

THE ORIGIN OF SOME UNIDENTIFIED OLD
KINGDOM RELIEFS

WILLIAM STEVENSON SMITH

[Reprinted from the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY, Vol. XLVI (1942), No. 4]

THE ORIGIN OF SOME UNIDENTIFIED OLD KINGDOM RELIEFS

THROUGHOUT the nineteenth century, which witnessed the awakening of scientific interest in the history and art of ancient Egypt, little effort was made to ascertain the source of the many fragments of Old Kingdom reliefs which found their way into European museums. The painstaking records kept by Lepsius, and to a lesser degree the notes made by Mariette, are outstanding exceptions to this careless treatment of the monuments, and anticipate the careful documentation provided by the excavator at the present day. The final publication of Mariette's excavations at Saqqarah was never completed and we must depend upon his rough notes published after his death. His most interesting reliefs were to have been represented by illustrations which were never prepared. Therefore, much of the most important material is that to which the briefest reference is given. While many of these reliefs were brought to the Cairo Museum and can be identified in Mariette's *Mastabas*, other pieces passed into European collections and a few pieces came to America, such as the fragments from the mastaba of Semenekhuw-ptah in Brooklyn from the Abbott Collection of the New York Historical Society. Most of the sculpture found by Lepsius was removed to the Berlin Museum, where it can be easily identified from the descriptions and drawings in his great *Denkmäler*. That which was left *in situ* at Saqqarah has either disappeared, or still lies buried, while the Giza chapels have been re-excavated by Prof. Junker and Dr. Reisner. Very little of the Old Kingdom material published by Lepsius is, therefore, to be found anywhere outside Egypt, except at Berlin. An outstanding exception is the tablet of Sethuw which came into the possession of Mr. Abbott and passed from there into the Brooklyn Museum with the collection of the New York Historical Society. Curiously enough, while the greater part of the chapel of Sethuw is still standing at Giza (G 4710), the lower part of the false-door from which the Brooklyn tablet came was taken to Berlin.

Other pieces, some of them from mastabas later excavated by Mariette, such as the reliefs of Shery in Florence, Oxford (presented in 1683!), the British Museum and Aix-en-Provence, were brought to Europe at some undetermined early date. Still other fragments seem to have been hoarded from an earlier time by illicit excavators and dealers and only made their appearance in the early years of the present century. An extreme case of the scattering of reliefs from the same tomb is presented by the Giza chapel of Nofer (G 2110), the remains of which were excavated by the Harvard-Boston Expedition in 1905. The plunderers had left one door-jamb and parts of the inner walls, most of which are now in Boston. The other door-jamb had been taken to the Louvre, while parts of the east and west walls were in Copenhagen and the tablet of the false-door was in the Barracco Collection in Rome.¹ Some hint of the time that the tomb was plundered is given by the fact that the Barracco piece was a gift of the Khedive Ismail to Prince Napoleon (i.e., probably some time be-

¹ See the drawings of the chapel with the fragments restored to their proper places in Dr. Reisner's forthcoming volume, *History of the Giza Necropolis* i.

tween 1863 and 1870).² The two large wall fragments were already in Copenhagen in 1889, but I have been unable to determine when the door-jamb reached the Louvre.³ The fragments of painting which formed part of the scene containing the famous geese in the tomb of Atet at Medum were removed by Vasalli, one of Mariette's assistants, and are almost as widely scattered as the Nofer reliefs.⁴ Something similar has also occurred in the case of the reliefs from the chapel of Ny-ankh-nesuwt. This was presumably at Saqqarah and is to be dated probably to the first half of Dynasty VI from the names of the subsidiary figures ("Unas-lives," "Isesy-shines," "Tety- . . ."). Part of these reliefs are still in the possession of Dr. Jacob Hirsch in New York, and from photographs which he kindly allowed me to examine, it is possible to identify pieces in the Museums of Cleveland, Kansas City, Worcester, Honolulu, and the Fogg Museum.⁵

The identification of many of these stray fragments has been undertaken, particularly by Capart in a succession of publications, by Borchardt in the *Catalogue Général* of the Cairo Museum and Miss Rosalind Moss in the *Topographical Bibliography*. There are still several fragments, however, which can either be fitted to a more famous piece or assigned to a known tomb at Saqqarah. In the following pages I should like to set forth the evidence for the assignment of these pieces to the tombs of Mery, Tep-m-ankh and Akhet-a'a at Saqqarah. I should like also to add a few fragments which, owing to the division of the Western Cemetery at Giza between two Expeditions, fell to the share of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, although it is now evident that they had been dragged by ancient plunderers from the well known tomb of Prince Hemiuwn (G 4000) and the chapel of Akhy (G 4750), both excavated by Prof. Junker.

1. THE RELIEFS OF MERY

In 1908, Raymond Weill called attention to three pieces of relief in the Louvre from the tomb of a man named Mery.⁶ These are grouped under the number B 49 in De Rougé's Catalogue of 1876, where it is said that they were found by Mariette in the tomb of Mery. To these pieces Weill added a small fragment in 1910 which he purchased, together with a lintel from the Saqqarah tomb of Kha-bauw-sokar.⁷ This strengthens the logical assumption that the tomb of Mery, excavated by Mariette, was in the northern part of the Saqqarah field, an assumption which is made practically certain by the fact that the Cairo piece described below is entered in the *Livre d'Entrée* of the Cairo Museum as "*provenant d'un hypogée d'Abusir, 1858.*"

² Barracco and Helbig, *La Collection Barracco*, 1893, p. 11.

³ It does not appear in Paul Pierret's revision of de Rougé's *Description sommaire des salles du Musée Égyptien* in 1895. Could it also have been a possession of Prince Napoleon?

⁴ See the reconstruction of this wall, as well as other fragments in *JEA*. 1937, pp. 17 ff.

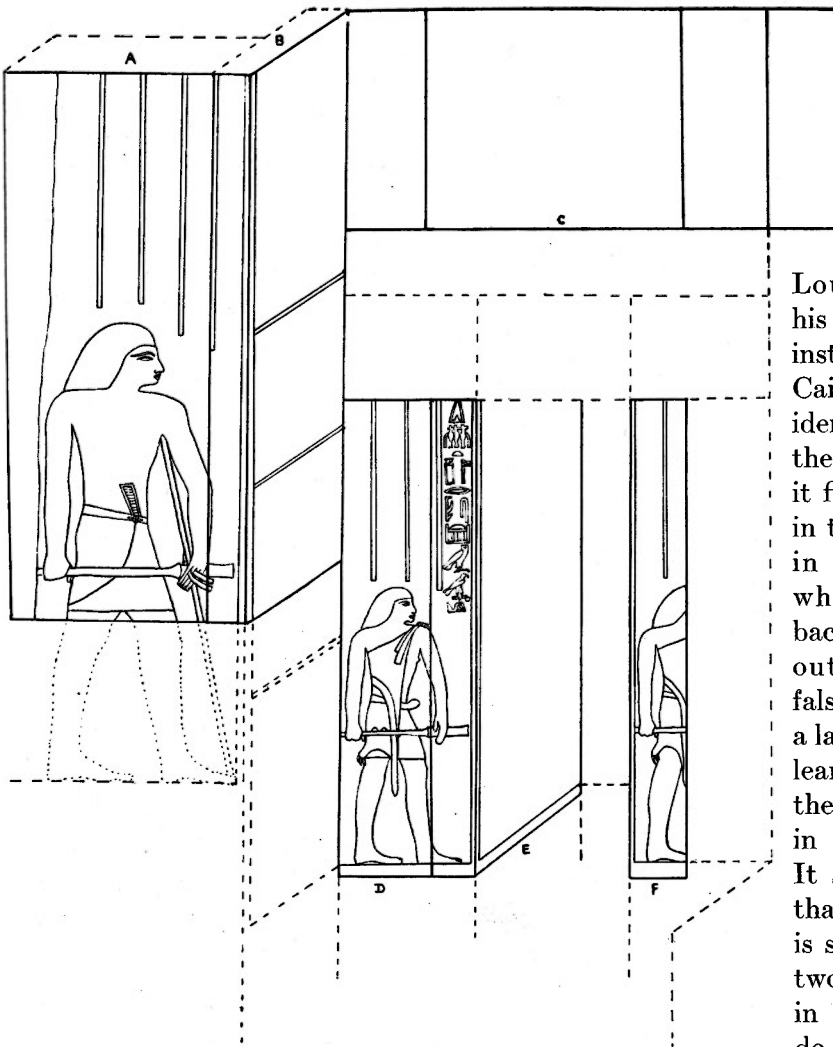
⁵ See the *Bull. Cleveland Museum of Art*, December, 1930; Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 204 (Kansas City); *Bull. Worcester Art Museum* xxiii, p. 9; *Honolulu Academy of Arts*, 1937, p. 59; *Bull. Fogg Art Museum*, March, 1936, p. 30.

⁶ *Ile et IIIe Dynasties Égyptiennes*, p. 300, gives a drawing of the tablet. Details of the large figure of Mery are published in photographs in Boreux, *La Sculpture Égyptienne du Louvre*, pl. VI, and "Tel", *Photographic Encyclopaedia of Art* i, pl. 7. The minor figures on the thickness of the stone are drawn in Clère, *Mélanges Maspero*, pl. accompanying, p. 753.

⁷ *Sphinx* xv, p. 6. For the identification of the tomb of Kha-bauw-sokar with Firth's mastaba No. 3073 in the Archaic Cemetery at Saqqarah, see Reisner, *Tomb Development*, pp. 203, 267, 387.

Objects from the Archaic Cemetery are often said to come from Abusir, since it overlooks the modern village of Abusir, while the site of the Fifth-Dynasty Pyramid field usually given that name is hardly more than a mile away.

The Cairo relief to which this provenance is given formed the side of the inner niche of a false-door (fig. 3). It shows the figure of a woman with the same name as the



wife of Mery, Ny-wazet-ankh. The little naked figure of a boy accompanying her may not be the same as the lad on the

Louvre relief, for his name is Mery-ib, instead of Mery. The Cairo relief is not only identical in style with the Louvre relief, but it fits a second relief in the Field Museum in Chicago (fig. 3) which formed the back of the adjoining outer niche of the false-door. This shows a large figure of Mery leaning on his staff in the same attitude as in the Louvre relief. It should be noticed that the construction is similar, in that the two Louvre slabs join in the same way as do the Chicago and

FIG. 1.—SUGGESTED RESTORATION OF BLOCKS OF MERY, SCALE CA. 1/20

Cairo pieces, forming a junction on the outer faces that crosses the man's arm and staff. This, added to the great similarities of style and representation, makes it very probable that all the pieces belong to the same false-door. The three Louvre pieces would then form the west wall of the chapel south of the false-door (fig. 4), the south side of the outer niche (fig. 4) and the tablet over the false-door (fig. 2). The Chicago piece and the adjoining narrow edge of the Cairo slab would then form the back of the outer niche on the south side, while the other surface of the Cairo piece forms the south face of the inner niche. This arrangement can be more clearly seen in the reconstructed drawing (fig. 1).

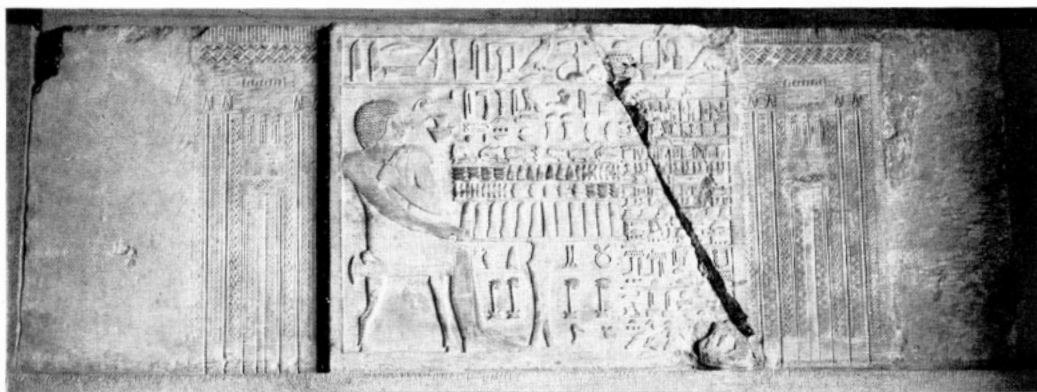


FIG. 2.—RELIEF OF MERY: STONE C IN THE LOUVRE (PHOTOGRAPH BY COURTESY OF DR. DRIOTON)

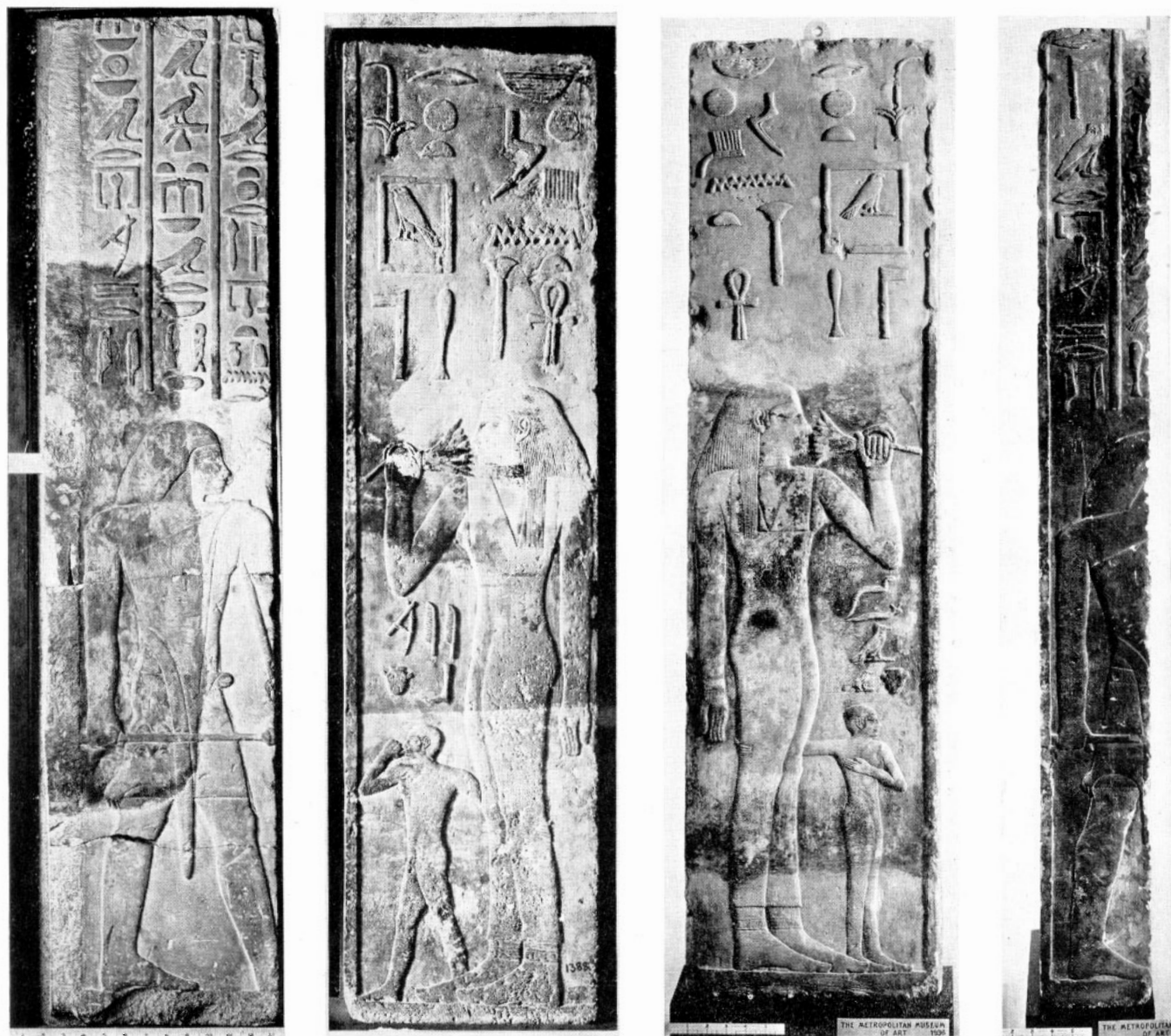


FIG. 3.—RELIEFS OF MERY. ON LEFT, STONE D IN CHICAGO (COURTESY OF THE FIELD MUSEUM); STONE E IN CAIRO. ON RIGHT, STONE F IN NEW YORK (COURTESY OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM)

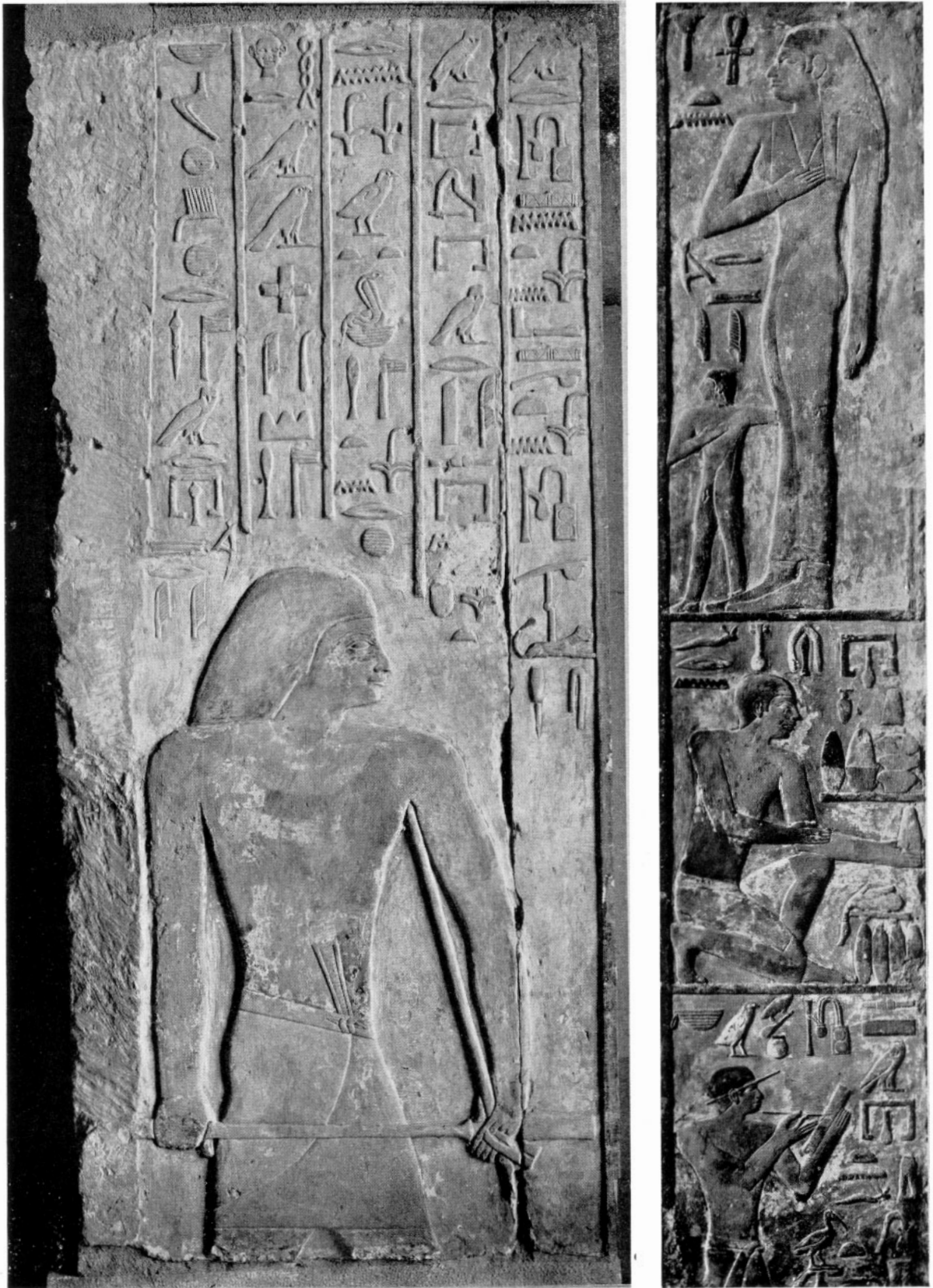


FIG. 4.—RELIEFS OF MERY: STONES A AND B IN THE LOUVRE (PHOTOGRAPHS BY COURTESY OF DR. DRIOTON)

Clearly forming a pendant to the Cairo piece is a slab of the same size in the Metropolitan Museum which shows an identical figure of Ny-wazet-ankh, this time accompanied by a daughter, Zefa-ib-sheh (fig. 3, on right). The Metropolitan figure faces to the right, while the one in Cairo faces to the left, and it seems almost certain that they must flank each other on the side faces of the inner niche, both women facing out into the chapel, as is customary. The Metropolitan piece bears on its outer face the back of a figure similar to that on the Chicago piece, but also facing to the right (fig. 3, on right). A missing block on the right would correspond to the position of the Chicago piece, with the same joining of flat slabs as on the other side. Although I know of no other case where both figures on the backs of the outer niche face in the same direction, I can think of no other solution than to place this figure on the north side of the back of the outer niche. A glance at fig. 1 will show that with the stones thus arranged the missing drum would close the space above the women's figures in the inner niche, but that the flat faces of its supporting pieces would provide sufficient space on the backs of the outer niche for the missing upper parts of the columns of inscription on the Chicago and New York pieces. I am unable to suggest a placing for the small Louvre fragment. It has only a fragmentary part of two vertical columns of titles, each ending in the name of Mery and arranged differently from the inscription on the outer face of the Louvre stone. It is therefore unlikely that it was over a figure flanking that in the Louvre. Such a figure probably existed, since most Saqqarah chapels in this district are of cruciform type, with the false-door in the middle of the west wall and the entrance opposite it in the middle of the east wall. Restored thus, with flanking figures on each side of the niche, the chapel would have had a width of about 2.30 m., which accords well with other chapels found by Mariette. The small Louvre fragment could have come from one of the other walls of the chapel, which presumably were decorated.

While I think the reader will agree with me that further argument is not necessary to prove that these various fragments all come from the same tomb, he will undoubtedly notice that there are two serious objections to the reconstruction shown in fig. 1. The first has already been mentioned — the fact that the two figures of Mery on the back of the outer niche face in the same direction. While I admit that this occurs in no other case, I can see no other possible combination of the stones. The creation of two niches does not solve the problem, because two figures facing out on the back of the outer niche are as unheard of as two figures facing the same way. They should both face in toward the inner niche. The second objection is not so serious as the first, but it is none the less troublesome. This is that no amount of juggling with the space to be restored for the cross-bar and drum will bring the base-line of the large figure on the west wall at the same level with the figures on the backs of the outer niche and sides of the inner. By restoring an extra figure below the scribe on the side of the outer niche, it is possible to bring this to the same line as the adjoining back of the outer niche, but the large figure on the west wall stands on a base line some centimeters above this. While this is by no means impossible, it is unusual. I offer the accompanying restoration in the hope that a better arrangement may occur to someone else. I am myself convinced that the pieces all belong together

in one false-door, because of the similar use of adjoining flat slabs in the construction, as well as the identity in style.

Weill dated the reliefs of Mery to the reign of Chephren, because of the elements of palace-façade panelling on the flanges of the tablet. Since this and the similar tablet of Shery in Oxford resembled two stelae in the British Museum of a man named Thethy, who was a priest of Chephren, Weill assigned all three to Chephren's reign. It is not certain that the British Museum stelae, which are entirely carved in sunk relief, are as early as the time of Chephren, and I am not convinced that the occurrence of palace-façade panelling on the tablet is sufficient evidence for dating. Nevertheless, for other reasons, I am inclined to accept Weill's dating of the chapels of Shery and Mery to about the middle of Dynasty IV. Although the drum and cross-bar of the Cairo stela of Shery are in sunk relief, the lower part of this niche and other fragments from his tomb (particularly the large figures in Aix) are in a heavy bold relief which resembles that of Mery.⁸ It is a slightly provincial style that one might expect to find continuing the heavy bold reliefs of the transitional period from Dynasties III-IV at Medum, Dahshur and Saqqarah, at a time when greater technical dexterity was being shown in the new royal cemetery at Giza. Also, the use of the linen list on the tablet is rare after the reign of Chephren. That of Nofer (G 2110) of that time is not unlike Mery's. It is difficult to place the Saqqarah tombs of Dynasty IV, because so few have been preserved, but they retained the simple chapel of cruciform type with either a palace-façade stela or a plain false-door in the west wall. I should group the reliefs of Mery and those of Shery with the cruciform chapel of Thenty (Mariette B 1), the wooden panel of Mer-ib in the Louvre (Capart, *Documents* ii, pl. 25), the chapel of Ka-m-heset (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* i, p. 5) and the paintings in Firth's mastaba 3080. This is a very short list which should be increased by further excavation. Of the reliefs, the sculpture of Mery is certainly the finest in this group.

2. THE CHAPEL OF TEP-M-ANKH

A block in Cairo (No. 1556),⁹ from the chapel of Tep-m-ankh excavated by Mariette (*Mastabas*, D 11), has long been known for its amusing and remarkable scene of boys and monkeys which calls to mind the earlier panels of children playing with animals at Medum.¹⁰ It has been suggested that another block in Cairo (No. 1541) and two pieces in University College, London, also came from this tomb,¹¹ but no attempt has been made to fit these various fragments together. Mariette's brief description of the tomb suggests that these reliefs come from the east wall of a long corridor which opened at its southern end into an east-west offering room. A large false-door, bearing the name of Tep-m-ankh, which formed the west wall of this offering room was brought to Cairo (No. 1564), as were two stelae from the west wall of the corridor. The southern stela was prepared for the wife Nuwb-hetep (No. 1415), while the northern door was inscribed with the name of the son, Hem-min (No. 1417).¹² Tep-m-ankh was a priest of Cheops and Mycerinus, and a priest in the

⁸ *Mon Piot*, xxv, pp. 273 ff, pl. 22.

⁹ Maspero, *Musée Égyptien* ii, pl. XI.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Medum*, pls. XVII, XXIV.

¹¹ Borchardt, *Catalogue Général* xlvi, pl. 52; Capart, *Récueil de Monuments* i, pls. XII, XIII.

¹² Borchardt, *op. cit.*, pls. 19, 20.

pyramid temples of Sneferuw, Chephren, Mycerinus, Weserkaf and Sahura, while his son was a priest of Mycerinus and served in the pyramid temple of Weserkaf. It is not improbable that this tomb was decorated in the reign of Sahura. Certainly it belongs to the first half of Dynasty V.

One of the important titles held by Tep-m-ankh is *šd',wty md',t ntr pr-'*; (Sealer of the Divine Book of the Palace). In fact, it is the only title given to him in the inscription on the wife's stela which refers to the preparation of this stone for her. Therefore, it seems possible that a relief in the Musée Guimet in Paris which belonged to a man bearing this title and with the partly destroyed name: . . . -m-ankh also comes from Mariette's tomb D 11.^{12a} In common with Tep-m-ankh he also was a *hry-ššt'*, and *hm ntr* of a pyramid or sun temple, the name of which is unfortunately destroyed. The block shows the upper part of a standing figure who is "viewing the gifts (*ndt-hr*)." This implies the presentation of food offerings or live animals in the registers to the right, of which parts of two are preserved. A fragmentary figure of an attendant heads each register. On such slight evidence it is impossible, from Mariette's brief description, to assign the block to a position in the chapel. It is equally impossible to prove that it comes from this chapel, although the possibility remains likely.

The blocks in Cairo and University College can be more confidently assigned to the east wall of the corridor. In fact, with the assistance of a smaller piece now in Brussels, it is possible to fit them together to form a considerable portion of the wall surface. A glance at fig. 5 is sufficient, I think, to convince one that these are joined correctly. The Brussels piece¹³ was formerly in the von Bissing Collection. It was purchased together with two other small fragments.¹⁴ One of these, showing part of two figures pulling the cord of a bird-trap, cannot be placed for certain in the tomb of Tep-m-ankh, but the other comes from the same east wall as do our other fragments. It shows part of two small figures of women, with their names Chemet and Pepy, which are described by Mariette as standing behind the large figure of Tep-m-ankh on that wall. The Brussels fragment shows the lower part of the figures of scribes and peasants in the judgment scene on the Cairo block No. 1541, where the farmers are being dragged before the stewards of the estate because of their failure to pay the taxes. In the second register, a man has taken a fish from a large pile and is handing it to a second man on the Cairo block No. 1556. This scene of barter adjoins the representations of the boys with baboons, and is continued in the lower register on the University College block, where various objects are being exchanged at market. The craftwork scene and the sailing boat on the other University College block (fig. 6) cannot be joined to these other fragments, but Mariette's description seems to make it certain that it comes from this wall.

Curiously enough, among the reliefs found recently by Prof. Selim Hassan in the causeway corridor leading to the Unas temple at Saqqarah, there is an almost exact parallel to this scene, although the various elements are differently grouped. In

^{12a} *Annales du Musée Guimet* 32, pl. LXV.

¹³ *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* x, p. 138.

¹⁴ *Reliefs des alten und mittleren Reichs aus Sammlung von Bissing* ii, *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bervordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving Te's-Gravenhage* ix, No. 2, pp. 5, 6, figs. 3-5.

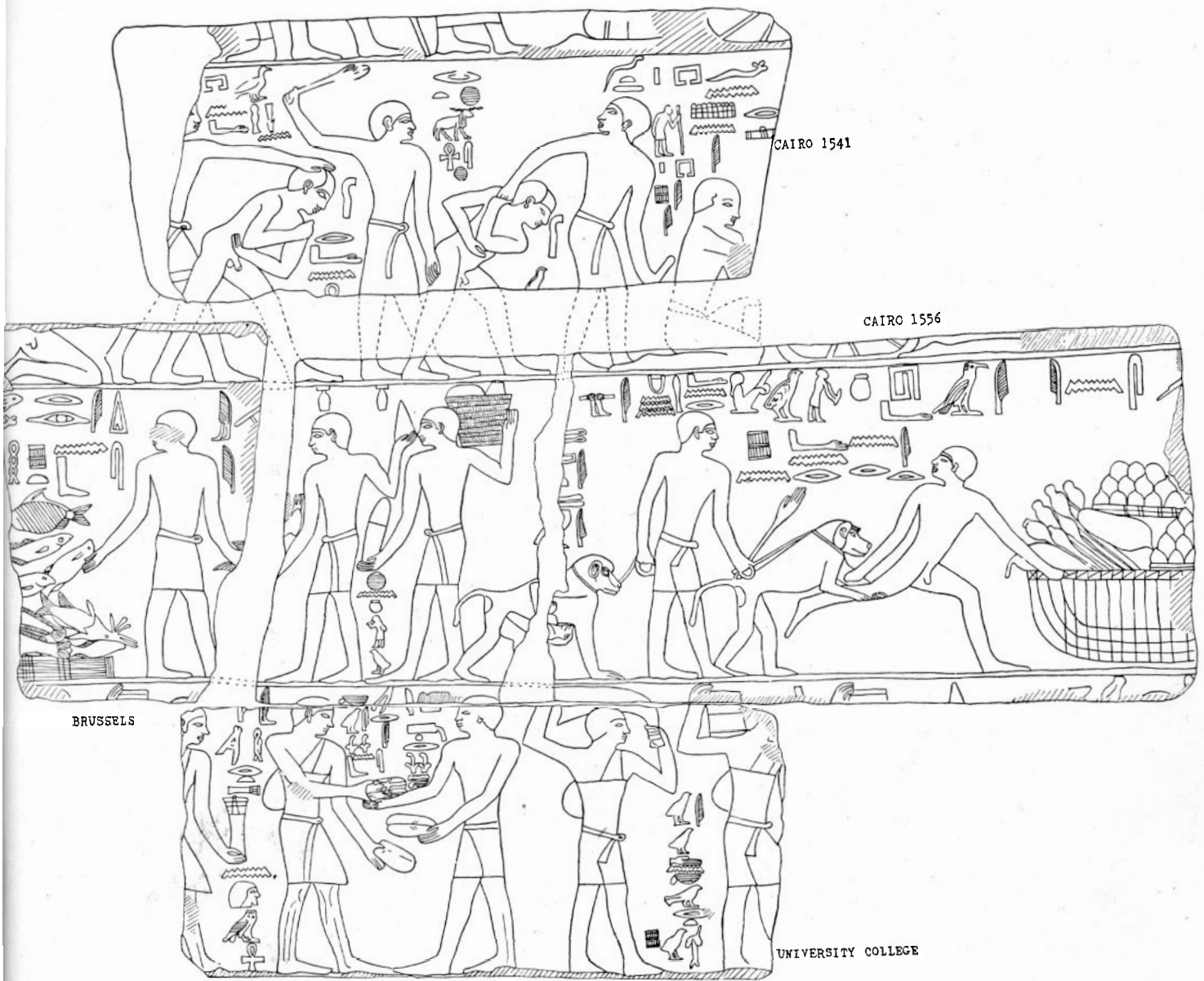


FIG. 5.—FITTING BLOCKS FROM THE CHAPEL OF TEP-M-ANKH

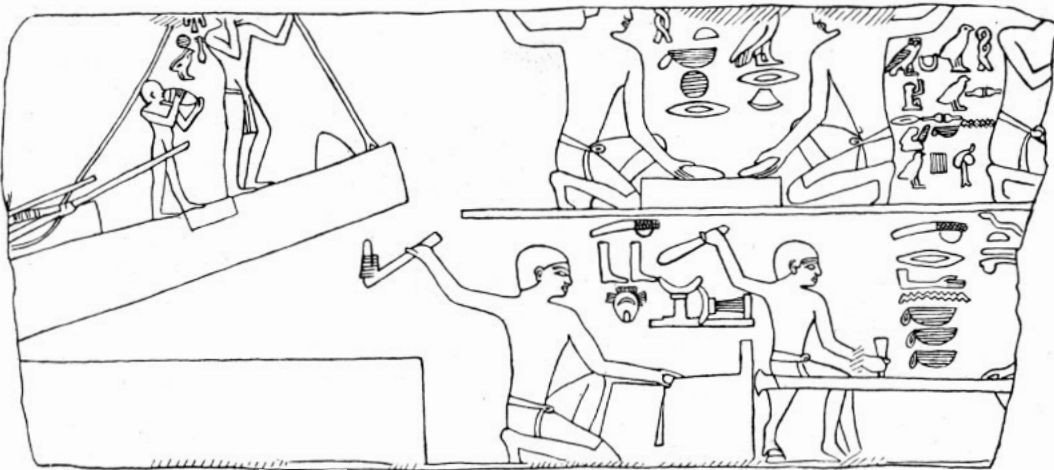


FIG. 6.—BLOCK IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, PROBABLY FROM EAST WALL OF CORRIDOR OF TEP-M-ANKH

the Unas reliefs only the lowest register of the wall is preserved and here are shown, on the left, men fashioning metal vessels (fig. 8). Then follows a man cleaning fish and a man who trades two cakes (?) for fish. This is separated from a further scene of barter by a man and a boy who hold two baboons on a leash, while the man takes a head of lettuce from a great basket of provisions similar to one in the Tep-m-anekh scene. Both the representation of the baboons in this connection, and the men trading various articles on the right, closely resemble the treatment of the subject in the Tep-m-anekh scene. The Unas relief is certainly later than the one of Tep-m-anekh, so that the latter cannot have been copied from the royal example. Both seem to go back to an earlier lost original.

3. THE ARCHAIC CHAPEL OF AKHET-A'A

The sculpture from the tomb of Akhet-a'a was collected by Weill and published in his *Ile et IIIe Dynasties Égyptiennes*, pp. 262-273, pls. VI, VII. The best known piece is a beautiful door-jamb in the Louvre,¹⁵ but there is also in the Louvre a fragment from the opposite jamb of the chapel entrance, while in Berlin are pieces of a false-door and a fragment of a statue. The Louvre pieces B 1 and 2 have long been in that collection, that is, as early as the 1849 edition of de Rougé's Catalogue, and their source is unknown. Two of the four Berlin fragments from the false-door were found by Lepsius, built into a house in the modern village of Abusir,¹⁶ but whether the other two pieces and the statue came from the same place, I do not know. I think it can be taken as fairly certain that these reliefs come from one of the cruciform chapels of the nearby Archaic Cemetery at Saqqarah. In style they are closely akin to the false-doors of Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep. They are somewhat less nearly allied to the Third Dynasty wooden panels of Hesy-ra and the royal reliefs of Zoser. On the other hand, they begin to show certain characteristics of the bolder reliefs of Iy-nefer, Firth's No. 3076 and Methen. I should place them with the reliefs of Kha-bauw-sokar, at the beginning of that series of monuments at the close of Dynasty III which ended in Dynasty IV with the Medum sculpture of Ra-hotep.

The Ägyptologisches Institut of the University of Leipzig has a small fragment with three vertical lines of inscription which I believe belongs with these other pieces (fig. 7). In size (50

¹⁵ See "Tel," *Photographic Encyclopaedia of Art* i, pls. 8, 9.

¹⁶ Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Textband* i, p. 138.



FIG. 7. — FRAGMENT OF RELIEF IN LEIPZIG
(PHOTOGRAPH BY COURTESY OF PROF.
WOLF)

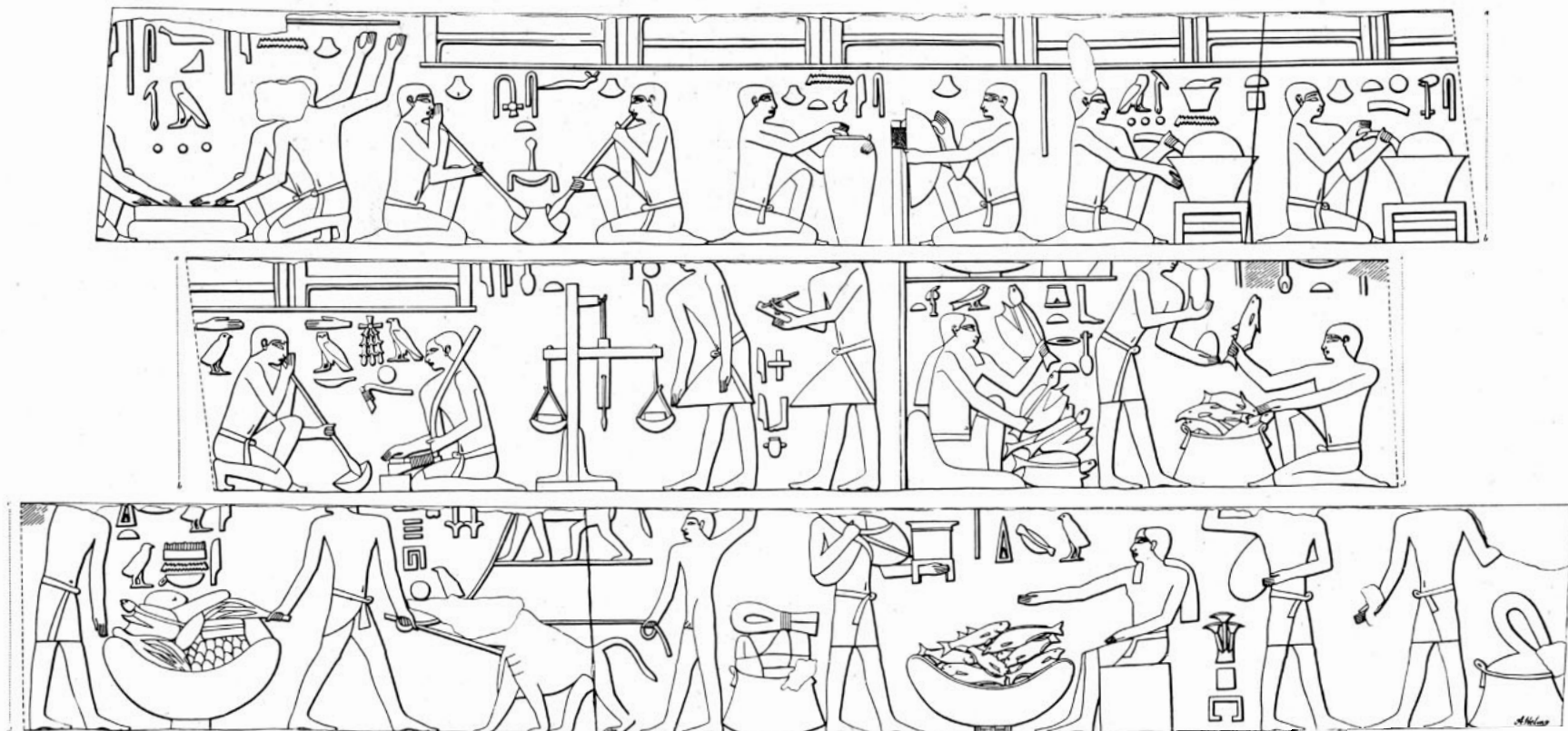


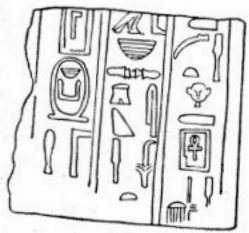
FIG. 8—RELIEFS FROM THE CAUSEWAY OF KING UNAS (ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS 1938, PL. XCVI)

cms. high by 24 cms. wide), in the cutting of the relief and drawing of the hieroglyphs, and in the titles given in the inscription, it seems to form a part of the same false-door as the Berlin stones. I would suggest that it stood at the back of the inner niche (fig. 9). The stone was purchased in Egypt in 1925, and I should not be surprised if it had formed part of the same cache of long excavated stones from which came the lintel of Kha-bauw-sokar and the Mery fragment bought by Weill in 1910. The titles on this stone do not all appear on the Berlin pieces, but nearly all are to be seen on the Louvre door-jambs, or upon the inscription on the lap of the statue in Berlin. By using the Leipzig piece and the titles on the Louvre jambs, it is possible to arrange the Berlin blocks in what seems to be their correct order at the sides of the inner niche and the back of the outer niche. Too much is missing to attempt a complete restoration of the inscription, and only the relative position of the Leipzig piece can be suggested in the back of the niche. The titles have been studied by Weill, Pirenne and others, but we still remain largely in the dark as to the actual functions signified by them.

Akhet-a'a served as priest of a temple of Neb-ka, who has been tentatively identified as Sa-nekht and placed as the second king of Dynasty III. The fact that Shery, whose tomb, as we have seen, is probably to be dated about the middle of Dynasty IV, served as funerary priest to two kings of Dynasty II, Peribsen and Sened, shows that we can be certain only that Akhet-a'a's tomb is no earlier than the reign of Neb-ka. It is to be noted that while Shery's office was a funerary one in connection with dead kings, Akhet-a'a's priesthood in a temple, the name of which is incompletely preserved, might have been held during the king's lifetime. The archaic style of Akhet-a'a's reliefs suggests that they are to be placed no later than the end of Dynasty III, and it is not unlikely in this case that Akhet-a'a began his career under the king whose name is mentioned in his tomb.

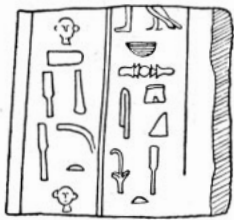
4. THE RELIEFS OF HEMIUWN

The huge mastaba, G 4000 at Giza, belonging to Prince Hemiwn, was excavated by Prof. Junker and produced, in addition to the splendid seated statue of the owner, some fragmentary reliefs, published in his *Giza* i, p. 146. The chapel had a peculiar form—a corridor running nearly the whole length of the mastaba and built inside an enlargement of the core. The entrance was at the south end of the east face of the mastaba and was surrounded by a small brick chapel. In the west wall of the corridor, at the north and south end, were two false-doors, each with a serdab behind it. On the north jamb of the entrance was preserved part of an offering list and a corner of the table from a scene showing Hemiwn seated at his funerary meal (fig. 10). Just around the corner, on the façade, was the lower part of a standing figure of the prince and three vertical lines of inscription giving titles and name (fig. 10). An architrave was also nearly complete, but whether this came from the entrance or from one of the false-doors is not certain (fig. 10). The reliefs are of the finest quality of low relief, resembling the Giza slab-stelae and a few fragments of royal relief of Dynasty IV. Not more than three or four chapels at Giza show workmanship of this superlative quality. The space around the northern false-door is undecorated, and Prof. Junker was of the opinion that only the south-

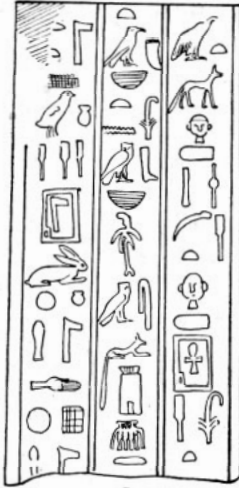


A

BERLIN 1141



B

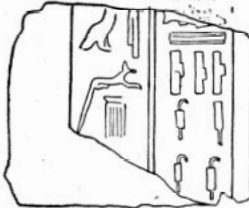


C

LEIPZIG 2897



BERLIN 15302



BERLIN 15303



BERLIN 1142



E

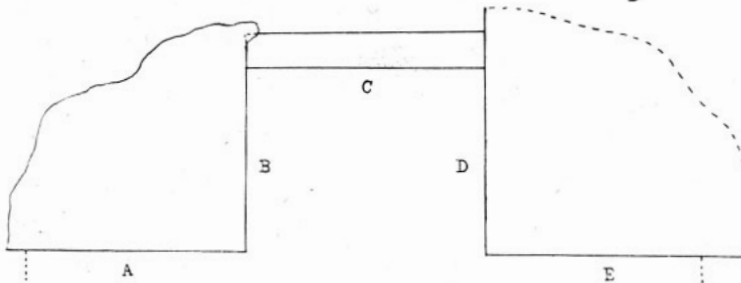
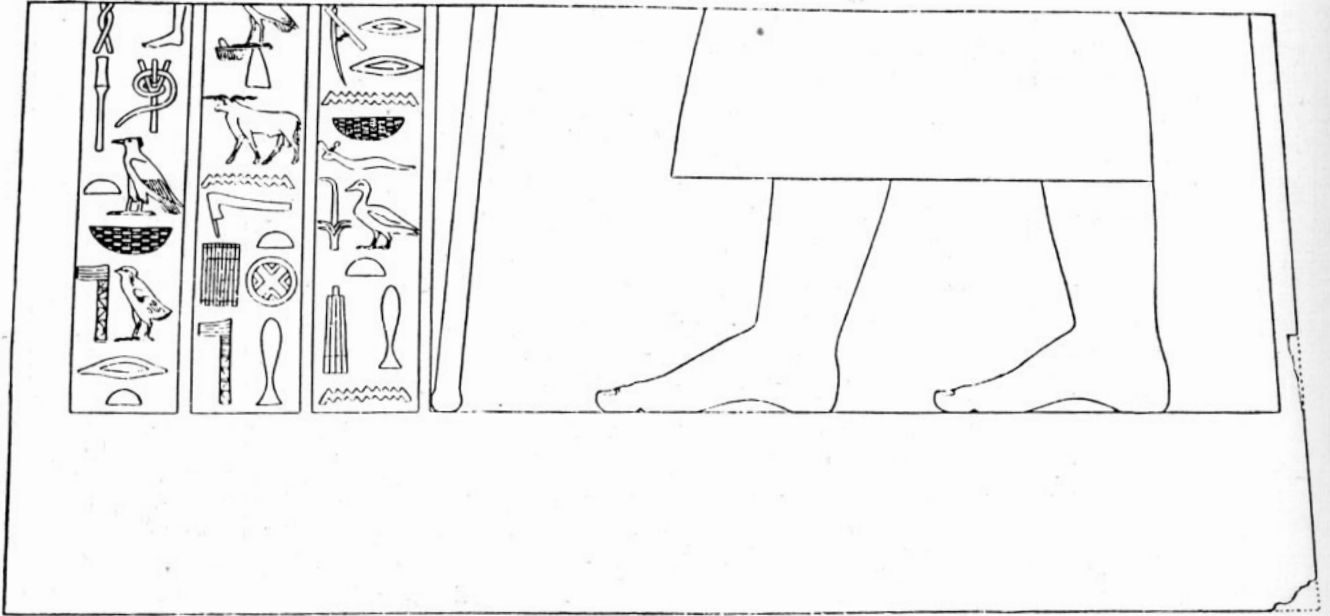


FIG. 9.—SUGGESTED RESTORATION OF FALSE-DOOR OF AKHET-A'A (In the title, *hry wdb wd mdw*, the *wd* has been copied wrongly as *hrp* on block 1141, and the *wdb* inadvertently omitted on 1142)



a.



b.

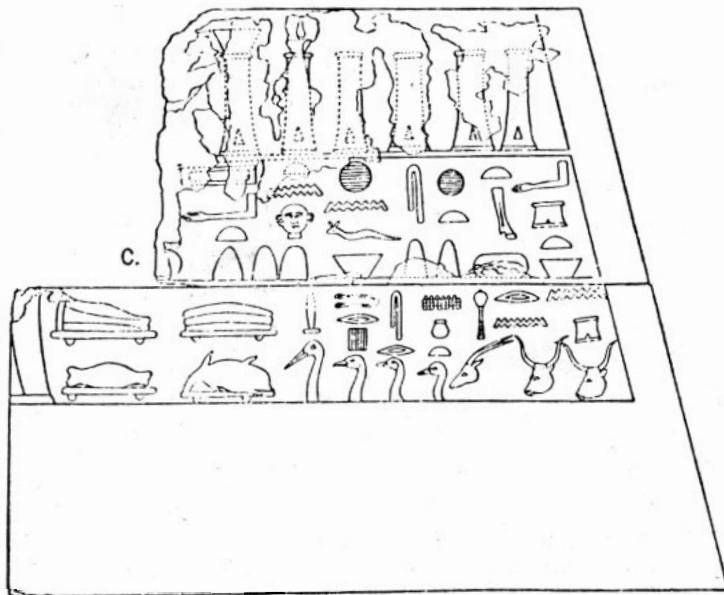


FIG. 10. — RELIEFS OF HEMIUN IN HILDESHEIM (JUNKER, *Giza I*, p. 146)

ern end of the corridor was carved with reliefs. It looks as though the chapel had not been entirely finished. As in the case of other early mastabas in the Western Cemetery, the enlargement of the core with massive blocks was intended for the purpose of constructing the interior chapel. The mastabas with stepped cores of small masonry were intended originally to have only exterior brick chapels. Dr. Reisner has concluded from evidence given in his forthcoming volume, *The History of the Giza Necropolis* i, that the introduction of the interior chapel at Giza, combined with core-work of large masonry, occurred first in the great twin mastabas of the royal family in the Eastern Cemetery, between the years 17–20 of Cheops. The alterations to certain of the older mastabas in the Western Cemetery probably took place at about the same time, or soon afterwards. Of these, aside from the tomb of Hemiwn, only the mastabas G 2130 and 4260 (Junker's II N) received their decoration, and this has been almost entirely destroyed. The owners of the other tombs probably died before the work on their chapels was completed, or the work may have been discontinued at the death of Cheops. The advent to the throne of Radedef, who, as the son of a secondary queen, seems to have been a usurper, brought an abrupt end to building activities at Giza, for a time, at least. Radedef began a new cemetery at Abu-Roash and seems to have remained hostile to the other relatives of Cheops whose tombs were at Giza. It is probable that the erasure of the reliefs in the chapel of Hordedef occurred at this time.

The dated quarry marks, found on casing stones at Giza, confirm this series of circumstances very well. Except for the latter part of the reign of Sneferuw, when the cattle counting was held every year, the recording of time in the Old Kingdom up to the reign of Pepy I seems to have been based on the biennial cattle census. Since the first counting came in the first year of the reign, the date is to be reached by doubling the census number and subtracting 1. Although Junker is doubtful of this and is inclined to accept the figure given in the quarry mark as the actual date, the system based on the cattle census taken every second year seems to fit well with the other evidence from Giza. Thus the casing of the Hemiwn mastaba would be dated to the years 15 to 19 of Cheops, that is, the years of the 8th to 10th census. The name of the king is not given in these inscriptions and must be arrived at from other considerations.

Other evidence from Giza can be given briefly as follows. Two early mastabas in the Western Cemetery yielded quarry marks. One from G 1205 contains the crew-name of a gang of Cheops' workmen, while G 1203 had a block giving the year 9. The mastabas of two sons of Cheops in the Eastern Field, Ka-wab (G 7110–7120) and Hordedef (G 7210–7220) were cased with blocks bearing crew-names of Cheops, while casing blocks from G 7310–7320 (Ra-bauw-f ?) bore unintelligible marks which may have formed the same crew-names. A stone in the Cheops temple bore a mark read by Alan Rowe as the year 13, which suggests that the temple had at least been begun by that year. Since the northernmost of the Queens' pyramids was placed in the angle between the entrance corridor and the main body of the temple, the temple plan was probably at least laid out before construction on the pyramid began. This pyramid had been moved, however, some meters to the west, from a site which was abandoned, after preliminary cuttings, to avoid interference with

the secret tomb of Queen Hetep-heres to the north of it. The first plan for this pyramid did not leave sufficient room for the core of the mastaba of Ka-wab on the east. Therefore, neither this tomb nor those to the east and south, which formed a block according to a unified plan, could yet have been constructed.

The order of construction in the Eastern Cemetery, therefore, seems to have been: first the plan of the temple, with at least some of the walls in place by the year 13, then the building of the northern Queen's pyramid (G I a) and perhaps the two others (G I b, G I c). After this, twelve mastabas were laid out in four east-west rows of three each. Finally, the northern two mastabas in each row were joined and cased to form four enormous twin mastabas, while additions were made to the southern mastaba in each row to enlarge four more tombs to the size of those on the north. Since the first two of the northern twin mastabas were cased by Cheops, it is probable that all four were completed in his reign, while that of Khufuw-khaf (G 7130-7140), the first in the southern row, bears the year 23 on a block of the casing. The other three mastabas in this row were either hastily completed or left unfinished, which like the abandoned work in the Western Cemetery suggests the advent of Radedef. Hence, it is very probable that the chapel of the middle Queen's pyramid (G I b), from which reliefs are preserved, and those of Ka-wab (G 7110-7120), Hordedef (G 7210-7220), Ra-bauw-f (?) (G 7310-7320), Hor-baf (?) and Queen Meresankh II (G 7410-7420) and Khufuw-khaf (G 7130-7140) were all completed before the death of Cheops which occurred in the twenty-third year of his reign.

Three of the tombs in the Western Cemetery, which were altered evidently in imitation of the mastabas of the favorite members of the royal family, bear evidence of their date which fits very well with the chronology of the Eastern Cemetery. The tomb of Prince Khent-ka (?) (G 2130), which from its fine low reliefs might be expected to belong to the reign of Cheops, had a sealing of that king in the burial chamber, while G 2120 (Prince Seshat-sekhentiyuw) had a quarry mark of the year 23 on one of the stones of the chapel. As has been mentioned, the casing of the tomb of Prince Hemiuwn was made between the years 15 and 19.

The fixing of this chronological succession, which is supported by other evidence of the succession of types in the construction of mastaba cores, casings, chapels and burial chambers, is particularly important because of Junker's belief in the limitation of the use of chapel decoration in the reigns of Cheops and Chephren. Emphasis should also be placed on the existence of fragments of very fine relief from the Queen's chapel G I b, as well as recently discovered fragments of the decoration of Cheops' pyramid temple.¹⁷ Other reliefs of a temple of Cheops and Chephren have been found, re-used in Middle Kingdom constructions at Lisht, while a block which probably formed part of the decoration of the Chephren causeway has long been known.¹⁸

It is true that the decoration of the early mastabas in the Western Cemetery was originally limited to the placing of a slab-stela in the stepped east face of the core, but five of these tombs had their slab-stelae concealed behind the walls of an

¹⁷ *News-Items from Egypt, AJA.* 1940, pp. 147-148.

¹⁸ Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, p. 110.

interior chapel, constructed in an addition of heavy masonry.¹⁹ As we have seen, these additions were certainly made in the reign of Cheops, and their unfinished condition is perhaps due to his death. Had the chapels been completed, they would certainly have been decorated as were those of Hemiwn (G 4000), G 4260, and Khent-ka (?) (G 2130). Not only is the chapel of Hemiwn not the one exception to the custom of using the slab-stela alone, but some fragments found by the Harvard-Boston Expedition suggest that the decorations of the Hemiwn chapel were not restricted to the simple scheme of subject matter which Junker had assumed from the pieces which he found.

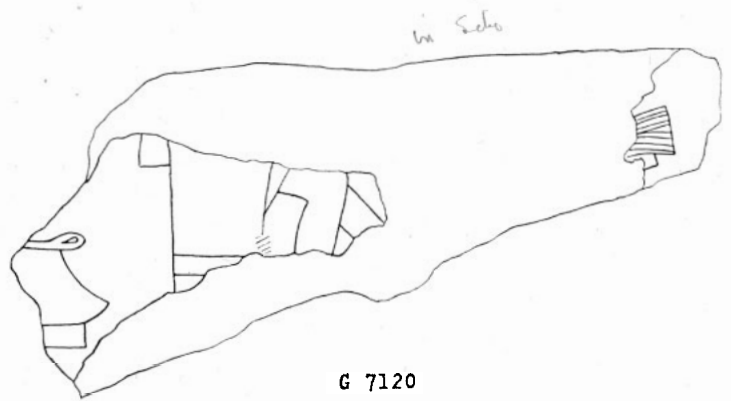
It may be said at once that scenes from life were not so completely absent from the Giza chapels before the beginning of Dynasty V as Junker infers. While it is quite right to state that, in general, the decorations of the offering room in Dynasty IV are limited to representations concerned with the funerary meal and the bringing of offerings to the owner and his family, there are some notable exceptions. The exterior chapels of Prince Ka-wab and Queen Meresankh II have preserved fragments of scenes from life. In that of Ka-wab, there was a scene of the presentation of cattle by the herdsman, while two blocks show men making mats or tying bundles of flax, and on another an overseer stands in a boat with a heron and a box of ducks (fig. 11). While the first of these is perhaps from a more elaborate kind of presentation of animals than is usual, the last is certainly from a swamp scene of the kind common in the later Old Kingdom. From a similar scene, where birds are being hunted, comes a little piece with part of a papyrus plant and the tip of a bird's wing, found in the chapel of Meresankh II (fig. 11). That lady is also shown, seated in a boat punted by a small attendant (fig. 11). The chapel of Merytyetes (G 7650), probably finished about the years 23-25 of Chephren, has a scene of seining fish on the east wall of the offering room. Probably from a hunting scene is a squatting figure who seems to be holding the leash of a hunting dog (fig. 11). This was found in the chapel of Prince Min-khaf, probably also of the reign of Chephren. Although perhaps already influenced by the craftwork scene in the rock-cut tomb of Prince Khuwnera of the time of Mycerinus, a fragmentary boat-building scene appears on the east wall of the inner offering room of Duwanera (G 5110), also of the reign of Mycerinus. The scenes from life were, of course, widely developed in the rock-cut tombs toward the end of the Dynasty. Since Junker does not believe that the scenes of voyage by boat to the sacred cities appeared before Dynasty V, a fragmentary scene of this sort from the Queen's pyramid G I b should finally be mentioned. We need not be surprised, therefore, if two of the new fragments from the chapel of Hemiwn suggest a more varied depiction of subject matter than had been assumed for the reign of Cheops.

The fragments found in the Harvard-Boston concession, just a little to the south of the Hemiwn mastaba, had been dragged from the chapel by stone thieves to be burned for lime. Some of them had been broken into such small pieces that the representations are almost unintelligible, but one preserves the name of the Prince (25-12-310) and several have titles borne by him on the reliefs found by

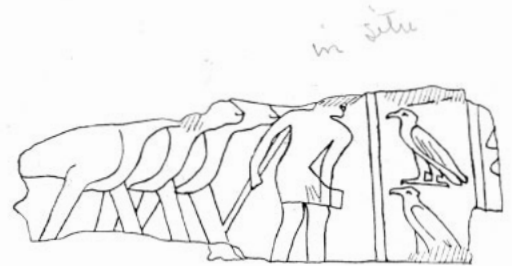
¹⁹ Prince Wepemnofret (G 1201), Prince Ka-m-aha (G1223), Princess Nefert-yabet (G 1225), Prince Seshat-sekhentiyuw (G 2120) and Prince Iwnw (G 4150).



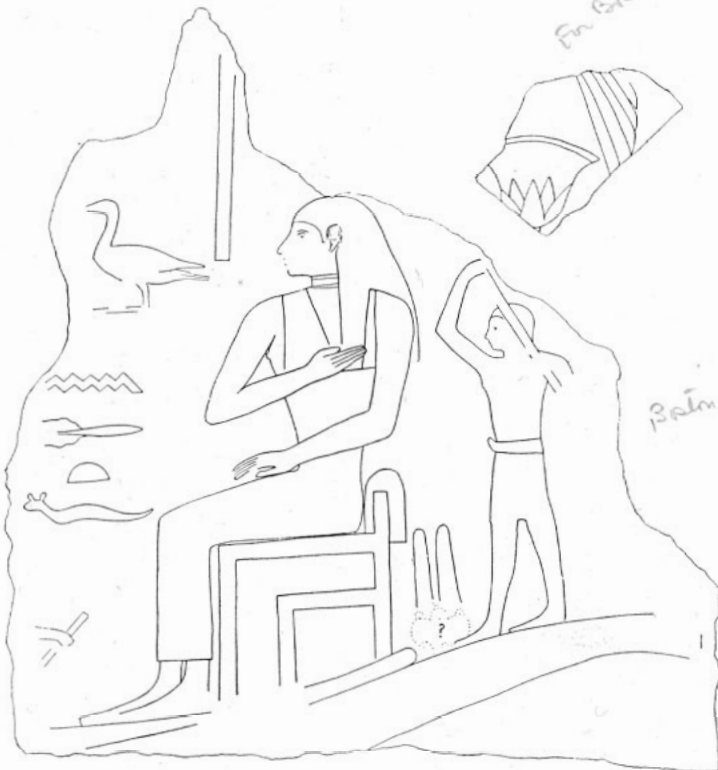
G 7120



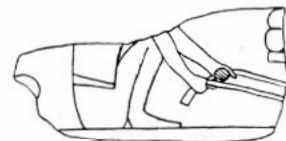
G 7120



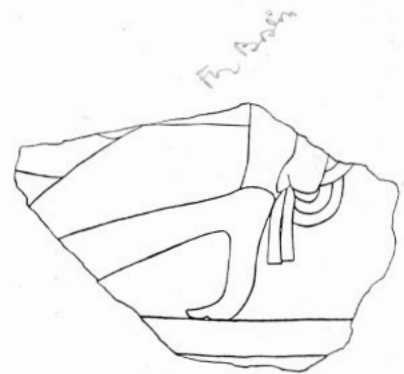
G 7120



G 7420



G 7120



G 7430

FIG. 11.—FRAGMENTS OF SCENES FROM LIFE IN DYNASTY IV CHAPELS OF THE EASTERN CEMETERY AT GIZA: PRINCE KA-WAB (G7120), QUEEN MERESANKH II (G7420), AND PRINCE MIN-KHAF (G7430) (THE SCALE VARIES IN THE DIFFERENT PIECES)

Junker and on the base of his statue in Hildesheim (fig. 16). Two pieces show life-size heads of the Prince, and while one of these is badly broken, the other is a remarkable piece of portraiture (fig. 13). Attention has been called by Prof. Steindorff to the resemblance between this head and that of the Hildesheim statue.²⁰ The occurrence of the *dī nšwt ḥtp* formula, accompanied by a second *ḥtp* sign, in front of the face, suggests that this is part of a list of offerings in front of a figure seated at a table of bread. This may mean that the fragment (25-12-299) comes from a scene of the funerary meal on the south jamb of the entrance, corresponding to the similar representation on the north jamb found by Junker (fig. 10). Very badly preserved, but important, is a block containing the overlapping figures of three animals (fig. 12).

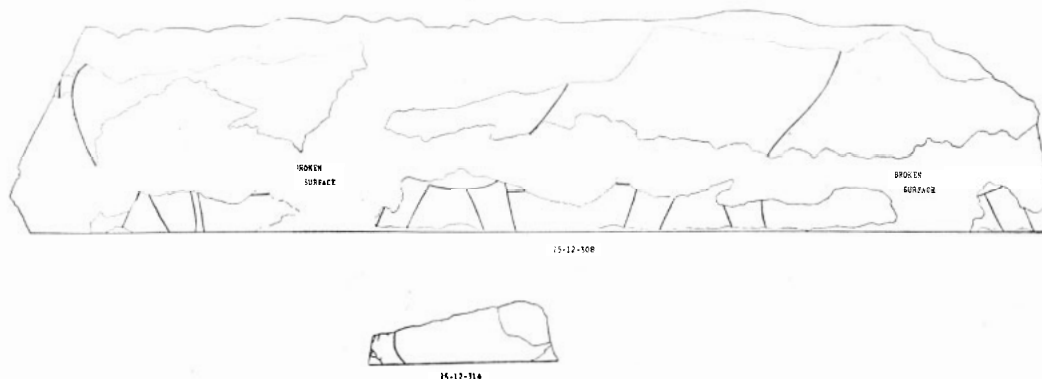


FIG. 12.—OVERLAPPING FIGURES OF ANIMALS ON RELIEF OF PRINCE HEMIUWN (BOSTON)
(LENGTH 58 CMS.)

One immediately thinks of the overlapping figures of sheep trampling in the grain, or of the donkeys in the harvest scene. The sheep are not otherwise known before the agricultural scenes of Meresankh III, at the end of Dynasty IV, and the donkeys not until Dynasty V. It should be pointed out that the cattle presented by a herdsman on the Ka-wab fragment mentioned above are shown with overlapping bodies, and some such representation may occur here. However we may interpret it, this is not part of one of the simple processions of animals that are ordinarily found in the offering scenes of the early interior chapels. Even more unorthodox is the small piece with the hand plainly holding an adze (fig. 14, No. 25-12-301). Whether the line below forms part of a projecting knee or shoulder, I am unable to determine. I confess that I cannot restore this figure plausibly, but think that it must come from one of the contorted figures of craftsmen in a boat-building scene. The other small fragments of subsidiary figures are too little preserved to betray the kind of scene from which they came.

Three inscribed fragments (25-12-309, 310, 311) are from an architrave, which I thought at first formed the missing portion of that found by Junker. The fragments were presented to Prof. Roeder to accompany the other pieces in Hildesheim (fig. 10). There it was found that these formed part of a second very similar archi-

²⁰ *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 73, p. 120.

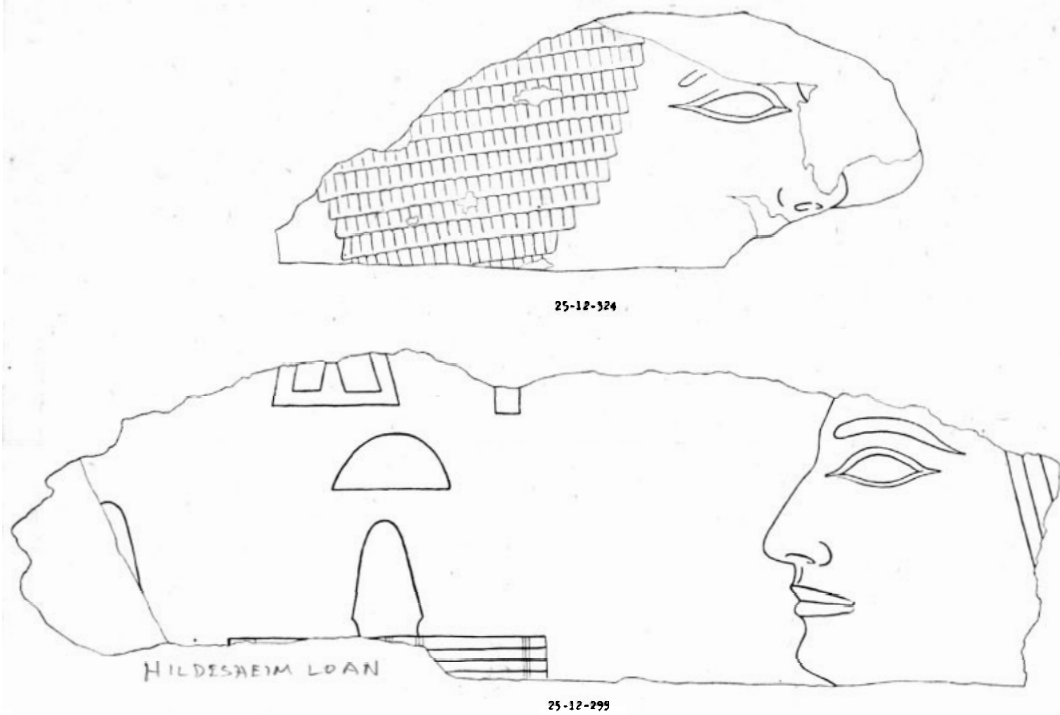


FIG. 13.—FRAGMENTS OF RELIEF OF PRINCE HEMIWN (BOSTON). (LENGTH OF 299 IS 39 CMS.)

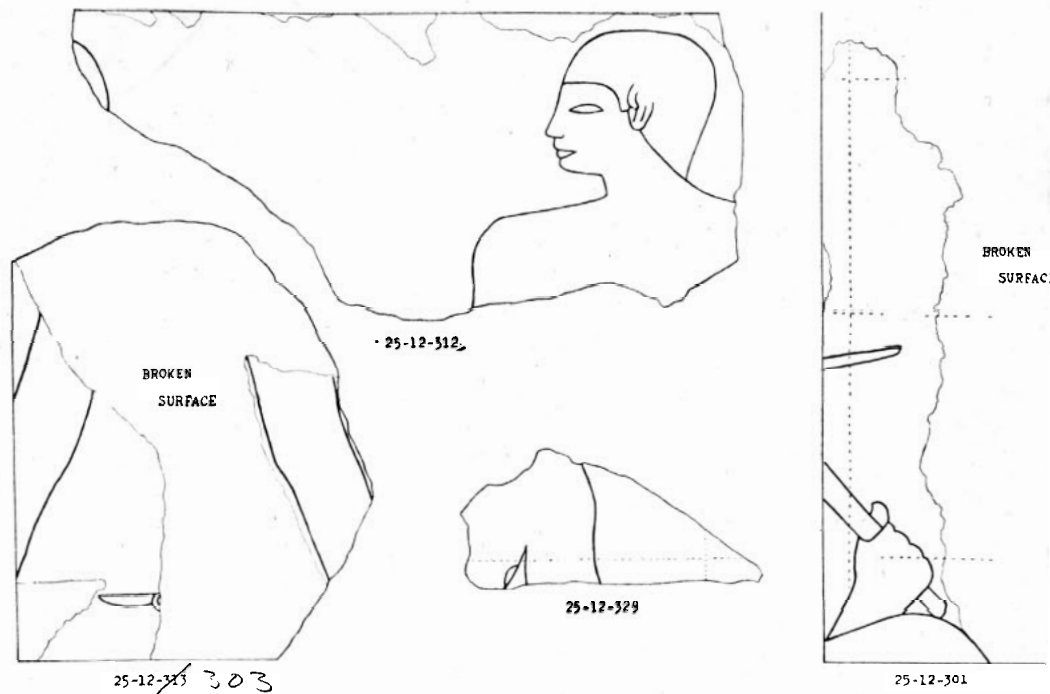


FIG. 14.—FRAGMENTS OF RELIEF OF PRINCE HEMIWN (BOSTON). (LENGTH OF 312 IS 20 CMS.)

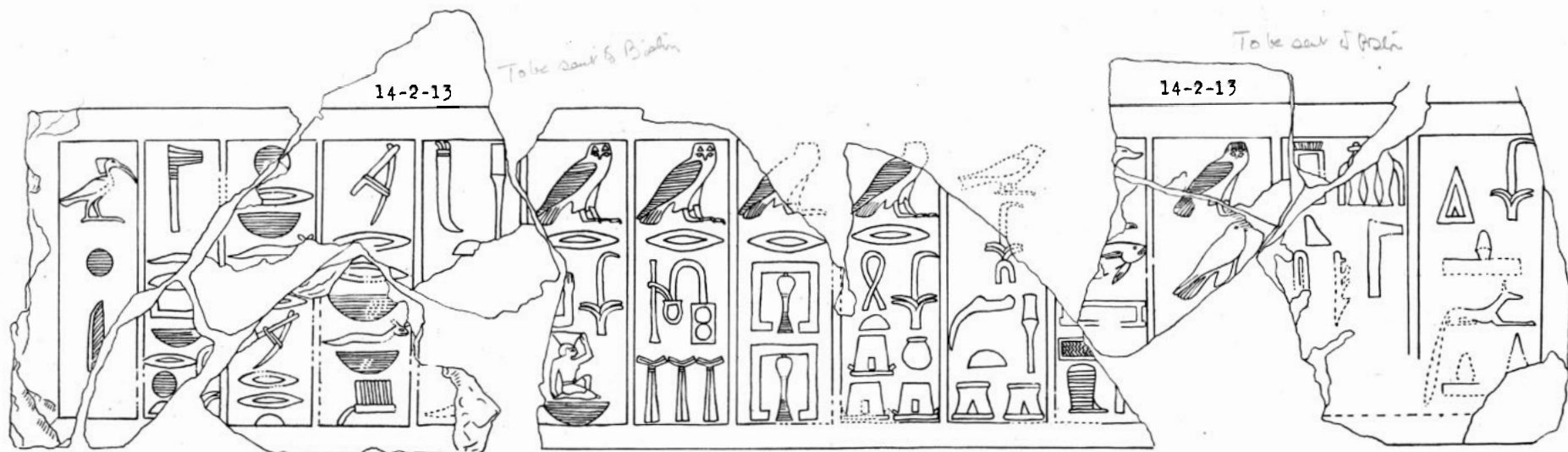


FIG. 15.—ARCHITRAVE OF AKHY WITH TWO PIECES NUMBERED 14-2-13 RESTORED (COMPARE JUNKER, Giza I, p. 239)

trave, with a slightly wider border (fig. 16). It is impossible to be certain which architrave stood over the entrance and which formed part of one of the false-doors.

The other fragments of inscription are badly broken (fig. 16), but curiously enough they supply two titles which Junker lacked when he was attempting to identify Hemiwn with the like-named son of Neferma'at of Medum. One of these, *hrp mrwy itrt* (Director of the two lakes of the Southern Sanctuary ?), is followed by "King's son Hemiwn" (No. 25-12-310). It is borne by Neferma'at's son Hemiwn in his father's tomb at Medum. The other title, *wb' Mnw'* (Priest of Min, Nos. 25-12-302, 328), is held only by Neferma'at, but, like others, may easily have been inherited by his son, as Junker assumes. While it is true that we must take Hemiwn's title of "King's son" as having been given to him by courtesy, if we accept Junker's identification of him with Neferma'at's son, nevertheless, there are enough occurrences of this courtesy title to justify such an assumption. I have always thought Junker's arguments reasonable, and the accident that among these fragments should be preserved just the two titles necessary to complete the parallel occurrence of the titulary at Giza and Medum seems to me more than a mere coincidence.

One other fact seems to bring the two men close together. This is the use of colored pastes to fill in the incised hieroglyphs on the base of Hemiwn's statue. This is a very rare procedure, and it would be natural had it been inspired by the use of paste inlays in the wall decorations of the tomb of Hemiwn's father at Medum. That it was so inspired is probable, but, of course, this does not prove the family relationship. Certainly a new group of craftsmen were working at Giza in a style that resembled very little the chapel decorations at Medum. While this is true of the reliefs, there is a much closer relationship between the style of Hemiwn's statue and those of Ra-hotep and Nofret at Medum.

Although Hemiwn's chapel was unfinished, the perfection of his reliefs must have been admired at some later time, for several of the fragments bear red squared lines to serve in copying the figures (Nos. 25-12-302, 317 on fig. 16; 301, 329 on fig. 14). In one case, the wall had been damaged before the copying took place, for the lines continue on the broken surface (No. 25-12-301). In every case the color had disappeared from the wall before the red lines were applied. I have indicated the red marks by fine dotted lines on the fragments in question.

4. THE ARCHITRAVE OF AKHY

The tomb of Akhy (G 4750) had an exterior stone chapel like those of Nofer (G 2110) and Sneferuw-seneb (G 4240), which were probably both decorated in the reign of Chephren. The fragmentary reliefs of Akhy, recovered by Prof. Junker, are probably not much later than these, if not of the same time. Two fragments were found by the Harvard-Boston Expedition in pit 4734A in the street south of Akhy's mastaba. As is clear from the drawing in fig. 15, they form part of the missing portions of the architrave in Vienna, discovered by Junker. Unfortunately they were not identified in time to be incorporated in Junker's publication of the reliefs (*Giza* i, pp. 236-241). One piece (14-2-13) adds a portion of the offering formula and the title *'d mr* in the following column, while the second piece (also 14-2-13) gives

a new title for Akhy: *hꜣꜣ tm'*, and adds two phrases which Junker had already restored in the third and fourth columns from the end. While these new fragments are small, they serve to complete at least one portion of a series of important, but very fragmentary reliefs.

It may be added that a block in Turin, of which I have only a sketch and cannot therefore illustrate, is probably also from the chapel of Akhy. It bears his name, as well as one of his titles: "Overseer of the King's Granaries." Beneath the lower part of three vertical columns of titles facing to the right and ending in Akhy's name, is an unintelligible name of a scribe, written horizontally. A border line runs down the left side of the block. I am unable to suggest from what wall the block can have come, but it is very likely that it was excavated by Schiaparelli at Giza, since a number of other reliefs were found by him in the neighborhood of the Akhy tomb. He removed from the chapel of G 4630 the two stelae of Meduw-nefer and Ankh-ir-s which are now in the Cairo Museum. He probably also found the stelae of Wehem-nofret and Thentet, now in Turin, in subsidiary constructions added to the tomb of Weneshet (G 4840). Wehem-nofret is to be identified fairly certainly with the woman of the same name on Weneshet's stela (Junker, *Giza* i, p. 252). Weneshet and Wehem-nofret each possessed an estate with the same name, while Wehem-nofret calls herself "honored before her mother," which may well be a reference to Weneshet. G 4840 adjoins the mastaba of Akhy on the southeast. The Turin stela of Khent-kauw-s was also found by Schiaparelli a little farther to the east, in the tomb G 5140. He therefore worked in the neighborhood of Akhy's chapel and may well have found the Turin block in the débris nearby.

WILLIAM STEVENSON SMITH