead (see page 62). In addition, Biu's wig is flat at the back and turns in at the bottom, like Nekhebu's wig. The horizontal rows of overlapping curls are absent, but this is sporadically the case with other examples of the shoulder-length wigs in the Second Style. Similarly, the beads of the broad collar were never carved. Both eye lids are in relief, as they are in a number of other sculptures of the Second Style

The second Old Kingdom style in relief is also known from Upper Egypt. We observed towards the beginning of this article that the reliefs of Izi of Edfu provide what are among the earliest examples of the overlapping rows of locks on the shoulder-length wig (see page 56). This is not the only feature that Izi's reliefs share with those of Nekhebu. Like Nekhebu's figures, the figure of Izi on the left-hand side panel of his false door exhibits the very large, wide-open eye (albeit with upper lid in relief), the small, rimmed mouth, and the longish, vertically set ear (see pl. 8a).¹⁸⁴ From the published photograph, it is not possible to be certain whether the helix is detached or joins the antihelix. In addition, Izi's nose descends directly from his forehead. Izi's figures are in sunk relief, and the depictions of the owner have arms more attenuated than Nekhebu's, while the hands and fingers are similarly elongated. The legs too are very slender, but display a more extensive treatment of musculature than is customary in the Second Style. In addition, the details Izi's broad collar are carved, although his bracelet's are not.

The large eye with pronounced inner canthus, which cuts into the nose, appears in a representation of Harkhuf on the right-hand façade of his tomb at Aswan.¹⁸⁵ As is clear from inscriptions in his tomb, Harkhuf served Merenre and Pepy II. Baer actually assigns his tomb to years 15–35 of Pepy II, while Harpur dates it somewhat earlier in years 1–34 of the same

176 Ibid., p. 277 (A 82) (Neuchâtel, Eg. 204).

177 On tomb N. IV, see Jéquier, *Tomb. part.*, pp. 94–107.

178 Brovarski, "Naga-ed-Dêr Inscriptions," pp. 180, 264–287, 966–967.

179 Harvey, *Wooden Statues*, p. 16 (W.8, W.8a).

180 Emily Teeter, *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, OIP 23. (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2003), cat. no. 10.

181 *Trois années de fouilles*, pp. 191–92.

182 *Tomb. part.*, pp. 94–101, figs. 109–116, especially figs. 14–115; Teeter, *Treasures*, p. 132.

183 See Brovarski, "The Late Old Kingdom at South Saqqara," pp. 13–17 (Group IV).

184 The sources of pl. 8 are as follows: (a) K. Michalowski, *Tell Edfou 1939* (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1950), fig. 35; (b) see note 84; (c) Hadji Baba Ancient Art, London 1999; (d) Princeton University Art Museum, Museum purchase, Carl Otto von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.

185 Vivian Davies and Renée Friedman, *Egypt Uncovered* (New York: Stewart, Tabori & Chang, 1998), photograph on p. 51.

king.¹⁸⁶ Harkhuf's figure shows many of the other features that are evident in Izi's reliefs: the shoulder-length wig with overlapping rows of locks that exposes the ears, the nose descending directly from the forehead, the vertical ear, the rimmed mouth and the broad collar with beads carved (but not the bracelets). The lips are, in fact, larger than is usual in reliefs in the Second Style, and there appear to be traces of a vermilion line on the lower lip. It is not clear from the published photograph whether the naso-labial ridge is present. Harkhuf's limbs are not nearly so attenuated as Izi's.

The large, wide-open eye, the overlapping rows of locks on the shoulder-length wig, the longish, vertically set ear, the rimmed mouth, and the naso-labial ridge, also recur in a stela of late Dynasty VI date from Akhmim.¹⁸⁷ So too does the curious profile of the back of the wig seen in Nekhebu's relief (see page 56). Again the limbs are not as attenuated as they are in Izi's case.

The second Old Kingdom style of relief seemingly also appears in the tomb of Pepyankh Heny the Black and possibly also in that of Pepyankh the Middle at Meir. This statement is hedged about with modifiers for a number of reasons, primarily because of the limited number of photographs provided of the scenes in the two Meir tombs and because of the poor quality of those photographs.¹⁸⁸ In all fairness, it must be said that in part this is probably due to the state of the scenes themselves.¹⁸⁹ Then too, the barely translucent nature of the tracing paper that was probably used to copy the reliefs renders the drawings of the scenes not completely reliable. For example, in comparing the facial features in the drawing of Heny the Black in the well-known scene (copied from Mereruka)¹⁹⁰ of the elderly tomb owner leaning on the hands of two attendants to the photograph of the same, it is difficult to believe this is the same face.¹⁹¹ Nevertheless, Heny the Black's large, wide open eye (without lid) with inner canthus cutting into the nose, the full rimmed lips, and the elongated, vertically set ear all point to an artist working in the traditions of the Second Style. So too does the low, flat relief devoid of anatomical detail. On the other hand, whenever the shoulder-length wig is worn by the tomb owner, it is lacking in curls, while the jewelry is painted, not carved.¹⁹²

In contrast, in the one photograph provided, both the jewelry and the rows of curls of the figure of Pepyankh the Middle are carved, as are also the pleats of his short kilt.¹⁹³ The eye is once again large and the lips rimmed, but in his case the naso-labial fold can also be made out. The relief is low and flat. The navel is placed in a furrow, and otherwise the only indication of musculature is confined to the legs. In neither tomb are the limbs very attenuated, although Pepyankh the Middle's fingers may be more elongated than is usual in earlier Sixth Dynasty relief.

The second Old Kingdom style also appears in a number of reliefs without assured provenience in museums or private collections. These are listed in the Appendix. Only one is illustrated here (pl. 8c) because, on the one hand, it well exemplifies the second Old Kingdom style in relief and, at the same time, shows a variant treatment of the muscles of the lower face (Appendix B/5). The very large, slanted eye (with both lids carved), the rimmed lips, the

186 Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 106, 292 [345]; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 282.

187 Edward Brovarski, "Akhmim in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period," in Paule Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar 1*, BdE 97/1 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1985), pp. 122–33, no. 11, pl. 2c (Edinburgh 1910–94, stela of Ty [?Wty?]). Taking into account the box under the chair, the stela is at least as late as Pepy II; see Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 219. See also the stela of Udjai/Iuri, Brovarski, "Akhmim," pp. 123–124, no. 16, pl. 3c, in which the wig lacks the customary pattern of overlapping locks.

188 Blackman, *Meir 4*, pl. 26 (2) (Pepyankh the Middle); Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir 5*, ASE 28 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1953), pls. 54–64 (Pepy-ankh Heny the Black).

189 See Blackman, *Meir 5*, Preface.

190 See e.g. W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, Pelican History of Art, 3rd ed., rev. by William Kelly Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 80 and n. 5.

191 Blackman, *Meir 5*, pls. 16 and 54.

192 See e.g. Blackman, *Meir 5*, pls. 26, 29, 33, and *passim*.

193 Blackman, *Meir 4*, pl. 26 (2). The curious treatment of the curls of the wig resembles that of Izi of Edfu, referred to in note 47.

elongated, vertically set ear, the attenuated limbs, the musculature confined to the navel and knees all occur elsewhere in relief sculpture in the Second Style. The relief is one of a pair carved in sunk relief which probably once formed the entrance thicknesses of a tomb. They belong to a Tenant Farmer of Pepy I's pyramid named Ankhnebef. On the right hand thickness Ankhnebef has his hair close-cropped. On the left, he wears a plain shoulder-length wig without any indication of curls. In both reliefs the prominent folds that extend from the nostril wings to the side of the jaw are present but, in addition, there is a second, separate, vertical fold at each corner of the mouth. The same fold of skin appears in at least three other instances. The first of these is the relief of [...]hesuf, offered for sale on the art market some years ago and whose whereabouts at present are unknown (Appendix B/3). The second example appears on a relief in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, although the naso-labial fold is disguised to a certain extent by the well preserved paint on the piece (B/8). This last sculpture is also of interest because the owner, a certain Khuy, was a Tenant Farmer at Pepy II's pyramid, so his tomb must have been decorated in the reign of that king or somewhat later. His is one of the few reliefs listed in the Appendix that mention a royal name.¹⁹⁴ Interestingly, the third example of the fold of skin occurs on the lintel of Izi of Edfu in the Louvre. As we have already witnessed, Izi seemingly passed away early in the reign of Pepy I and his reliefs are among the earliest examples of work in the Second Style (see page 56). It is curious there are so few examples of the separate fold at the corner of the mouth in relief in the interim between the reign of Pepy I and that of Pepy II. The fold of skin at the corner of the mouth also appears now and again in statuary executed in the second Old Kingdom style. Examples include early statues like those of Nekhebu¹⁹⁵ as well as later instances, like the statues of the Great Overlord of the Thinite nome Gegi, in Dynasties VI–VIII.¹⁹⁶

Nothing has been said so far of the rendering of the female figure in the "Second Style." Behind the seated figure of Qar on the west wall of the court of G 7101 appears a standing figure of his wife Gefi (*Gfi*) (pl. 6b). Smith has already drawn attention to this figure in his discussion of the change of proportions that takes place in the later Sixth Dynasty at Memphis and in the provinces.¹⁹⁷ Like the figure of Gefi, that of the wife of Djau at Deir el-Gebrâwi is tall and slender.¹⁹⁸ In the latter instance, however, the head is rather small, which is not the case with Gefi's figure. Still, as Smith aptly observes, the elongated form of both figures is related more to the Middle Kingdom canon of proportions than the Old. He also notes that the change in proportions is to be detected elsewhere in the Memphite cemeteries in Dynasty VI, for example, in the figure of Zenbet, the wife of Ipi, on the tomb wall of the latter from South Saqqara (pl. 5b).¹⁹⁹ In a catalogue of such figures, one might also include the well-known relief in the Louvre of the "Femme au lotus."²⁰⁰ As in Gefi's case, in addition to the beaded bracelets and anklets, the beaded straps of the tight-fitting dress worn by the woman in the Louvre relief are carefully delineated.

As far as the elongated proportions are concerned, they are to be found in two near contemporaneous portrayals of Pepy II's wife, Wedjebten, on the portal of her funerary chapel at South Saqqara.²⁰¹ Indeed, the altered proportions are evident even earlier in images of the

194 In addition to the two examples just cited, a certain Senedjemib, on his relief in Copenhagen, bears the title *imy-ht hmw-nfr Mn-nfr-Ppy*; see Appendix B/4.

195 *HESP*, pl. 26b.

196 E.g. Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten* 1, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1911), pl. 17 (CG 72, 75). For the date, see Brovarski, "Naga-ed-Dêr Inscriptions," pp. 125–34.

197 *HESP*, p. 211.

198 *Gebr.* 2, Frontispiece, pl. 6.

199 Borchardt, *Denkm.* 1, pl. 50 (CG 1536).

200 Ziegler, *Ancien Empire*, cat. no. 53.

201 Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, pl. 13 [1].

wives of Pepy I unearthed by the French Mission at South Saqqara.²⁰² For that matter, the figure of a goddess on the western tympanum of the entrance vestibule of the mortuary temple of King Teti appears to display quite attenuated proportions.²⁰³ Clearly, a more in-depth investigation of the proportions of the female figure in the Sixth Dynasty is needed than is possible in the present article.

SUMMARY

It may serve at this point to summarize the characteristics of the second Old Kingdom style in relief and at the same time to compare and contrast statues and reliefs executed in that style. The characteristics which reliefs in the Second Style share with sculpture in the same style include: (1) the shallow crown of the head; (2) the ears set high on the head; (3) the very large and wide open eyes; (4) the pronounced inner canthus of the eye; (5) the naso-labial fold, and (6) the rimmed mouth. It is interesting to note that the ear as represented in three-dimensions in the statuary are similar in shape to Nekhebu's elegantly rendered ear, although the ears in three-dimensions are not so elongated as they are in relief.²⁰⁴ The mouth is smaller in the reliefs than in the statuary but is otherwise treated similarly. In statuary, within the arc described by the rim, the lips end abruptly, leaving the corner open. In relief, the same feature is seen, although on occasion there is a drill hole where the lips come together that has essentially the same effect. In a few instances, an additional fold of skin appears at the corners of the lips in both statuary and relief.

Muscles are little in evidence either on the statues or in the reliefs. In the latter, although there are exceptions, musculature is as a rule confined to the navel furrow, to the knees, and the lower legs. The limbs are often attenuated and, although the hands are not in general undersized or oversized, as they are in the statuary, the fingers are at times exaggerated in length.

There are unquestionably differences in the two media. Human figures in relief in the second Old Kingdom style do not have overlarge heads or long, narrow bodies pinched at the waist. Although it must be admitted that Nekhebu's head in the relief in fig. 1a, for example, looks substantially larger than is customary, this is probably due to the shoulder-length wig that he wears. We have noticed in a number of reliefs that the eye is set at a slant rather than horizontally. The eye is sometimes set obliquely in statuary in the Second Style, although in general the eyes are placed horizontally in both stone and wooden statues. A particularly obvious divergence between the statues and the reliefs concerns the choice of wig types. Although the short wig occurs in wooden statues in the second Old Kingdom style,²⁰⁵ the flared, shoulder-length hair-do composed of long, parallel strands descending from a center part dominates in stone statues in the same style. In contrast, as we have already seen, shoulder-length wigs in which the ears are exposed and the surface is entirely covered with horizontal rows of overlapping locks

202 E.g. Jean Leclant, "Noubounef—une nouvelle reine d'Égypte," in Ingrid Gamer-Wallert and Wolfgang Helck eds., *Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* (Tübingen: Attempto, 1992), fig. D; J. Leclant and G. Clerc, "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1991–1992," *Or* 62 (1993), pl. 19 [19]; J. Leclant and G. Clerc, "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1995–1996," *Or* 66 (1997), pl. 16 (22).

203 J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Teti*, Mission Archéologique de Saqqarah 1, BdE 51 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1972), pl. 22.

204 See Bengt Peterson, "Finds from the Theteti Tomb at Saqqara," *Medelhausemuseet Bulletin* 20 (1985), figure of statue of Tjeteti on p. 6; for a view of the same statue from a different angle, see *Masterworks from the Age of the Pyramids*, cat. no. 38.

205 See e.g. Russmann, "Second Style," pl. 53a, b. Although close-cropped hair is very popular and the flaring wig also occurs in male statues of wood in the Second Style, the predominant hair style is a short wig covered with an overlapping pattern of locks which leaves straight lines of longer locks on the crown of the head (see e.g. Harvey, *Wooden Statues*, cat. nos. A 54, A 60, A 69, A 70–72, A 88–89, A 92–96 and passim). To the best of my knowledge this type of wig first occurs in the late reign of Pepy II; see Brovarski, "False Doors and History: the Sixth Dynasty," in Miroslava Bárta, ed., *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, p. 116.

predominate in reliefs in the Second Style. In addition, only very infrequently is jewelry carved on the statuary, whereas this is a regular feature of the reliefs.²⁰⁶

Most, if not all, of the figures in relief in the second Old Kingdom style were drawn according to the Old Kingdom Memphite canon. The knee line is roughly half the height of the elbow line; the line marking the lower border of the buttocks is roughly half the height of the hairline horizontal; the line at the junction of the neck and shoulders is approximately eight-ninths of the hairline height, etc.²⁰⁷ If the canon of proportions remained in effect though, there is little question that the general attenuation of limbs of the figures yields a different visual impression than is the case with relief of the late Fifth or early Sixth Dynasties. In this sense at least, the Second Style resembles the thin, elongated figures seen in relief or sculpture from the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. As a result of the large eye occupying a greater area of the face than before, the proportions of the face also change.²⁰⁸

As far as the reliefs discussed above and listed in the Appendix are concerned, it appears that the Second Style in relief first appeared in the reign of Pepy I and became increasingly popular thereafter down into Dynasties VI–VIII. It is curious that the oldest example of relief in the second Old Kingdom style that we possess at present derives from the provinces, in particular from the tomb of the vizier Izi at Edfu, in the far south of Egypt. This is probably due to an accident of preservation, and it seems unlikely, if not completely out of the question, that the Second Style originated in the far southern provinces. Instead, Izi's artist may simply have been aware of contemporary developments at the Memphite cemeteries.

If we are correct about the date of Metjetji (see page 70), it appears that the second Old Kingdom style in both relief and statuary emerged at approximately the same time. The later history of the second style in the First Intermediate Period, especially during the Heracleopolitan Period (Dynasties IX–X) needs further investigation. Nevertheless, I think Gay Robins has correctly discerned the influence of the Second Style, which she refers to as the “later Sixth Dynasty” style, in the steles of the Polychrome Group in the early Heracleopolitan Period (Dynasty IX) at Naga-ed-Deir.²⁰⁹ As she observes, the figures of men on these steles exhibit the lack of musculature and the large eye derived from the later Sixth Dynasty style.²¹⁰ It may be added that the influence of the Second Style is also to be detected in the attenuated figures and carefully carved jewelry of the individuals represented on the steles. But there is a development here that differentiates the Polychrome Group steles from later Sixth Dynasty relief sculpture; this is the high small of the back, which corresponds roughly to the level of the elbow line.²¹¹ In the same context, it is of some interest that the Second Style does not seem to appear in the false doors of Dynasty X date from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara.²¹²

As a final point, it is important to recognize that the Second Style in relief, just like the same style in sculpture, inspired artists in the Middle Kingdom.²¹³ Its influence is felt in the relief sculpture of the Theban Eleventh Dynasty, for example, in the large eyes (albeit banded), pointed sharply down at the tear ducts, the naso-labial folds, the elongated ears, the rimmed mouths, the attenuated limbs, and the overly long fingers apparent in the shrines and sarcophagi of

206 See J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* 3 (Paris: Editions A. et J. Picard, 1958), pl. 44 [3], CG 75.

207 Gay Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), p. 64.

208 *Ibid.*, pp. 77–78.

209 See e.g. Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae*, nos. 55, 62, 69, 73, 78, 83, 84. For the Polychrome Group and its date, see Brovanski, “Naga-ed-Dêr Inscriptions,” pp. 600–74.

210 Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, p. 79 with figure 79.

211 *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 82.

212 E.g. J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905–1906)*, Excavations at Saqqara 1 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1907), pls. 12, 13, 15, and passim; Firth–Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemetery* 2, pl. 27B. For the date, see Edward Brovanski, “False Doors & History: the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom.”

213 Aldred, “Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom,” p. 29ff.

the queens of Mentuhotep II, as well as in the tomb of his principal wife, Queen Nefru.²¹⁴ The raised relief on these monuments stands out boldly from the background,²¹⁵ but the surface of the relief is relatively plain and flat,²¹⁶ in a fashion not dissimilar to reliefs in the second Old Kingdom style from the reign of Pepy II (see page 75).²¹⁷

For that matter, the lasting influence of the Second Style is readily detectable in the relief sculpture of King Mentuhotep II from the sanctuary in the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahri, which was decorated after the reunification of Egypt.²¹⁸ The relief is low, the surface quite flat with musculature restricted to the legs, the fingers overly elongated.²¹⁹ The facial features of the king exhibit the large, slanting eyes with the inner canthus cutting into the nose (although the eyes are again banded), the naso-labial fold, the rimmed lips, and the elegant vertical ear with detached helix of the earlier style.²²⁰ In addition, the nose descends directly from his forehead.

Rita Freed believes that the inspiration for the style of the Intef kings, as seen in both royal and private works from the Dra Abu'l Naga cemetery, the style too which was ultimately adopted by Mentuhotep II in his pre-reunification style, came from Dendera.²²¹ The figures on the steles from Dendera are executed on a relatively small scale, but it is perhaps possible to detect the influence of the second Old Kingdom style in the large eyes, naso-labial folds, rimmed mouth, vertical ear, detailed treatment of jewelry and costume, and elongated limbs of the figures, for example, of the official Nefer-seshem-pepy: Seneni²²² at the very end of Dynasty VIII and of the Overseer of Priests Mereri²²³ in Dynasty IX.²²⁴ The Dendera stele may well have been the inspiration for the early Eleventh Dynasty style. Even so, it is doubtful that the relief style at Dendera could have inspired the finely drawn facial features of Mentuhotep II. Freed agrees that the sculptors in charge of the king's Deir el-Bahri mortuary temple would have looked to monumental Old Kingdom royal works rather than small-scale imitations of them by private individuals.²²⁵ For the time being, the immediate source of that inspiration must remain unknown.

Even though it is generally agreed that the basis for the new, post-reunification style as seen in the reliefs from the upper and lower colonnades, hall, and sanctuary of the Deir el-Bahari temple were Memphite works of the Old Kingdom and Heracleopolitan Period, and there is little question that the Old Kingdom Memphite canon and the full eighteen-square grid was adopted in the Deir el-Bahari temple reliefs,²²⁶ the influence of the Second Style of the late Old

²¹⁴ See e.g. Elizabeth Riefstahl, "Two Hairdressers of the Eleventh Dynasty," *JNES* 15 (1956), pls. 8–13, 14C. For the style of the tombs in question, see Freed, *MKER*, pp. 33–37. Freed, *ibid.*, p. 35, notes the raised relief decoration of the queens's chapels features a "fussier" decoration than Queen Nefru's tomb (see e.g. Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997], fig. 78), and this too may reflect the detailed rendition of jewelry in relief in the Second Style of the Old Kingdom.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²¹⁷ As Freed (*ibid.*, pp. 33, 35) has observed, the raised relief decoration of the shrines and sarcophagi of Mentuhotep's queens exhibits tighter and fussier incised decoration than the tomb of Nefru, in which the incised decoration is sparser in terms of both density and amount.

²¹⁸ Freed, *MKER*, p. 30

²¹⁹ E.g. Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el Bahari*, vol. 2: *Die Wandreliefs des Sanktuars* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1974), pls. 57a, c and 58a.

²²⁰ E.g. *ibid.*, pls. 15–16 [4980] = Aidan Dodson and Dyan Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), figure on p. 82.

²²¹ Freed, *MKER*, pp. 154–58

²²² Petrie, *Dendereh*, pls. 7, 7A.

²²³ *Ibid.*, pls. 8, 8B.

²²⁴ For the date of these two individuals, see Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 85–91, 119–28,

²²⁵ *MKER*, p. 162.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 158–60.

Kingdom clearly continued to be felt in the facial treatment and the flatter, less three dimensional style of the post-unification reliefs.²²⁷

At a somewhat later date, in the early Twelfth Dynasty, the portraits of the deceased in the chapels of Ihy in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara show characteristics of the Second Style.²²⁸ In Ihy's case a direct inspiration is near at hand—in the Sixth Dynasty tomb chapel of the vizier Tjetju, which is located immediately behind Ihy's chapel and was itself executed in the Second Style of the late Sixth Dynasty (see pages 70–71).²²⁹

Ihy's raised relief is low and flat and devoid of anatomical details.²³⁰ On the other hand, the details of the jewelry are carefully indicated. The eye is large, almond-shaped, and slanting, and the pronounced inner canthus cuts into the nose; the naso-labial fold curves down towards the cheek; the lips are rimmed; and the ear, which adopts the elegant form it has in the Second Style (with conjoined helix) is set vertically.²³¹

Ihy's draftsman has not followed his model slavishly, however. Ihy wears a half-goffered kilt, while Tjetju's is quite plain. Moreover, Ihy wears a shoulder-length echeloned wig, whereas Tjetju's is covered with rows of overlapping locks.

Freed notes of Ihy's physiognomy that strikingly similar facial features, including their size relative to the breadth of the face, are found on a lintel from the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht.²³² The conventions of the second Old Kingdom style that persist here are the slanting eyes, the naso-labial lines, and the rimmed mouth. The raised relief is also low and relatively flat, and other examples of relief from the same reign reveal that the surfaces are largely devoid of modeling.²³³ Details are added in paint, not carved, as they are in the best examples of the earlier style. All this changes with the reign of Senusert I, when reliefs are higher and more rounded and facial and leg muscles are plastically modeled.²³⁴ In contrast to the royal relief of Amenemhat I, which continued very much in the late Eleventh Dynasty tradition,²³⁵ and which in its turn harkened back to the second Old Kingdom style, the royal relief of Senusert I returned to the earlier Old Kingdom style of the late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties for its inspiration.²³⁶

227 For the lower post-reunification relief with relatively flat planes, see *ibid.*, pp. 40–41, 162. A clear difference between Old Kingdom reliefs in the Second Style and the post-reunification reliefs, is the preference of the Theban sculptors to indicate the decorative details of jewelry in paint rather than relief; see *ibid.*

228 Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pl. 39.

229 For other examples of direct copying from the neighboring Old Kingdom tomb of Hetep, see Freed, "Tombs of Ihy and Hetep," p. 212.

230 What appears to be modelling on the near knee may perhaps be just a scratch.

231 Ihy's head is reproduced on a larger scale in *ibid.*, pl. 33.

232 Freed, "Tombs of Ihy and Hetep," p. 209.

233 Freed, *MKER*, p. 192.

234 *Ibid.*, pp. 202–203.

235 *Ibid.*, p. 191; *idem*, "A Private Stela from Naga-ed-Der and Relief Style of the Reign of Amenemhat I," in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in honor of Dows Dunham* (Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), pp. 71–72.

236 The present article has been handicapped by the general absence of good quality photographs of many of the monuments included. Indeed, many of the older tomb publications consist of line drawings only. Regrettably, I have only been able to examine a minority of the reliefs discussed above at first-hand. The importance of good photographs for the study of style can not be over emphasized.

APPENDIX: ADDITIONAL RELIEFS IN THE SECOND STYLE

A. EXCAVATED RELIEFS

- (1) Jamb of false door of High Priest of Ptah, Tjety, Saqqara: D. Wildung, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptische Kunst*, Munich, 1976, Gl. 13, photograph on p. 44 (= Mariette, *Mastabas*, A. Mariette, *Les mastaba de l'Ancien Empire*, edited by G. Maspero (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1889), p. 147 (C 17).
- (2) Jambs and architrave of Ptahemhat: Ptahi, Saqqara: Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, "Bericht über die Grabungen des ägyptischen Antikendienstes im Osten der Ptahhotepgruppe in Saqqara in Jahre 1975," *MDAIK* 36 (1980), pl. 83.
- (3) Architrave with seated relief figure of the *imy-ht hmw-ntr mrt Ppy*, Pepy-mer-heryshef: Merheryshef: Meri, and with a minimum of five standing statues of the deceased in niches above, Abusir; Miroslav Bárta and Kamil Vodera, *Memories of 4500 Years Ago* (Prague: Foto-Grafika Kamil Vodera, 2002), frontispiece and fig. 32; Petra Vlcková, "Abusir South at the End of the Old Kingdom," in Kathryn Piquette and Serena Love eds., *Current Research in Egyptology 2003* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), pp. 169–76, fig. 7.
- (4) Façade of tomb of Hau-nefer: Hau, Tabbet al-Guech, South Saqqara; Bernard Matthieu, "Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale," *BIFAO* 103 (2003), pp. 568–70, photograph on cover.

B. RELIEFS IN MUSEUMS

- (1) Two blocks with figures of User: Borchardt, Ludwig. *Denkmäler. des Alten Reiches (Außer den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo* 2, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Cairo: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1964), pp. 8–9, pls. 56, 57.
- (2) Anonymous relief of man and wife, Egyptian Museum, Cairo: Zahi Hawass, *Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum*, Supreme Council of Antiquities Edition (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002): photograph on p. 20.
- (3) Relief of *smr wꜣty hry-ḥbt mꜣꜣ* [...]hesuf; *Werke Ägyptischer Kunst von der Frühzeit bis zur Spätantike*, Sales Catalogue, Auction 49, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel, 27 June 1974, cat. no. 19; Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois, Champagne-Urbana; accession number unknown.
- (4) Relief of *imy-ht hmw-ntr Mn-nfr-Ppy* Senedjemib: Marie-Louise Buhl, "Un bas-relief égyptien au Musée nationale de Copenhague," *Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Dunand I = Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth* 45 (1969), pp. 197–207 (pl. 8b of the present article).
- (5) Relief of husband of Irti; Israel Museum, Jerusalem, no. 91.71.263; Ronald J. Leprohon, "The Sixth Dynasty False Door of the Priestess of Hathor Irti," *JARCE* 31 (1994), pp. 41–47, fig. 3.
- (6) Relief of Meryre-anekh: B. Piotrovsky, N. Landa, and I. Lapis, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Hermitage* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1974), cat. no. 17.
- (7) Façade of tomb of Qar: Pepy-nefer, British Museum, London, nos. 1319A, B: T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, vol. 1, 2d. ed. (London: British Museum, 1961), pl. 33 = Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pl. 48.

- (8) Svetlana Hodjash and Oleg Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1982), cat. no. 18, fig. on p. 55, *hnty-š mꜥ Mn-nh-[Pp]*, Khuy.
- (9) Upper part of table scene of *hry-tp nswt, zš c-nswt* Ankhi; *Antiquities and Islamic Art*, Sale Catalogue No. 6437, Sotheby's, New York, June 12, 1993, cat. no. 17, now on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.
- (10) Anonymous relief: Frances Follin Jones, "The Princeton Art Museum: Antiquities Received in Recent Years," *Archaeology* 7, no. 4 (December, 1964), figure on p. 238 (pl. 8d of the present article). Princeton University Art Museum. Museum Purchase. Carl Otto von Kienbusch, Jr. Memorial.
- (11) Side-pieces from niche-chapel of Khnum-hesuf: Khnumenti, North Carolina Museum of Art, Winston-Salem G.72.2.1/2: William Kelly Simpson, "Two Egyptian Bas Reliefs of the Late Old Kingdom," *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* 11, no. 3 (December, 1972), figs. 1, 2.

C. ART MARKET

- (1) Jamb from left-side of false door belonging to Tjety: *Egyptian, Classical, and Near Eastern Antiquities and Islamic Works of Art*, Sale Number 5145, March 1/2, 1984, cat. no. 110; present whereabouts unknown.
- (2) Reliefs of *smr wꜥty; hry-hbt dbst* Khui: L'Ibis Gallery, New York City, November 24/25, 1986; present whereabouts unknown. On the left side, the owner's son *zsb zš* User, and opposite the *šps nswt*, Khui, burning incense before their father.
- (3) Segmented Architrave of *wꜥb ꜥ Pth* Ptahshepses: Impy: *The Breitbart Collection of Ancient Glass, Egyptian, Western Asiatic and Classical Antiquities*, Sale Catalogue, Sotheby's, New York, June 20, 1990, cat. no. 11; present whereabouts unknown; for a false door of the same individual, see Oscar White Muscarella ed., *Ladders to Heaven: Art Treasures from Lands of the Bible* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), cat. no. 2.
- (4) Relief of Akhethetep: Ipi at table: L'Ibis Gallery, 23 East 67th Street, New York City, 1993; present whereabouts unknown. The table does not bear the customary half-loaves of bread; instead it is heaped with food offerings in a fashion similar to Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, frontispiece, pl. 4a, fig. 18a; fig. 17.
- (5) Entrance thicknesses of *hry-hbt; hnty-š Mn-nfr-Ppy* Ankhnebef: Hadji Baba Ancient Art, 34A Davies Street, London W1Y 1LG, 1999; present whereabouts unknown (pl. 8c of the present article).
- (6) Relief with offering bearer and part's of two others: *Collection de Monsieur Georges Halphen*, Sales Catalogue, Christie's, Paris, 20 November 2003, cat. no. 526; present whereabouts unknown.

D. PROBABLE EXAMPLES

- (1) North wall of Khentika/Ikhekhi II: James, *Khentika*, pl. 43; for the personage in question, see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pp. 1–6; Brovarski, "False Doors and History: The Sixth Dynasty," p. 118.

E. RELATED RELIEFS

- (1) Side-piece from niche-chapel of *wr 5* Kheredni: Jéquier, *Tomb. part.*, pl. 15; for the same individual, see Labrousse, "La nécropole de la famille royale de Pepy I^{er}," fig. 6, fragmentary royal decree from the mortuary temple of Queen Ankhnespepy II.
- (2) Right-hand side-piece of niche-chapel of Ishetji: Drioton, Et. and Lauer, J-Ph. "Un groupe de tombes à Saqqarah: Icheti, Nefer-khouou-Ptah, Sebek-em-khent et Ânghi," *ASAE* 55 (1958), fig. 4.
- (3) Block found north of pyramid I a, with representation of Nakhti, perhaps Qar's brother, seated before offering table, Boston, Obj. Reg. 24-12-135; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pp. 12-13, fig. 9 a; pl. 34.
- (4) Block with upper part of male figure probably from Qar and Idu complex: *ibid.*, pl.34d.