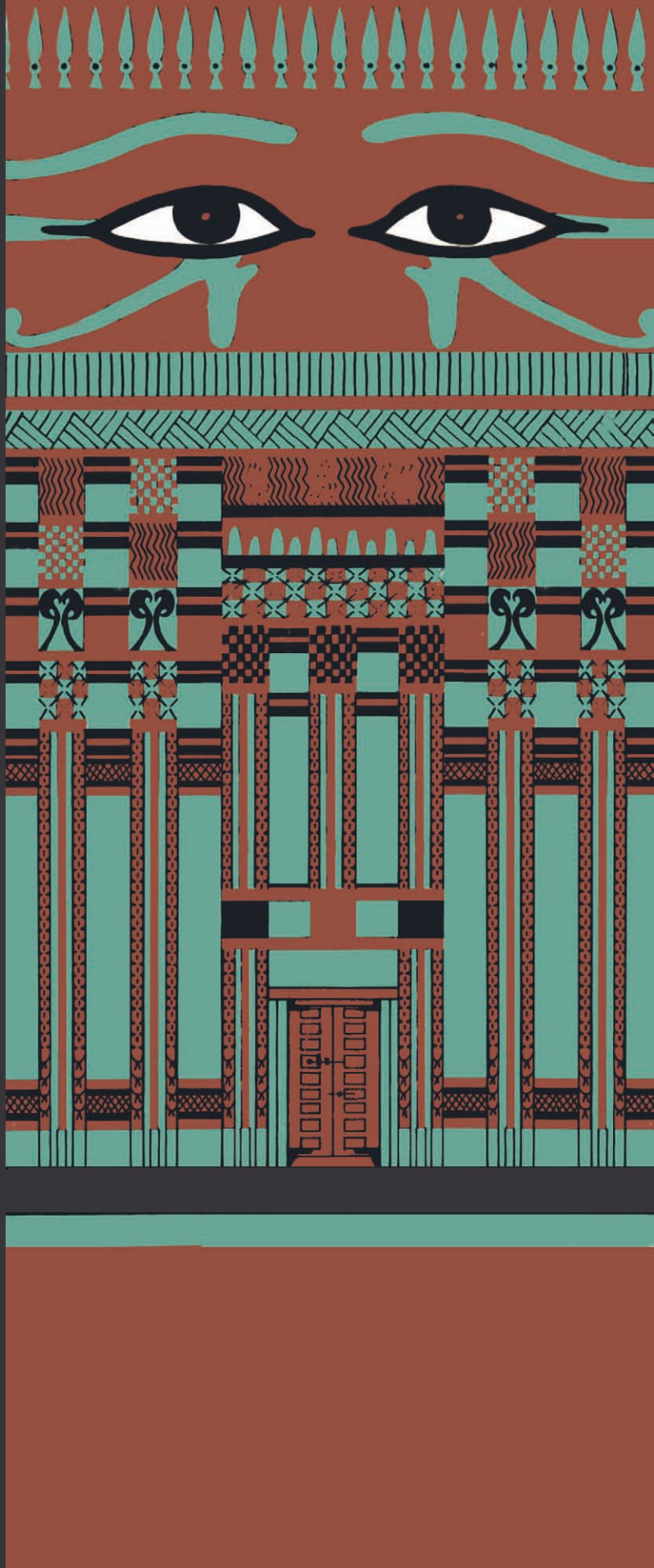
The Scepter of Egypt

A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom

William C. Hayes



THE SCEPTER OF EGYPT · PART I



Preface

A Finding List, or place catalogue, of all the objects mentioned in the book has been prepared by Charlotte R. Clark, Assistant Curator of the Egyptian Department, and will appear in Part II. With this list the visitor and student will be able to find in the current arrangement of the Egyptian rooms the objects described and starred in the text.

IN THE YEARS which have elapsed since the publication, in 1911, of the first edition of the *Handbook of the Egyptian Rooms,* the collection of Egyptian antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum has been more than doubled in size and, thanks largely to the work of the Museum's Egyptian Expedition, has gained immeasurably in quality and historical importance. Today it comprises some thirty-five thousand objects, representing more than thirteen millenniums of human development and over thirty centuries of recorded history.

The vast majority of these objects have come to the Museum, not as stray pieces of bric-a-brac picked up here and there, but as well documented and closely integrated testimonials of the life, tastes, and thought processes of one of the most interesting and attractive peoples of the ancient world. Since to treat them from any other point of view would detract immensely from our understanding and enjoyment of them, they are presented in this publication, not according to the temporary positions which, as exhibits, they occupy in our galleries and study rooms, but according to their permanent places in the cultural and historical development of the people who produced them. The rather bleak brevity appropriate to books of this class has been sacrificed in an effort to recreate the settings in which these works of art and craftsmanship were made and to chronicle, however cursorily, the events which determined the nature of these settings. Conversely, by taking time to interpret, explain, and interrelate the meanings and purposes of the individual objects, we have attempted to draw from them the story which they themselves have to tell us of life in ancient Egypt. In the picture presented the emphasis, naturally, is on those periods and phases which are illustrated by, or have a direct bearing on, the pieces in the Metropolitan Museum. Since, however, our collection is not only large but also, on the whole, well balanced, this picture is reasonably complete and undistorted.

The approach to Egyptian art employed here is a historical one. Armed with a knowledge of the background and purpose of the objects, the visitor or reader will inevitably discover for himself the true, the good, and the beautiful in what he sees. This is as it should be; it is the only honest and enduring basis for the enjoyment of a collection such as ours, wherein we find, in addition to pieces instantly recognizable as works of art, many others of a preponderantly utilitarian or ritual nature, the artistic merit of which must always remain a matter of individual opinion.

Most of the material in every Egyptian collection has survived to the present day because it happened to be buried in the tombs of the dead. In the past, needless accent has been placed on the funereal circumstances in which objects have been found and on such lugubrious exhibits as mummies, mummy wrappings, coffins, and the like. The natural result has been that many people have come to regard a collection of Egyptian antiquities with either the morbid curiosity or the instinctive distaste normally reserved for the contents of a morgue and the Egyptians themselves as an essentially gloomy race of people, obsessed with thoughts of death. Actually, in spite of the fact that they come from tombs, over ninety per cent of the works of art and fine craftsmanship in the Museum's Egyptian Department reflect no such preoccupation with death, but only the intense interest in life characteristic of an industrious and cheerful people most of whose waking hours were spent in their fertile fields or charming gardens or on the placid waters of their beloved river.

A further tendency — fostered chiefly by barnstorming, archaeological charlatans, members of various "oriental" cults, and journalists with a flair for sensationalism—to attribute to the farmer people of ancient Egypt mysterious and sinister funds of hidden lore and all manner of supernatural powers has led to the growth of a series of absurd superstitions regarding them, their possessions, and the excavators of their tombs and temples. That no reputable Egyptologist nor any intelligent, well-informed person subscribes to these grotesque theories hardly needs saying. The answer to such nonsense lies squarely in the collection before us and in the many other fine collections of Egyptian antiquities in America, Europe, and Egypt itself. Let us therefore embark upon our study of the ancient Egyptians with no preconceived notions regarding them, allowing the works which their hands and minds created to speak for themselves.

To expedite the publication of this book and to facilitate its use the material is dealt with in two parts. The present volume takes us from the origins of Egyptian culture in the Old Stone Age to the collapse of the Middle Kingdom in the eighteenth century B.C. The second part will be devoted to the rise and development of the New Kingdom and to the later periods of Egyptian history. The division is not an arbitrary one, for during the last seventeen hundred years preceding the Christian era Egypt was confronted with problems and subjected to influences undreamed of in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and the kaleidoscopic picture which emerges during these centuries is markedly different from that which went before.

Every member of the Department of Egyptian Art from its creation in 1906 to the present day has had a hand, knowingly or unknowingly, in the compilation of this work and in the classification of the collection which it describes.

Our principal debt is to Albert M. Lythgoe, Herbert E. Winlock, and Ambrose Lansing, who, as successive Directors of the Egyptian Expedition and Curators of the Department, not only have built up the collection by their brilliantly conducted excavations and carefully considered purchases but also have supervised its cataloguing and installation and published much of it in an interesting series of books and articles.[1]

Under the direction of Arthur C. Mace the Museum's excavations at el Lisht were inaugurated and carried on for many years—to the enrichment of the collection and our knowledge of ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom. To Norman and Nina de Garis Davies and Charles K. Wilkinson we owe a splendid series of line and color copies of Egyptian tomb paintings and to Mr. Davies many fine books and treatises on the tombs and their decoration. Walter Hauser's surveys, plans, and architectural drawings are invaluable to an understanding of the Theban necropolis and other sites

[1] See the Bibliography, pp. 355 ff.

explored by the Museum in Upper Egypt and the oasis of el Khārgeh. The work of H. G. Evelyn White in the monasteries of the Wādy 'n Natrūn will long be remembered by students of Christian Egypt. For many years the Egyptian Expedition was fortunate in having as its photographer Harry Burton, and our great file of Expedition negatives is a monument to his outstanding ability in the field of archaeological photography. Others, including James Brewster, Henry A. Carey, H. R. Hopgood, George Howe, and Gouverneur M. Peek, have contributed their talents to the Museum's work in Egypt, and no small portion of the success of the Expedition is attributable to the skill and devotion of our Egyptian foremen, Hamed Mohammed and Gilani Suleyman.

In the Museum, Caroline Ransom Williams has left in the Department's catalogue and in a number of its publications the mark of her great knowledge and impeccable scholarship. A subject index of the collection, painstakingly compiled by Marjorie Haff, has proved of inestimable assistance in the preparation of the present work. Special studies on Egyptian costumes and kindred subjects by Bernice M. Cartland have been frequently consulted and found to be both interesting and useful.

All the current staff of the Egyptian Department has helped directly in the production of the book. It owes its present form to careful supervision and editing by Ambrose Lansing, Curator of Egyptian Art, and Ludlow Bull, Associate Curator and editor of all the Museum's Expedition publications. I have especially to thank Dr. Bull for many valuable suggestions on the writings of the Egyptian and Arabic proper names occurring throughout the book.

Charlotte R. Clark, in addition to preparing the Finding List, has given me the benefit of her long and intimate acquaintance with the collection. Nora E. Scott has generously allowed me to consult her valuable notebooks on the daily life of the ancient Egyptians and her indices of our thousands of scarabs and seals. Dorothy W. Phillips not only has prepared much of the final typescript but also has checked the whole publication for errors and drawn up lists of proper names which have formed the basis of its indices. Sally Mather Gibson has unselfishly devoted much of her time to the tedious job of making clean copies of many of the chapters.

The line drawings in the text are by Lindsley F. Hall, Senior Research Fellow in Egyptian Art and a former member of the Egyptian Expedition. In addition to his meticulous accuracy and outstanding ability as a draughtsman, Mr. Hall brings to his work a familiarity with the subject matter which is the result of more than thirty years' experience in the field of Egyptian art. An adaptation by Lawrence Longley from the eye panel of a coffin of the Twelfth Dynasty[2] has been used for the jacket and the cover.

To the skill and unfailing patience of Edward J. Milla, Museum Photographer, and his colleague Thomas McAdams we owe the great majority of the photographic illustrations. Those taken in Egypt are from Expedition negatives made chiefly by Harry Burton.

The final editing of the book has been in the capable hands of Agnes Peters of the Museum's Publications Department.

Much of the historical material contained in Chapters IX-XI and XVI was submitted in its present form for the projected new edition of volumes I and II of the *Cambridge Ancient History,* and is reproduced here by generous permission of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.

WILLIAM C. HAYES

New York, N. Y. October 19, 1946

[2] The coffin of the Count's Daughter Nebet-ḥat, from Mīr (acc. no. 11.150.15 A). See page 315.

Table of Contents

PREFACE v
TABLE OF CONTENTS ix
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xiii
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE 2

I. The Land of Egypt 3

II. Prehistoric Egypt

PERIODS, CULTURES, AND PRINCIPAL SITES OF EGYPTIAN PREHISTORY 8
1. Palaeolithic Man in the Nile Valley 9
2. The Mesolithic Period, or Middle Stone Age 11
3. The Neolithic Period, or Late Stone Age 11
4. The Cultures of the Chalcolithic Period 14
5. The Badarian Civilization 14
6. The Predynastic Culture of Upper Egypt 16
7. The Predynastic Culture of Lower Egypt 20
8. The Cultural Domination of the North during the Middle Predynastic Period 25
9. The Political and Religious Development of Egypt in the Predynastic Period 26
10. The Late Predynastic Period 27

III. The Early Dynastic Period

KINGS OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD 34
1. Sources, Chronology, and Periods of Ancient Egyptian History 35
2. The Written Language of Ancient Egypt 36
3. Inscribed Monuments of the Early Dynastic Period 37
4. Seals and Seal Impressions 38
5. The Calendars and the Methods of Dating 39
6. Arts and Crafts under the Early Dynasties 41

IV. The Architecture of Ancient Egypt: Its Origins and Early Developments

1. Dwellings 49
2. Temples 51
3. Tombs 52
4. Military Architecture 55

V. The Old Kingdom

KINGS OF THE OLD KINGDOM 58
1. King Djoser, the Sage I-em-ḥotep, and the Third Dynasty 59
2. The Fourth Dynasty 61
3. The Pyramid Builders 62
4. Royal Monuments of the Fourth Dynasty 63
5. The Fifth Dynasty 66

VI. The Religion and Funerary Beliefs of Ancient Egypt

1. Religion 75
2. Funerary Beliefs and Funerary Literature 79

VII. Courtiers, Officials, and Priests of the Old Kingdom

1. Their Tombs and Tomb Reliefs 87
2. The Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor Ny-ᶜonekhy-Udōt 88
3. The Chamberlain Pery-nēb 90
4. Prince Reᶜ-em-kuy 94
5. The Judge Ny-kū-Ḥor and His Wife, Sekhem-Ḥat-Ḥor 102
6. The Overseer of the Granary Kuy-em-snēwy and the Judge Wer-djed-Ptaḥ 103
7. Upper Egyptian Notables: Provincial Tomb Reliefs of the Late Old Kingdom 106
8. Tomb Statues and Statuettes 107
9. Tomb and Household Equipment 116
10. Biographical Inscriptions and Didactic Treatises 121

VIII. The Sixth Dynasty and the End of the Old Kingdom 125

IX. The First Intermediate Period

KINGS OF THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD 134
1. The State of the Land 135
2. The Dynasties of Memphis 136
3. Seals and Seal Amulets of the First Intermediate Period 141

4. Scarab Seals 142
5. The Dynasties of Herakleopolis 143
6. Tomb Reliefs and Pottery Vessels of the Herakleopolitan Period 145
7. The Nomarchs of Thebes 147

X. The Middle Kingdom: I. The Eleventh Dynasty

KINGS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM: I 150
1. The Early Kings 151
2. Montu-ḥotpe II and the Supremacy of Thebes 152
3. The Tomb and Mortuary Temple of the King 155
4. The Ḥarīm of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe 158
5. The Court of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe 162
6. King Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe III and His Chancellor, Meket-Rēᶜ 166
7. The End of the Eleventh Dynasty 167

XI. The Middle Kingdom: II. The Twelfth Dynasty

KINGS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM: II 170
1. King Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ Amun-em-ḥēt I 171
2. King Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ Se'n-Wosret I 179
3. The Pyramid and Funerary Enclosure of Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht 182
4. The Successors of Se'n-Wosret I 196
5. Thebes during the Twelfth Dynasty 201

XII. The People of the Middle Kingdom and Their Personal Possessions

1. The Nature of the Material 205
2. Men and Women of the Middle Kingdom: Statues and Statuettes 205
3. Concubines, Dwarfs, Peasants, Servants, and Animals: Small Figures of Wood, Faience, Ivory, Stone, and Other Materials 218
4. Jewelry 228
5. Dress, Coiffure, and Make-Up 240
6. Musical Instruments of the Middle Kingdom 247
7. Knife-Shaped Amulets of Ivory 248
8. Games 249

XIII. The Home, the Farm, and the River

1. The House and Its Furnishings 255
2. The Country Estate and Its Activities 262
3. Boating on the Nile and on the Rivers of the Hereafter 267

XIV. Professions and Crafts of the Middle Kingdom

1. The Soldier and His Weapons 277
2. Staves and Scepters 284
3. Tools of the Middle Kingdom Craftsmen 287
4. Writing Materials: The Equipment of the Egyptian Scribe 292
5. Weights and Measures 296
6. The Autobiography of an Egyptian Official 299

XV. Burial Customs and Funerary Art

1. The Burial of the Estate Manager Waḥ 303
2. The Tomb of the House Mistress Senebtīsy 305
3. Funerary Jewelry 306
4. Mummy Masks and Anthropoid Coffins 309
5. Rectangular Coffins and Sarcophagi of The Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties 312
6. Canopic Equipment 320
7. Mummiform Statuettes *(Shawabtys)* 326
8. Funerary Stelae of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties 330
9. Offering Tables and Related Objects 335

XVI. The Decline and Fall of the Middle Kingdom

KINGS OF THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM 340
1. The Thirteenth Dynasty 341
2. Stelae, Coffins, and Other Works of Art and Craftsmanship Produced during the Thirteenth Dynasty 344
3. The Fourteenth Dynasty 351
4. The End of the Middle Kingdom 351

BIBLIOGRAPHY 355

INDEXES OF PROPER NAMES
A. Egyptian Kings 377
B. Egyptian Personal Names (Other Than Those of Kings) 379
C. Divinities 382
D. Geographic and Ethnic Names 383

GENERAL INDEX 389

List of Illustrations

FRONTISPIECE

An Egyptian family of the Old Kingdom
Painted limestone statuette

FIGURE PAGE

1. Palaeolithic flint implements from western Thebes 10
2. Neolithic objects from the west Delta 12
3. Neolithic objects from the west Delta 12
4. Neolitic stone implements from the Fayyūm. Adze blade from the Oasis of el Khārgeh 13
5. Chalcolithic pottery from el Badāri 14
6. Chalcolithic jewelry from el Badāri 15
7. Predynastic black and black-topped red pottery 16
8. Predynastic pottery—fancy shapes 17
9. Predynastic red pottery with white line decoration 18
10. Hunting scene on a Predynastic pottery dish 18
11. Predynastic female figures of painted clay 19
12. Predynastic ivory combs 21
13. "Wavy-handled" jars 22
14. "Decorated" Predynastic pottery 23
15. Predynastic stone vases 23
16. Predynastic flint knives and lance heads 24
17. Predynastic slate cosmetic palettes 24
18. Predynastic jewelry 25
19. A Predynastic grave 26
20. Carved top of an ivory comb. Late Predynastic period 28
21. Carved ivory knife handle. Late Predynastic period 28
22. Carved slate palette. Late Predynastic period 29
23. Fragment of a carved slate commemorative palette. Late Predynastic period 29
24. Slate commemorative palette of the Horus Naʿr (-mer) (King Menes). A cast of the original in Cairo 30
25. Limestone stela of Se'n-Ba. First Dynasty 36
26. Fragment of a limestone vase of King Ḳa-aʿ. First Dynasty 37
27. Cylinder seal in mounting 38
28. Stone cylinder seals of the First Dynasty 39
29. Ivory legs of couches and game boards. First Dynasty 41
30. Paneled wooden coffin for a contracted burial. Second or Third Dynasty 42
31. Slate dish in the form of two hieroglyphs. Early Dynastic period 43
32. Pottery storage jars from a tomb of the First Dynasty at Abydos 43
33. Lady of the Early Dynastic period. Limestone 44
34. Ivory statuette. First Dynasty 45
35. Ivory playing piece in the form of a lioness 45
36. Model tools and weapons of copper. Second Dynasty 46
37. King Djoser. A sculptor's model of the Third Dynasty. Limestone 60
38. Hieroglyphs used in titles of the king. A sculptor's model of the Third Dynasty. 61
39. Cattle of King Khuf-wy. Limestone temple relief of the Fourth Dynasty 62
40. Names and title of King Khaʿef-Reʿ. A sculptor's trial piece of the Fourth Dynasty. Diabase 63
41. Diorite stand for an offering tray, inscribed with the names and titles of King Khaʿef-Rēʿ 64
42. Fragmentary head in alabaster of King Khaʿef-Rēʿ 65
43. Unfinished statuette of King Men-kū-Rēʿ. Pink limestone 66
44. Granite column from the pyramid temple of King Saḥu-Rēʿ 68
45. Egyptian marines. Fragment of relief from a royal temple of the Fifth Dynasty. Limestone 69
46. Diorite group of King Saḥu-Rēʿ and a figure personifying the province of Koptos 70
47. Weight of five *deben* and a gold-mounted vase of King Woser-kuf 71
48. The Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor, Ny-ʿonekhy-Udōt. Fourth Dynasty 89
49. The tomb of the Chamberlain Pery-nēb. Fifth Dynasty. Model 90

FIGURE		PAGE
50.	Portrait of Pery-nēb on the façade of his tomb	91
51.	Pery-nēb inspecting the produce of his estates	92
52.	Pery-nēb at his funerary banquet	93
53.	False-door stela of Pery-nēb	95
54.	Servants of Prince Reᶜ-em-kuy preparing food and drink. Fifth Dynasty	96
55.	Netting waterfowl in the marshes	97
56.	Hunting antelope in the desert. Below, Reᶜ-em-kuy's fleet of ships	99
57.	Harvesting wheat on the estate of Prince Reᶜ-em-kuy	101
58.	The Judge Ny-kū-Ḥor and his wife, Sekhem-Ḥat-Ḥor. Fifth Dynasty	102
59.	A game of draughts and a group of musicians. Chapel reliefs of Ny-kū-Ḥor	103
60.	West wall of the chapel of the Overseer of the Granary Kuy-em-snēwy. Sixth Dynasty	105
61.	The King's Scribe Reᶜ-ḥotpe. Gray granite. Fifth Dynasty	108
62.	An official of the Fifth Dynasty. Limestone	109
63.	Head of a man. Painted limestone. Fifth Dynasty	110
64.	The Province Administrator Mītry and his wife. Wood. Fifth Dynasty	111
65.	The Province Administrator Mītry. Wood	112
66.	The Overseer of the Granary Kuy-em-snēwy. Wood. Sixth Dynasty	113
67.	A foreign captive. From a royal mortuary temple of the Sixth Dynasty at Saḳḳāreh. Limestone	114
68.	A brewer straining mash. Painted limestone. Fifth Dynasty	115
69.	Offering table of the Old Kingdom. Limestone	117
70.	Models of the equipment used in the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth." Alabaster and slate. Fifth or Sixth Dynasty	118
71.	Canopic jars of the Chamberlain Pery-nēb. Limestone	118
72.	Model table service. Limestone. Fifth or Sixth Dynasty	119
73.	Food cases for trussed fowls and a leg of beef. Limestone. Sixth Dynasty	119
74.	Copper ewers and basins. Sixth Dynasty	120
75.	Alabaster headrest of Khenty-kuy. Sixth Dynasty	121
76.	Model sistrum of King Tety. Alabaster. Sixth Dynasty	126
77.	Two inscribed jars of King Pepy I. Alabaster. Sixth Dynasty	127
78.	Alabaster vase inscribed with the name of King Mery-en-Rēᶜ. Sixth Dynasty	128
79.	Alabaster cup of Queen ᶜAnkhes-en-Pepy. Sixth Dynasty	130
80.	Decree of King Nefer-kū-Ḥor from Koptos. Eighth Dynasty	137
81.	Frieze from the tomb of the Chief Priest Merery. Limestone. Eighth Dynasty	138
82.	Stela of the Chancellor Nefer-yu. Painted limestone. Eighth Dynasty	140
83.	Stela of the Lector Priest Indy. Painted limestone. Eighth Dynasty	141
84.	Seals of the First Intermediate period. Steatite, limestone, faience, bone, and rock crystal	142
85.	Seal devices of the First Intermediate period. Undersides of the seals of figure 84	143
86.	Part of an ivory coffer of King Achtoy I. Ninth Dynasty	143
87.	Relief of the Inspector Anup-em-ḥēt. Limestone. Ninth or Tenth Dynasty	145
88.	Relief from a private tomb at Saḳḳāreh. Limestone. Ninth or Tenth Dynasty	146
89.	Pottery vessels of the First Intermediate period	148
90.	Stela of the Horus Waḥ-ᶜonekh, King In-yōtef II. Limestone. Eleventh Dynasty	152
91.	Stela of the Gatekeeper Maᶜety. Limestone. Eleventh Dynasty	153
92.	Tablets from foundation deposits of the mortuary temple of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe at Thebes. Copper, wood, and alabaster. Eleventh Dynasty	155
93.	"Osiride" statue of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe. Painted sandstone. Eleventh Dynasty	156
94.	King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe. Block of relief from the king's mortuary temple at Thebes. Painted limestone. Eleventh Dynasty	158
95.	Relief from the tomb of Queen Nefru at Thebes. Painted limestone. Eleventh Dynasty	159
96.	Relief from the tomb of Queen Nefru. Painted limestone	160
97.	Section of the shrine of the King's Favorite Henhenet. Painted limestone. Eleventh Dynasty. Restored	160
98.	Sarcophagus of Henhenet. Limestone. Eleventh Dynasty	161
99.	Sons of the Vizier Dagy. Painted limestone relief from the tomb of Dagy at Thebes. Eleventh Dynasty	163

FIGURE PAGE

100. Part of a hunting scene from the tomb of the Chancellor Achtoy. Painted limestone relief of the Eleventh Dynasty, partially carved into a platter in Late Dynastic times 164

101. Achtoy's huntsmen and part of a scene of bird-netting. Painted limestone relief. Eleventh Dynasty 165

102. Fragment of a slate bowl inscribed with the names of King Montu-ḥotpe IV of the Eleventh Dynasty and King Amun-em-ḥēt I of the Twelfth Dynasty. From el Lisht 167

103. King Amun-em-ḥēt I flanked by divinities. Painted limestone lintel from the king's pyramid temple at el Lisht 172

104. Names and titles of Amun-em-ḥēt I and Se'n-Wosret I. Limestone relief from the pyramid temple of Amun em-ḥēt I at el Lisht 172

105. Red granite altar from the pyramid temple of King Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht 174

106. King Amun-em-ḥēt I. Head of a limestone statuette from el Lisht 175

107. King Amun-em-ḥēt I (?). Head of a quartzite statue of unknown provenience 176

108. The Chancellor Reḥu-er-djēr-sen and his son boating on the Nile. Limestone relief from a maṣṭabeh tomb at el Lisht. Reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt I 177

109. Limestone relief from the maṣṭabeh tomb of the Chief Steward Sobk-nakhte at el Lisht. Reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt I 178

110. King Se'n-Wosret I. Basalt statue, probably from the temple at Krokodilopolis in the Fayyūm 180

111. Ceremonial instrument of hornblende granite dedicated by King Se'n-Wosret (I or III) to his ancestor, King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe 182

112. Panel with the names of Se'n-Wosret I from the limestone enclosure wall of the king's pyramid at el Lisht 184

113. Head of a lion from the pyramid temple of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht. Limestone 185

114. Courtiers bringing offerings to King Se'n-Wosret I. Painted limestone relief from the king's mortuary temple at el Lisht 186

115. Seshat, goddess of records. Limestone relief from the mortuary temple of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht 189

116. Food offerings for King Se'n-Wosret I. Painted limestone lintel from the entrance chapel of the king's pyramid at el Lisht 191

FIGURE PAGE

117. King Se'n-Wosret I wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt. Wooden statuette from el Lisht 192

118. Wooden sledge used at the funeral of King Se'n-Wosret I. Found near the king's pyramid at el Lisht 193

119. King Se'n-Wosret III portrayed as a sphinx. Diorite 197

120. King Se'n-Wosret III. Fragment of the head of a quartzite statue 198

121. King Amun-em-ḥēt III. Fragmentary head of a statuette in gray marble 199

122. A queen of the Twelfth Dynasty. Statuette in gabbro from Upper Egypt 200

123. The "Overseer of the Hundred" Montu-ḥotpe. Black granite statuette from el Lisht. Reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt I 206

124. The Chief Priest of Ptaḥ, Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe. Life-size limestone statue from el Lisht. Reign of King Se'n-Wosret I 207

125. The Steward Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ-ᶜankhe. Limestone statue from el Lisht. Reign of King Se'n-Wosret III (?) 208

126. An official of the Twelfth Dynasty. Limestone statuette of unknown provenience 209

127. Oḳer, a Theban official of the late Eleventh Dynasty. Painted limestone 210

128. An official of the Twelfth Dynasty. Diabase statuette of unknown provenience 211

129. The Scribe of the Divine Offerings Merer. Painted and inscribed statuettes of wood from Asyūt. Early Middle Kingdom 212

130. Chnum-ḥotpe, son of Maᶜety. Basalt statuette of unknown provenience. Twelfth Dynasty 213

131. Statuette in limonite from the In-yōtef Cemetery at Thebes. Eleventh Dynasty 214

132. The Nurse Sit-Snefru. Statuette in diorite from Adana, in Asia Minor. Twelfth Dynasty 215

133. The lady Kemtet. Wooden statuette from el Harageh. Twelfth Dynasty. Detail 216

134. Painted limestone shrine with statues of the treasury official Amun-em-ḥēt and his family. From a tomb of the late Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes 217

135. Female figure in painted wood from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty in western Thebes 219

136. Negro slave girls. Painted wooden statuettes from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes 220

137. Female figures in faience, wood, ivory, stone, and pottery. From tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht, Thebes, and Gebelein 221

FIGURE PAGE

138. A woman nursing her child while her maid dresses her hair, and two monkeys carved in a similar pose. Painted limestone. Middle Kingdom. From el Lisht and Thebes, respectively 222

139. Dancing pygmy in ivory. Part of a mechanical toy found in a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht 223

140. Small faience figures of animals, including two dogs, two cats, three jerboa mice, a calf, and two cynocephalus apes. Chiefly from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht 224

141. Heraldic lion grasping the head of a kneeling Negro captive. Wooden statuette, probably from Thebes. Twelfth Dynasty (?) 225

142. Blue faience hippopotamus from the tomb of the Steward Soneb at Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty 227

143. Carved rod of glazed steatite from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty near Heliopolis 228

144. Necklaces found at Thebes on the mummy of the Princess Muyet. Reign of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty 229

145. Silver scarab of the Estate Manager Waḥ from his tomb at Thebes. Late Eleventh Dynasty 230

146. Gold circlet and hair ornaments of the lady Senebtīsy from her tomb at el Lisht. Early Twelfth Dynasty 230

147. Gold clasp in the form of a square knot 231

148. Girdle and bracelet of a girl named Ḥapy from a tomb near the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht. Gold and lapis lazuli 232

149. Inlaid gold shell pendant of King Se'n-Wosret II, probably from Thebes or its vicinity 232

150. Pectoral of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet with the name of her father, King Se'n-Wosret II. Gold inlaid with semiprecious stones 233

151. Girdle and necklace of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet. Gold and amethyst 234

152. Motto clasps of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet. Gold and semiprecious stones 235

153. Set of jewelry from a private tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes 239

154. Mirror of Reny-sonbe, a "Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt," buried at Thebes in the reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt IV 241

155. Inlaid ebony casket, gold-mounted obsidian cosmetic jars, silver rouge dish, razors, and whetstones of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet. The mirror is a reproduction. 243

156. Flower vase of blue faience. Twelfth Dynasty 244

FIGURE PAGE

157. Wood and ivory cosmetic box of the butler Kemu-ny, from Thebes, and cosmetic jars of "blue marble" (anhydrite) from Girgeh. Twelfth Dynasty 245

158. Bow harp of the late Middle Kingdom from Thebes 248

159. Knife-shaped amulets of ivory from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht 249

160. Game of "hounds and jackals," from the tomb of Reny-sonbe at Thebes. Wood overlaid with ivory and ebony. Reign of Amun-em-ḥēt IV 250

161. Pottery offering tray from a tomb of the late Middle Kingdom at Hierakonpolis 256

162. Pottery model of a house from a grave at Deir Rifeh 256

163. Lower part of a wooden door from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes 257

164. Bed linen and headrest of the Estate Manager Waḥ. Eleventh Dynasty 258

165. Wooden headrest from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes 258

166. Small stool with remains of a rush seat and a folding stool with a leather seat. Twelfth Dynasty. From Mīr 259

167. Limestone and pottery lamps of the Twelfth Dynasty from el Lisht and el Lāhūn 261

168. Multiple serving dish of pottery from the tomb of Senebtīsy at el Lisht 262

169. Garden and verandah of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ. Painted wooden funerary model of the Eleventh Dynasty from Thebes 263

170. Butcher shop on the estate of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ 263

171. Part of Meket-Rēᶜ's bakery and brewery 264

172. Weaver's shop. Funerary model of the Middle Kingdom from Girgeh. Restored 265

173. Man plowing with a yoke of oxen. Painted wooden model of the Middle Kingdom 266

174. Offering bearer from the tomb of Meket-Rēᶜ at Thebes. Eleventh Dynasty. Painted wood 267

175. Traveling and kitchen boats of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ. Painted wooden models of the Eleventh Dynasty 268

176. Fishing and fowling skiff of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ 269

177. Funerary barque of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ 270

178. Solar barque from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. The hull has been restored. 272

FIGURE		PAGE
179.	Funerary barque of the Chancellor Wekh-ḥotpe from Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty	273
180.	Painted wooden models of a shield and a javelin case from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Asyūt	278
181.	Weapons of the Middle Kingdom, including bows, "bent staves," clubs, boomerangs, and shield braces	279
182.	Theban bows and arrows of the Eleventh Dynasty	279
183.	Min-oḳre the Theban with his bow and arrows. Limestone tomb stela of the Eleventh Dynasty	280
184.	Leather bracer in position on the wrist of one of the archers of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe	281
185.	Battle axes of the Middle Kingdom	282
186.	Middle Kingdom daggers, including actual weapons and funerary models in painted wood	284
187.	Ceremonial staves and scepters from the burial of the House Mistress Senebtīsy of el Lisht. Early Twelfth Dynasty	285
188.	*Ladanisterion* of the House Mistress Senebtīsy. Wood, faience, carnelian, and gold foil	286
189.	Model tool chest from the tomb of ᶜAnkhef at Asyūt. Twelfth Dynasty	288
190.	Model carpenters' tools of the Middle Kingdom	289
191.	Stonecutter's chisel of the Eleventh Dynasty from Deir el Baḥri. Bronze	289
192.	Mason's and builder's equipment of the Middle Kingdom	290
193.	The scribe's equipment. Middle Kingdom, with the exception of the tall palette, which is later in date	293
194.	Writing board of the early Middle Kingdom, probably from Thebes, with parts of model letters	295
195.	Stela of the Steward Montu-wosre from Abydos. Painted limestone. Dated to the seventeenth year of King Se'n-Wosret I, 1955 B.C.	298
196.	Mummy of the Estate Manager Waḥ, fully wrapped. From a Theban tomb of the late Eleventh Dynasty	304
197.	Plan of the tomb of the House Mistress Senebtīsy at el Lisht. Early Twelfth Dynasty	305
198.	Broad collar of blue faience from the mummy of the Estate Manager Waḥ. Late Eleventh Dynasty	307
199.	Falcon collar of turquoise, carnelian, green faience, and gilded plaster from the burial of Senebtīsy at el Lisht. Twelfth Dynasty	308
200.	Funerary apron of polychrome beadwork from the burial of Senebtīsy	309
201.	Mummy mask of the Steward Chnum-ḥotpe of Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty	310
202.	Inlaid decoration of the anthropoid coffin of Senebtīsy. Carnelian and blue and green faience. Panel restored	311
203.	Anthropoid coffin of the Steward Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify of Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty	312
204.	Coffin of the Steward Chnum-ḥotpe of Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty	315
205.	Decoration of the interior of the coffin of the Estate Manager Achtoy from el Lisht. Twelfth Dynasty	316
206.	Second coffin of the House Mistress Senebtīsy from el Lisht. Early Twelfth Dynasty	317
207.	Coffin of Chnum-nakhte from Asyūt. Twelfth Dynasty	318
208.	Gray granite sarcophagus of the Twelfth Dynasty from el Lisht	319
209.	Canopic chest of the Steward Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify of Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty	321
210.	Canopic jar of the Overseer of Scribes Kuy, with a cover in the form of a miniature mummy mask. From a tomb of the early Middle Kingdom at Mīr	322
211.	Canopic jars of the House Mistress Senebtīsy from el Lisht. Early Twelfth Dynasty	323
212.	Alabaster canopic jars of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet from el Lāhūn	324
213.	Limestone stopper of a canopic jar of the early Twelfth Dynasty from el Lisht	324
214.	Magical jar of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, from her tomb at el Lāhūn. Alabaster	325
215.	*Shawabty*-figures and -coffin of Queen Nefru, from her tomb near the temple of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe at Deir el Baḥri	327
216.	*Shawabty*-figures of the Twelfth Dynasty in painted wood and stone. From tombs at Mīr, el Lisht, and Thebes	328
217.	Model coffin and inscribed magical figures of mud. Found near a maṣṭabeh of the early Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht	329
218.	Writing-board stela of Neb-seny from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes. Painted wood	330
219.	Painted limestone stela of Dedu and his wife, Sit-Sobk. From Thebes. Probably Eleventh Dynasty	331

FIGURE		PAGE
220.	Painted limestone stela of Nakhte, probably from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty in the vicinity of Thebes	332
221.	Stela of the Treasurer Reḥu-er-djēr-sen from Abydos. Reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt I of the Twelfth Dynasty	333
222.	Painted limestone stela dedicated to two women of the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty. From Thebes	335
223.	Limestone offering table from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at er Riḳḳeh	336
224.	Limestone offering slab of Nefer-seḥwy and Id. From a Middle Kingdom tomb at Deir Rifeh	336
225.	Faience models of food offerings from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht	337
226.	Cylinder seals and scarabs with the names of kings, queens, princes, and princesses of the Thirteenth Dynasty	343
227.	Private tomb stelae of the Thirteenth Dynasty from Abydos, Thebes, and Hierakonpolis. Painted limestone	346
228.	Coffin of the *Wēʿb*-priest Ikhet from Thebes. Thirteenth Dynasty	348
229.	*Shawabty*-figure and -coffin of Prince Waḥ-Nefer-ḥotep from el Lisht. Thirteenth Dynasty	349
MAP		
	The Nile Valley from the Mediterranean to the Second Cataract. *Following page*	399

I. THE LAND OF EGYPT

Chronological Table

PREHISTORY	Before 3200 B.C.
EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD	
First Dynasty (Thinite)	3200-2980 B.C.
Second Dynasty (Thinite)	2980-2780 B.C.
OLD KINGDOM	
Third Dynasty (Memphite)	2780-2680 B.C.
Fourth Dynasty (Memphite)	2680-2560 B.C.
Fifth Dynasty (Memphite)	2560-2420 B.C.
Sixth Dynasty (Memphite)	2420-2280 B.C.
FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD	
Seventh Dynasty (Memphite)	2280 B.C.
Eighth Dynasty (Memphite)	2280-2242 B.C.
Ninth Dynasty (Herakleopolitan)	2242-2133 B.C.
Tenth Dynasty (Herakleopolitan)	2133-2052 B.C.
MIDDLE KINGDOM	
Eleventh Dynasty (Theban)	2134-1991 B.C.
Twelfth Dynasty (Theban)	1991-1778 B.C.
SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD	
End of the Middle Kingdom:	
Thirteenth Dynasty (Theban)	1778-1625 B.C.
Fourteenth Dynasty (Xoïte)	1778-1594 B.C.
Hyksos Period:	
Fifteenth Dynasty (Hyksos)	1675-1567 B.C.
Sixteenth Dynasty (Theban)	1660-1600 B.C.
Seventeenth Dynasty (Theban)	1600-1567 B.C.
NEW KINGDOM	
Eighteenth Dynasty (Theban)	1567-1320 B.C.
Nineteenth Dynasty (Theban)	1320-1200 B.C.
Twentieth Dynasty (Theban)	1200-1085 B.C.
LATE DYNASTIC PERIOD	
Twenty-first Dynasty (Tanite)	1085-950 B.C.
Twenty-second Dynasty (Libyan)	950-730 B.C.
Twenty-third Dynasty (Bubastite)	817-730 B.C.
Twenty-fourth Dynasty (Saïte)	730-715 B.C.
Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Ethiopian)	751-656 B.C.
Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Saïte)	663-525 B.C.
Twenty-seventh Dynasty (Persian)	525-404 B.C.
Twenty-eighth Dynasty (Saïte)	404-398 B.C.
Twenty-ninth Dynasty (Mendesian)	398-378 B.C.
Thirtieth Dynasty (Sebennytic)	378-341 B.C.
Second Persian Domination	341-332 B.C.
Conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great	332 B.C.
PTOLEMAIC PERIOD	332-30 B.C.
ROMAN PERIOD	30 B.C.-364 A.D.

See also the more detailed chronologies given with Chapters II, III, V, IX-XI, and XVI.

I. The Land of Egypt

"Egypt is the land watered by the Nile in its course."[1]

RISING IN THE lake country of equatorial Africa, the White Nile winds its way northward until at Khartūm it is joined by the Blue Nile from the Abyssinian highlands. Two hundred miles downstream the great river receives the waters of the last of its tributaries, the Atbara, and for the remaining seventeen hundred miles of its journey to the sea is without a tributary stream or any other source of water supply. Between Khartūm and Aswān, on the old southern boundary of Egypt, the course of the river through the rugged surface formations of the Sūdān and the tawny sandstone of the Nubian desert is interrupted at six points by bars of hard, crystalline rock; and in these places the normally placid stream tumbles through narrow gorges in turbulent rapids, or "cataracts." At Edfu, sixty-eight miles north of Aswān, the Nile emerges from its narrow bed in the Nubian sandstone and enters the mighty valley which, long before the time of man, it had carved out in the limestone tableland of northeast Africa. One hundred and forty miles south of Cairo the valley cliffs give way to flat, open country, relieved here and there by small mesas and interrupted on the east side of the river, just south of Cairo by the high limestone scarp of the Muḳattam Hills. In the last stage of its journey the Nile, forking a few miles below Cairo, today follows two diverging channels through the rich alluvium of its own delta and enters the sea through two widely separated mouths, at Damietta on the east and Rosetta on the west. Ancient authors list seven principal mouths of the Nile[2] and five lesser mouths, all named after delta towns which once stood beside the now unused watercourses.

Each year the Blue Nile, swollen by the spring rains and melting snows in the Abyssinian uplands, pours a vast volume of water into the main stream, and the great river slowly rises along its whole length and floods its alluvial plain in a regular annual inundation. At Memphis, the site of the ancient capital, a few miles south of Cairo, the initial rise of the river can be detected during the latter part of July, and by early September the inundation has reached its height. It is to this natural phenomenon that Egypt owes its existence, for in the midst of almost rainless deserts the Nile flood has for millenniums not only made arable the land along its banks but actually created this land through its yearly deposition of fertile silt.

---

[1] Ancient oracle of the god Amūn (Herodotos II. 18).

[2] From east to west the Pelusiac, Tanitic, Mendesian, Phatnitic, Sebennytic, Bolbitinic, and Canopic mouths. The Phatnitic and Bolbitinic arms of the Nile appear to have corresponded with the still existent Damietta and Rosetta branches.

Thus, except for the wide delta plain, the habitable area of Egypt consists solely of two long and very narrow strips of alluvial soil along the river's edge, flanked on either side by the barren rock walls of the ancient valley and, above and beyond the valley, by equally barren deserts.

The Libyan Desert, on the west, is for the most part flat and open, marked here and there by low, rolling hills and by constantly shifting lines of sand dunes. From north to south, roughly parallel to the Nile Valley, runs a row of widely separated fertile depressions, or oases, many of them inhabited from time immemorial. Of these the most interesting to us is el Fayyūm, a great expanse of lush greenery bordering an ancient lake, which lies only a few miles west of the river some fifty miles south of Cairo. The Fayyūm and its lake, the Birket Ḳarūn, are fed with water from the Nile by a canal, called the Baḥr Yūsuf, which enters the oasis through an ancient channel at Hauwāreh. Far to the south, in the latitude of Esneh and eighty miles from the Nile by the shortest caravan route, lie the great oasis of el Khārgeh with the ancient capital city of Hibis and, forty-three miles west of this, the neighboring oasis of ed Dākhleh.

On the east the Arabian Desert, mountainous and shot through with deep *wādys,* or dry watercourses, presents a formidable barrier between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea. The chain of very ancient hills which forms the north-south backbone of this barren and rugged terrain and which rises to a height of seven thousand feet above sea level, is rich in crystalline rocks; granite, gneiss, diorite, schist, breccia, and porphyry. An ancient caravan route, leaving the Nile Valley at Koptos on the twenty-sixth parellel of latitude, winds eastward through the mountains to the Red Sea ports of Wady el Gasūs and Kosseir; and midway along this route, in the Wādy el Ḥammāmāt, lies one of the principal quarries of the dynastic Egyptians, whence they extracted a hard, dark gray stone used for statues and sarcophagi.

The topography and climate of the country have changed relatively little during the five thousand years of Egypt's recorded history. It is apparent, however, that at the beginning of the historic period and, indeed, well down into dynastic times desert conditions in northeast Africa were not nearly so severe as at the present. Records of the first historic dynasty, about 3200 B.C., indicate that at that time the present-day deserts still provided pasturage, however, scanty, for large herds of cattle; and accounts of hunting expeditions of much later date show that lions, wild bulls, and other game were still fairly plentiful in the wastelands on either side of the Nile Valley.

In the valley itself, and to an even greater extent in the Delta, much of the terrain was swampland and jungle, covered over large areas by pools and vast papyrus thickets and infested by hippopotami, crocodiles, and other aquatic life. The organized effort required to transform such country into farmland and to provide irrigation for the land so reclaimed was, as we shall see, a dominant factor in the early and rapid growth of Egyptian civilization.

Although united politically throughout most of its history, Egypt, as has been indicated, is not geographically a unit, but consists of two principal parts. Upper Egypt comprises the long, narrow river valley, from the First Cataract to the ancient city of Memphis, thirteen miles above Cairo. Lower Egypt includes the broad Delta of the Nile and the extreme northern end of the valley. The Egyptian has always been keenly aware of the fundamental duality of his country. In antiquity it was called "the Two Lands," and its ruler was referred to as "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt." Originally the distinction between the north and the south was not merely geographical but included racial, cultural, and religious differences; and even today a Ṣaʿīdi, or Upper Egyptian, when seen among the people of the Delta, is conspicuous by his accent, his clothing, and his physical appearance.

Both Upper and Lower Egypt seem to have

been settled by a number of different groups of African peoples, who entered the country one by one and established themselves in various localities along the valley and in the Delta. This, perhaps, was the origin of many of the units of Egypt's later cultural and political organization, the "nomes," or provinces, of which ancient sources list twenty-two in Upper Egypt and twenty in Lower Egypt. In the study which is to follow we shall have occasion again and again to refer to the nature and internal organization of the nomes, for the existence of these originally independent and isolated small communities was predominantly responsible for the many and diverse elements which we shall encounter in the life, religion, and politics of ancient Egypt.

II. PREHISTORIC EGYPT

Periods, Cultures, and Principal Sites of Egyptian Prehistory

LOWER AND MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC ʿAbbāsīyeh, Cliffs at Thebes, el Khārgeh Oasis, etc.		Before 12,000 B.C.*
UPPER PALAEOLITHIC I Kōm Ombo Basin (Sibīl I), el Khārgeh Oasis, el Fayyūm and south Delta areas		Before 12,000 B.C.*
UPPER PALAEOLITHIC II Kōm Ombo Basin (Sibīl II), el Fayyūm and south Delta areas		12,000-8000 B.C.
FINAL PALAEOLITHIC OR MESOLITHIC Kōm Ombo Basin (Sibīl III), Ḥelwān, Wādy ʿAngabīyeh		8000-6000 B.C.
NEOLITHIC		Begins 5000 B.C.
SOUTHERN EGYPT	NORTHERN EGYPT	
	el Fayyūm "A" Group Kōm Washīm, Ḳaṣr el Ṣagheh, Dimai	
	West Delta Culture Merimdeh Beni Salāmeh	
Tasian Culture Deir Tāsa, Mustagiddeh	*Ḥelwān Culture* el ʿOmari	
CHALCOLITHIC		
Badarian Culture el Badāri, Ḥemamīyeh; Nubia	*el Fayyūm "B" Group* Dimai, Ḳaṣi Ḳarūn, Khasmet ed Dīb	
Early Predynastic Culture (ʿAmratian) el ʿAmreh, Neḳādeh, Ballās, Ḥu, Abydos, el Maḥāsneh, Ḥemamīyeh; Nubia	[*Early Predynastic Culture (Early Gerzean) (?)*]	4000-3600 B.C.
Middle Predynastic Culture (ʿAmratian + Gerzean) Sites in general same as for Early Predynastic Culture	*Middle Predynastic Culture (Gerzean)* Gerzeh, Harageh, Abu Ṣīr el Meleḳ	3600-3400 B.C.
	Predynastic Culture of el Maʿādy	
Late Predynastic Culture (Late Gerzean) (Kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt)		3400-3200 B.C.
HISTORIC PERIOD (From Dynasty I)		Begins 3200 B.C.

* The dates throughout are rough approximations, with the probable margin of error decreasing as the historic period is approached.

II. Prehistoric Egypt

1. Palaeolithic Man in the Nile Valley

MANY THOUSANDS of years before the dawn of recorded history, at a time corresponding roughly to the Mindel-Riss interglacial period in western Europe, hunters of the Palaeolithic, or Old Stone, Age, made their appearance on the banks of the Nile. Tracking the herds of wild game across the then grassy and well-watered plains of northeast Africa, these men followed the lateral tributaries of the Nile to the great river itself and camped either on the edge of the plateau overlooking the Nile gorge or on the marginal terraces which the river was then in the process of forming within its ancient valley. Today we find embedded in the gravels of these terraces or scattered over the present high desert adjoining the valley on both sides the crude stone implements of these early hunters.

During the Lower, or early, Palaeolithic phases of man's development the types of implements left on the Nile terraces and on the adjoining desert surfaces are the same as those prevalent not only throughout the whole of North Africa but also throughout most of western Europe. The implied expansion of the same cultural groups along both shores of the Mediterranean Sea was probably accomplished by way of Gibraltar, where the narrow strait would have presented no insurmountable obstacle to their passage back and forth between the two continents.

The Palaeolithic ★flint implements[1] in the Museum's collection (fig. 1), though altogether similar to examples discovered in the gravels of the Nile terraces, come actually from the surface of the plateau above the cliffs of western Thebes, their deep brown patination bearing evidence to their centuries of exposure to the elements. They consist of natural flint nodules, or "cores," chipped to shape by oblique blows from a hammerstone. The chips sheared off the two convex sides of the implements were large and few in number.

The most characteristic form is the *coup de poing,* or hand axe, a triangular or oval implement tapered at one end to an edged point and finished at the other with a thick, rounded butt designed to fit comfortably into the palm of the

[1] A star symbol is used, as here, throughout the text to designate objects owned by the Museum and recorded in the Finding List. The phrasing in the text and the phrasing of the entries in the Finding List always correspond very closely, but not always exactly. For more than half the references in the text, the star appears in front of the first word used in the entries; often, however, it is placed on a later but more significant word, e.g., model of a ★sistrum, lower half of a seated ★statuette, or one of the tall granite ★columns from Saḥu-Rēʿ's mortuary temple.

As the reconstruction program of the Museum, now in progress, will result in many changes in gallery numbers and in installation, the Finding List for the present volume has been postponed. A complete Finding List for the Museum's entire collection of Egyptian art will be issued with Part II.

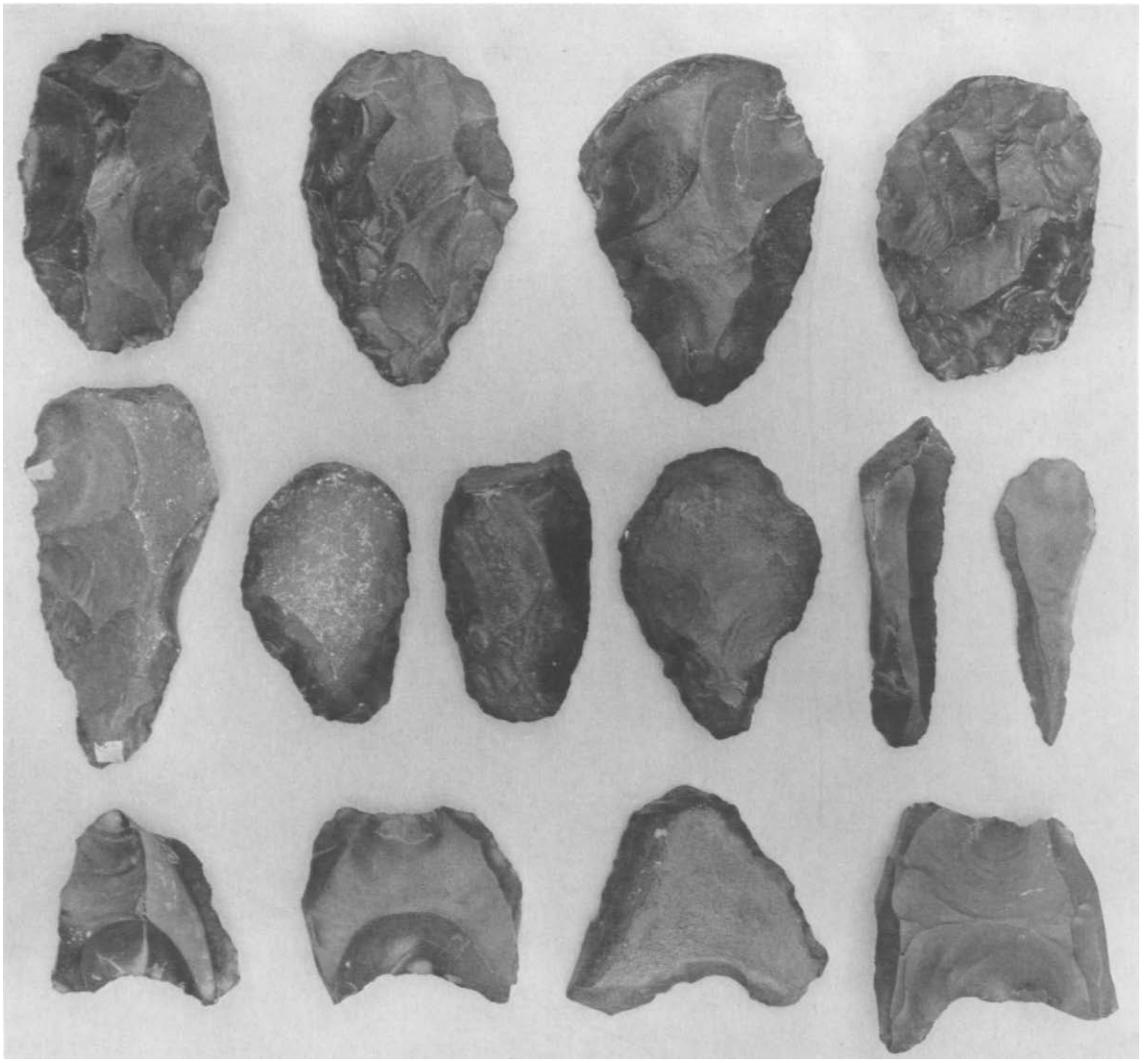


FIGURE 1. Palaeolithic flint implements from western Thebes. L. 3¼-7 in.

hand. The uses to which this single implement could have been put are many and various—cleaving, chopping, scraping, sawing, skinning, and stabbing—and it is not surprising that for thousands of years it was the favorite tool and weapon of the Palaeolithic hunter.

The flakes sheared off in the process of making the larger tools and weapons were often adapted for use as small scrapers, knives, and punches. With time the striking of such flakes from cores specially prepared for the purpose became the principal method of producing stone implements. Though exceedingly deft practitioners of their simple craft, the Palaeolithic implement-makers had not yet reached the stage where they were interested in refinements of shape and surface achieved in later times by retouching, grinding, and polishing.

By Middle Palaeolithic times northeast Africa, including Egypt, had begun to evolve flint techniques of its own, and the Upper, or late, Palaeolithic period is characterized by a general breakdown of the cultural homogeneity which had previously existed throughout the whole of the Mediterranean area. It was during the latter

period in Egypt that an increasingly arid climate first began to make it more profitable for men to forsake the nomadic life of the open plains and confine their activities to the vicinity of the river.

Earthen hearths and heaps of kitchen refuse, marking the sites of Upper Palaeolithic settlements or camps, have been found on the ancient beaches of the Nile and on the shores of prehistoric lakes and swamps along its course. These kitchen middens are composed of shells of edible mollusks, fish and animal bones, discarded utensils of bone, ivory, and stone, ashes, and general rubbish.

The flint implements characteristic of these sites tend from the first to be small and of numerous specialized types and end by becoming so minute as to justify the term "microliths" applied to them. Little saw-toothed blades, identified as sickle flints, and crude stone mills equipped with grinding stones suggest that cereal grains, either wild or cultivated, formed part of the diet of Upper Palaeolithic man in Egypt. His knowledge and use of the bow and arrow are attested by numerous arrow tips in flint, ivory, and bone.

Pottery vessels were apparently not yet produced intentionally, but the hard pottery crusts formed by the heat of cooking fires on the inner surfaces of the clay hearths may have given birth to the idea.

In contrast to the fine artistic creations of contemporary man in Europe, none of the Upper Palaeolithic sites in Egypt has as yet yielded a single decorated object; but, in view of subsequent developments, it would be unfair to condemn the Nile-dweller of this period as stolid and unimaginative on the basis of the very scanty evidence now available.

2. The Mesolithic Period, or Middle Stone Age

The Middle Stone Age is so sparsely and questionably represented in Egypt that no clear picture of it has as yet emerged. Groups of large flint implements from the Wādy es Sheikh, in Middle Egypt, have been compared to those of the Mesolithic culture of Campigny, in northern France, but this association seems now to have had no valid basis. The few remaining implements of Mesolithic age reflect a continuation of the small flake and blade industry of the final stage of the Late Palaeolithic culture and show almost no connections with the implements produced by the earliest Neolithic peoples. In fact, it is probable that the latter, whom we may with some justification call "Egyptians," were not related to their predecessors of the Old and Middle Stone Ages. Furthermore, it will become apparent that among the Neolithic and Chalcolithic peoples themselves we must recognize a quantity of different cultures and several different ethnic strains.

3. The Neolithic Period, or Late Stone Age[2]

The Neolithic period is one of the great milestones in human history. It was at this time in Egypt, as elsewhere, that man adopted his present settled mode of life, turned to agriculture às his chief means of livelihood, domesticated animals and used them to his own advantage, built houses for himself and his family and grouped those houses together to form more or less permanent towns, started producing pottery vessels in which he prepared, served, or stored his food and drink, learned to weave linen cloth and to make rush baskets and mats, and, by careful retouching, grinding, and polishing, elevated the making of stone implements to a fine art.

It was probably to the farmer people of this period that Egypt owes the initiation of the vast project of land reclamation, artificial irrigation,

[2] Dr. Baumgärtel (*Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, pp. 14-18) has challenged the use of the term "Neolithic" in connection with Egyptian prehistory and relegated the Fayyūm, west Delta, and Helwān cultures to Middle or Late Predynastic times. See, however, the works of Junker, Scharff, Huzayyin, Menghin, Caton-Thompson, Debono, and others listed under Prehistory in the Bibliography.

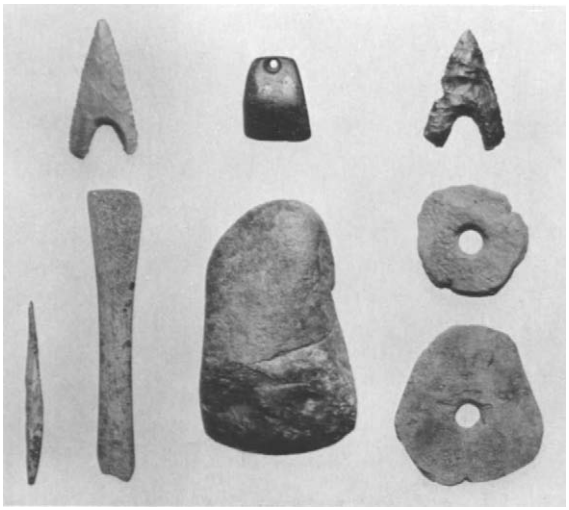
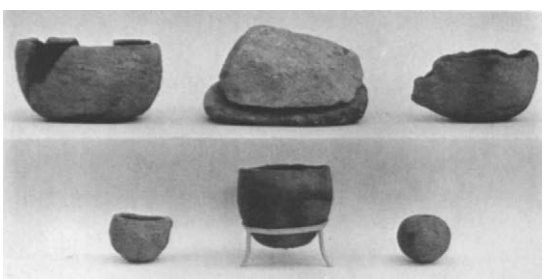


FIGURE 2. Neolithic objects from the west Delta. L. 1¾-2¾ in.

and control of the yearly inundation which thenceforth, down to the present day, has so extensively occupied the government and people of the Nile Valley. To acquire and maintain arable fields for his crops the early farmer was faced with the necessity of draining great expanses of swampland, protecting the newly won land from reflooding by the construction of dikes, and at the same time, providing for its irrigation by the creation of co-ordinated systems of basins, canals, ditches, and wells. Such a task could not be accomplished by private or individual enterprise, but called for the concerted efforts of communities of people working together in highly organized groups. So it was that from the very outset of their settled existence the people of Egypt were forced to develop the extraordinary talent for organization which more than any other single factor was responsible for the dominant position enjoyed by their civilization among the nations of the ancient Near East.

FIGURE 3. Neolithic objects from the west Delta. H. 1¾-3¼ in.



The material culture of the Late Stone Age is represented in the Museum's collection by ★objects from the Neolithic settlement at Merimdeh Beni Salāmeh, on the western edge of the Delta (figs. 2, 3). Outstanding among the stone implements from this site are the polished celt, or axe, the pear-shaped mace head, and the intricately chipped winged arrow heads. A small replica of the axe, pierced with a hole, was probably worn about the neck or wrist as an amulet. The quern and grinding stone, the flint sickle blades, and the wheat grains clearly betoken a bread-eating farmer people; the bone awls and spatulae indicate the existence of industries requiring small, specialized tools; and the clay spindle whorls show that already thread was being spun for the making of cloth. The crude pottery vessels, of coarse, brown Nile clay, consist almost entirely of deep, bulbous bowls roughly shaped by hand and unevenly fired. The bowl with the well-developed spout is of especial interest, as is also the fragment with a row of incised vertical lines —a feeble, but none the less real, attempt at decoration.

A group of ★flint implements from the northern edge of the Fayyūm depression (fig. 4) illustrates the skill of the Neolithic implement-maker. In addition to the delicately worked arrow tips, scrapers, saws, and sickle flints, we meet for the first time the long lance head and the large, curved knife, henceforth the most popular and certainly the finest of the prehistoric implements produced in Egypt. A polished ★adze blade (see fig. 4) comes from the oasis of el Khārgeh, one of the outposts of Neolithic culture in the Libyan Desert.

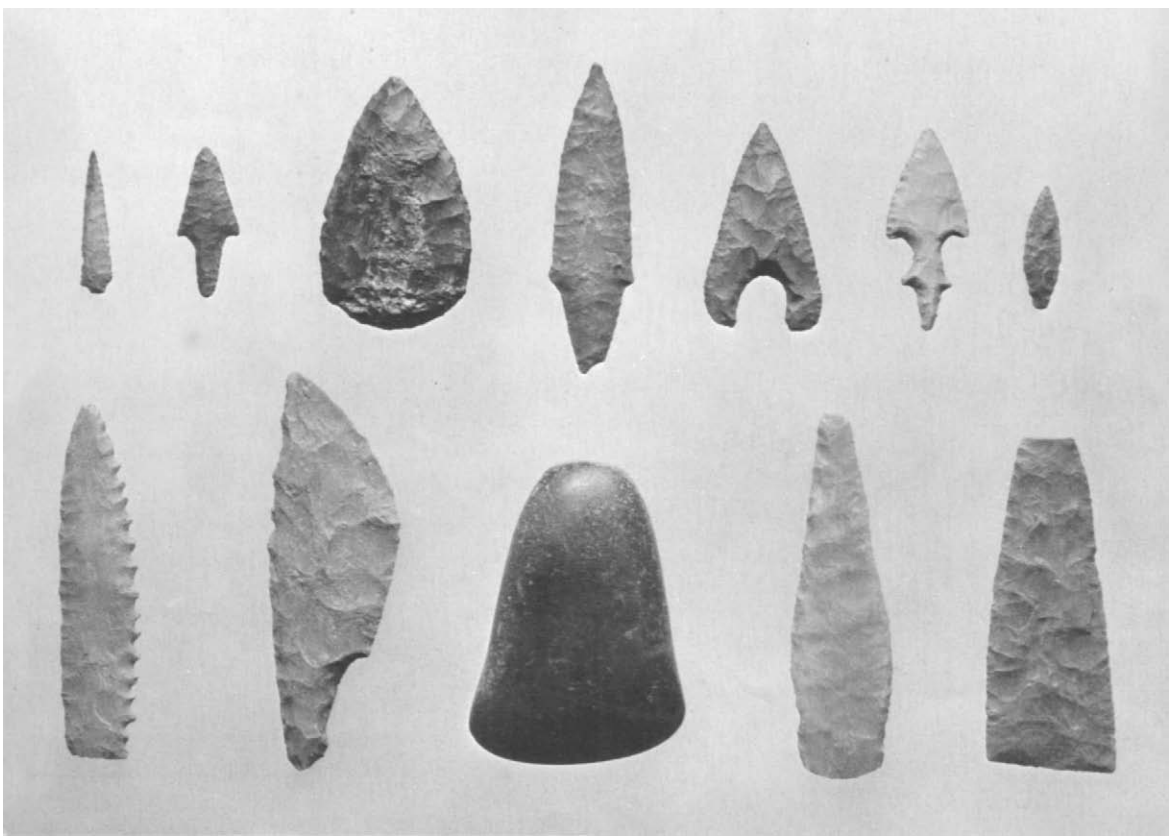
Late Neolithic cemeteries near Deir Tāsa, in Middle Egypt, not only have added greatly to

our knowledge of the material culture and physical characteristics of the contemporary inhabitants of that portion of the Nile Valley but have given us an illuminating picture of the burial customs and funerary beliefs of the Egyptians of this remote age. As in all subsequent periods of ancient Egyptian prehistory and history, the burial practices of the Tāsian people point clearly to their belief in a life after death, a life which they evidently regarded as similar in most respects to their everyday existence on earth.

In contrast to the earlier Neolithic peoples, among whom the more primitive practice of house burial prevailed, the Tāsian buried his dead in cemeteries along the edge of the desert, some distance away from his habitations. The grave was an oval hole a few feet deep, in which the body, covered with skins, matting, or cloth and occasionally with a leather pillow under the head, lay curled up on its side as if in sleep. Some of the bodies were enclosed within rectangular hampers of sticks, matting, or skins stretched on frames—forerunners of the coffins of later prehistoric and historic times. That the deceased might enjoy the use of his worldy possessions in the afterlife, these were grouped about him in the grave: brown and gray-black pottery bowls containing stores of food and drink, black pottery beakers with elaborate incised decoration, alabaster and limestone palettes on which eye and face paint were ground, ivory bracelets, beads of bone and ivory and shells pierced for stringing as bracelets and necklaces, little carved ivory cosmetic spoons, bone and shell fishhooks, mills for making wheat flour, polished stone axes, and sickle blades, knives, saws, and scrapers of flint.

Although, judging from the few intact skulls

FIGURE 4. Neolithic stone implements from the Fayyūm. Adze blade from the Oasis of el Khārgeh. L. 1-4¾ in.



found, the broad-headed, square-jawed Tāsians differed in physical type from the later prehistoric people of Egypt, the form of burial seen at Deir Tāsa—the shallow grave, the contracted position of the body, and the types of objects placed in the grave—remained the standard throughout the rest of Egyptian prehistory and for common folk well down into the dynastic period; and the ideas on death, immortality, and the life after death to which these late Neolithic graves already bear witness were held by the people of Egypt throughout the whole of their ancient history and were responsible, directly or indirectly, for the creation and preservation of the majority of the works of Egyptian art which have survived to the present day.

4. The Cultures of the Chalcolithic Period

The last and best-known era of Egypt's prehistory has been given the convenient, if somewhat arbitrary, name Chalcolithic, or Copper and Stone, Age—a period during which stone was still the principal material used for tools and weapons but small copper implements also were beginning to be produced. In this period, which extended from the end of the Neolithic Age to the time just preceding the dawn of recorded history, we can discern in Egypt two main cultural developments: a southern culture, largely of African origin and affiliations, and a northern culture, closely associated with those of the Mediterranean and Asiatic regions to the north and east of Egypt.

FIGURE 5. Chalcolithic pottery from el Badāri. H. 4½-5 in.



5. The Badarian Civilization

Settlements and cemeteries of the earliest of the southern group of Chalcolithic cultures have been found in the neighborhood of el Badāri, in Middle Egypt, and remains of this "Badarian" civilization occur in numerous places throughout Upper Egypt and Nubia. El Badāri itself lies just south of the Neolithic site of Deir Tāsa, and, in spite of notable differences, it would seem that the Tāsian and Badarian finds represent nothing more than an earlier and a later stage of the same culture.

Physically the Badarians were of the type which we have come to recognize as characteristically Upper Egyptian: lean, lightly built men of medium height, with long, narrow heads, brown skins, dark wavy hair, and exceedingly sparse beards. An agricultural and pastoral people, their unwarlike nature is attested by the complete absence from their graves and settlements of any save hunting weapons. Of their religion we know little; it is evident, however, that they believed in the efficacy of amulets in the form of animal heads, which they wore in the hope of attaining the courage, strength, cunning, or swiftness of the animal represented, and that they held particular animals—an individual dog or jackal, an ox, a sheep, or a goat—to be sacred and buried them with full honors in cemeteries next to their own.

Of the numerous highly developed industries to which the Badarian graves and settlements bear witness, the outstanding was the manufacture of fine, thin-walled ★pottery vessels, chiefly bowls (fig. 5). The exteriors of the better and more characteristic examples are finished with a burnished slip or a curious over-all rippled pattern, probably produced by a comb of some sort.

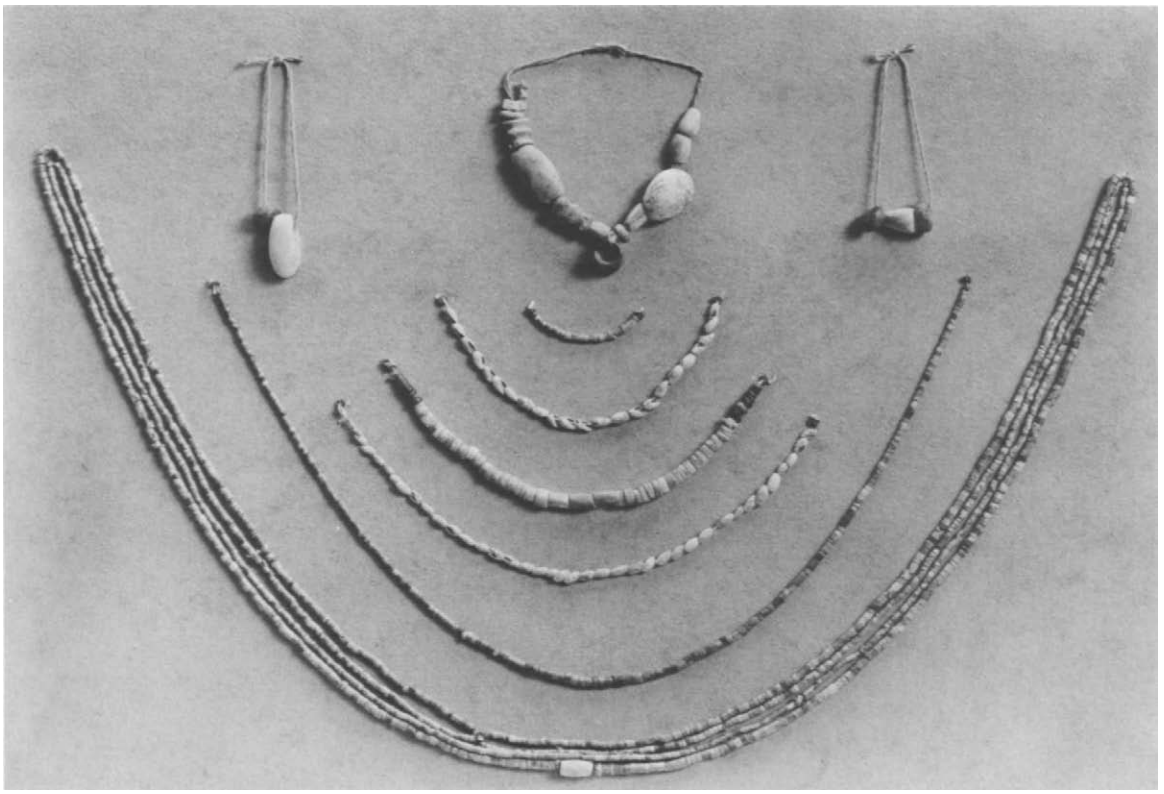


FIGURE 6. Chalcolithic jewelry from el Badāri

The larger classes of pottery are the solid black, the black-topped brown, and the black-topped red wares. The black in every case is carbon, produced by subjecting the whole or portions of a pot of red or brown ware to the action of dense smoke. The existence at this period of a polished red pottery uniformly fired all over indicates that the potter's kiln had already been invented. In addition to the finer wares, common household pottery of smooth and of rough brown ware is also found. A group of polished red ★bowls and two black-topped ★jars found by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition at Hierakonpolis, in Upper Egypt, are probably also to be classed as Badarian.

Besides making his excellent pottery vessels, the Badarian had probably learned to hollow out and shape vases of stone, a craft at which the ancient Egyptian was soon to prove himself a past master. The few "Badarian" stone vessels found, however, are not certainly dated and may belong to a later period.

From the tusks of the hippopotamus and the African elephant the Badarian fashioned himself fancifully decorated spoons and combs, handsome little cylindrical vases, and crude, but by no means inept, statuettes of women—the last unquestionably placed in the graves to serve as companions to the deceased. The facility with which ivory, always a favorite material of the Egyptian artist, lends itself to the production of attractive works of art is demonstrated by a comparison of these statuettes with the infinitely coarser clay and pottery figures produced by both the Badarians and the later Predynastic peoples of Egypt.

The slate cosmetic palettes on which for centuries the prehistoric Egyptians ground malachite and galena for use as eye paints first appear, in a simple rectangular form, at el Badāri, supplanting the alabaster and limestone palettes of the Neolithic period seen at Deir Tāsa.



FIGURE 7. Predynastic black and black-topped red pottery. H. 3¼-7 in.

Bone continued to be used extensively for small implements, such as needles and awls; but a copper pin and a copper bead found in a Badarian cemetery form definite, if not very extensive, evidence that the Egyptian at this time either understood or was in contact with people who understood the smelting and working of metal.

It was in their ★jewelry (fig. 6) that the people of this time made perhaps their most notable advances. Besides assembling the ever popular strings of small shells, the Badarians carved and drilled necklace, bracelet, and girdle beads of various hard stones and had even discovered how to make and apply a vitreous glaze to soft, lusterless materials like steatite, thus achieving very passable imitations of beads cut from semiprecious stones. In view of the very important part played by glaze, faience, and glass in all later periods of Egyptian art, the interest of this earliest appearance of an artificially produced vitreous substance can hardly be exaggerated. Its discovery probably resulted from the accidental fusing of ordinary quartz sand in the heat of a desert campfire, and its advantages were probably not recognized until the chance combination with a copper compound gave the glaze the much admired greenish blue color which in its various shades resembles turquoise, beryl, and green feldspar.

The contents of the Badarian graves make it clear that even at this early period the peoples of Upper Egypt did not live in primitive isolation, but had established numerous cultural contacts and were carrying on a lively trade with people of other districts and even of other countries. Elephant ivory was probably imported from the south, shells from the Red Sea coast, turquoise from Sinai, and copper from the north; and it has been suggested that the stone vases may have been made in the Delta region and traded up river.

6. The Predynastic Culture of Upper Egypt

The culture which in Upper Egypt and Nubia developed out of the Badarian civilization, although displaying no very great material ad-

vances, is nevertheless of major importance and interest to the student of Egyptian art. The Predynastic Egyptian lived and was buried in a manner similar to that of his Badarian ancestor, and the kinds of objects found in his settlements and cemeteries are very much the same as those prevalent during the preceding period. For us the important differences are that in Predynastic times the Egyptian began to use his rapidly developing ability to carve, model, draw, and paint to an infinitely greater extent than before and that, of the countless decorated objects produced by this new artistic exuberance, a very large number have been preserved to us.

Of these none illustrates the new tendency so well as the huge corpus of pottery vessels recovered from the numerous Predynastic cemeteries and settlements of Upper Egypt and Nubia. Although this pottery has been conveniently divided into several classes—black-topped red, solid black, polished red, and red with white line decoration—it is all the same ware: a brown river clay with a dark red slip burnished by rubbing with a smooth pebble. The small black ★vases and the upper parts of the much admired black-topped red ★jars (fig. 7) were purposely blackened by carbonization, a method employed solely to obtain a desired color effect; for the even firing of pottery vessels in a kiln of some sort had been known and practiced for centuries. The solid black vases shaped with sharp-edged, flat rims and small lug handles are adroit imitations of the contemporary small stone jars carved in black basalt (fig. 15).

The plain, polished red ★pottery displays, in addition to numerous conventional forms, a great variety of odd and amusing shapes, products of the fancy of the individual potter. The Museum's examples include oval flasks, double vases and bowls, strange U-shaped jars, vessels in the forms of birds and animals, and a bowl standing comically on a pair of stubby human feet (fig. 8). Frequently the same ★pottery was decorated with linear designs applied in thick, yellowish white paint to the dark red surface of the jar or bowl (figs. 8, 9). Always somewhat angular and geometric, many of the designs, such as the common crosshatched chevrons and triangles, are clearly imitations of basketwork; but

FIGURE 8. Predynastic pottery—fancy shapes. H. 2½-7¾ in.





FIGURE 9. Predynastic red pottery with white line decoration. H. 2¼-28 in.

natural objects in the potter's environment are also represented: palm branches, hippopotami, Nile crocodiles, Salūki hunting dogs, and occasionally figures of men with lariats, spears, bows, and arrows. Even complete scenes, usually depicting hunting expeditions, are not uncommon. The decorated interior of an oval dish in the Museum's collection, for example, shows us a hunt on the river, with men in light reed skiffs spearing hippopotami and crocodiles (fig. 10).

FIGURE 10. Hunting scene on a Predynastic pottery dish. L. 10½ in.



With this typical pottery are found a few examples of a soft black ★pottery with incised and white-filled decoration imitating the stitched work on leather vessels. Examples of this rare class were probably importations into Egypt from the west or south.

★Stone vases, which as containers *de luxe* were soon to replace the polished and decorated pottery vessels, are still rare, of small size, and of relatively few types. The most characteristic forms are the cylindrical jar of alabaster and the long, cylindrical or barrel-shaped jar, with or without a foot, carved in black basalt.

The slate cosmetic ★palette, on the other hand, had become one of the standard possessions of the Predynastic Egyptians and is found in nearly every grave, placed, with its grinding pebble and the accompanying small bag of galena or malachite, near the face of its deceased owner. Simple rectangular palettes still occur, but the favorite shape is the elongated lozenge, or diamond, and even fish, bird, and animal forms, common in the somewhat later culture of northern Egypt, are beginning to appear.

Outstanding among the weapons of the Predynastic people of southern Egypt was the ★mace with the disk-shaped head of hard stone. Although this type of mace was superseded in Egypt by the type with the heavier and more rugged pear-shaped head developed in the north, it was still sufficiently well known at the beginning of the historic period to be reproduced as one of the more common hieroglyphic signs in the written language (⟜). The examples on exhibition are of mottled granite, diorite, and breccia, the beauty of the stones being more than equaled by the precision with which the disks are shaped, drilled, and polished.

It is hard to believe that the curious "fishtail" ★lance heads, produced in quantity during this period, were very efficient weapons, but one cannot help but admire the consummate skill with which their slender blades were shaped from the hardest of stones, flint and obsidian. Less interesting, though no less finely made, are the long lozenge-shaped ★dagger blades and the delicate little winged ★arrow points.

Figure sculpture, still in a distinctly embryonic stage of development, is represented by a number of crude little *statuettes of men, women, and animals.* The striking differences in style

FIGURE 11. Predynastic female figures of painted clay. H. 8-9½ in.



and proportions between the figures carved in ivory and those modeled in clay or vegetable paste are to be attributed, to a very large extent, simply to the differences in material.

The long, exceedingly slender, ivory ★statuettes of men and occasionally of women follow the shape of the tusks from which they were carved. A very common type of ivory figure, perhaps an amulet or idol, consists merely of a tusk with the tip carved in the form of a bearded male head. Although crude, these statuettes give us lively portraits of the contemporary inhabitants of Upper Egypt—slim, small-boned men with long, narrow heads and rather fine, aquiline faces. Their pointed beards and the curious tubular sheaths which they wear were characteristic of the Libyan peoples of the western desert, to whom the early Egyptians were closely related.

The gross, lumpy clay ★statuettes of steatopygous women (fig. 11) may represent female slaves of some African tribe among whom such deformities were common or may simply reflect the primitive sculptor's tendency to exaggerate the forms he was portraying. The white paint on the lower portions of some of the figures undoubtedly represents linen clothing, and the designs on the arms, legs, and bodies of the statuettes may in actuality have been painted or tattooed on the persons of the women.

Like most early artists, the Predynastic Egyptian was much more successful in his representations of animals and birds than he was in his attempts to portray his fellow men. Keen observation, springing from a very real interest in natural forms, and freedom from the conventions which even at this early stage governed the representation of the human body were responsible for this. In the simple carvings and drawings of birds and beasts preserved to us from this era the salient features of each species are accented in such lively and accurate fashion that there is never any doubt as to what animal or bird is intended. The stone ★amulets in the form of hippopotami, though hardly more than silhouettes, reproduce the characteristic outline and pose of that ponderous animal. The towering giraffe, the strange okapi, the lithe gazelle, and the awkward ostrich appear to the life on the handles of the long-toothed ivory ★combs (fig. 12). A spotted ★ox in painted clay and an African ★elephant in the same material are somewhat less successful, perhaps because the Upper Egyptian artist saw the ox too often to be deeply interested in it and the elephant too rarely to be well acquainted with its anatomy.

7. The Predynastic Culture of Lower Egypt[3]

In contrast to the isolated African river valley which is Upper Egypt, the Delta of the Nile has always been one of the crossroads of the eastern Mediterranean world. Here the Libyans of the west met and exchanged ideas with the island peoples of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, with the Bedawīn of Sinai, with the Semitic nations of near-by Palestine, Syria, and Transjordania, and with representatives of the great civilizations which were growing up in the lower valleys and delta of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The effects of the northern Egyptian's close and frequent contacts with his more inventive and hence more progressive neighbors to the north and east are already discernible in the Neolithic cultures of the western Delta and the Fayyūm. The continuation and intensification of these contacts caused him to evolve in Predynastic times a civilization which not only differed widely from that of Upper Egypt but, from both the practical and artistic points of view, was greatly in advance of the more or less contemporary southern culture.

[3] Though favoring an Asiatic origin for this culture, Dr. Baumgärtel (*Cultures,* p. 44) follows Petrie in believing that it entered Egypt via the Koptos road from the Red Sea and later spread northward from Neḳādeh into Lower Egypt. In the pages to follow we shall adhere to the simpler and more generally accepted thesis that its expansion was in the opposite direction, that is, in a direct line through the Delta and southward into Upper Egypt.

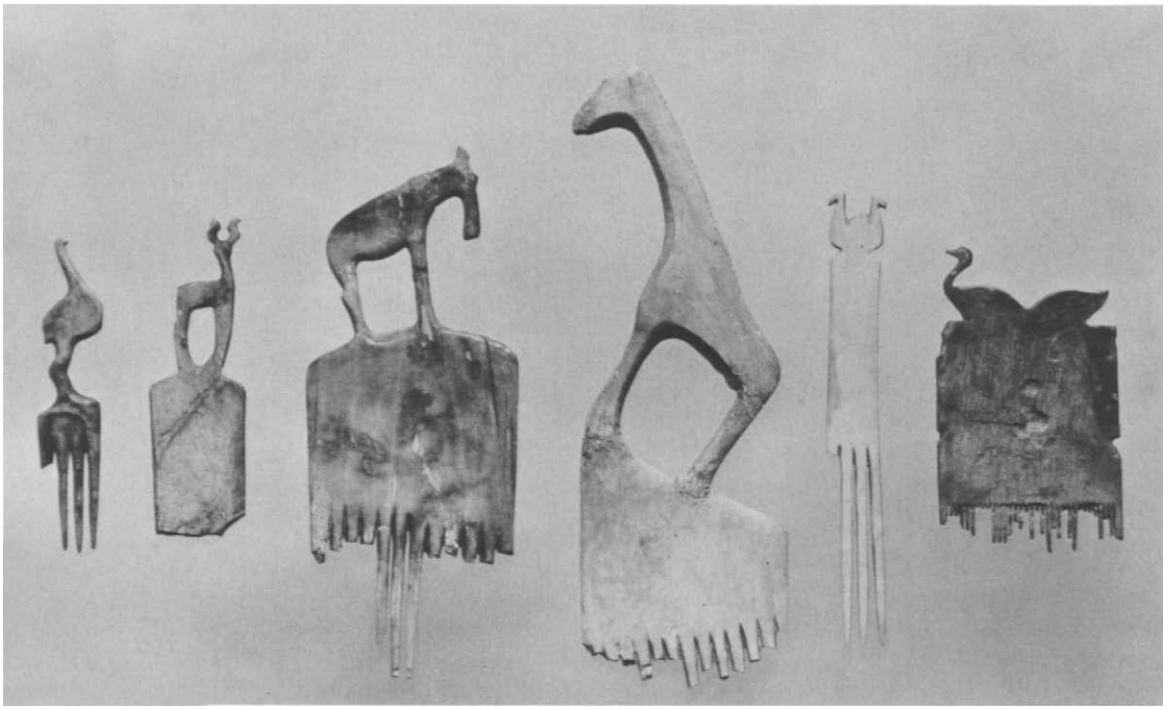


FIGURE 12. Predynastic ivory combs. H. 3¾-6½ in.

In the Delta itself the deep alluvium of more recent centuries has covered over all traces of the earlier periods, and we are dependent for our knowledge of the northern civilization, in its pure form, on cemeteries of the "Gerzean," or Middle and Late Predynastic, periods at Gerzeh, el Harageh, and Abu Sīr el Meleḳ—all located in the latitude of the Fayyūm and all therefore in northern Egypt, separated by a considerable distance from the sites of the southern culture (see Map).[4]

The graves in the northern cemeteries are oval or rectangular, their walls revetted with matting, wood, and, later, with mud brick. As time goes on they become larger and more elaborate, and to the single rectangular cavity containing the body are added compartments to receive the overflow of offerings; steps: and, finally, roofs with moundlike superstructures above.

The men, women, and children buried in these graves belong to the same brown Mediterranean race as the Upper Egyptians, but their heads are broader, their cranial indices higher, and their faces longer. The bodies tend to be much more loosely contracted than those in the southern cemeteries, and the fact that many of them were buried with their heads to the north and their faces toward the rising sun probably indicates the existence, even at this time, of a solar religion.

The characteristic pottery of the north is of gray or buff desert clay without a surface slip. It may be divided into several classes.

The so-called "wavy-handled" ★vases (fig. 13) are jars with horizontal, ledgelike handles or lugs, waved to form a better grip for the fingers or perhaps purely for decoration. The vases start their development as large, wide jars with very distinct ledges on the sides and degenerate into small cylindrical jars with a cord decoration around the upper part, a type common in the

[4] The existence of an earlier stage of this culture, contemporary with the "ʿAmratian" of Upper Egypt, is almost certainly to be assumed. In the table at the beginning of the present chapter this hypothetical stage has been tentatively called "Early Gerzean."



FIGURE 13. "Wavy-handled" jars. A selection showing the degeneration of the form. H. 8¼-11¼ in.

First and Second Dynasties. The degeneration of the form is very clear in this class of jar and may be followed step by step from the Middle Predynastic period down into historic times. For this reason the wavy-handled class has formed the basis of a system of relative, or "sequence," dating for Predynastic finds, which was devised by Sir Flinders Petrie. The earliest forms of these vases are found in Palestine, whence the whole class may have been imported or derived.

The large and important class known simply as "decorated" ★pottery also belongs to the northern Predynastic culture. This class is composed of jars of buff, gray, or pale pink pottery covered with elaborate red line decoration of a type distinct from that of the white-on-red decorated jars of the southern culture. Nile scenes with great many-oared ships (complete with "cabins" and "house flags"[5]), rows of hills, antelopes, ibexes, flamingos, human figures, aloe trees, and decorative patterns composed of wavy lines are among the dominant motifs (fig. 14). Some of the jars are shaped and painted to imitate vases of ornately grained stone, while others are given the forms of birds, animals, or boats.

[5] Probably the shrines and emblems of divinities.

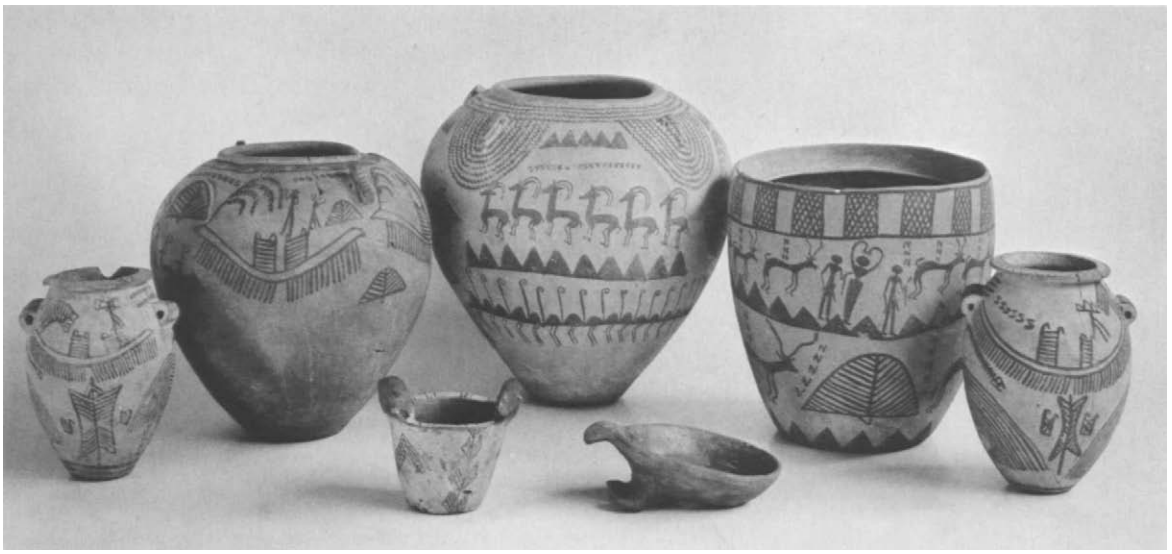
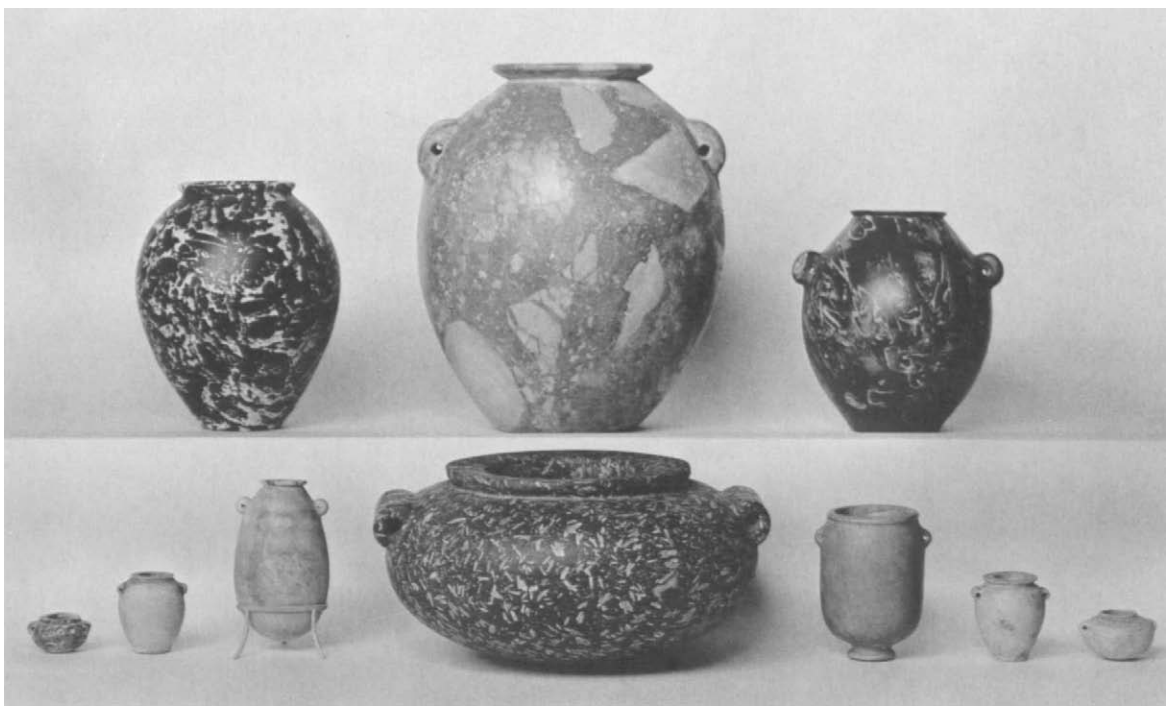


FIGURE 14. "Decorated" Predynastic pottery. H. 2¾-12 in.

Undecorated ★jars and bowls of the same ware and also of a coarse, brown pottery were produced in great quantity for ordinary household use.

★Stone vases of unsurpassed beauty and technical excellence were turned out in large numbers by the talented northerners (fig. 15). In these we find a great variety of shapes, sizes, and materials, the last including granite, diorite, basalt, serpentine, breccia, schist, marble, and nummulitic limestone. The development or introduc-

FIGURE 15. Predynastic stone vases. H. 1¼-11 in.



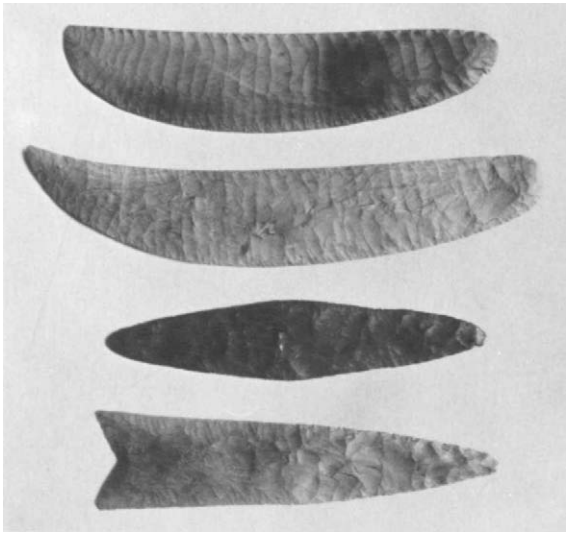


FIGURE 16. Predynastic flint knives and lance heads. L. 7½-10¼ in.

tion at about this time of a boring tool ( ), by means of which the interiors of stone vases could be hollowed out with relative ease, increased enormously the production of this ware.

In the north we find the ★mace with the pear-shaped head which was common in the eastern Mediterranean world and which has already been seen in the west Delta culture at Merimdeh. This was destined to become the standard Egyptian type.

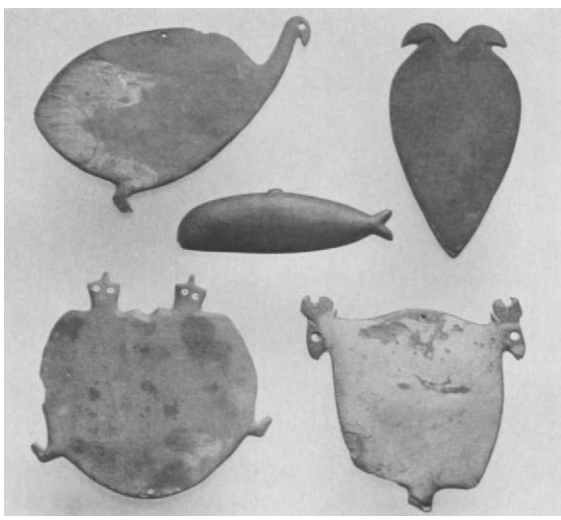
The technique of making ★flint implements reached, in the northern Predynastic culture, a degree of perfection unequaled elsewhere. The wide, slightly curved knife, very thin and with a beautiful and amazingly regular rippled pattern on one surface, is the outstanding type of implement (fig. 16). Somewhat later knives of this sort were equipped with ivory handles carved in relief with registers of animals and birds, real or fantastic, and with scenes of hunting and warfare (pp. 27 f.).

The slate cosmetic ★palette was as popular in the north as in the south, and its outline here takes on a multitude of elaborate forms: birds, represented singly or in groups, fish, tortoises, and animals (fig. 17), often with the eyes inlaid in bone for greater realism. Several slates have been found bearing simple designs in relief on their surfaces—the forerunners of the great commemorative palettes of the Late Predynastic period.

Glaze, as we have seen, was known from Badarian times but as yet had been used only as a coating on carved stone objects. It was now applied to beads and even small vessels molded in a sandy paste, or frit. Because of its adaptability, its cheapness, and its beauty the new material, known today as "Egyptian faience," was destined to become one of the favorite mediums of the Egyptian artist and to enjoy a tremendous popularity throughout Egyptian history.

In addition to ★beads of faience, the northern Egyptian possesed an extensive parure, which the Museum's collection offers an excellent opportunity to study (fig. 18). ★Bracelets were beaten of copper or carved of ivory, bone, mollusk shell, and tortoise shell. Strings of beads, cut, drilled, and polished in all manner of hard stones, were worn as necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and fillets about the forehead. The materials of the beads and the various pendent ornaments strung with them include chalcedony, sard, carnelian, turquoise, agate, quartz, serpentine, lapis

FIGURE 17. Predynastic slate cosmetic palettes. L. 5½-7½ in.



lazuli, calcite, steatite, feldspar, and haematite. Beads of copper, gold, and even native iron are also known.

Notable advances were made in the working of metals in general, and fairly large and well-made weapons, implements, and vessels of beaten copper are found — harpoons, daggers, small trays, and so forth.

As in Upper Egypt, human and animal figures were carved in ivory and stone, and it is probable that among these we have for the first time representations of known Egyptian deities: the falcon god Horus of Beḥdet, in the eastern Delta, and the cow head of the very ancient goddess Ḥat-Ḥor.

Specific relations of this culture with the north are readily enumerated. The material of which the newly invented faience was made is found in the Wādy 'n Natrūn, to the west of the Delta, and the Egyptian word for faience is derived from the name of a tribe of Libyans inhabiting that region. The wavy-handled jars, as we have seen, are probably of Palestinian origin. In addition, there are found in the graves of the Lower Egyptian culture other pottery vessels which are clear importations from Palestine-Syria. Certain animal forms in the art, as well as other motifs, occur in Sumeria at this time. The cow goddess is found at Byblos and probably existed at a very early date in the eastern Mediterranean area. Lapis lazuli was imported from Mesopotamia, and obsidian from Abyssinia, Arabia, or the islands of the Aegean Sea. Mud bricks made with wooden molds go back to a great antiquity in Mesopotamia, and the idea was almost certainly borrowed rather than reinvented by the Egyptians.

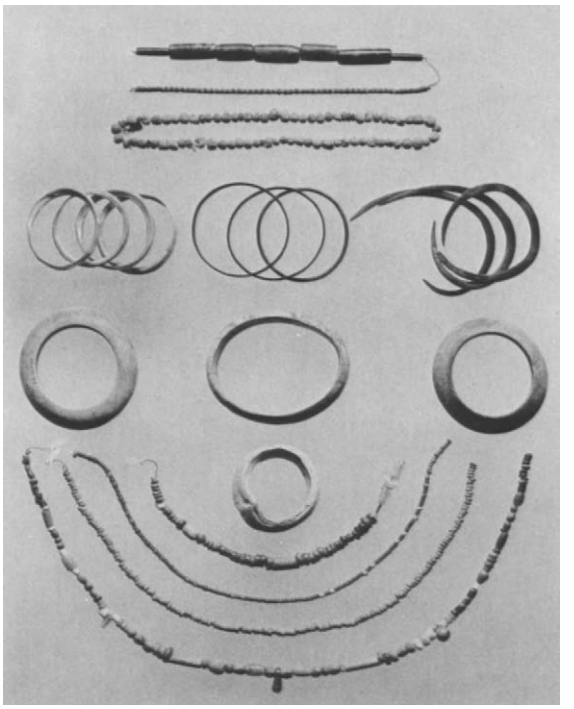


FIGURE 18. Predynastic jewelry

8. The Cultural Domination of the North during the Middle Predynastic Period

For a brief time the two Predynastic cultures must have existed side by side.[6] Then the stronger and more advanced northern civilization pushed south, merged with the southern culture, and received the latter into itself. Thus in the Middle Predynastic period we find the cemeteries and settlements of Upper Egypt flooded with the characteristic pottery and other products of the northerners and the original southern forms slowly disappearing or retiring southward to Nubia. The process, which appears to have started during Early Predynastic times, is particularly well illustrated in the huge cemeteries of Neḳādeh and el Ballās (see Map). Indeed, the greater part of the material which we now possess on both the southern and northern Predynastic cultures has come from these cemeteries and others in the same general neighborhood.

The type of ★grave and burial found in Upper Egypt at this period (fig. 19) has been reconstructed in the Museum's Predynastic Room. Here we see, together with the black-topped red pottery and fishtail lance head of the southern culture, a wavy-handled jar, two decorated vases,

[6] See above, note 4.

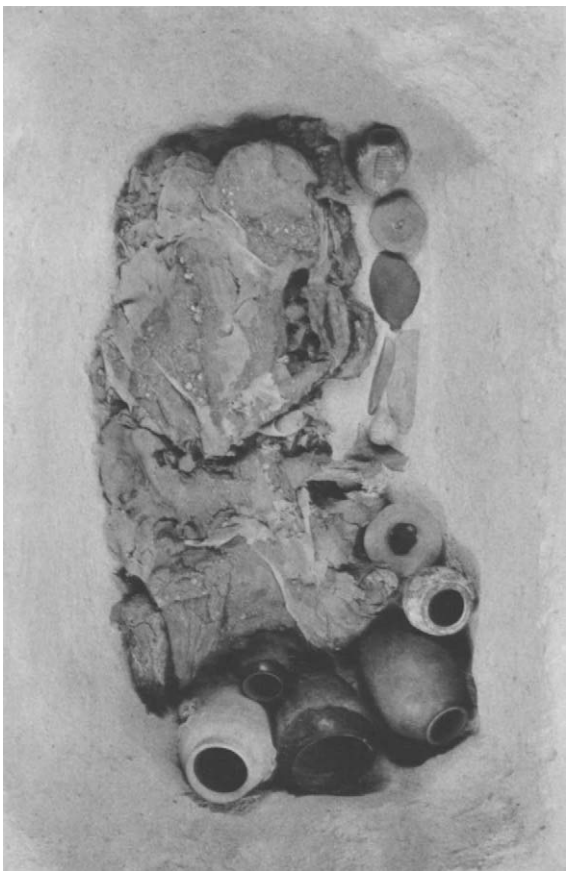


FIGURE 19. A Predynastic grave

a curved knife, and a pear-shaped mace head—all of northern design, though probably not of northern manufacture.

9. The Political and Religious Development of Egypt in the Predynastic Period

The internal political and social organizations of the two parts of Egypt appear to have been similar. Each was made up originally of a series of small independent districts not unlike the city-states found in other countries of the ancient world. Each district possessed its own loosely defined boundaries, its own capital town, its own petty chieftain, and its own local god, whose fetish often served as the emblem of the district itself.[7] Some of these districts retained their identities and survived as administrative units ("nomes") straight through to the end of ancient Egyptian history. At an early period, however, the districts of the south and those of the north were banded together into two separate kingdoms, each under the leadership of the prince or chieftain of the most powerful of its federated units. Thus the prince of Nūbt, or Ombos, near Neḳādeh, became the King of Upper Egypt, and the god Sēṯḥ of Nūbt became the principal divinity of the whole of the Southland; while the prince of Beḥdet in the northeast Delta assumed the title King of Lower Egypt and carried with him to supremacy over the north the falcon god Horus of Beḥdet.

Both kingships were hereditary, and we find at the heads of lists of kings compiled many centuries later the meager records of a long series of prehistoric royal dynasties of Upper Egypt and of Lower Egypt. The Palermo Stone—a fragment of an annals tablet drawn up in the fifth historic dynasty, about 2500 B.C.—preserves in its upper register the names and figures of nine of the prehistoric kings of Lower Egypt, each wearing the characteristic red crown of the north (). These were probably preceded in the same register by the names and figures of the contemporary kings of Upper Egypt, wearing the tall white crown of the south ().

We have seen how, during the Middle Predynastic period, the superior civilization of the northern Egyptians spread rapidly into Upper Egypt and to a great extent supplanted the earlier southern culture. In addition, there is reason to believe that a number of important deities whom we find established in Upper Egypt at an early date were introduced thither from the north—perhaps at this period. An outstanding example is the falcon god Horus of Behdet, in the northeast Delta, who sometime before the dawn of history appears to have routed his tradi-

[7] What are probably divine emblems appear as standards on the ships of the decorated pottery vessels of the northern culture.

tional rival, the aboriginal Upper Egyptian god Sēth, and set himself up at Nekhen, or Hierakonpolis, in southern Upper Egypt, and at Edfu, still farther to the south. By Late Predynastic times Hierakonpolis, in any case, had become inseparably identified with his cult, and he himself had become the chief god of the entire land, revered by the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt alike.

These indications, questioned by some scholars, have been interpreted by others to mean that the Lower Egyptians also achieved a political conquest of the Southland and long before the rise of the first historic dynasty effected from the north a "prehistoric union of the Two Lands." As the capital of the country so united the exponents of this theory have selected the city of Heliopolis at the southern tip of the Delta, prominent in later times as the seat of the great solar divinity and state god Rēᶜ. In the present state of our knowledge it is unwise either to accept in its entirety or altogether to dismiss the idea of a prehistoric "Heliopolitan Kingdom."

Whatever the extent and nature of the northern superiority may have been, it is clear that it was not of long duration. The warrior clans of the south, taking full advantage of the improved weapons and other material advances with which the northerners had acquainted them, not only re-established their kingdom on an equal footing with that of Lower Egypt, but during the ensuing two centuries became the aggressors in a long-drawn-out struggle for the possession of the country.

10. The Late Predynastic Period

In this last period of Egyptian prehistory, which extended from about 3400 to about 3200 B.C., the two kingdoms stand out with greater clarity than heretofore. In the north the capital had been moved to Buto, in the west Delta, the home of the cobra goddess Udōt (). From here the King of Lower Egypt, wearing the red wickerwork crown of the Delta war goddess Nit () and taking as his emblems the papyrus plant ( , ) and the bee (), ruled the whole of the Delta and a long stretch of the valley to the south of it. Far up the Nile at Nekhāb, just across the river from Hierakonpolis, in the domain of the vulture goddess Nekhābet (), was the court of the King of Upper Egypt, who wore as his crown the tall white helmet (), perhaps of leather, and adopted as his emblem the sedge, or lily plant (). His kingdom extended to the south probably as far as the First Cataract and to the north well into Middle Egypt, and included the districts of the Falcon, the Two Falcons, the Wolf, the Ibis, and the Dog, which were later known to the Greeks as the nomes of Hierakonpolis, Koptos, Lykopolis, Hermopolis, and Kynopolis.

Horus was the principal god of both kingdoms, and in later documents the two contemporary dynasties are listed as the "Followers" or "Worshipers of Horus." Indeed, from now on the king was identified even in his lifetime with the god Horus and, in addition to his personal name, bore an official "Horus name," written under the sign of the falcon ().

From both the historic and the artistic point of view the most interesting products of this last period of Egyptian prehistory are the carved ivory combs and knife handles and the carved slate commemorative palettes. Of the former the Museum is fortunate in possessing three outstanding examples: the top of a fine ivory ★comb in almost perfect condition (fig. 20) and two equally fine but less well-preserved ivory ★knife handles, one with part of the blade of the curved flint hunting knife still fastened to it (fig. 21).

The comb was of the short-toothed type developed by the northern Predynastic people. The delicately carved relief decoration on its handle consists of rows of animals and birds: the African elephant treading on the Naia serpent, the jabiru or marabou stork, the giraffe, the short-maned lion, the hyena or hyena dog, the oryx, the African ox, and the wild pig.

With the exception of the hyena, exactly the

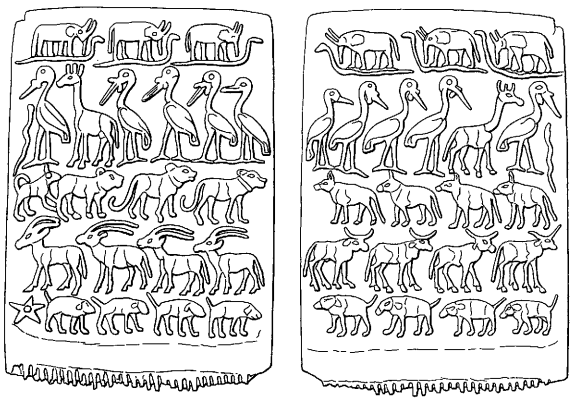
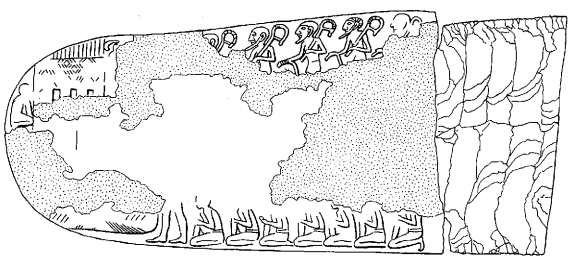


FIGURE 20. Carved top of an ivory comb. Late Predynastic period. H. 2¼ in.

same animals, arranged in much the same order,[8] form the decoration of the convex side of the better preserved of our two knife handles, *"the Carnarvon Ivory";* they occur also on a knife handle in the Brooklyn Museum and on another in the Pitt Rivers collection. The motif is clearly more than mere decoration, and it has been suggested that the animals were the totems or emblems of a confederation of prehistoric Egyptian clans or districts to which the owners of the ivories belonged.

The ten animals which appear on the flat side of the Carnarvon knife handle are not arranged in rows, but informally grouped about the projecting boss in a manner suggesting a naturalistic scene of desert life. Among them we recognize the African ox, the bubalis, the oryx, the hunting leopard, the dog, and two deer. The boss is decorated with a six-petaled rosette. This symbol, which recurs as an ideogram on slightly later monuments, has been equated with the hieroglyph 𓆰, meaning "King of the South" or, here, perhaps simply "the Southland," the home of the hunting clans whose emblematic animals adorn the other side of the handle.

FIGURE 21. Carved ivory knife handle. Late Predynastic period. L. 4¾ in.



What remains of the decoration of the *second knife handle* (fig. 21) is of absorbing interest, for on the badly damaged convex side of the ivory is the pictorial record of an important event in the late prehistory of Egypt. At the left is seen a structure with sides of woven fabric surmounted by a reed "cornice," presumably the palace of a king or a powerful prince. Facing this building there appears at the top of the field a row of men, each wearing a chin beard and carrying over his shoulder a shepherd's crook. Since the crook (𓌃), one of the emblems of the east Delta god ᶜAndjety, was from the earliest time a symbol of princely, and later of royal, authority, it is probable that these men are the chiefs of a federation of nomes who are approaching the palace of their overlord to take part in some form of celebration. The nature of the celebration is indicated by the row of kneeling figures along the bottom of the field. It is probable that these are prisoners of war, preceded by the standing figure of one of their captors, and that the whole knife handle is by way of being a victory memorial—one of the earliest of a long series of such monuments.

From the slate cosmetic palette of the earlier Predynastic cultures there developed during the Late Predynastic period the elaborately carved memorial or ceremonial ★palette, the broad surfaces of which presented ample space for complicated decorative or heraldic designs and for representations of episodes in human history.

A small slate in the Museum's collection (fig. 22) is a good example of the first, and probably the earlier, type of palette decoration—a form apparently developed in Lower Egypt. We are reminded of the original purpose of such palettes

[8] Note, for example, that on each side of the comb and on the convex side of the knife handle a single giraffe has been inserted in the second place in the row of birds.



FIGURE 22. Carved slate palette. Late Predynastic period. H. 3½ in.

by the circular grinding space, or "mortar," in the middle of the field, here enclosed by the coiled, serpentine body of a fanciful, dragonlike animal. The space around this central motif is thickly crowded with small-scale figures of animals, both real and fantastic: lions, antelopes, giraffes, and long-necked beasts of a type found on approximately contemporary Mesopotamian cylinder seals. Above the central circle, in the midst of the lions, appears a rough little representation of a palace façade surmounted by the royal falcon of the "Follower of Horus," that is, the king. The Horus name of the pharaoh, which we later find written in such panels, is omitted; but there can be no doubt regarding the royal significance of the motif, which for the next three thousand years heads the protocols of the kings of Egypt.

During the period in which the carved palettes were being produced the long war between the two parts of Egypt was gradually drawing to a close. It is indicative of the direction in which the tide of battle was setting in the latter part of this period that almost all the palettes of the later of the two recognized series come from Upper Egypt and commemorate victories won by the south.

A small but interesting fragment of such a ★palette depicts in bold relief a warrior pierced by an arrow (fig. 23). The facial type of the man, his shaggy hair falling in horizontal rows of heavy locks and bound with a fillet around the upper part of the head, his small, pointed beard running high up his cheek, and his leather phallus sheath supported by a cord about his waist mark him as a Lower Egyptian. The arrow, which has been driven cleanly through the body of the warrior from front to back, is tipped with a chisel-edged blade of hard stone. We can hardly doubt that the bow which launched the shaft was of Upper Egyptian make and the archer a southerner in the service of a victorious Horus king of Hierakonpolis or Thinis. Indeed, it was probably in one of these two places that the palette was made.

The realistic method of representation employed here—the fallen enemy transfixed with a weapon and his death thus literally explained—is unparalleled on other monuments of this class

FIGURE 23. Fragment of a carved slate commemorative palette. Late Predynastic period. H. 2 in.





FIGURE 24. Slate commemorative palette of the Horus Naʿr(-mer) (King Menes). A cast of the original in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. H. 25½ in.

and date, which depict the conquered simply as prostrate figures with their conquerors in symbolic form as bulls, lions, and the like.[9]

Of the leaders under whom this soldier and others like him fought—the Horus kings of Lower Egypt—we know little or nothing. In the hymns composed to commemorate the final victory of the south, which are preserved to us in the pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, they are described as vile, wretched, foul, and disgusting, but we need not regard these epithets heaped on them by their enemies as indicating anything beyond the fact that they were dangerous and troublesome opponents.

One of the last—if not *the* last—of the prehistoric kings of Upper Egypt, on the other hand, has left us a number of inscribed royal monuments. A carved ceremonial mace head in limestone, found at Hierakonpolis in 1898, depicts this monarch, King "Scorpion," in the act of breaking ground for the annual planting of grain or for a new system of irrigation canals. Around the top of the mace head are the standards of the allied nomes of Upper Egypt, and hanging from them on cords are dead plovers and bows, the former symbolic of the Lower Egyptians, the latter of their foreign allies. The same emblems of the defeated northerners appear on another monument of the Scorpion, also from his capital city—a carved limestone jar bearing in the upper register of its decoration the

[9] So on the well-known "battlefield" tablet, fragments of which are preserved in the British and Ashmolean museums, and on the great ceremonial palette of the Horus Naʿr (-mer), described below.

name of the king repeated three times and in each instance surmounted by the Horus falcon perched on a crescent-shaped object, an early form of the royal Horus title. The important victories over the north claimed by the Scorpion are attested by the discovery as far north as Tureh, near Cairo, of a fragmentary pottery jar inscribed not only with his Horus name but also with his personal name, Pe. Monuments of the Scorpion have also been found near Abydos, on the site of the ancient Thinis, which, to judge from subsequent events, had sometime during the course of his reign replaced Hierakonpolis as the seat of government of Upper Egypt and the residence of its kings.

The northerners, though driven from Upper and Middle Egypt by the Scorpion and his predecessors, were far from completely vanquished. They still held and ruled as a separate kingdom the rich and extensive Delta, and Egypt might have continued indefinitely as a country divided against itself had there not at this time arisen in Thinis an Upper Egyptian king with enough ability and vigor to carry the war into the Delta itself, to crush once and for all the northern power, and to unite the two parts of his country under one central rule, which lasted, with few interruptions, from his own period— about 3200 B.C.—to the time of Alexander the Great.

Under his personal name, Menes, this ancient Egyptian father of his country is well known to us in the writings of the Greeks and Romans and in numerous Egyptian documents of the New Kingdom and the Late Dynastic period. The name does not occur with certainty on any extant monument earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty, but it is probable that the legendary King Menes was identical with "the Horus Naʿr (or Naʿr-mer)," whose great commemorative palette, found at Hierakonpolis in 1898, is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. On the Museum's facsimile ★reproduction of this immensely important monument (fig. 24) we see the king in the acts of completing and celebrating his conquest of the northwest Delta, wearing on the obverse of the palette his own tall crown of Upper Egypt and on the reverse the newly won crown of Lower Egypt.

With this palette and the man whom it represents we leave the prehistoric period and enter the long and glorious era of Egypt's dynastic history. Not only do we see here depicted the union of the whole of Egypt under a single ruler and the foundation thereby of the first historic dynasty; but, because this monument and others of the same date are inscribed with written characters of the Egyptian language, we can now read the names and titles of the participants in the story: we have, in short, embarked upon the first chapter of the written history of the country.

III. THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

Kings of the Early Dynastic Period

DYNASTY I (3200-2980 B.C.)

The Horus Naʿr(-mer)	King Meny (Menes)	
The Horus ʿAḥa	King Ity I (?)	
The Horus Djer	King Ity II	19 + years
The Horus Wadjy	King Ity III (?)	
The Horus Den	King Khasety	
The Horus ʿAdj-yeb	King Merpibia	20 + years
The Horus Semer-chet	King Iry-nuter	9 years
The Horus Ḳa-aʿ	King Ḳa-aʿ Seny	

DYNASTY II (2980-2780 B.C.)

The Horus Ḥetep-sekhemwy	King Ḥotep	
The Horus Reʿ-nēb	King Nūb-nefer	
The Horus Ny-nuter	King Ny-nuter	22 + years
	King Weneg	19 years
	King Sened	
The Sēth Pery-yebu-sen	King Pery-yebu-sen	
The Horus Khaʿ-sekhem		
The Horus-and-Sēth Khaʿ-sekhemwy	King Hetep-nebwy-yemef	17 years

III. The Early Dynastic Period

1. Sources, Chronology, and Periods of Ancient Egyptian History

IN 280 B.C. the Graeco-Egyptian historian Manetho of Sebennytos compiled a formal history of his country, scraps of which are preserved to us in the writings of later authors: Josephus, Africanus, Eusebius, and others. Manetho's grouping of the kings of Egypt into thirty families, or *dynasties,* seems to have been based on sound evidence, and is still used as a convenient method of dating periods, events, and cultural developments.

For further clarity modern writers have grouped Manetho's dynasties into broader periods or phases in the history of the land: the Early Dynastic period (Dynasties I and II), the Old Kingdom (Dynasties III–VI), the Middle Kingdom (Dynasties XI and XII), the New Kingdom (Dynasties XVIII–XX), and the Late Dynastic period (Dynasties XXI–XXX).

The intervals of anarchy, civil war, foreign invasion, and general political and cultural disruption which separate the Old and Middle Kingdoms and the Middle and New Kingdoms have been somewhat arbitrarily termed the "intermediate periods": the First Intermediate period (Dynasties VII–X) and the Second Intermediate period (Dynasties XIII–XVII).

During the Late Dynastic period Egypt fell from time to time under the rule of foreign powers, and we find at this time, in addition to seven families of native rulers, a Libyan dynasty (the Twenty-Second), an Ethiopian dynasty (the Twenty-Fifth), and a Persian dynasty (the Twenty-Seventh).

The Thirtieth Dynasty was followed by a second Persian domination, of brief duration, and this in turn by the conquest of Egypt under Alexander the Great and the three-century rule of the Macedonian general Ptolemy and his descendants. After the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Egypt became a Roman province; later, with the collapse of the western Roman Empire in A.D. 364, it fell under the rule of the Byzantine emperors, until overrun by the Arabs in A.D. 640.

The chronological table given on page 2 is based on what, to the writer of this book, seem to be the soundest and most conservative conclusions of modern students of Egyptian chronology; but the reader is advised, first, that the dates for the most part are given only to the nearest round number of years and, second, that many of them—especially those of the early periods—may in the future be subject to correction.

In addition to Manetho, numerous other historians, geographers, and travelers of Graeco-Roman times have left us their impressions of Egypt: Herodotos of Halikarnassos, Diodoros

the Sicilian, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Aelian, Josephus, and others. Their accounts have in common the quality of being both accurate and valuable when the writers are describing conditions which they themselves witnessed and almost worthless when they are merely repeating the pseudohistorical tales told to travelers by the contemporary Egyptian priests and dragomans.

Of considerably greater value are the fragmentary documents of a historical nature which have survived from the dynastic period in Egypt. These include several small fragments of stone tables of annals compiled in the Fifth Dynasty, scraps of a Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus in Turin with the remains of a complete list of the kings of Egypt down to the time of the papyrus, and three more or less fragmentary and by no means complete New Kingdom lists of kings on or from temple and tomb walls at Abydos, Saḳḳāreh, and Karnak.

Best of all, of course, is the inscribed material which has come from modern excavations and researches and which, whether of a historical nature or not, has the advantage of being contemporary with the events and personages mentioned.

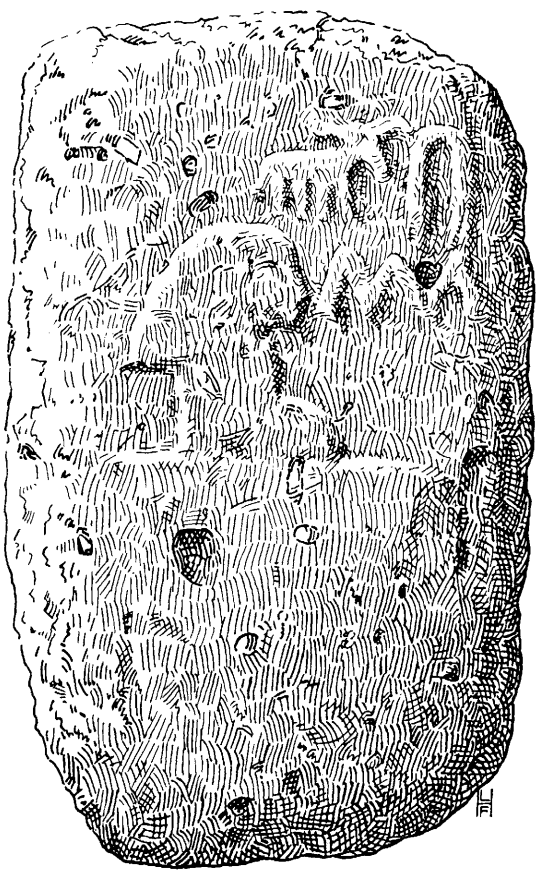
For the Early Dynastic period such documents are unfortunately still scanty, always brief, and often difficult to interpret. They come chiefly from the tombs of the kings of the First and Second Dynasties now in the process of excavation at Saḳḳāreh, from the cenotaphs of the same kings and from the ancient temple enclosure at Abydos, from the tomb of a First Dynasty queen at Neḳādeh, from the temple area at Hierakonpolis, and from the graves and tombs of private individuals in the regions of Memphis, Helwān, and the Fayyūm. The material consists, for the most part, of small tomb stelae, jar labels, ebony and ivory tags, stone cylinder seals, clay seal impressions, and, occasionally, an inscribed statuette, doorjamb, piece of jewelry, or article of personal or household equipment. Rock inscriptions and reliefs of the period are found near ancient trade routes and quarries in the eastern desert and in the vicinity of the ancient copper mines on the peninsula of Sinai.

2. The Written Language of Ancient Egypt

The language spoken and written by the Egyptians of the dynastic period and, until the sixteenth century A.D., by their descendants the Copts is a composite tongue, closely related in its general structure to the Semitic languages of hither Asia but showing also affinities with the so-called "Hamitic" languages of East Africa.

As preserved to us, ancient Egyptian is characterized by its very large vocabulary, its nicety of expression, its strict word order, and its tendency to be formal and conventional. Perhaps its most

FIGURE 25. Limestone stela of Se'n-Ba. First Dynasty. H. 14½ in.



extraordinary feature is that it remained basically unchanged for over four thousand years and is still recognizable, written in Greek characters, in the texts read in Coptic churches of the present day.

Owing to the scantiness of the material from the Late Predynastic period, the written language seems to appear suddenly, already at an advanced stage of development, at the beginning of the First Dynasty. This need not mean, as has been thought, that the art of writing was an importation from abroad; for, meager though the evidence be, we can easily discern in the carved commemorative palettes and similar pictographic records of prehistoric time the germs of the writing which we find coming slowly into general use during the earliest historic dynasties.

During the dynastic period the language was written either in the formal picture signs which we call "hieroglyphs" or, with cursive forms of the same signs, in the script known as "hieratic." The more common signs, or characters, were used in two ways: as ideograms, to mean the objects which they actually represent ( , *m*, "owl";  , *t*, "loaf of bread"), or as phonograms which were used to spell words containing sounds similar to the names of the objects depicted by the signs ( , *mt*, "die"). For each of the twenty-four consonantal sounds which the language contained there were one or more characters and, in addition, numerous single signs expressing in themselves two, three, or even four such consonantal values ( or  , *n*;  , *nḏ*;  , *nḏm*). These and other signs, with or without known phonetic value, were also used as determinatives, appended to the ends of words to define their exact meaning and to distinguish them from other words of the same spelling but with different meanings. Such determinatives are the walking legs,  ; the eye,  ; the sun, ⊙. When applied in turn to a single writing they can totally change the meaning of the word; thus,  , *nw*, means, "go back";  , *nw*, means "see"; and  , *nw*, means "time" or "date." The vowel sounds in the spoken language were not written. Although in a number of individual instances these can be restored from Babylonian, Greek, and Coptic writings of Egyptian words and proper names, the pronunciation of ancient Egyptian as a whole is still a matter of considerable uncertainty.



FIGURE 26. Fragment of a limestone vase of King Ḳa-aᶜ. First Dynasty. H. 2¼ in.

3. Inscribed Monuments of the Early Dynastic Period

The limestone ★stela[1] of Se'n-Ba (fig. 25), found at Abydos in a small chamber adjoining the cenotaph of King Djer Ity of the First Dynasty, is an excellent illustration of the uses, values, and forms of the earliest hieroglyphs. The name of the owner of the monument (*s-n-bꜣ*) is written with three crudely carved hieroglyphs: the folded bolt of cloth, , *s* ("man"), the ripple of water, , *n* ("of"), and the long-horned ram, , *bꜣ* (the ram god "Ba"), and has as its determinative the squatting figure of a man.

We are familiar with the title "Horus" applied to the king of Egypt from very early times. On a fragment of a limestone ★vase from Abydos (fig. 26), inscribed with the name of King Ḳa-aᶜ of the First Dynasty, we encounter two other very com-

[1] "Stela" is derived from the Greek word στήλη, meaning a pillar or vertical tablet, often inscribed or decorated. In Egypt the stelae, of stone or wood, display a great variety in their forms (e.g., the "false-door" stelae) and uses (e.g., tomb and temple stelae, commemorative stelae, boundary stelae, etc.).

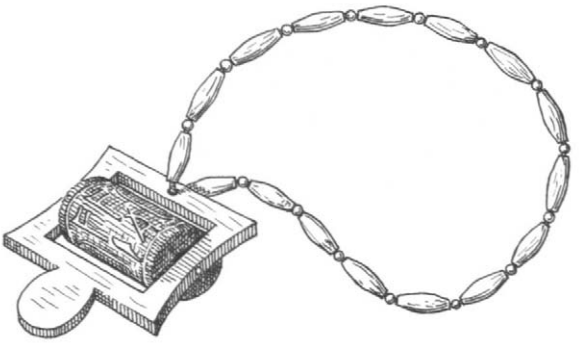


FIGURE 27. Cylinder seal in mounting

mon kingly titles: "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," written with the sedge plant and the bee (),[2] and "he of the Two Goddesses" (or, "Two Ladies"), written with the vulture of the goddess Nekhābet of Upper Egypt and the cobra, or uraeus, of the goddess Udōt of Lower Egypt (). Usually the king had a different name to accompany each of these titles, called, respectively, the "Horus name," the "throne name," and the "Two Goddesses name." These, with two other names, his "Golden Horus name" () and his personal name as the son of the sun god Rēᶜ, later went to make up the king's complete protocol. Thus, from the Fifth Dynasty on, a king could be referred to by any of his five names, though the throne and personal names were by far the most common.

In place of the usual Horus name, the sixth king of the Second Dynasty called himself "the Sēṯ Pery-yebu-sen," introducing his name with the animal of the Upper Egyptian god Sēṯ of Ombos, a fact which has been interpreted as indicating a reaction against the Horus kings of Memphis, perhaps accompanied by the temporary removal of the seat of government to Upper Egypt. Pery-yebu-sen's adoption of the Sēṯ name was repudiated by his successor, the Horus Khaᶜ-sekhem of Hierakonpolis; but the last king of the dynasty united both names and both powers in one and grandiosely dubbed himself "the Horus-and-Sēṯ Khaᶜ-sekhemwy."

[2] Only a small portion of this title is preserved on our fragment.

4. Seals and Seal Impressions

Far and away the richest source of inscribed material from the Early Dynastic period is the great number of seals which have been preserved to us and the even greater number of mud or clay sealings, from boxes, baskets, jars, and the like, bearing the impressions of seals now lost.

The importance of the functions of the seal in ancient Egypt and throughout the ancient Near East can scarcely be exaggerated. In countries where burglar-proof locks were never perfected and where only a small percentage of the population could write their names the seal was called upon to serve the purposes of both a lock and a means of identification, in addition to its more familiar uses as a stamp of official approval and a means of safeguarding the contents of confidential documents such as letters.

The earliest of the three principal types of seal employed in Egypt was the cylinder, usually of stone, which, when rolled on damp clay or any similar substance, left an impression of the design or inscription carved upon it. At first short, thick, and engraved with a few large signs, the cylinder, as time progressed, grew longer and thinner and its inscriptions smaller in scale and much more extensive in content. The cylinder was pierced longitudinally with a hole for the cord or wire by means of which it was suspended from its owner's neck or hand. At an early period such seals were also mounted in metal frames, or carriages, which greatly facilitated their use, reduced the risk of loss, and, when worn on a necklace or bracelet, as was frequently the case, made a handsome pendent ornament (fig. 27).

The cylinder seal continued in general use until the end of the Middle Kingdom, when it was almost entirely replaced by the familiar seal carved in the form of the scarab beetle, which was apparently developed from the button seals of the First Intermediate period.

The majority of the Early Dynastic ★cylinders in the Museum's collection bear the names and titles of priests, officials, and other private indi-

viduals of the First and Second Dynasties. The upper of the two examples selected for illustration in figure 28 belonged to a priest of the goddess Nit named Shesh. The lower seal, on the other hand, apparently carries the name of Queen Nit-ḥotpe, the wife of the Horus ʿAḥa, the second pharaoh of united Egypt. Most of the cylinders are of black steatite, but examples in serpentine, ivory, and even wood also occur.

More interesting from the historical point of view are the fragments of clay jar ★sealings from Kafr Ṭarkhān and Neḳādeh with the impressions of royal cylinder seals dating from the very beginning of the dynastic period. On these we find repeated again and again the Horus name of Naʿr(-mer), the owner of the great palette discussed above in Chapter II; the name of his successor, the Horus ʿAḥa; and the name of the latter's consort, Queen Nit-ḥotpe. Several hundred years later in date are two royal sealings bearing the names of the Sēṯḥ Pery-yebu-sen and the Horus-and-Sēṯḥ Khaʿ-sekhemwy, kings of Egypt during the latter half of the Second Dynasty.

The widespread use of official and private seals is one of the many indications that the highly organized administrative system which is characteristic of Egypt during the whole of its dynastic history was already well developed under the kings of the earliest dynasties. No longer composed of groups of loosely federated small districts, the nation was now ruled by a strong and fully organized central government. Written records were carefully kept, government supplies were meticulously inventoried and labeled, a formal system of dating was introduced, a census of the population and an assessment of the national property were taken every two years for the purpose of levying taxes, and religious festivals were celebrated at established and predetermined intervals.

FIGURE 28. Stone cylinder seals of the First Dynasty. H. ¾ in.



5. The Calendars and the Methods of Dating

The civil calendar used in dynastic Egypt provided for a year of 365 days—three seasons of four thirty-day months each, plus five additional, or epagomenal, days tacked on at the end to fill out what the Egyptians at one time conceived to be a true year. The five epagomenal days were devoted to festivals in honor of the five principal gods of the Egyptian pantheon and were called the "Birthdays of the Gods."

This calendar was clearly agrarian in origin, its seasons reflecting the successive phases of the most important natural phenomenon in the life of the farmer people of Egypt, the rise and fall of the Nile. The first season, *Akhet* ("Inundation"), commenced originally with the first indication of the rise of the river as observed in the latitude of Memphis, about the third week in July according to the Julian calendar. *Prōyet* ("Growth"), as the second season was called, comprised the four months when the fields, having emerged from the receding flood waters, were planted with seed and put forth their annual yield. During the third season, *Shōmu* ("Harvest"), the crops were reaped and men waited through the hot, dry "summer"[3] for the reappearance of the inundation, an event which in theory coincided with the New Year's Day of the following year.

The Egyptian symbol for "year" was a budding sprout, 𓆰, indicative of the renewal of fresh, green growth resulting from the inundation and therefore appropriate as a designation

[3] Our late spring and early summer.

of the period between the beginnings of two successive inundations. The sign for "month" was the crescent moon, ☾, and it is clear that the Egyptians counted the months by the recurrences of corresponding phases of the moon, though for the civil calendar actual lunar observations were discarded and the monthly intervals fixed at an arbitrary thirty days. "Day" was expressed by the symbol for "sun," ☉; for the Egyptian thought of his day as beginning at sunrise.

Although an official calendar was certainly in use during the First and Second Dynasties and probably earlier, there is no clear evidence for the existence of a calendar year of 365 days before the Old Kingdom. A likely time for the introduction or standardization of this calendar would have been the reign of King Djoser, the founder of the Third Dynasty (2780-2761 B.C.); and we might perhaps attribute its establishment to Djoser's famous official, the learned I-em-ḥotep (p. 60.)

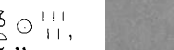
It will, of course, have been recognized that the civil year of the ancient Egyptian lacks a quarter of a day of being a true astronomical year; that, once adopted and left uncorrected, such a calendar would immediately begin to move away from the true year until, with time, its seasons would become completely displaced; and that this process would continue until a cycle of 4 x 365, or 1,460, years had been completed, when the calendar and astronomical years would again momentarily coincide. This is evidently what happened, and, although after two hundred years or so the instability of his civil calendar must have become painfully apparent to the Egyptian, he retained it unchanged for more than twenty-five centuries and stoutly resisted all efforts to alter it.

He did, however, make use of simple astronomical observations to predict more or less accurately the times of the rise of the Nile and other recurring natural phenomena. Out of such observations some scholars believe that he evolved a fixed or periodically corrected calendar which he maintained side by side with his wandering civil year and which he used, for example, to establish the dates of his many seasonal festivals. Lunar observations played a prominent part in Egyptian calendrical calculations, but the most important astronomical event which came to be associated with the calendar was the heliacal rising, or reappearance in the dawn sky, of the bright star Sothis (Sirius),[4] an occurrence made doubly significant by the fact that it happened to coincide closely with the beginning of the inundation and hence of the agrarian year. At an early period Sothis was hailed as the "Bringer of the Inundation," and the day of the star's reappearance at dawn came to be designated as the "First of the Year." From the Twelfth Dynasty onward there are documents which record the heliacal rising of Sothis in terms of the Egyptian civil calendar and thus provide us with the means of establishing a few astronomically fixed dates in the history of the Middle and New Kingdoms. For the earlier periods, however, the so-called "Sothic Cycle"[5] appears to be without significance to a study of Egyptian chronology.

For purposes of longer-range dating and reference to past events the Egyptians of the earliest dynasties named each year after the most important event which had occurred therein, for example, "the Year of Fighting and Smiting Lower Egypt." This system was employed in the annals of the kings of the First and Second Dynasties preserved to us in summaries drawn up in the Fifth Dynasty (pp. 26, 36). During the Old Kingdom the Egyptians gradually developed the simpler method of numbering the years from the accession of each king, making the regnal years coincide with the civil calendar years. Later, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, they reckoned the regnal years from the actual day of the king's accession without regard to whole calendar years, from which, however, they retained the dating by

[4] Unseen for the long period during which it rises and sets by day.

[5] The interval of 1,460 years between coincidences of a Sothic, or sidereal, year and the civil, or wandering, year.

season, month, and day. Thus a typical Egyptian date, using the signs for year, month, and day discussed above, was written:  , "Regnal Year 2, Month 4 of Akhet, Day 5."

6. Arts and Crafts under the Early Dynasties

With the rise of the First Dynasty the standard of living, as Diodoros tells us, reached a new peak. In place of rough mats, pottery jars and dishes, flint implements, and stone, paste, and shell ornaments the Egyptians were now using elaborate furniture of wood and ivory, table services of hard stones and metal, copper tools and weapons, and jewelry of gold and other precious substances.

The royal cenotaphs at Abydos have yielded fine ★ivory legs from stools, couches, and gaming boards (fig. 29). Beautifully carved in the forms of the fore and hind legs of a bull, they are eloquent witnesses to the refinement and skill attained by the sculptor and furniture-maker of this earliest historic period and to the richness of the furnishings in the palaces of the earliest kings. Combining a close observation of anatomy with a high degree of stylization, they were the models for furniture-makers of even the latest dynastic periods.

From a private grave in the Early Dynastic cemetery at Kafr Ṭarkhān comes a less pretentious but well-made article of furniture, the wooden frame of a small ★bed or bier. Fitted, like the royal couches, with legs carved to represent those of a bull, the bed frame once supported a mesh of interwoven leather thongs, the slots for which can be seen on the inner sides of its rails. Similar thongs were also used to brace the legs. From the proportions of the couch it is clear that the person, living or dead, who occupied it must have lain curled up in a contracted position. Three similar ★biers, two with plain, slightly tapered legs, are from Gebelein. One of these, when purchased by Theodore M. Davis in 1899, had a contracted body fastened to it.

The small wooden ★coffin exhibited with the

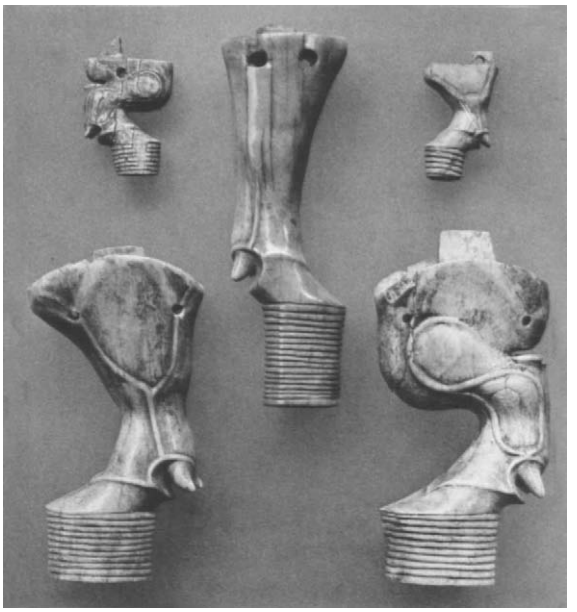


FIGURE 29. Ivory legs of couches and game boards. First Dynasty. H. 2½-6½ in.

first couch is also from a grave in the cemetery at Kafr Ṭarkhān (fig. 30). Like the couch, it was designed to contain a body in a contracted position. Its form reproduces that of the characteristic Lower Egyptian dwelling house of early times, with a hooped roof and recessed door and window openings. The conception of the coffin or sarcophagus as an eternal dwelling is one which we shall find persisting throughout most of the history of ancient Egypt.

The quantity, the graceful shapes, and the technically perfect execution and finish of the ★stone vessels of this period in the Museum's collection indicate clearly how adept the Egyptians had become in the production of this fine ware. Most of the examples exhibited are from the tomb of a wealthy person buried at Abydos during the First Dynasty and from the tombs of others buried at Saḳḳāreh in the Second Dynasty. When found in Early Dynastic tombs the vessels are often piled up one upon another and generally broken. This breaking was clearly intentional and obviously occurred at the time of the interment as part of the ceremony. Alabaster

was now the favorite stone, but schist, slate, serpentine, and diorite were also popular.

Especially noteworthy are two slate ★dishes of intricate design, one carved in the shape of a leaf, the other embodying in its form the two hieroglyphs 𓋴 and 𓎛, grouped to form a monogram (fig. 31)—perhaps to be read as the name of a man, Kuy-ʿankhe. (A dignitary of this name lived during the reign of the Horus Den of the First Dynasty.) It is interesting to note that the detailed representation of the sign 𓋴, "life," found here shows it to have been a knotted tape, perhaps a sandal strap. (On the 𓎛, *ku,* or "spirit," see page 79.)

The vogue for stone, faience, and metal vases and bowls and the facility with which they were now manufactured had a profound and lasting effect on the quality of Egyptian ★pottery vessels. Fine decorated pottery began to disappear toward the end of the Predynastic period, and thenceforth undecorated earthenware, a humbler medium, was used mainly for vessels of purely utilitarian types: storage jars, grain bins, water and beer jars, cooking pots, and the like. Though rarely of any artistic merit, the thousands of pottery vessels produced in dynastic Egypt are nevertheless of great value to the archaeologist in identifying and dating the more important finds with which they occur. The advantages of the pottery vessel as an index of date are that it is common everywhere and at all periods, shows in



FIGURE 30. Paneled wooden coffin for a contracted burial. Second or Third Dynasty. H. 23¼ in.

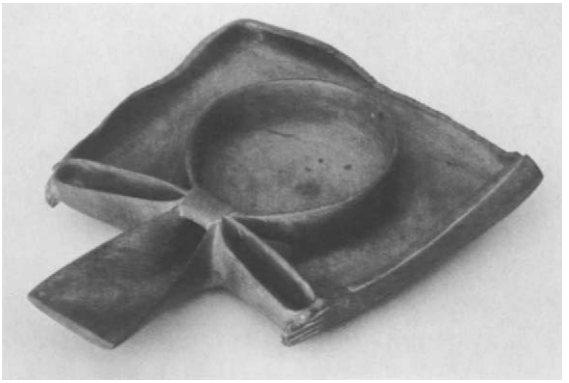


FIGURE 31. Slate dish in the form of two hieroglyphs. Early Dynastic period. L. 7 in.

its types a regular and relatively rapid development, is usually broken or discarded a few years after it is made, is easily and cheaply replaced, is too bulky to be freely carried around from one place to another, and too fragile and too valueless ever to be treasured as an heirloom. The production of this ware was greatly facilitated and standardized by the introduction into Egypt, in the latter part of the Second Dynasty, of the potter's wheel.

Particularly characteristic of the Early Dynastic period are the tall ★pottery storage jars (fig. 32), exhibited with the group of vessels and other ★objects from a tomb or cenotaph of the First Dynasty at Abydos. Such jars were stoppered with conical sealings of clay, and it is on these sealings that we find the majority of the royal seal impressions described above (p. 39).

It was during the earliest historic dynasties—indeed, from the very outset of the First Dynasty—that figure sculpture in the round began to take its foreordained place among the arts of Egypt. After centuries of uneven and often fumbling production, the technique of the Egyptian sculptor had at last begun to catch up with his always keen powers of observation. We feel in the sculpture of this time a sense of *style* and begin to see the establishment of the comfortable conventions to which the dynastic Egyptian hereafter adhered—in short, the creation of the "language" by means of which he recorded in plastic or pictorial form his impressions of himself, his life, and his environment. It is surely no coincidence that the artistic language and the written language of ancient Egypt were established at approximately the same moment; for the two forms of expression are inseparably bound together throughout the whole of Egyptian history and frequently overlap one another not only in their purpose but also in the manner of their use.

The examples of figure sculpture of the earliest dynasties are for the most part small in size and, up to the present, relatively few in number. A limestone ★statuette of a seated woman (fig. 33), though only eighteen inches in height, has the dignity and the monumental quality which we associate with the great sculptured figures of the Old Kingdom. The statuette, found at Abydos many years ago, is not inscribed but is probably to be dated to the Second Dynasty. It exhibits all the characteristics of the statuettes of this period preserved in the museums of Cairo, London, Berlin, Naples, Turin, and Paris:[6] the squat, heavy figure, the abnormally large head,

[6] One of the best of these, the kneeling official in Cairo, is inscribed with the names of the first three kings of the Second Dynasty.

FIGURE 32. Pottery storage jars from a tomb of the First Dynasty at Abydos. H. 29-31 in.



the broad and somewhat plump face, the full but sensitive mouth, and the fine, delicately modeled nose. The long, simple robe and the short, striated wig are typical of feminine fashions of the early historic period. Much of the apparent lack of finesse in the statuette is due to the very severe weathering which its surfaces have undergone—an accident of time rather than a shortcoming of the ancient sculptor.



Probably executed as a tomb statue, the figure combines an attempt at naturalism with a quality of permanence. The face, though hardly a portrait, has character and vitality. Care has been taken to reproduce the details of the lady's headdress. The body under the long robe has been rendered with as much accuracy as the sculptor could—or cared to—summon up. On the other hand, there is no attempt at facial expression, no effort to portray emotion, and no suggestion of movement; in short, no interest in any momentary phase of the subject's appearance. The figure has in it an air of eternity, which is precisely what the Egyptian artist and his patron desired. As our study progresses we shall become more and more familiar with the rigid frontal pose seen here: the gaze directed straight ahead, the arms glued to the sides, the hands on the knees, the legs close together, and the feet exactly parallel; we shall also come to recognize and accept the often anatomically incorrect, but to the Egyptian always satisfactory, conventions for representing the hair, eyes, hands, and other physical features of his fellow men.

The little ivory and faience ★figures of this period in the Museum's collection are from the cenotaphs of the kings of the First Dynasty and the very ancient temple of Osiris at Abydos. In the simple but deft and sophisticated modeling of the ivory statuette of a fat man (fig. 34) we see the hand of the sculptor reproducing accurately what his eyes saw—or, rather, what his mental vision remembered; for it was rarely that the Egyptian artist worked directly from a posed model. The same naturalism, plus a surprising wealth of detail, appears in the attractive little ivory statuette of a woman with her left arm across

FIGURE 33. Lady of the Early Dynastic period. Limestone. H. 18¼ in.



FIGURE 34. Ivory statuette. First Dynasty. H. 4¼ in.

the front of her body and with her long hair, streaming far down her back, dressed in formal, parallel locks or braids. A larger, elongated figure of a woman, also in ivory, is admittedly less successful, harking back to similar attenuated and uncertainly modeled examples of prehistoric date, but is nevertheless unmistakably "Egyptian" in its pose and costume and in its general feeling.

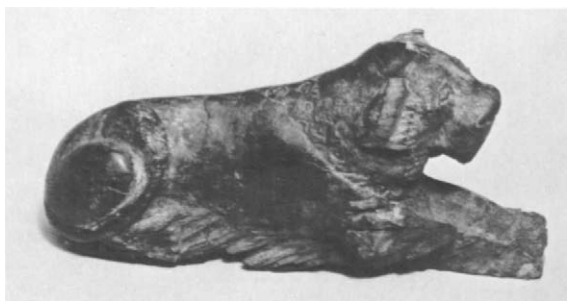
Small stone and ivory ★figures of lions and a lioness, intended as playing pieces for a table game, portray in masterly fashion the powerful bodies and dignified bearings of the animals, which are represented couched in the heraldic pose familiar to us in the great sphinxes of the Old Kingdom and later times. The ornate collar worn by the ivory lioness (fig. 35) may indicate that the animal was tame, possibly a pet, or may simply be a ready means of distinguishing the piece from the generally similar figures of lions.

Despite the simplicity of the modeling, the tiny ★figure of a hippopotamus in ivory and the larger ★examples in alabaster and faience are wholly characteristic of this massive, if somewhat comical, beast. ★Figures of the cynocephalus ape modeled in glazed frit, or faience, and depicted squatting in the hieratic posture which hereafter is standard in nearly all representations of the animal are naturally less sensitive in detail and finish than the carved ivories. The same is true of a faience ★figure of the Nile crocodile.

Probably it is wisest to regard these little figures merely as ornaments reproducing familiar local fauna and intended for no more serious purpose than to give pleasure to their owners. We should not, however, overlook the possibility that they are amuletic in nature or perhaps even intended as sacred images. The ape, for example, was an animal closely associated with the primaeval creator gods of Hermopolis and later with Thōt, the god of learning; while the crocodile and the hippopotamus, feared and respected denizens of the Nile, were forms assumed, respectively, by the god Sobk and by the goddess Ta-weret, patroness of pregnancy and childbirth.

Architectural ★tiles in blue faience are from the ornamental revetments of walls of tombs, palaces, or temples of the First Dynasty. Their ribbed surfaces imitate the reed matting with which the walls of still earlier buildings were once lined. Also of faience are a highly formalized ★papyrus umbel modeled in the round, fragments of model ★*was*-scepters ($\frac{1}{1}$), and a squat cylindrical ★vase with a narrow, cordlike

FIGURE 35. Ivory playing piece in the form of a lioness. L. 3½ in.



molding below the rim, its form marking the ultimate degeneration of the wavy-handled jar of late prehistoric times.

Many of the weapons, implements, and pieces of jewelry of this group can be associated with individual kings of the earliest dynasties. The interesting double-barbed ★arrow head of flint is from the cenotaph of the Horus Djer, King Ity, the third pharaoh of Egypt's First Dynasty, as are also other ★arrow tips in ivory and a group of larger ★arrow or lance heads in flint and crystal. A ★knucklebone, one of a set which was rolled like dice to determine the moves in one of the ancient Egyptian's many games, dates from the reign of the Horus Den, the fifth king of the First Dynasty.

The large flint ★knives with projecting handles are much later in date, one having been found at Abydos in the cenotaph of Khaʿ-sekhemwy, who ruled over Egypt for seventeen years at the end of the Second Dynasty (2797-2780 B.C.). To this reign belong also the little ★bracelet of gold and the set of model ★tools and weapons in copper (fig. 36). The latter includes a semicircular axe head of a type that was standard in Egypt until the New Kingdom, three chisels, and the barbed point of a fish-spear, or harpoon. The needles and tweezers shown with this group are full size.

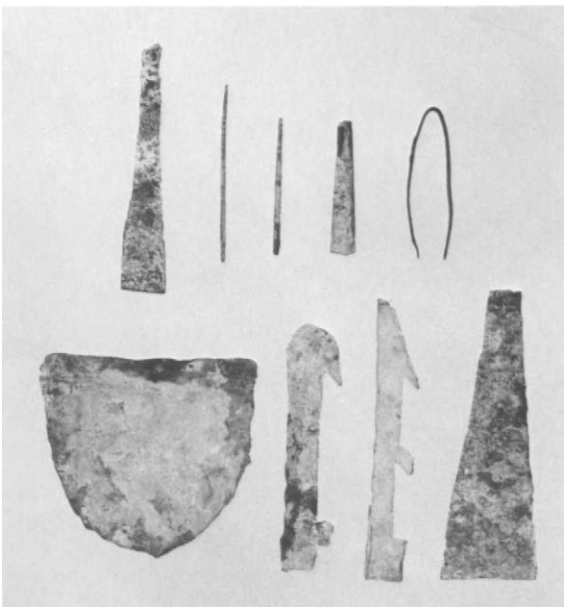


FIGURE 36. Model tools and weapons of copper. Second Dynasty. L. 1¾-3¾ in.

There are ★bracelets of ivory, bone, flint, and slate, in addition to the one in gold mentioned above, and ★necklace beads of blue faience, many now brown from age and exposure. The carved ★spoons of bone are from a grave in the Early Dynastic cemetery at Kafr Ṭarkhān, some forty miles south of Cairo, and from el Maḥāsneh, in Upper Egypt, near Abydos.

To appreciate fully the great advances made by the civilization and art of Egypt during the first two dynasties the reader is urged to consult the bibliographical references cited for this period at the end of the book. In these he will find published and illustrated the great masterpieces of earliest historic times: the magnificent stela of the Horus Wadjy in the Louvre, the powerful stone statue of an ape in Berlin, the exquisite jewelry of the reign of the Horus Djer from Abydos, the granite doorjambs and slate and limestone statues of the Horus Khaʿ-sekhem from Hierakonpolis, and the massive and intricately paneled *maṣṭabeh* tombs of the First Dynasty at Saḳḳāreh and the great treasures which they contained—hoards of fine metal vessels and tools, hundreds of splendid weapons, beautifully carved ornamental disks, intricately decorated coffers, woven fabrics, and superb vessels of stone in huge number.

In the light of these magnificent and thoroughly sophisticated products of what is often known as Egypt's "archaic" period, it is no longer difficult to understand the brilliant achievements of the great era which follows—the Old Kingdom, or Pyramid Age. Before proceeding to the study of this period, which is famed for the production of the most gigantic buildings ever erected by man, we shall do well to glance briefly at the progress made by the Egyptian architect from the earliest times to the end of the Second Dynasty.

IV. THE ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT:

Its Origins and Development

IV. The Architecture of Ancient Egypt:

ITS ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

1. Dwellings

IN EGYPT, as elsewhere, the basic architectural type was, of course, the dwelling house. The forms taken by the earliest Egyptian dwellings were profoundly influenced by two elements: the climate, which even in Neolithic times was warm and dry, and the materials available locally. The latter included Nile mud, used as plaster, patted into clods, and later molded into bricks that were dried in the sun; reeds, especially the tall, sturdy papyrus; rushes and grass, woven into matting or used as thatch; the wood, branches, leaves, and fiber of the palm tree; the very limited timber obtainable from the other scrubby native trees: thorn, acacia, sycamore fig, tamarisk, sidder, and willow; and undoubtedly, to some extent, the hides of wild and domesticated animals.

Until, in Late Predynastic times, mud brick came into general use, it is readily understandable that the structures built of such materials were of necessity limited in size, of light construction, and of no very great permanence. Indeed, the earliest types of dwelling known to us still reflect the nomadic or pastoral existence which the Egyptian had recently abandoned for his settled life as a farmer, and the tent, the lean-to, the roofless windbreak, and the semiportable hut are all common forms.

Our knowledge of the earliest Egyptian architecture derives from four sources: (1) the scanty remains—often hardly more than ground plans—of Neolithic, Predynastic, and Early Dynastic buildings; (2) models of these early structures found in contemporary graves; (3) representations of primaeval house and shrine types in reliefs and paintings of later eras; and (4) the survival, in stone and brick buildings of dynastic times, of architectural forms originally developed centuries earlier in light, perishable materials.

The earliest houses are circular or oval in plan. The most primitive form is the reed shelter or windbreak, unroofed and open at one end. The houses in the Neolithic settlement at Merimdeh Beni Salāmeh, on the western edge of the Delta, consist of shallow oval basins scooped out in the ground, lined with mud, and surrounded by a low rim built up of plastered clods of mud. A pot sunk in the floor provided drainage for the house, and the leg bone of a hippopotamus,

driven upright in the floor near one edge, served as a step. The superstructure was of reeds or wattle, the roof probably of matting supported by a transverse ridge pole. Circular houses at el ʿOmari, near Helwān, contained central hearths. The Predynastic houses at Ḥemāmīyeh, in Middle Egypt, were also circular in plan. Their walls were built of bundles of reeds lashed together, their roofs of thatch. The roof was supported by two upright poles, one on either side of the house, almost touching the low mud wall. In the Predynastic town at el Maʿādy, near Cairo, two types of houses are found. The earlier type, circular or oval in plan, was made of posts driven into the ground with the spaces between filled with wattle and daub. These houses, probably without roofs, were equipped with interior hearths. The other type of house, also built of posts stuck in the ground, was rectangular in plan, with the door off center in one of the long sides. A refinement was a sheltering wall built in front of the entrance and serving as a windbreak.

The Predynastic houses at el Maḥāsneh, in Upper Egypt, also were constructed of wooden posts, with walls of intertwined twigs coated with mud plaster. It is uncertain whether or not these houses were roofed.

A clay model from a Middle Predynastic grave at el ʿAmreh shows us a rectangular, flat-roofed house of well-developed type. Evidently built around a wooden framework, its battered, or slightly sloping, walls are believed to have been of wattle and daub. The doorway, placed off center in one of the long sides, and two windows, set high up in one end wall, are framed in square-sawn wooden trim. At the corners the walls project upward in peaks above the roof line, which is marked by what appear to be the ends of wooden beams protruding from the end walls of the house.

Among the numerous types of early dwelling houses known to us through representations or reproductions of later times, three forms are of especial interest. (1) The rectangular, hoop-roofed house with prominent corner posts and paneled sides and ends apparently originated in northern Egypt and is traditionally associated with that part of the country. The form of this house is reproduced throughout the whole of Egyptian history and is imitated in a type of coffin popular in Egypt from the Early Dynastic period to the time of the Roman Empire (figs. 30, 206, 228). (2) The contemporary Upper Egyptian rectangular house or pavilion has a single-pitched roof, sloping gently from front to rear, very slightly vaulted, and surmounting a flaring cornice. A favorite form for small shrines and kiosks all through the dynastic period (see p. 194), this type boasts a history as long and as respectable as that of its Lower Egyptian counterpart (fig. 51). (3) The *Serekh*-building was evidently a larger structure, with an elaborately paneled façade surmounted by two square towers and pierced with intricately recessed doorways. Of costly, overlapping wood construction, this building was clearly the early form of the princely and royal palace and appears as such under the royal falcon in the Horus names of kings of Egypt (). Subsequently its use was much extended, and its imposing façade came to be a general symbol for "house" or "doorway" and eventually simply an oft-repeated decorative motif. We shall encounter the ancient palace façade reproduced in brick on the exteriors of Early Dynastic maṣṭabeh tombs at Saḳḳāreh and Neḳādeh, in the stone "false doors" of the Old Kingdom and later times, and on tomb walls, stone sarcophagi, wooden coffins, and funerary stelae of almost every period of Egypt's history (figs. 53, 60, 82, 204).

Most of the characteristic details of dynastic Egyptian architecture were originated by the early builder in his efforts to make the most of his limited materials. To support the roofs of his houses he was forced to use the soft, pulpy trunks of palm trees, which of necessity had to be securely lashed at the tops to prevent them from splitting under their loads, or to bind together bundles of reeds, such as the papyrus, to form columnar supports for his roof beams and to

serve as vertical and longitudinal stringers to reinforce the edges of his flimsy walls. From these primitive makeshifts were derived the stately palm column (fig. 44) and the clustered papyrus shaft (fig. 169) seen in the great temples of dynastic times, and the torus molding regularly used as an ornament along the tops and down the angles of walls (figs. 82, 97, 134).[1] The habit of allowing the leafy tops of the reeds which formed the sides of the early huts to project above the rounded stringers at the tops of the walls gave birth to such a basic architectural form as the cavetto-and-torus cornice (figs. 82, 97, 134).

In his laborious attempts to achieve structures of greater permanence and greater dignity than the reed hut the Predynastic Egyptian patiently pieced together building façades of small beams and planks of wood overlapped and lashed together with cord, or trimmed his wall surfaces with a framing of light wood. So developed the often intricate paneling which adorns the exterior surfaces of buildings and enclosure walls of dynastic date.

To avoid the danger of his walls toppling outward the Egyptian at an early date gave their exterior surfaces a slight batter, or slope inward, a treatment which endured in Egypt as a convention long after improved methods of bonding brick and stone walls had made such a precaution unnecessary. At Saḳḳāreh, in the buildings of King Djoser, of the Third Dynasty, columns built up of stone drums are not left freestanding, but are needlessly buttressed by supporting "wing" walls.

The interior surfaces of house and palace walls were frequently covered or lined with coarse matting composed of reeds laid side by side and bound together with transverse cords. Such matting is carefully reproduced in the stone and tile revetments of wall surfaces of dynastic date (p. 45), and the crisscross lacing by means of which the mats were hung probably survives in the ornamental *ḥeker* () frieze that was regularly used to adorn the tops of interior walls (fig. 134). Brilliantly colored mats of reeds or grass served as awnings and portières in the doorways and windows of the earliest buildings, especially in the tall, narrow apertures of the palace façade. When not in use such mats were rolled up, forming a thick cylinder under the soffit of the doorway or window, a feature which is faithfully reproduced in stone in the doorways of later tombs and in the false-door type of stela or wall panel (figs. 53, 60).

It is probable that the tent or awning of hides or matting supported on slender poles was the archetype of the columned, or hypostyle, hall of historic time and the columned portico so prominent in later Egyptian architecture. A rare type of later column is interesting in that it reproduces exactly the tent pole of the nomadic phase of Egyptian culture. This column, tapering toward a point at the bottom, is fitted with a rounded top from which projects a short peg, evidently for insertion into an eyelet in the fabric of the tent.

The production and use of mud brick from the Late Predynastic period on, the importation from Syria of good structural timber, and the gradual introduction during the earliest dynasties of cut stone blocks as building materials naturally had a revolutionary effect on the size and type of building which the Egyptian now undertook and, at the same time, assured the preservation of many of these structures to the present day. In spite, however, of the new materials and the new structural methods devised for their use, the Egyptian still clung tenaciously to the traditional forms and decorative elements developed in the flimsy architecture of his prehistory.

2. Temples

For the sake of clarity we have thus far confined our discussion of early Egyptian architecture to the dwelling house, since, as has been said, this is

[1] Binding cords, or tapes, are represented on the stone torus moldings.

the basic form from which all other types of buildings are ultimately derived. In Egypt, however, man's "eternal dwelling," or tomb, and the dwellings, or temples, which he built for his gods began at a very early date to take precedence architecturally over the house in which he himself lived, and it is on the tombs and temples of the Nile Valley, rather than on the contemporary dwellings, that our knowledge of dynastic Egyptian architecture chiefly depends.

Little is known of the earliest Egyptian temples. No remains of a building of prehistoric date which can be identified as the shrine of a god have yet been found, and the traces of Early Dynastic temples so far brought to light are architecturally inconclusive. We are dependent for our present knowledge of such buildings on later representations of them. Some of the more common and traditional types survive as hieroglyphs in the written language ( ,  ,  ,  , etc.). These and others appear in crude drawings on ebony and ivory tablets of the First and Second Dynasties. Undoubtedly many of the stone and brick shrines of dynastic times (fig. 97) go back in origin to Egypt's prehistory. It is clear that, like the earliest dwelling houses, the primitive shrines were constructed of light, perishable materials and in form were simply slightly larger versions of contemporary human dwellings.

A temple or shrine of the Delta war goddess Nit of Saïs is depicted on an ebony tablet of the Horus ʿAḥa, the second king of the First Dynasty. We see here a hoop-roofed building with projecting corner posts, evidently of light wood or wickerwork construction. Before the temple is a large open court enclosed within a wooden fence. In the center of the court stands a tall pole bearing at its top the emblem of the goddess, two arrows crossed behind an 8-shaped shield, and at the front of the enclosed area are two more poles with the banners of "divinity" (). Much the same arrangement—a shrine with a convex roof and an open courtyard with poles for the standards of the god—occurs also in a clay model of later date. The open forecourt is a feature of nearly all dynastic temples, and it has been suggested that the pair of poles in front of these early courts were the forerunners of the obelisks which in historic times were erected at the entrance of a temple.

It may be assumed—admittedly on very slight material evidence—that Early Dynastic temples were already fairly large structures, built of brick, roofed with stout wooden beams, and fitted with trim and doors of cedar and other imported woods. Annals of the reign of King Khaʿ-sekhemwy of the Second Dynasty record the building of a stone temple, and granite door jambs of a temple erected by this king at Hierakonpolis have survived to the present day.

3. Tombs

In contrast to the scanty material available for the study of the early Egyptian temple, the archaeological evidence for the early development of the tomb is copious from the Neolithic period on. The first tombs or, more properly, graves, as we have seen, were small, shallow holes in the desert surface, in which the body of the deceased was buried in a contracted position (fig. 19). Like the contemporary dwelling houses, these graves were circular or oval in plan. It is probable that from the beginning the excess dirt from the grave was heaped over it in a low, rectangular mound, the prototype of the "maṣṭabeh"[2] of the dynastic period.

Little change is noticeable until Late Predynastic times, when the graves, like the houses of the living, assumed the rectangular plan and became very much larger and deeper than heretofore. Lined at first with matting or wooden planks, the interiors of the graves were later revetted with brick. To the great main chamber,

[2] The Arabic name of the rectangular mud benches found in the courtyards of modern native houses. Many years ago the word was applied by native workmen to the flat-topped, rectangular superstructure of a very common class of ancient tomb, and it is still universally used as the name of this type of monument.

or burial chamber, were added smaller compartments for offerings. Some of the larger graves were provided with brick stairways as a means of entry and exit. There is evidence that the subterranean chambers were roofed over with beams and planks of wood and surmounted above ground level by small mastabehs of rubble and brick.

In spite of the marked progress from the simple early graves seen in those of the Late Predynastic period, the latter still do not entirely prepare us for the stupendous architectural advances that appear at the very beginning of the dynastic era in the great mastabeh tombs at Sakkareh and Nekadeh. It must be remembered, however, that in the late prehistoric graves so far discovered we are not dealing with the sepulchers of kings, queens, princes, and powerful officials, as at Sakkareh and Nekadeh, but with the burial places of, at best, upper middle-class Egyptians. For commoners the type of grave just described continues without notable change well down into the dynastic period, while the royal tombs and cenotaphs steadily increase in size and complexity until they culminate in the gigantic royal sepulchers of the Old Kingdom, the pyramids. In Egypt the architecture, arts, and crafts of the court were naturally always far in advance of those of the people, partly because of the much greater impetus and superior facilities enjoyed by the court artist and partly because many of the innovations which he devised were for long periods of time reserved for royal use. The fact remains that we have not yet discovered the immediate predecessors of the royal tombs of the first historic dynasty—have not, in other words, first-hand knowledge of the evidently marked advance in royal funerary architecture made at the end of Egypt's prehistoric era.[3]

[3] A small decorated chamber of Late Predynastic date, found at Hierakonpolis, was once thought to be a royal tomb. It is interesting chiefly for the primitive river scenes with which its walls are painted and which recall similar scenes on decorated Predynastic pottery. Architecturally this little subterranean structure, which may have been a dwelling, is of no great significance.

The mastabeh tombs of the First and Second Dynasties in the archaic cemetery at North Sakkareh and the similar tomb at Nekadeh, in Upper Egypt, are vast rectangular structures of sun-dried mud brick, forty to sixty yards in length by fifteen to thirty yards in width. The cores of the buildings consist of between sixteen and forty-two small brick chambers or cells, used as storerooms for the rich and copious funerary equipment. The exterior surfaces of the thick, slightly battered outer walls were adorned with intricate and deeply recessed paneling reproducing the palace façade, repeated again and again the whole length of each wall. The great burial chambers were excavated in the ground or cut in the bedrock beneath the center of the mastabeh and flanked by two or more subterranean rooms. These chambers were roofed with beams and planks of wood, and their walls were covered with colored matting. In some of the tombs the passages to the burial chambers were closed at intervals by large portcullis blocks of finely dressed limestone. Fragments of architraves and even columns of limestone have also been found in these buildings.

Tombs of this type already cleared at Sakkareh include those of the Horus ʿAha and the Horus Djer, the second and third kings of historic Egypt; that of Djer's wife, Queen Meryet-Nit; and those of top-ranking officials of the reigns of Djer and Den, the fifth pharaoh of the First Dynasty. The mastabeh at Nekadeh was apparently built for Queen Nit-hotpe, the wife of ʿAha, and, though larger, is otherwise practically a duplicate of that king's tomb at Sakkareh.

Close beside the mastabehs of ʿAha, Djer, and Meryet-Nit were built, also of brick, the casings, or "graves," of full-size solar barques in which the deceased king or queen, like the sun god with whom they were identified, might sail across the sky at night and traverse the dark and dangerous regions beneath the earth.

The discovery at North Sakkareh in 1937 of the tomb of Nebet-ku, a noble who lived during the reign of the Horus Den, has given students of

early Egyptian architecture considerable food for thought. During its construction this tomb underwent two changes in design. It was finally completed as a paneled maṣṭabeh of the conventional type described above; but the original structure, as designed and certainly partially completed, appears to have been a small pyramid, rectangular in plan, its surfaces sloping upward in even steps at an angle of 49°. Considerable caution must be used in evaluating this small building; for the steps were built on only three sides of the central core and are preserved to considerably less than half the height of the proposed pyramid. Possibly no more than a stepped platform was intended, or a flat-topped maṣṭabeh with very sharply sloped sides. Whatever the intention in this particular case, it is clear that there are still a great many developments in the earliest architecture of dynastic Egypt which have not yet been revealed to us and that we must not be too categorical in assigning the origin of so fundamentally simple a form as the pyramid to the Old Kingdom.

The use of cut stone as a building material during the earliest dynasties was evidently much more extensive than has been previously believed. Maṣṭabeh tombs of the First Dynasty discovered near Helwān had chambers and passages faced with slabs of limestone and fitted with portcullises, partitions, and false doors of the same material.

In the light of the discovery of the great maṣṭabehs at Saḳḳāreh and elsewhere in the region of the ancient capital city of Memphis, it now seems probable that the comparatively simple chambers at Abydos cleared by Sir Flinders Petrie at the beginning of the present century are not the principal tombs of the kings of the First and Second Dynasties, but rather their "Upper Egyptian tombs," or cenotaphs. During the Third and the early part of the Fourth Dynasty it was usual for a king to have both a northern tomb and a southern tomb (see pp. 60, 61), presumably in deference to the tradition that Egypt consisted of "Two Lands" and that its king played a dual role as ruler of the Northland and ruler of the Southland. Nothing is more natural than that the pharaohs of the first two dynasties should have constructed their southern tombs at Abydos, which was situated near their ancestral home at Thinis and was from a very early period the most important Upper Egyptian cult center of the god Osiris, the divine symbol of resurrection after death.

The royal cenotaphs at Abydos resemble more closely the larger Late Predynastic graves which have been preserved to us than do the more advanced brick tombs at Saḳḳāreh and Neḳādeh. The king's chamber, in each instance at Abydos, is a large subterranean room, once roofed with enormous beams and planks of wood and surmounted above ground level by a mound, or maṣṭabeh, of sand or rubble revetted with brick. The cenotaphs assigned to the earliest kings (Naʿr[-mer], ʿAḥa) consist of single chambers only; but in those of subsequent kings the great central room is surrounded by many small cubicles containing stelae in honor of members of the pharaoh's family and court (see that of Se'n-Ba, p. 37). Most of the kings' chambers had floors and walls of wooden planks applied to outer linings of mud or mud brick; but that of the Horus Den has a floor of cut granite blocks, and that of Khaʿ-sekhemwy, the last king of the Second Dynasty, is completely lined with limestone. Some of the chambers, notably those of Den and Ḳa-aʿ, were approached from ground level by long brick stairways.

All the kings of the First Dynasty listed in the chronology on page 34 had structures of this type at Abydos. So also did the last kings of the Second Dynasty, with the exception of Khaʿ-sekhem, whose known monuments are confined chiefly to Hierakonpolis. There are, in addition, the tomb, or cenotaph, of Queen Meryet-Nit, wife of the Horus Djer, several single chambers which have been assigned to prehistoric kings of a somewhat hazy "Dynasty O," and others whose owners have not been identified. At present ʿAḥa and Djer are the only pharaohs and Meryet-Nit

the only queen represented by both maṣṭabehs at Saḳḳāreh and chambers at Abydos. Until further excavation of the archaic cemetery at Saḳḳāreh has been carried out, our knowledge of the earliest dynasties will continue to depend very largely on the Abydos chambers and on the inscribed and other material from them; in any event, our debt to the late Professor Petrie for his careful excavation and recording of these most important monuments will always remain a very great one.

4. Military Architecture

In addition to domestic, religious, and funerary buildings, military architecture also is represented in the Early Dynastic period—by brick forts, or fortified palaces, at Abydos and Hierakonpolis, by traces of early town walls at el Kāb, and by the hieroglyphs or symbols for "town" appearing on the earliest inscribed monuments.

A feature common to all the known military structures of this period is the double outer defense, consisting of a very high and probably crenelated inner wall, fifteen to twenty feet thick, surrounded by a lower and somewhat lighter outer wall, the two ramparts separated by a space of only a few yards. The outer surface of the inner wall is usually paneled in a manner reminiscent of the old palace façade. Gateways are narrow openings in the walls, preceded by vestibules flanked on either hand by heavy brick salients or bastions.

The forts are rectangular in plan and contain, inside the great girdle walls, remains of brick palaces or barracks. The ruins of the "Middle Fort" at Abydos are preserved to a length of 335 feet; the great "Shūnet ez Zebīb," also at Abydos, is 440 feet in length; and the fort at Hierakonpolis measures 243 by 213 feet.

The walled town, on the other hand, appears to have had a circular or an oval plan. The early hieroglyph ⊗ evidently represents a circular walled city with two main streets crossing in the center, the latter feature calling to mind the fortified Roman camps of a much later era. At el Kāb, the site of the prehistoric Upper Egyptian capital city of Nekhāb, the earliest defenses, the "Double Walls," enclosed an oval area, and on Late Predynastic palettes and Early Dynastic tablets the pictograms denoting cities or towns are ovals surrounded by heavy, crenelated walls.

At an early period the Egyptian architect became acquainted with and used not only the corbel vault and the leaned, or flowing, vault but also the true vault, which he constructed without centering. Neither the vault nor the arch, however, was employed on a monumental scale in Egypt; they were reserved chiefly for small, purely utilitarian buildings, such as storehouses, or for tomb chambers and chapels wherein it was desired to reproduce the form of primaeval hoop-roofed houses or shrines.

V. THE OLD KINGDOM

Kings of the Old Kingdom

DYNASTY III (2780-2680 B.C.)

The Horus Iry-chet-nuter, King Djoser I	19 years
The Horus Si-nakhte, King Djoser II	
The Horus Khaᶜ-ba, King Tety (?)	12+? years
King Neb-ku (Neb-ku-Rēᶜ ?)	
King Ḥuny	24 years

DYNASTY IV (2680-2560 B.C.)

Snefru	24 years
(Chnum-) Khuf-wy (Cheops)	23 years
Djedef-Rēᶜ	8 years
Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ (Chephren)	25-29 years
Ba-ku-Rēᶜ (?)	1-5 years
Men-kū-Rēᶜ (Mycerinus)	21-28 years
Shepses-kuf	4 years
Djedef-Ptaḥ (?)	2 years

DYNASTY V (2560-2420 B.C.)

Woser-kuf	7 years
Saḥu-Rēᶜ	14 years
Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ	12 (?) years
Shepses-ku-Rēᶜ	7 years
Nefrof-Rēᶜ	4 (?) years
Ny-woser-Rēᶜ	30+2 (?) years
Men-kū-Ḥor	8 years
Djed-ku-Rēᶜ (Isesy)	28 years
Wen-is	30 years

DYNASTY VI (2420-2280 B.C.)

Tety	12 (?) years
Woser-ku-Rēᶜ	4 (?) years
Pepy I	25 years
Mery-en-Rēᶜ I (ᶜAnty-em-saf)	10 years
Pepy II	94 years
Mery-en-Rēᶜ II (ᶜAnty-em-saf II)	1 year
Men-ku-Rēᶜ Nit-oḳrety (Queen Nitokris)	2 years

V. The Old Kingdom

1. King Djoser, the Sage I-em-ḥotep, and the Third Dynasty

ALTHOUGH THE rapid advance of Egyptian civilization during the First and Second Dynasties has prepared us for what is often regarded as Egypt's most brilliant epoch, the Old Kingdom, due credit for the inauguration of this era must be given to two extraordinary men: the Horus Irychet-nuter, King Djoser, the founder of the Third Dynasty, and his renowned architect and chancellor, the great I-em-ḥotep.

The powerful face of the pharaoh is preserved to us in a portrait ★head in relief (fig. 37), carved with infinite care by a master sculptor of the Third Dynasty to serve as a model in his atelier for reproducing the king's likeness in the reliefs of a temple near Hurbeiṭ, in the east Delta. The piece is not inscribed, but the style of the work and the unmistakable character of the face are so like known portraits of Djoser from his pyramid and mortuary temple at Saḳḳāreh that the identification seems almost certain. The king is portrayed wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, which, thanks to its detailed representation, we see to have been made of reeds or wickerwork. The false beard worn by Djoser is one of the standard insignia of Egyptian kingship and was probably an enlarged version of the real goatees affected by the earliest pharaohs. It has been suggested that the strong Armenoid quality of the king's face reflects the infiltration into Egypt at the beginning of the historic period of a people of Armenoid type, a type well represented among the ruling class of the Old Kingdom.

The carefully executed ★hieroglyphic signs on a second limestone slab, also from Hurbeiṭ (fig. 38), comprise two titles in the pharaoh's protocol. "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" is written with the plant of the south and the bee of the north. Below this appear the vulture of the goddess Nekhābet of Upper Egypt and the cobra (uraeus) of the goddess Udōt of Lower Egypt, signs regularly used to introduce the second name in the king's titulary, the Two Goddesses name. The care and the detail with which the signs are rendered indicate that, like the portrait, they were to serve as models for monumental inscriptions for the royal building.

Djoser, son of Khaʿ-sekhemwy, the last king of the Second Dynasty, reigned over Egypt for nineteen years. Among other historical monuments he has left us a rock carving in the vicinity of the ancient copper mines of the Wādy Maghāreh, on the peninsula of Sinai, commemorating a victory over the Bedawīn tribes of that region. He is credited with checking the advance of the peoples



FIGURE 37. King Djoser. A sculptor's model of the Third Dynasty. Limestone. H. 10¼ in.

of Nubia and establishing a rigid control over the boundary region of Lower Nubia above the First Cataract.

Though the king was evidently a strong and able ruler, his fame has been to a great extent overshadowed by that of I-em-ḥotep, a man renowned from his own day to this as an architect, a physician, a priest, a magician, a writer, and a maker of proverbs. Twenty-three hundred years after his death he had become a god of medicine, in whom the Greeks, who called him Imouthes, recognized their own Asklepios.

I-em-ḥotep's outstanding accomplishment as an architect is the step pyramid and extensive funerary complex which he built for Djoser at Saḳḳāreh. The pyramid, the earliest freestanding stone structure known, towers 190 feet above the desert plateau. Planned originally as a maṣṭabeh, the building finally achieved a form which superficially resembles six superimposed maṣṭabehs diminishing in size toward the apex of the structure. From its subterranean passages and chambers, many adorned with fine reliefs and brilliant blue faience "matting" ★tiles, were recovered more than thirty thousand vessels of alabaster and other ornate stones, many bearing the names of kings of the First and Second Dynasties.

The pyramid is surrounded on all four sides by a vast walled enclosure containing an elaborate group of shrines, storehouses, altars, courts, gateways, and secondary tombs—a veritable city in itself, planned and executed as a single unit and built throughout of fine white limestone from the near-by Muḳattam Hills. These remarkable buildings, excavated and restored by the Egyptian Government's expedition at Saḳḳāreh, are replicas in stone of the light wood, reed, and brick structures of earlier times, their columns, roofs, cornices, and walls preserving every structural and ornamental detail of the primitive and traditional house and temple forms.

Djoser's southern tomb, or cenotaph, is a huge brick maṣṭabeh at Beit Khallāf, in Upper Egypt, below Abydos, similar to the royal tombs of the preceding dynasties at Saḳḳāreh. The clay sealings of jars from this structure preserve the names of the king, his mother, and a number of the officials of the reign.

Near the cenotaph of Djoser is that of his son and successor, the Horus Si-nakhte, King Djoser II, who also left us a victory tablet on Sinai. Of the next two rulers, the Horus Khaᶜ-ba and King Neb-ku, very little is known. Their names are associated with two pyramids at Zawyet el ᶜAryān, in the desert south of Gīzeh.

King Ḥuny, who closes the Third Dynasty with a reign of twenty-four years, is known from the lists of kings and from a papyrus of the late Middle Kingdom to have been the successor of Neb-ku (Neb-ku-Rēᶜ?) and the immediate predecessor of Snefru, the founder of the Fourth Dynasty. He was apparently the owner of a pyramid at Meidūm, some forty-five miles south of Cairo, which was formerly attributed to Snefru. This building, originally constructed in steps, underwent several enlargements and changes of design before it was finished—perhaps by Snefru—as a true pyramid.

2. The Fourth Dynasty

The Fourth Dynasty, one of the great high points in Egyptian history, opens auspiciously with the long and active reign of Snefru, whose annals, as preserved in part on the Palermo Stone, tell us of successful military campaigns against the Nubians to the south and the Libyan tribesmen of the west, the maintenance of traffic, particularly in timber, with the Syrian coast, and extensive building operations carried out year by year and involving the erection of temples, fortresses, and palaces throughout Egypt. Three rock carvings of Snefru's in the Wādy Maghāreh attest the continued working of the copper mines and the suppression of the Bedawīn on the peninsula of Sinai.

Of the king's two pyramids at Dahshūr, the southern is rhomboidal in shape, sloping to a peak in two angles, but the northern is of true pyramidal form and of a size which begins to approach that of the Great Pyramid of Khuf-wy at Gīzeh. Near the pyramids at Dahshūr was built Snefru's residence city. A clay ★sealing of this great pharaoh in the Museum's collection bears his Horus name, Neb-maʿet, and his personal name, Snefru, accompanied by the epithet "beloved of the gods."

With Snefru the Old Kingdom is fairly launched. Although historical documents are still scanty, paintings, reliefs, and inscriptions in private tombs surrounding the pyramids of this king and his successors begin to give us an increasingly lucid picture of the administration, state religion, and daily life of ancient Egypt.

We see a highly organized and centralized government functioning around the theoretically divine figure of the king. It is the "Good God," as the pharaoh is now called, who personally deputizes authority to his host of royal officials (frequently members of his own family), supervises their upbringing and early training, grants them land and other possessions during their lifetimes, and provides in full for their burials and funerary offerings. The center of government is the king's palace and the group of official buildings surrounding it, known as Per-ʿo ("the Great House"), whence the Hebrew form "pharaoh" commonly applied, in the New Kingdom and later, to the king himself. The now fictional duality of the country is maintained as a time-honored tradition respected in the titles of certain departments and offices of the government, while the nomes have been reduced to the status of administrative districts governed in behalf of the king by his loyal appointees. Departments, or "houses," of the central government include the treasury, the armory, the granaries, the army, and the department of public works, in addition to the priesthoods of the temples of the state gods and the mortuary temples of the kings. Characteristic titles for officials charged with the supervision of these departments are: "Chancellor of the God," "Chancellor of the King of Lower

FIGURE 38. Hieroglyphs used in titles of the king. A sculptor's model of the Third Dynasty. Limestone. H. 10½ in.



Egypt," "Overseer of the Armory," "Chief of the Soldiers," and "Overseer of Works." Immediately under the king and in full charge of the organization of the government is the prime minister, or vizier, normally, during the Fourth Dynasty, a prince of the royal line. This enormously important and extremely busy official also functions as head of the judiciary branch of the government, as keeper of the extensive state archives, and as the pharaoh's chief architect.

3. The Pyramid Builders

Snefru's successors, Khuf-wy[1] (Cheops), Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ (Chephren), and Men-kū-Rēᶜ (Mycerinus), are known to prosperity chiefly by the three great tombs which they erected on a spur of the desert plateau at Gīzeh, eight miles southwest of modern Cairo.

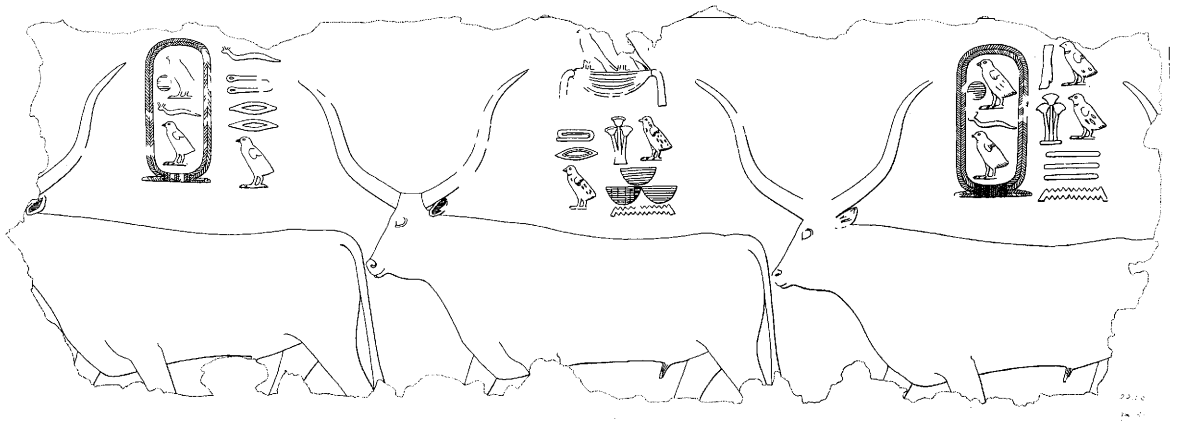
The pyramid of Khuf-wy, or, as it is usually called, "the Great Pyramid," has the distinction of being the largest single building ever constructed by man, but it is less interesting as a work of architecture than as a symbol of the enormous power centered in the kings of this time. The gigantic structure, covering a square ground plan of thirteen acres, has a solid masonry core composed of approximately 2,300,000 great blocks of coarse yellow limestone, once covered by a smooth casing of white limestone from the near-by quarries at Tureh. The four faces of the pyramid are accurately oriented to the four cardinal points of the compass. The sloping passage leading to the relatively small funerary chambers in the body of the pyramid and in the bedrock beneath is entered from well up on the north side of the structure. Close against the east side of the pyramid, facing the Nile and the residence city of the king in the cultivated land, was built Khuf-wy's mortuary temple, in which were performed the daily rites in behalf of the dead king's immortal soul. An avenue, or causeway, led down from the front of this temple to a smaller gateway, or "valley," temple, built at the edge of the Nile flood plain. On the plateau to the east of the king's tomb are three small pyramids for his queens and five rows of maṣṭabehs for other members of his family. In spite of its gigantic size, Khuf-wy's pyramid was laid out and constructed with amazing precision. It has been estimated that to provide the pharaoh with this single monument one hundred thousand of his subjects worked uninterruptedly for at least twenty years.

The pyramids of Khuf-wy's son and grandson, though smaller, are generally similar to his, both in construction and in the arrangement of their subsidiary buildings. Granite, brought down river from Aswān, was used extensively in the lower casings of both pyramids and in the interiors of the mortuary and valley temples.

Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ's mortuary temple, better preserved than that of his father, gives us the general

[1] In full form, Chnum-khuf-wy

FIGURE 39. Cattle of King Khuf-wy. Limestone temple relief of the Fourth Dynasty. L. 55 in.



scheme for all such structures, which we may suppose was also that of contemporary temples to the gods and of the more elaborate dwelling houses, including the king's own palace. Entering the massive rectangular building from the causeway on its east side, a visitor passed successively through a narrow vestibule and two reception halls, their roofs supported by heavy rectangular piers of granite, and thence into a large open court surrounded on all four sides by monumental colonnades. Behind the court a row of five small rooms, or *sirdābs,* was provided for the five "name statues" of the king—sculptured portraits of the pharaoh corresponding to his five official names. Finally, at the extreme inner end of the temple, closed to all save the priests, were the sanctuary and the storerooms for the sacred objects used in the mortuary service of the deified king.

The granite Valley Temple at the foot of the causeway is, in general, no more than a repetition of the vestibule and T-shaped entrance hall of the mortuary temple. Beside the causeway, to the northwest of this temple, stands the Great Sphinx, a colossal likeness of Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ in the form of a human-headed lion carved from a spur of the desert limestone.



FIGURE 40. Names and title of King Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ. A sculptor's trial piece of the Fourth Dynasty. Diabase. H. 8½ in.

4. Royal Monuments of the Fourth Dynasty

Five blocks of fine limestone ★relief which once adorned the walls of a building of Khuf-wy's were recovered by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition from the pyramid and mortuary temple of King Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht, whither they had been taken at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, together with many other blocks from Old Kingdom structures in the Memphite area, and reused as common building stones. In exquisitely carved, monumental hieroglyphs we read on one of these fragments the names and titles of the builder of the Great Pyramid: "The Horus Medjedu, [Medjed-er-]Nebty, Double Horus of Gold, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khuf-wy." The king's personal name occurs as part of the name of a cargo ship in a small fragment of a scene depicting the transportation of building stone. The inscription which accompanies the scene is continued on another small fragment, where mention is made of a place named in honor of Khuf-wy and of "building the temples of the gods in fine limestone." A fourth fragment preserves the head and shoulders of a female figure personifying one of the royal estates, a place called "Khuf-wy-is-good." Finally, on a large block are seen three long-horned bulls from the royal cattle pastures (fig. 39). The names of the animals, written over their backs, are compounded with the names of the pharaoh, in two cases with his personal name, Khuf-wy; in the third case, with his Golden Horus name.

On all the fragments the king's personal name

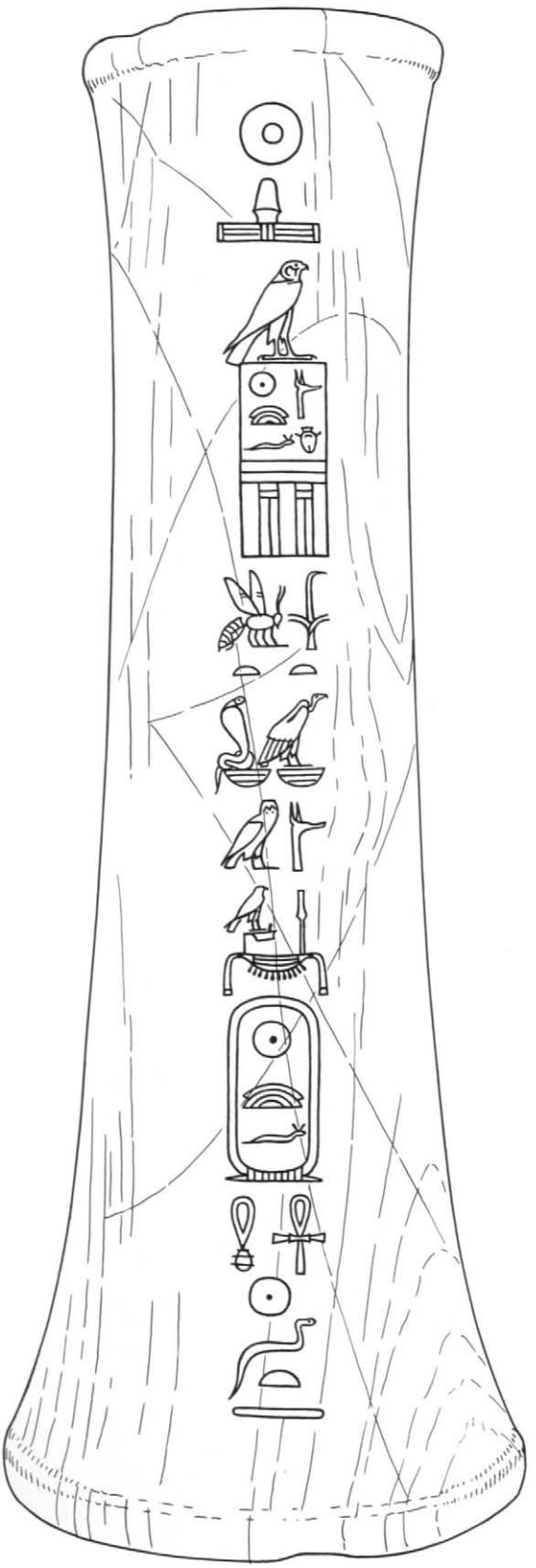


FIGURE 41. Diorite stand for an offering tray, inscribed with the names and titles of King Khaᶜ-ef-Rēᶜ. H. 33½ in.

is written within a *cartouche,*[2] or "royal ring"—an oval frame (⬭) adapted from the sign ○, a symbol of universal power. When represented in detail, as here, the cartouche is seen to consist of a loop formed of two strands of rope with the ends crossed and lashed at one end of the loop. It is used from the Old Kingdom on to frame the throne and personal names of the kings of Egypt and, later, the names of the queens and the princes and princesses of the royal line.

A ★sculptor's model or trial piece for a monumental inscription of Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ (fig. 40) preserves the lower part of the palace façade that frames the pharaoh's Horus name and his throne name, Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ, enclosed in a cartouche and preceded by the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt." The carving of the piece is evidently incomplete, and the hieroglyphs are for the most part only blocked out in preliminary silhouette. The hard black stone, usually called "basalt," of which the panel is made, is a diabase, or dolerite.

From a temple of the sun god Rēᶜ, erected by Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ near Bubastis, in the east Delta, comes a tall ★stand of diorite (fig. 41). Probably used as the support for an offering tray, the highly polished shaft bears the inscription: "Rēᶜ is content (with) the Horus Woser-yeb Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Woser-em-Nebty, Horus of Gold Sekhem, Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ; may he live, like Rēᶜ, forever." The regular, formal, and deftly cut hieroglyphs of the inscription indicate the strides made in monumental writing within the four hundred years which intervened between the making of this stand and the First Dynasty stela of Se'n-Ba.

The royal diorite quarry of Khuf-wy and his successors has been discovered in the Libyan Desert to the west of Tūshkeh, a clear indication that

[2] A French word, meaning an ornamental tablet designed to contain an inscription. The Egyptian word for the cartouche, *shenu,* is derived from a stem meaning "encircle."

Egyptian control in Nubia had at this time been extended almost as far south as the Second Cataract of the Nile. The hard, ornately grained stone, properly a diorite gneiss, was evidently much favored by the sculptors of the Old Kingdom. Outstanding examples of its use are the superb diorite statues of Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ from his Valley Temple at Gīzeh.

The same facial type, the same nobility of conception, and the same subtle and extremely sensitive modeling which characterize these masterpieces of Old Kingdom sculpture may be seen in a fragment of a small alabaster ★head in the Museum's collection tentatively identified as a portrait of Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ (fig. 42). Egyptian "alabaster," actually a limespar, or calcite, was quarried at Ḥat-nūb, in the eastern desert, back of el ᶜAmārneh. Rock inscriptions in the famous quarry show that it was in use as early as the time of Khuf-wy.

The names of King Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ and of his son, King Men-kū-Rēᶜ, appear on contemporary ★cylinder seals of haematite and serpentine and on scarab-shaped seals of later times.

An unfinished ★statuette of Men-kū-Rēᶜ in pink limestone (fig. 43) is interesting as illustrating the methods used by the Old Kingdom sculptor in blocking out and finishing his figures. The statuette represents the fifth of eight stages in the completion of a figure. The sculptor's assistant, using a stone hammer, has completed the rough shaping of the form, and the master has already begun to refine the contours and add the surface finish by patient and skillful rubbing with an abrasive substance. The statuette and many others like it were found in a workshop connected with Men-kū-Rēᶜ's Valley Temple at Gīzeh by the joint expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts under the direction of the late Dr. George A. Reisner.

Thanks to the excavations and researches conducted at Gīzeh by this expedition, the tangled family relationships of the Fourth Dynasty have been much clarified. A major contribution to our knowledge of Egyptian history and, to an even greater extent, of Egyptian art was the discovery,

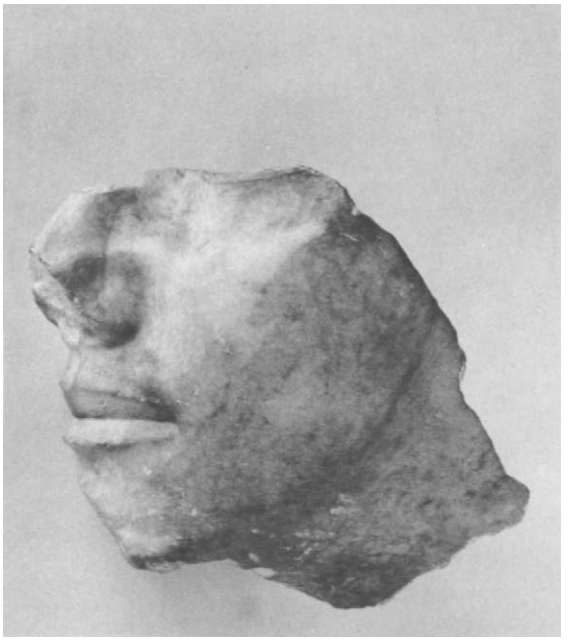


FIGURE 42. Fragmentary head in alabaster of King Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ. H. 3¼ in.

in a secret pit tomb near the Great Pyramid, of the exquisite furniture, jewelry, and funerary equipment of Khuf-wy's mother, Queen Ḥetep-ḥras.

One of the several interruptions in the royal succession of the Fourth Dynasty was occasioned by a king named Djedef-Rēᶜ, who ruled Egypt for eight years between the death of Khuf-wy in 2633 B.C. and the accession of Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ in 2625 B.C. A son of one of Khuf-wy's lesser wives, Djedef-Rēᶜ, in selecting the site for his tomb, abandoned the family plateau at Gīzeh and founded his granite-cased pyramid high up on the summit of the Gebel Abu Rauwāsh, immediately to the west of Cairo.

Contenders for the throne again troubled the years between the long and evidently prosperous reigns of Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ and Men-kū-Rēᶜ, and at the latter's death the crown passed through the King's Daughter Khent-kūs to her husband, Shepses-kuf, a man apparently not related by blood to the pharaohs whom he succeeded. After a reign of only four years Shepses-kuf was buried



FIGURE 43. Unfinished statuette of King Menkū-Rēᶜ. Pink limestone. H. 8 in.

at South Saḳḳāreh beneath a gigantic tomb of unusual design, known nowadays as the "Maṣṭabat el Faraᶜūn." Queen Khent-kūs, however, survived not only the death of her husband but also that of his successor, the ephemeral Djedef-Ptaḥ, and perhaps was married again, to King Woserkuf, the traditional founder of the Fifth Dynasty. Her two sons, both of whom became kings of Egypt, were probably Saḥu-Rēᶜ and Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ, Woser-kuf's successors, and she herself has come to be regarded, with considerable justification, as the "mother" of the Fifth Dynasty.

5. The Fifth Dynasty

These events find an echo in one of the "Tales of King Khuf-wy and the Magicians," a group of romances of the Old Kingdom preserved to us in a papyrus of Middle Kingdom date. According to this fanciful account, the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty were to be triplets born to the wife of a priest of the sun god Rēᶜ and sired by no less a personage than the god himself. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the new dynasty was fostered by the ancient and powerful priesthood of Rēᶜ of Heliopolis, now the unchallenged leader of the Egyptian pantheon and the state god of the entire land. In deference to their divine patron the kings of the Fifth Dynasty compounded their throne names with that of the god and, from King Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ on, introduced their names with the heretofore little used title "Son of Rēᶜ." Near their pyramids and their residence city at Abu Ṣīr, just north of Saḳḳāreh, at least two of these kings honored the sun god with great temples of unusual design, each dominated by a vast and towering solar obelisk.

In addition to the frequent erection and endowment of temples, listed on the Palermo Stone, the pharaohs of the Fifth Dynasty were active in the safeguarding of the boundaries of Egypt and in the maintenance and expansion of the already existing trade relations with neighboring lands. Raids or punitive expeditions against the Libyans of the western desert, the Bedawīn of Sinai, and the Semitic peoples of southern Palestine are recorded in the fragmentary relief sculptures from the mortuary temples of Saḥu-Rēᶜ, Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ, Ny-woser-Rēᶜ, and Wen-is, together with the very considerable booty derived from these campaigns. Great

seagoing ships of Saḥu-Rēᶜ and Wen-is-visited the coasts of Palestine and returned to their home port laden with men of Semitic race, their wives, and children. In the reigns of Saḥu-Rēᶜ and Djed-ku-Rēᶜ Isesy Egyptian fleets reached the shores of the distant and half-legendary land of Pwēnet, on the Somali coast, to procure the myrrh so extensively used as an incense in the temple rites of Egypt. Saḥu-Rēᶜ, Ny-woser-Rēᶜ, Men-kū-Ḥor, and Isesy have left long inscriptions on the rock walls of the Wādy Maghāreh, beside the rich turquoise and copper mines of Sinai; and Isesy has long been credited with opening the hard stone quarry at the Wādy el Ḥammāmāt on the Koptos Road—presumably an act of the expedition which he dispatched to Pwēnet by way of the Red Sea. Another of Isesy's expeditions followed the footsteps of their Fourth Dynasty predecessors deep into Nubia and set up a stela of the king in Khuf-wy's diorite quarry, west of Tūshkeh.

The traffic with Syria in cedar logs and other coniferous woods continued to thrive, and the ancient port of Byblos, on the coast below the wooded slopes of the Lebanon, saw more and more of the Egyptian timber fleet. Trade relations with Byblos are known to have existed from the earliest dynasties; an Egyptian temple was erected there during the Fourth Dynasty, and objects inscribed with the names of several pharaohs of the Old Kingdom have been found in the town and in the old harbor area.

The royal pyramids of the Fifth Dynasty at Saḳḳāreh and Abu Ṣīr are far smaller than the great tombs of the Fourth Dynasty, and of inferior construction, but the mortuary temples adjoining the pyramids were elaborate structures, extensively decorated with fine relief sculpture, some of a semihistorical nature. Though in ruins, these temples are infinitely better preserved than their prototypes of the Fourth Dynasty and, apart from their historical value, have contributed enormously to our knowledge of Old Kingdom architecture.

A ★model of the tomb and temple of King Saḥu-Rēᶜ at Abu Ṣīr illustrates the construction of the pyramid, the form and arrangement of the mortuary temple, Valley Temple, and causeway, and the relations of the various elements in the funerary complex one to another.

The Museum is fortunate in possessing one of the tall granite ★columns from the open court of Saḥu-Rēᶜ's temple (fig. 44). The graceful shaft and capital reproduce in their form the trunk and fronds of the palm tree—specifically the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera* L.). The binding at the top of the shaft derives from the time when real palm trunks, used as columns, were lashed at the top to keep them from splitting. It is interesting to see how the looped end of the binding rope hanging down from under the lower turns of the lashing has been preserved as a decorative motif on the stone shaft. The panel of inscription gives the names and kingly titles of Saḥu-Rēᶜ and places him under the tutelage of the vulture Nekhābet, goddess of the Southland —a fact which indicates that this column was from the portico on the south side of the temple court. The stone of which the column is made, and which we shall see used again and again in monuments of the dynastic period, is red granite, or syenite, quarried at Aswān (the Greek Syēnē), in the region of the First Cataract, and composed of coarse crystals of quartz, red feldspar, and hornblende. When it is considered how little time had passed since the Egyptian first began using stone for building on a large scale, such monolithic columns are a remarkable commentary on his extraordinary progress in stonecutting and his great ability in solving the engineering problems encountered in extracting such masses from the quarries and transporting and erecting them over five hundred miles down the river at Memphis.

A second palm ★column, also of red granite, is from the mortuary temple adjoining the pyramid of King Wen-is at Saḳḳāreh. Wen-is, the last pharaoh of the Fifth Dynasty, came to the throne of Egypt some ninety years after the death of Saḥu-Rēᶜ, at a time when both the power of the

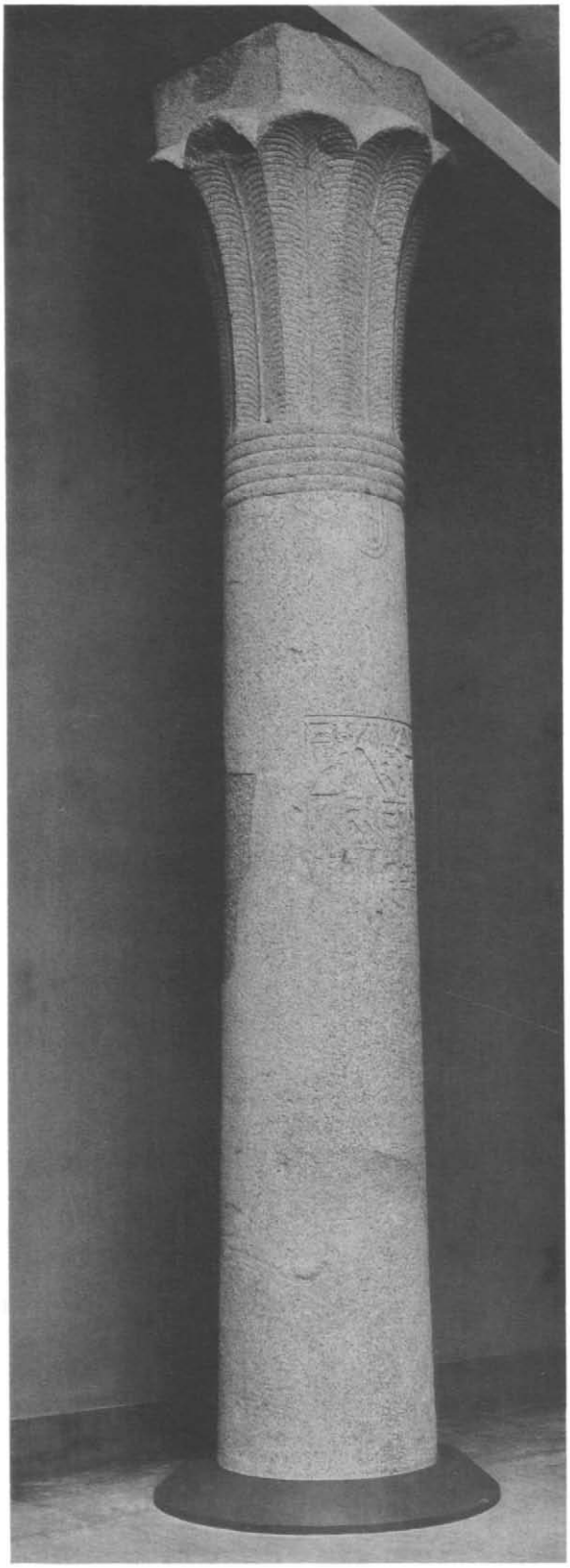


FIGURE 44. Granite column from the pyramid temple of King Saḥu-Rēᶜ. H. 21 ft. 4 in.

kings and the high standards of Old Kingdom art were already on the decline. Some hint of this decline may be seen in the less graceful proportions of this column as compared with that of Saḥu-Rēᶜ and in the omission of such naturalistic details as the ribbing of the palm leaves. The inscription, restored from a similar shaft in Cairo, names the king as favored of Udōt, the cobra goddess of Lower Egypt. Reliefs on the walls of the covered causeway of the pyramid show this column and its mates being brought down river on ships from the quarries near the First Cataract. In the accompanying inscription the ships are described as "coming from Elephantine loaded with red granite columns for the pyramid called 'Good-are-the-places-of-the Son-of-Rēᶜ-Wen-is'."

It is in the burial chamber of the pyramid of Wen-is that we find the earliest extant versions of the "Pyramid Texts," a series of very ancient funerary and religious writings which have contributed immeasurably to our knowledge of the earliest religion and funerary beliefs of the Egyptians and provided us with glimpses of events which took place before the dawn of written history.

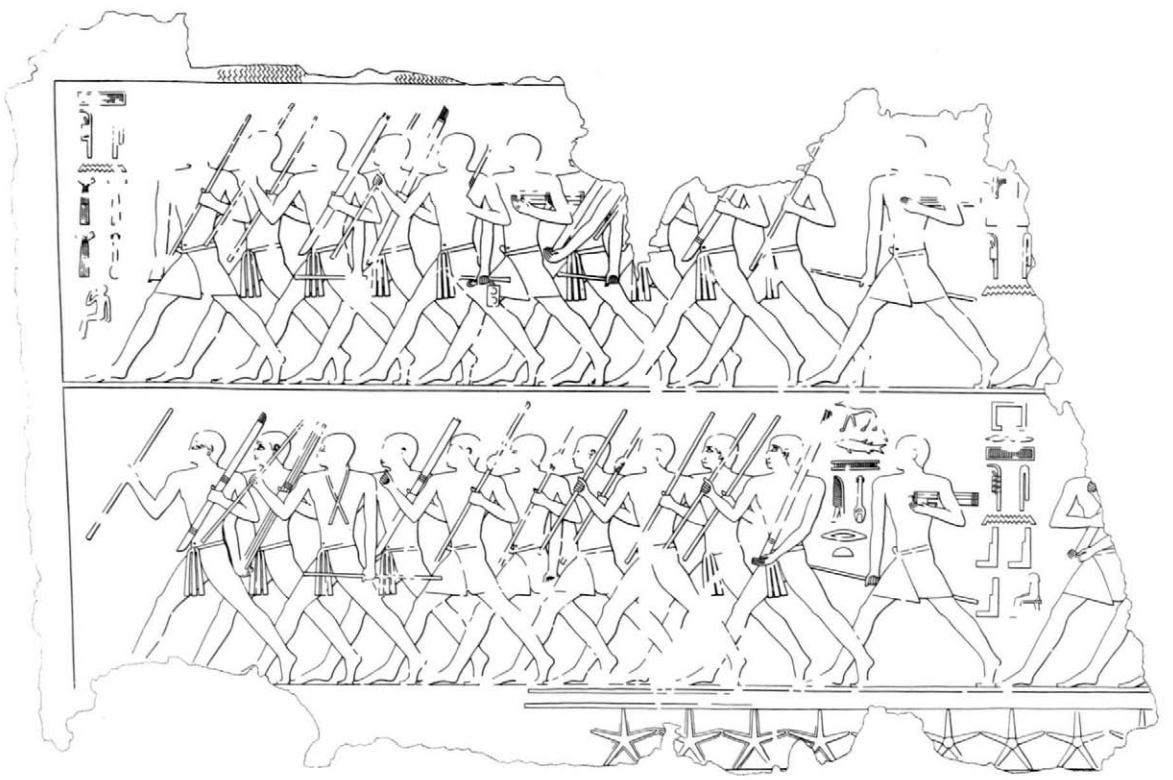
Numerous blocks of royal temple ★relief of the Fifth Dynasty were found by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition at el Lisht, some eighteen miles south of Saḳḳāreh, whither they had been taken early in the Twelfth Dynasty and reused as common building stones in the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I and in the structures surrounding it. In style, scale, and subject matter most of these pieces parallel so closely the reliefs from the mortuary temple and Valley Temple of King Saḥu-Rēᶜ at Abu Ṣir that there is every likelihood that they came originally from similar royal buildings. Three of the blocks, less fragmentary than their mates, are particularly worthy of attention.

The first of these preserves parts of nine

columns of a *monumental inscription in honor of King Wen-is.* Here we read of "the royal children, the Sole Companions, the King's Gentlemen, the Chancellors of the God, the Commanders of the Armies, the Privy Councilors, who are in their midst, . . . [coming] to give praise to the Son of Rēᶜ, Wen-is, . . . to enhance the might of the Son of Rēᶜ, Wen-is . . ."; and of a god who speaks to the king and says, "I cause thee to shine forth in fair fashion as [King of Upper and Lower Egypt]."

On the second block (fig. 45) we see *two companies of armed men,* equipped with axes, quarterstaves, and cases of bows, proceeding "on the double," accompanied by their respective group commanders. The upper group are sailors or marines from the pharaoh's ship of state, a great sailing vessel, normally depicted, in scenes of this type, riding the strip of water above the heads of the men. In their midst appears a scribe bearing a bundle of rolls of papyrus, a cylindrical pen case, and a palette suspended on a loop of cord ( ). The lower company, in charge of the "Province Administrator I-nofret," is not labeled and may also be members of the ship's crew. In addition to their staves, both company commanders carry rolls of papyrus, probably orders or accounts related to their commands. At the right of the fragment appear the titles and parts of the leading figures of two more companies of men, both apparently troops of the palace guard. Although he could not bring himself to represent the human figure with either foot lifted clear of the ground, the sculptor has suggested the act of running with considerable success and in the regular, crisscross overlap of the figures has adequately conveyed the idea of formations of men in rapid motion; above all, he has given us a design which is both lively and sophisticated.

FIGURE 45. Egyptian marines. Fragment of relief from a royal temple of the Fifth Dynasty. Limestone. L. 50 in.





The third block, complete except for a missing patch in the upper left-hand corner, takes us into the pharaoh's *kitchen and* out into his *cattle pastures.* In the upper register a poultry cook, squatting on his haunches, roasts a dressed duck over a brazier, keeping the coals glowing with a palm-leaf fan, while his companion plucks another bird, which he will presently add to the row of dressed fowls and other provisions suspended from the rafters overhead. Below, a herdsman carrying a calf on his back is, to quote the accompanying inscription, "coming out of the papyrus thickets, guiding the herd." Although the same scenes are frequently depicted in contempory maṣṭabeh tombs, the scale of the figures and the exceedingly high quality of the sculpture make it probable that this block, like its companion, is from a royal building. Particularly noteworthy are the splendid pattern produced by the overlapping bodies and horns of the oxen and the exquisite modeling of the bodies of the men.

Statues and statuettes of kings of the Fifth Dynasty are exceedingly rare. The Museum is therefore doubly fortunate in possessing a fine diorite ★group portraying King Saḥu-Rēᶜ, seated upon his throne, accompanied by a male figure personifying the Fifth Nome, or province, of Upper Egypt—that of Koptos (fig. 46). The king's headdress is the royal *nemes,* a striped wig cover of stiff linen cloth or, possibly, leather. The device which surmounts the *nemes* is the hooded head and serpentine body of the cobra, or uraeus, an emblem of the sun god Rēᶜ appropriated by his earthly representative, the pharaoh. On the front of the throne are inscribed the names and titles of the king: "The Horus Neb-khaᶜu, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Saḥu-Rēᶜ."

The smaller figure, wearing the archaic wig and long, curved beard of a god, is identified by the standard of the Koptite nome which surmounts its head: two falcons on perches side by side (). With his outstretched left hand the nome god presents to Saḥu-Rēᶜ the symbol of life,  , and in his right hand holds the sign  , an emblem of universal power. At the edge of the broken surface before the feet of this figure we can make out the first words of the speech which the Nome addresses to the pharaoh: "I have given to thee every offering which is in Upper Egypt. Mayest thou appear in glory as King of Upper and Lower Egypt forever!"

The piece, purchased in the near-by town of Luxor, is almost certainly from the site of ancient Koptos, which was important as the seat of the great god Mīn and as the starting point of the much used, ancient caravan route to the Red Sea. Similar groups—triads composed of the king, a god or goddess, and a figure personifying a nome—were executed in slate for King Men-kū-Rēᶜ of the Fourth Dynasty and were found in the Valley Temple of his pyramid at Gīzeh.[3]

Of small objects in the Museum's collection which are associated with the pharaohs of the Fifth Dynasty, one of the most interesting is an opal jasper ★weight of "5 *deben*" (fig. 47), inscribed with the name of King Woser-kuf, the



FIGURE 47. Weight of five *deben* and a gold-mounted vase of King Woser-kuf. H. 1½-2¼ in.

FIGURE 46. Diorite group of King Saḥu-Rēᶜ and a figure personifying the province of Koptos. H. 25 in.

[3] One of the finest of these triads is in the Museum of Fine Arts, in Boston.

founder of the dynasty. The *deben* of the Old and Middle Kingdoms is known to have been a unit of weight equal to between thirteen and fourteen grams. The weight of our stone is 68.2 grams, or 13.64 grams per deben. The king's name lends official authority to the written value of the weight in much the same way that the stamp of the Bureau of Weights and Standards testifies to the validity of our modern standard units of measure. A basalt ★weight of "8 *deben*" bears the name of Akhty-ḥotpe, an official of the Fifth Dynasty—perhaps the Overseer of the Two Treasuries Akhty-ḥotpe, co-owner of a famous maṣṭabeh near the Step Pyramid at Saḳḳāreh.

The name of King Woser-kuf appears also on a delicate little★vase of polished diorite mounted on a small gold stand and having its rim and shoulder overlaid with sheet gold (fig. 47). This elegant object is said to have been found at Saḳḳāreh and was perhaps once part of the funerary treasure cached in and about the king's pyramid or an item in the rich equipment of the near-by royal residence.

Elaborately inscribed ★cylinder seals of courtiers, priests, and priestesses who lived and held office during the Fifth Dynasty bear the names of four of its nine kings: Woser-kuf, Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ, Ny-woser-Rēᶜ, and Djed-ku-Rēᶜ (Isesy). A typical example is the black steatite seal of a "Votary of Ḥat-Ḥor and Priestess of the Good God Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ, beloved of the gods."

These and other inscribed monuments of the time reflect the immensely important role played by the state religion in the life of ancient Egypt. We are now in a position to undertake a brief survey of the Egyptian religion, and, before proceeding with our study of the closely related funerary customs and of the tomb and temple art of the dynastic era, it seems highly desirable to do so.

VI. THE RELIGION AND FUNERARY BELIEFS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

VI. The Religion and Funerary Beliefs of Ancient Egypt

1. Religion[1]

OUR KNOWLEDGE of the Egyptian religion stems from a variety of sources, both archaeological and literary. Among the former are to be included statues and representations of the gods in wall paintings and relief sculpture of dynastic date, buildings and ceremonial objects employed in their cults, representations of such structures and objects, and the cemeteries and catacombs of the sacred animals. The literary material consists largely of hymns and litanies to the gods and ancient myths, rituals, and religious dramas preserved in dynastic tomb and temple inscriptions and papyri and in the writings of the Greeks and Romans. The so-called "Pyramid Texts," inscribed in the royal pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, are rich in references to the myths and rituals of the earliest gods, as are also the corresponding funerary writings of the Middle and New Kingdoms, the Coffin Texts, and the Book of the Dead.[2] Among the mythological works which have come down to us are the "Memphite Drama," composed at the beginning of the Old Kingdom by the priests of Ptaḥ at Memphis; the "Destruction of Mankind," a tale of the primaeval wrath of the sun god Rēᶜ; ancient sagas of Rēᶜ collected in the so-called "Apophis Book"; and a late papyrus with a humorous narrative concerning the Contendings of Horus and Sēṯh. The universally popular story of the deified hero Osiris is preserved in many forms in funerary and religious texts from the earliest period to the time of the Roman Empire. Outstanding among the numerous hymns are those addressed to the high gods Rēᶜ of Heliopolis, Ptaḥ of Memphis, Ṯḥōt of Hermopolis, and Amūn of Thebes.

The basis of the religion of ancient Egypt was the local god of the individual small township or community, of which, as we have seen, there were scores, scattered throughout the Delta of the Nile and up and down its long, narrow valley. As might be expected, the local gods were all essentially similar in character, differing only in their names, their cult places, the objects in which they manifested themselves, the ceremonial with which they were approached, and the festivals celebrated for them. They were, almost without exception, nature gods, and their spirits were believed by their realistic, literal-minded worshipers to reside and to manifest themselves in certain natural forms: for the most part, animals, birds, fishes, reptiles, trees,

[1] The gods and goddesses mentioned in this volume are listed in the Index of Names of Divinities.

[2] These three groups of funerary literature are discussed in section 2 of this chapter.

or plants local to or especially prevalent in the districts in which they were venerated. The animal or bird selected as the visible and tangible manifestation of the god could be either a friendly and useful creature, such as the cow, the ram, the dog, or the cat, or a savage and awe-inspiring beast, such as the lion, the hippopotamus, the crocodile, or the cobra, which required propitiation before its strength, ferocity, or cunning could be turned from man's peril to his advantage. Since the god was a form of nature, as well as a "free energy of everlasting duration," he was of necessity bound to recurring natural phenomena: the fertilization of the land by the river, the growth and fading of crops, the change from light to darkness. Thus his life often took the form of a cycle recurring each year, and his birth, his growth, his struggles, his triumphs, his death, and his rebirth were observed by his loyal worshipers with appropriate annual festivals.

The god was provided with a house, or temple, in the midst of his town, staffed by a hierarchy of "servants of the god" (), or upper clergy, numerous ordinary priests, or "pure ones" (), and relays of lay priests, who ministered to his daily needs for all the world like the servants of a human magnate. In the innermost sanctuary of the temple reposed the secret object which was the principal dwelling place of the spirit of the god. Doubles of the divine spirit, however, also resided in the cult statues, which each day were brought forth from their shrines, bathed anointed, clothed, presented with food offerings, and, on festival days, carried abroad in gala procession. As each rite in the daily service was performed the lector priest () read or recited the magical ritual designed to accompany and explain the act and to transform its symbolism into actuality.

In return for these services the god was expected to function as the universal benefactor of the people of his own community, to bring them high Niles, make fertile their herds and their crops, lead them in war, discomfit their enemies, ward off plague and famine, and provide for their well-being and protection in all possible ways.

Characteristic of the ancient local divinities of the Delta were the war goddess Nit of Saïs, the vegetation god Osiris of Busiris, the falcon god Horus of Beḥdet (), the ram god of Mendes (), the cobra goddess Udōt of Buto (), and the cat goddess Bastet of Bubastis (). In Upper Egypt dwelt the god Sēṯ of Ombos, in the form of a curious animal ( = orycterope?), the wolf god Up-wawet of Si'ūt (), the dog god Anubis of Kynopolis (), the anthropomorphic gods Mīn of Koptos () and Amūn of Thebes, the vulture goddess of Nekhāb (el Kāb) (), and another ram god, Chnūm of Elephantine (), in the region of the First Cataract.

Although, for his circle of worshipers, every god was universally effective, there were assigned to many of them special fields in which their efficacy was felt to be particularly strong. Thus Mīn and Amūn were gods of generation and fertility, the cow goddess Ḥat-Ḥor and the cat goddess Bastet goddesses of joy and love, Up-wawet and Nit divinities of war, Anubis the watchdog of the tomb and the god presiding over burial. The ibis god Ṯḥōt () of Hermopolis came to be closely associated with the moon, Horus with the sun, and Ḥat-Ḥor with the vault of heaven.

In addition to the gods worshiped in the various districts of Egypt, there were also cosmic divinities, personifications of the great forces of nature, who had no local cults but were recognized and revered throughout the land and, in theory, throughout the whole world. Such deities were the great sun god Rēᶜ; the moon god Yaᶜḥ; the gods of the stars, Sopdu (Sothis, or Sirius) and Saḥ (Orion); Nūt, goddess of the sky; the earth god Gēb; Shu, the god of the air; and Nūn, the god of the primaeval waters or firmament.

The development of the religion of Egypt, in general, was dependent upon and followed closely the political development of the country. For

the early period the process is well illustrated in the case of the god Horus, originally the local god of the small town of Beḥdet in the eastern Delta, who became successively the god of his nome, the chief divinity of his half of the Delta, the royal god of the kingdom of Lower Egypt, the god of both kingdoms, with cult centers in both Upper and Lower Egypt, and, finally, with the union of the north and south under Menes, the state god of the whole land.[3] The relatively unimportant god Atūm of Heliopolis was identified by his priesthood with the sun god and, later, as Rēᶜ, the patron divinity of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty, was elevated to the leadership of the Egyptian pantheon. With the precipitous rise of the fortunes of Thebes, first during the Middle Kingdom and again in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the god Amūn hitherto almost unknown, achieved unchallenged supremacy throughout the land and was certainly the nearest approach to a "national god" that the Egyptians ever evolved.

In contrast to the state gods Horus, Rēᶜ, and Amūn, Osiris, an ancient hero god who became the divine symbol of immortality, resurrection after death, and, eventually, the judge and ruler of the Underworld, seems to have risen to prominence, not as a result of the military or political successes of his devotees, but purely through the tremendous natural appeal which his myth and his cult held for king, magnate, and peasant alike.

It is characteristic of ancient Egypt that, in spite of the elevation of certain gods to a position of superiority over those of less powerful districts and factions, none of the latter were ever ignored or eliminated from the religion. On the contrary, efforts were made, on the occasion of nearly every political or religious reorganization, to assimilate the divinities of the subordinated districts or cults into the pattern of the new state religion—to identify them or to associate them in some way with the new leader of the Egyptian pantheon. During the prehistoric domination of Upper Egypt by the north, for example, certain Upper Egyptian divinities were identified as forms of the godheads of Lower Egypt. So Khenty-Amentiu, the local god of Abydos, came to be recognized as an aspect of the great Delta god Osiris and the ancient falcon deity of Edfu assumed the name and the attributes of his northern counterpart, Horus of Beḥdet, adding to these the functions and regalia of a god of the sun. The outstanding example of this process was the combination during the Middle Kingdom of the local god Amūn of Thebes with the ancient cosmic divinity Rēᶜ to produce the new state god Amun Rēᶜ. Where the subordinated deities could not be assimilated with the new favorites considerable ingenuity was expended in inserting them as additional actors in the already lengthy and involved myths which surrounded all the great gods.

The whole process, while indicative of a praiseworthy tolerance on the part of the Egyptian theologians, had deplorable results for the organization and articulation of the religion, which eventually became clogged with such a multitude of unrelated and often contradictory elements that the modern student, essaying some sort of logical presentation of the subject, finds himself confronted with an extremely difficult task. The Egyptian himself fared not a whit better, and his spasmodic attempts to rationalize and correlate his host of deities, myths, beliefs, cults, and rituals usually resulted only in making more complete the already existing confusion.

One of the more interesting methods of dealing with divinities who, owing to the political expansion of neighboring communities, found themselves in uncomfortable juxtaposition was to unite them into triads, or family groups of three —father, mother, and child. So it was that Ptaḥ, the mild and artful god of Memphis, at an early age found himself married to his neighbor, the savage, lioness-headed Sakhmet, and the father of the young lotus god Nefer-tēm, a denizen of the near-by Delta marshes. At Thebes Amūn took as his consort the vulture goddess Mūt of Ashru,

[3] For the corresponding political development, see pp. 26 f.

near Karnak, and adopted as his son the moon god Khonsu. By far the best-known triad was that formed by Osiris, the mother goddess Isis, and the Child Horus, one of the many forms of the last-named deity.

The grouping of divinities into sets of nine, or enneads, around which were constructed elaborate theories regarding the origin and nature of the cosmos, was a theological tour de force effected at an early period by the priesthoods of certain prominent gods, notably Atūm of Heliopolis and Ṭḥōt of Hermopolis. Each ennead consisted of a creator god and eight other divinities descended from or created by him. Thus the Great Ennead of Heliopolis had at its head the sun god Rēᶜ Atūm, from whom sprang Shu, the god of the air, and his consort Tefēnet, goddess of the dew. Shu and Tefēnet were the parents of the earth god Gēb, and the sky goddess Nūt, who, in turn, produced the brother gods Osiris and Sēṯḥ and their respective wives, the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. At Hermopolis, or Khmūn, ("Eight-Town"), the moon god Ṭḥōt headed a group of eight divinities, comprising the four gods Nūn ("Primaeval Waters"), Ḥeḥ ("Eternity"), Kek ("Darkness"), and Niu ("Space"), and their four consorts. These four gods created the sun, and in representations of dynastic date they appear as four cynocephalus apes adoring their creation.

From the earliest religion of prehistoric Egypt there are preserved dark hints that many of the gods of this remote time were vicious and uncivilized beings whose savagery was appeased by human sacrifice and by other bloody rites. Rēᶜ, the ruler of the world, is charged in an ancient legend with ordering the destruction of mankind by the lioness Sakhmet, a catastrophe which was averted only by the fact that the goddess became intoxicated with blood before she could complete her mission. At the festivals of the gods persons representing the enemies of the deities were beaten almost to death, and other participants in the rites beat themselves bloody. Prisoners of war were regularly slaughtered in heaps before the gods. It is reported that in times of plague, famine, or other intense distress even the sacred animals of the gods themselves were slaughtered.

In the more civilized cults of historic time, many of these ancient barbarities were preserved only in symbolic form. Wax figures were substituted for the sacrificial victims, ritual gestures and magical incantations replaced the horrible actualities of the past, and the sacrificial killing of captured enemies was confined almost entirely to purely symbolic representations. Animals offered to the gods were not slaughtered and burned on the altars but were prepared, cooked, and served as food, which, after its symbolic presentation to the divinity, was probably eaten by the priests.

By the dawn of the dynastic era the gods themselves had not only become more civilized and, in general, more beneficient but had also been identified as the givers and protectors of a lawful order and a moral code. From the Old Kingdom on there is copious evidence that their worshipers were acutely conscious of a distinction between "right" and "wrong" and at least attempted to conform to what they conceived to be a divinely inspired code of behavior. Autobiographical inscriptions in tombs of dynastic date are insistent in claiming for the owners of the tombs the virtues of kindness, generosity, honesty, truthfulness, justice, magnanimity, tolerance, reverence, and purity and in repudiating the sins of deceit, greed, envy, theft, blasphemy, contemptuousness, partiality, snobbery, and "all that is hated" by men and gods. It is clear that the attainment of a blessed immortality after death was thought to be dependent upon a blameless existence on earth, and in the Sixth Dynasty Prince Ḥor-khūf of Elephantine frankly stated that he governed his life with this in mind. "Right" was personified for the ancient Egyptians by the goddess Maᶜet (), daughter of Rēᶜ, creator and ruler of the universe, and wife of the moon god Ṭḥōt, divine symbol of precision and exactitude.

In summary, we see that the ancient Egyptian although intensely devout and possessed of a keen

moral sense, had neither the mental nor the spiritual equipment necessary to the creation of a great religion. None of the several phases of the religion of Egypt ever progressed beyond what we should regard as a primitive stage. In essence it remained throughout its history a worship of many and diverse deities, associated with one another only in the most arbitrary and artificial ways. Unlike the Greeks and Romans, the Egyptians did not possess a true pantheon, organized under the permanent leadership of a supreme god. Although certain "high" gods or state gods, such as Horus, Rēᶜ, Ptaḥ, and Amūn, and certainly universally popular hero gods, such as Osiris, are easily discernible, there was never a "national god" in the sense of a deity who had his temple in every town and who was adored in every community as chief god of the whole people. Prior to the short-lived and "heretical" worship of the solar divinity Aten in the late Eighteenth Dynasty,[4] the Egyptians displayed few real tendencies toward monotheism. The speed and facility with which the powerful priesthoods of the old gods of Egypt achieved the destruction of the Aten cult immediately following the death of its royal protagonist would seem to indicate that such an idea was not deep-rooted in the Egyptian people as a whole.

2. Funerary Beliefs and Funerary Literature

Although, in general, the ancient Egyptian's views on immortality were simple, literal, and based upon the realities of his mundane existence, his theories regarding the phenomenon of death itself were complex and confused. In the course of his history he apparently came to believe that, in addition to his body, his being comprised or could comprise at least five different immortal elements. These were his name, or identity; his shadow (), in which for some curious reason his procreative power was thought to reside; his *ba* (), or animating force, corresponding in some respects to what we call the "soul"; his *ku* ()[5], now generally believed to represent the ensemble of his qualities, or characteristics; and his *akh* (), a divine or supernatural power which he normally attained only after death. The last three elements were spiritual forces attributed originally only to the gods, later to the deified kings, and finally to all Egyptians. For the sake of convenience we may refer to them individually or collectively as the "spirit."

At death the spirit, released from the body, was free to go whithersoever it chose. Since, however, the matter-of-fact mind of the Egyptian could not, or did not like to, think of a disembodied ghost, it was felt that the spirit still required a visible and tangible form in which to dwell. This form was preferably the body itself, and, from the earliest time, every precaution was taken to protect the corpse of the deceased from disintegration, brought on either by natural decay or by destructive forces from the outside. To combat disintegration due to natural causes the Egyptians, at least as early as the Second Dynasty, developed the process of mummification, at first merely the application of preservative salts, later a complicated taxidermic operation. To protect the body from damage wrought by evil spirits, by the malevolent forces of nature, and by the ever-prevalent tomb robber, it was ringed about with magical spells, encased in sturdy coffins and stone sarcophagi, and buried deep beneath a massive tomb monument, the passages of which were closed by ponderous stone blockings, or hidden away in a secret cache deep in the western cliffs.

Realizing that, in spite of such precautions, the body was still subject to deterioration and to eventual destruction, the Egyptian provided his spirit with reproductions of himself in stone and wood, placed in his tomb, and with oft-repeated representations of his figure in paintings and reliefs on the walls of his mortuary chapel. So came into being the numerous tomb statues, statuettes,

[4] To be discussed in Part II.

[5] Usually spelled *ka* by modern writers.

paintings, and reliefs which have been preserved to us from every period of dynastic history and to which we owe the greater part of our knowledge of Egyptian life and art.

In common with other ancient peoples the Egyptian clearly believed that his life after death would follow the general pattern of his life upon earth. In the hereafter he confidently expected to enjoy the company of his wife and other members of his family, to require the assistance of his servants, and to need a fully furnished house in which to live, food to eat, clothing to wear, the tools of his trade or profession, weapons for war and for the hunt, sports and games for amusement, and boats in which to sail upon the rivers of the hereafter.

During his lifetime he prepared his "eternal dwelling"—his tomb—which, as we have seen, derived its earliest form from the houses of the living. The tombs were normally excavated or built of enduring materials in the desert fringe along the edges of the Nile Valley, usually, though by no means always, on the west side of the river. Because from very early times the souls of the dead were thought of as following the sun to the west, the inmates of the tombs came to be known as the "Westerners," supervised and cared for by the goddess of the West and by such divinities as Khenty-Amentiu, "Foremost-of-the-Westerners," and Anubis, the divine embalmer and the watchdog of the tomb. Like the houses of the living, the tombs of each community were grouped together to form a city, called by classical writers a *necropolis,* or "city of the dead."

In prehistoric times and in royal burials as late as the First Dynasty the women and servants of a chieftain were slain at the tomb and their bodies buried beside that of their lord, a practice replaced at an early period by the inclusion in the tomb of statues, statuettes, and other representations of the members of the dead man's household.

Food and drink were stored in the tomb and were also provided at frequent intervals from an endowment established either by the deceased Egyptian himself or, as was often the case in the Old Kingdom, by the king in his behalf. To serve the funerary meals and to perform other services for the dead, one or more mortuary priests were attached to the great tombs and were supported by estates set aside in advance for this purpose.

So far as was practicable, all the equipment which an Egyptian would use in everyday life was included in the burial, and all the activities which he had enjoyed on earth and could expect to continue in the hereafter were represented in some manner in the tomb. Frequently the objects buried in the tombs were possessions of the deceased, which he had used in his lifetime. Just as frequently they were objects specially prepared for the burial—either real, usable articles or dummy reproductions in stone or some similar enduring material.

In certain periods, notably in the Middle Kingdom, small-scale models were used to reproduce the Egyptian's house and garden, his Nile boats, his kitchen, his brewery, and the other shops and offices of his estate. The estate itself and all its activities were shown in paintings or reliefs on the walls of his tomb, as were also all the familiar and beloved scenes and episodes in a man's life: his feasts, his work, his games, and his sports.

Elucidating, augmenting, and often replacing both the supplies buried in the tomb and the scenes carved and painted on its walls were the inscriptions which, as time went on, became more and more numerous: explanatory labels, bits of dialogue between the actors in the scenes, long lists of food and other offerings, biographies of the deceased and long statements of their virtues, formulae providing for many types of material and spiritual benefits, protective spells, and all manner of useful and advantageous utterances.

The spark which transformed into living actuality all the symbolism of the tomb and the mortuary service was magic, especially the potent magic induced by the spoken or written word. The Egyptian believed that by magic life was restored to the shriveled mummy or instilled into the image of stone or wood, so that its mouth was

opened to speak and to partake of the funerary feast, its nose could smell the savory odors of the food and the aroma of the floral offerings, and its eyes could again be gladdened with pleasant sights such as the sun rising on the eastern horizon. By magic all the good things depicted on the walls of the tomb or coffin, or listed in the offering tables, came to be actually present; and the poor man's meager supplies turned into "thousands of bread and beer, beef and fowl, alabaster and clothing, incense and anointing oil, and all things good and pure on which a god lives." It was magic that transformed the model boat into a full-size Nile yacht and set the carved or painted farm hands and servants bustling about their tasks in behalf of their deceased master. It was magic also that enabled the dead Egyptian to avoid the dangers and overcome the obstacles that might confront him in the life beyond the tomb.

In addition to his ideas of existence in the tomb and in the "Necropolis of the Goodly West," the Egyptian gradually developed a number of other conceptions regarding the hereafter and the destiny which awaited his spirit therein. Two of these, which we may call, respectively, the solar theory and the Osirian theory, became sufficiently widespread to warrant our attention. Both theories involved the identification of the deceased Egyptian with a god; on the one hand, with the sun god (Horus or Rēʿ), on the other, with Osiris. Both were devised originally solely for the king, who, since he was a divinity even while still on earth, was naturally expected, upon death, to take his foreordained place among the gods. With time this grandiose conception came to be adopted by others besides the king, first by the great princes and wealthy magnates of the Middle Kingdom and at length by every Egyptian regardless of rank.

In the earlier, solar theory the king at death "proceeded to his horizon" and was "joined with the flesh of him who made him," that is, became identified with the sun god. By day his deified spirit sailed across the sky in the boat of the sun and reached the blessed fields of Yaru, the resting place of the sun god and the Egyptian equivalent of the Elysian Fields of classical mythology. At nightfall he descended with the sun beneath the earth, to the Underworld (Dēt), and sailed therein through the twelve regions of the hours of the night, reappearing at dawn in the "barque of the morning" on the eastern horizon. Striking reflections of this belief are the great sun barques which were buried beside the tombs of the early kings.

In the other conception the deceased pharaoh was identified, not with the sun god, but with the ancient god of vegetation, Osiris, himself an ancient king who was treacherously slain by the evil Sēṯḫ and subsequently restored to life through the efforts of his wife, Isis, and the filial devotion of his son, Horus. Symbolizing in a simple, easily understandable manner the immortality of all living things, the myth of Osiris enjoyed a universal popularity with all classes of Egyptians. As early as the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, in spite of determined opposition by the solar priesthood of Heliopolis, Osiris had already become a serious rival to Rēʿ in the funerary beliefs formulated in behalf of the kings, and during the succeeding dynasties his status as the chief god of the dead became more and more firmly established. Abydos, where it was believed that the god himself was buried, was the principal center for the cult of Osiris, and each year devout aspirants to immortality flocked there in great numbers to associate themselves with the deceased and resurrected god and to erect funerary stelae of their own beside his tomb. In recognition of his identification with the god the dead Egyptian himself, in the inscriptions in his tomb and on his coffins, came to be referred to always as "this Osiris" or as "the Osiris So-and-so."

One of the most interesting phases in the saga of Osiris is that which deals with the trial of the god following his initial resurrection. Accused by his enemy, Sēṯḫ, Osiris was brought to trial in the Great Hall of Judgment before a group of divine magistrates. Ably defended by his learned advo-

cate, the god Thōt of Hermopolis, he was acquitted of all evil and declared to be "true of voice," or "justified," thereby earning his right to immortality.

Like his divine prototype, the deceased Egyptian also was required to establish his moral fitness in the presence of the dread tribunal of the Underworld before he could hope to enjoy the blessings of eternal life. Thus at an early period we find a strong accent on morality and on the righteousness of a man's earthly existence as a prerequisite to his welfare in the hereafter. The biographical texts in the tombs come to be devoted more and more to elaborate protestations of the virtues of their owners. In all tomb and coffin inscriptions from the Eleventh Dynasty on, the Osirian epithet "justified" (literally, "true of voice") is appended to the name of every dead Egyptian with such regularity that it comes to mean little more than "deceased."

It must be added, however, that magic—especially the knowledge or possession of the appropriate magical spells—was believed to play as large a part in overcoming the obstacles and meeting the challenges of the world in and beyond the tomb as did the possession of a spotless record of personal behavior. It was chiefly to provide at first only the king, and later the ordinary Egyptian, with this indispensable fund of magic that the bulk of Egyptian funerary literature was composed.

The funerary writings of ancient Egypt are, then, a vast series of magical formulae composed with the single purpose of ensuring the welfare and happiness of the deceased Egyptian in the afterlife. Most of the writings are couched in the form of spells to be recited either by the deceased himself or by the mortuary priest in his behalf. These spells are, for the most part, plain statements that an action or event advantageous to the deceased has actually taken place or is in the process of taking place. The purposes and applications of the individual spells are many and various. There is no threat, no problem which might confront the dead Egyptian, no situation in which he might conceivably find himself, that is not covered somewhere in the funerary literature by an appropriate spell. There is, for example, a spell to accompany the presentation and acceptance of every type of offering made to the dead; there are charms to turn back serpents and other evil creatures, spells enabling the dead man to assume whatever forms he chooses—gods, animals, birds—spells permitting his spirit to leave the tomb, soar up to heaven, enter the Underworld, board the barque of the sun, overthrow his enemies, prove himself "justified," and so on, practically *ad infinitum*. The dominant strain which runs through all of them is the emphatic and oft-repeated repudiation of death and the insistence on life everlasting.

The funerary magic and funerary and religious beliefs find expression not only in the spells properly speaking but also in other, closely related literary forms: ancient offering rituals and rituals of worship, hymns to the gods and to the forces of nature, fragments of old myths, and prayers and petitions on behalf of the deceased. Many of the references contained in the funerary literature reflect actual events in the history and prehistory of Egypt concerning which we have as yet no other source of information; and much of the imagery used in these texts is drawn from the contemporary daily life of the kings and of the people.

As we have seen (p. 68), the earliest preserved versions of the funerary writings of the Egyptians occur in royal pyramids of the late Old Kingdom and have therefore come to be known in modern times as the "Pyramid Texts." These texts are inscribed in formal hieroglyphs on the walls of the burial chamber and the adjoining chamber and passage in the pyramid of King Wen-is, the last pharaoh of the Fifth Dynasty, at Saḳḳāreh; in those of the pyramids of Tety, Pepy I, Mery-en-Rēʿ I, and Pepy II of the Sixth Dynasty; and in the pyramids of several queens of the late Old Kingdom, notably in that of Queen Nit, the wife of Pepy II. They also occur, in unaltered form, in the maṣṭabeh tombs of several nobles of the

Middle Kingdom and, sporadically, in tombs of the New Kingdom and the Late Dynastic period down to and including the Thirtieth Dynasty.

The extant texts include, in all, some seven hundred "utterances," evidently composed over a very long period of time and reflecting a number of different points of view and a number of different and often conflicting beliefs. Some of the "utterances" were evidently created during the Fifth Dynasty and do not antedate the pyramids in which they were inscribed by an appreciable length of time. Others clearly go back in origin to Egyptian prehistory, before the union of the Two Lands, and reflect events which took place under the prehistoric dynasties of the Horus Worshipers. Many are based on the myths and beliefs surrounding Osiris and present a purely Osirian picture of the afterlife. Others are clearly solar in origin, featuring the sun gods Horus or Rēʿ as the dominant figures in the world of the dead and displaying active and emphatic hostility toward Osiris and the doctrines surrounding him. All, however, agree in one particular, namely, that they were devised solely for the use of the king of Egypt and are composed and worded in such a manner that they are appropriate to no other person. This is perhaps the characteristic which most clearly differentiates the Pyramid Texts from the later and, to a great extent, derivative categories of funerary literature.

With the adoption of the Pyramid Texts by the local chieftains and petty kings of the First Intermediate period and, subsequently, by the nobles and wealthy officeholders of the Middle Kingdom, many of the spells and rituals were eliminated, altered, or recomposed to make them appropriate for use by private individuals. New material, inspired by contemporary religious and political conditions, was added. There was a tendency to group the short utterances together to form long spells, or "chapters," each introduced by a title indicating the content and purpose of the spell. Furthermore, the funerary texts were rarely carved on the walls of the burial chambers, but were written in cursive hieroglyphic script on the interior surfaces of the rectangular coffins typical of the Middle Kingdom, the body of the spells in black ink, the titles frequently in red. For this reason these characteristically Middle Kingdom versions of the ancient funerary lore of Egypt are now usually called the "Coffin Texts."

In the new Kingdom many of the same spells, or chapters, plus a host of new ones, evolved from a further regrouping of the old material and the addition of numerous "folk charms" drawn from the magic of daily life, were written on rolls of papyrus and placed on the mummified bodies of the deceased. The texts, which include also long hymns to Rēʿ and to Osiris, are illustrated on the finer rolls by vignettes drawn in ink and frequently painted in bright colors. These texts, comprising some two hundred "chapters," are somewhat misleadingly called the "Book of the Dead." Actually such a "book" never existed, the selection of the spells used on each papyrus varying with the size of the roll, the taste of its purchaser, and the judgment of the priestly scribe who wrote it. Most rolls, however, contain the important spells "for going forth by day" and certain other chapters which were considered essential. Forty to fifty chapters is about average for a good-sized Book of the Dead, and no single roll contains anything like all the known spells.

In addition to the Book of the Dead, the priests of the New Kingdom developed and popularized a number of other, more or less related, funerary "books," written on papyrus or inscribed on the walls of the tombs. These include the "Book of Him Who Is in the Underworld" (*Imy-Dēt*) and the "Book of the Gates," magical guidebooks describing the journey of the sun through the subterranean regions of the twelve hours of the night.

VII. COURTIERS, OFFICIALS, AND PRIESTS OF THE OLD KINGDOM

VII. Courtiers, Officials, and Priests of the Old Kingdom

1. Their Tombs and Tomb Reliefs

As IN ALL periods of Egyptian history, our knowledge of the life of the people of the Old Kingdom, especially that of the wealthy, official class, is derived chiefly from the decoration and contents of their tombs. In Upper and Middle Egypt rock-cut corridor tombs were hewn in the towering cliffs and in the rocky spurs of the desert hills for the provincial magnates and their courts; but for private individuals, buried in the flat, open desert adjacent to the capital city of Memphis, the maṣṭabeh continued throughout the Old and Middle Kingdoms to be the principal type of sepulcher.[1] At Gīzeh, Abu Ṣīr, Saḳḳāreh, Dahshūr, and Meidūm we find the maṣṭabeh tombs of the nobles and officials grouped in formal rows or blocks about the pyramids of the pharaohs under whom their owners served and by whose bounty many of the tombs themselves were built and endowed.

Tombs of this type had four essential parts: (1) the substructure, consisting of the subterranean burial chamber and the stairway or shaft leading to it; (2) the rectangular mass of masonry which comprised the superstructure, or maṣṭabeh proper, faced on the outside with a paneled or smooth casing of brick or limestone; (3) the chapel, built beside or in the superstructure and housing the great stela, or "false door," to which offerings were brought by the family and mortuary priests of the deceased and before which the funerary services were performed; and (4) the sirdāb, or statue chamber, usually a secret and inaccessible room in the superstructure, where the portrait statues of the deceased and members of his family were placed.

During the Second, Third, and Fourth Dynasties the maṣṭabeh passed through a considerable development. The burial chamber was sunk to a depth varying between fifty and one hundred feet. The stairway or sloping passage leading to the burial chamber in the earlier tombs was augmented and eventually replaced by a vertical pit, descending through the superstructure into the bedrock beneath. In addition to the pit and the burial chamber of the owner of the tomb, there was frequently a second shaft and chamber for the burial of his wife. Upon the completion of the burials the doorways of the subterranean rooms were closed by blockings of brick or stone and the shafts filled with rock and gravel to the level of the top of the superstructure.

In addition to the cellular brick core seen in the early tombs, other types of maṣṭabeh construction were evolved. These included the solid

[1] From the reign of King Men-kū-Rēᶜ onwards large and elaborately decorated rock-cut tombs occur at Gīzeh and Saḳḳāreh.

masonry core, either of brick or of limestone blocks, and the very common core composed of a rubble fill held in place by retaining walls, or revetments, of limestone. The older, paneled facings of brick were replaced by smooth casings of limestone, adorned on the long east side of the structure by two widely separated stelae, or false doors, reproducing the form of the ancient palace façade and designed to permit the spirit of the deceased to come forth to partake of the offerings deposited in front of them.

The chapel was originally a small, open enclosure built of brick against the east side of the maṣṭabeh in front of the southern stela, which was evidently regarded as the principal "door" of the tomb. Subsequently this enclosure was covered with a flat or vaulted roof and provided with a rectangular or arched doorway. In the Third Dynasty both the stela and the chapel were moved into the body of the maṣṭabeh, the former occupying a niche in the rear wall of the little room.

With time the chapel was expanded in size and complexity, and to it were added a vestibule and a portico, as well as other compartments built into the core of the maṣṭabeh. These last included additional offering chambers, columned halls, storerooms, and corridors. Multiple sirdābs, often connected with the public portions of the tomb, augmented the small, secret room enclosing the single *ku*-statue of the earlier and less pretentious tombs. Some of the larger maṣṭabehs of the Fifth Dynasty contain as many as a hundred rooms and are indeed a far cry from the simple mound heaped over the primitive grave of prehistoric time.

Many of the elements noted above are illustrated in a ★model of a section of maṣṭabeh field showing several different types of maṣṭabehs and their component parts: the shaft and burial chamber, the masonry superstructure, the false-door stelae on the east front, the small exterior chapel, the interior chapel (with or without corridor and portico), and the sirdāb.

Relief sculpture and painting appeared in maṣṭabeh tombs at the end of the Second Dynasty. One of the first parts of the tomb so decorated was the rectangular lintel over the false-door stela, whereon the deceased is shown seated before the funerary repast. Subsequently the chapel walls were decorated with a panorama of the earthly possessions of the deceased and of his servants producing everything essential to his welfare, in the belief that these presentments of reality were endowed with the essence of the originals and would supply him with his needs for all time. The stela is usually inscribed with appropriate offering formulae and with the name and titles of the owner of the tomb. Large figures of the deceased and members of his family occur on salient architectural elements, such as the jambs of the entrance doorway of the chapel, the lateral panels of the stela, and the jambs and reveals of the stela niche.

2. The Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor Ny-ᶜonekhy-Udōt

Part of a ★jamb of such a niche (fig. 48), from a maṣṭabeh of the Fourth Dynasty, introduces us to the Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor Ny-ᶜonekhy-Udōt, to her little daughter Djefa-yeb-shēry, and to her husband, the Treasurer Mery, a portion of whose figure appears on the right-hand edge of the slab. The piece is from the chapel of Mery's tomb in the Archaic Cemetery at North Saḳḳāreh, where it was found in 1861 by Auguste Mariette, together with at least six other blocks from the same maṣṭabeh now scattered among museums in Cairo, Paris, and Chicago.

Ny-ᶜonekhy-Udōt's costume is characteristic of the attire of well-to-do ladies of the Old Kingdom: a long, full wig; a simple, tight-fitting dress of linen; and a dog collar, bracelets, and anklets of colored beads. Her husband wears a short linen kilt and, over this, the leopard skin appropriate to the priestly offices which he performed in addition to his principal function as treasurer. In his right hand Mery holds the scepter of authority (). Djefa-yeb-shēry, cling-

ing shyly to her mother's skirt, wears her hair close cropped in conformity with the Egyptian fashion for the very young and is unhampered by clothing of any sort.

The sturdy figures, the bold relief, the clean outlines, the uncrowded composition, the broad, simple modeling of the forms, the complete assurance of the work, and a quality of calm and dignified detachment which we feel in this panel are characteristic of the best traditions of Old Kingdom relief sculpture. Furthermore, the artist's treatment of his subjects and the method of representation seen here are typical of two-dimensional art throughout the whole history of dynastic Egypt. The figures of Mery, his wife, and his daughter are clearly intended as permanent monumental records of the family, executed in much the same spirit as the hieroglyphic inscriptions above their heads. Like the written hieroglyphs, the forms and the poses of the figures are highly conventionalized. They are depicted, not as the sculptor saw them at any given moment, but as he knew them to be, and the various portions of the bodies are represented in the ways in which they were always best remembered —the head in profile, the eyes, shoulders, and chests in front view, and the legs and feet again in side view.

The resulting contortion and the lack of foreshortening and perspective bothered the Egyptian artist and his patron not at all. Their artistic language said what they wanted it to say, and they were well content with it. The woman holds a lotus flower to her nose, the child clings to the side of the mother, the man strides forward brandishing a scepter in his hand; although the poses are stiff and angular, they portray these actions with perfect clarity. Moreover, in spite of their stiffness, there is an undeniable quality of life and vigor in the figures. Such figures, as we shall see, could be bent or twisted, like jointed dolls, into a variety of stereotyped positions—



FIGURE 48. The Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor, Ny-ʿonekhy-Udōt. Fourth Dynasty. H. 50½ in.

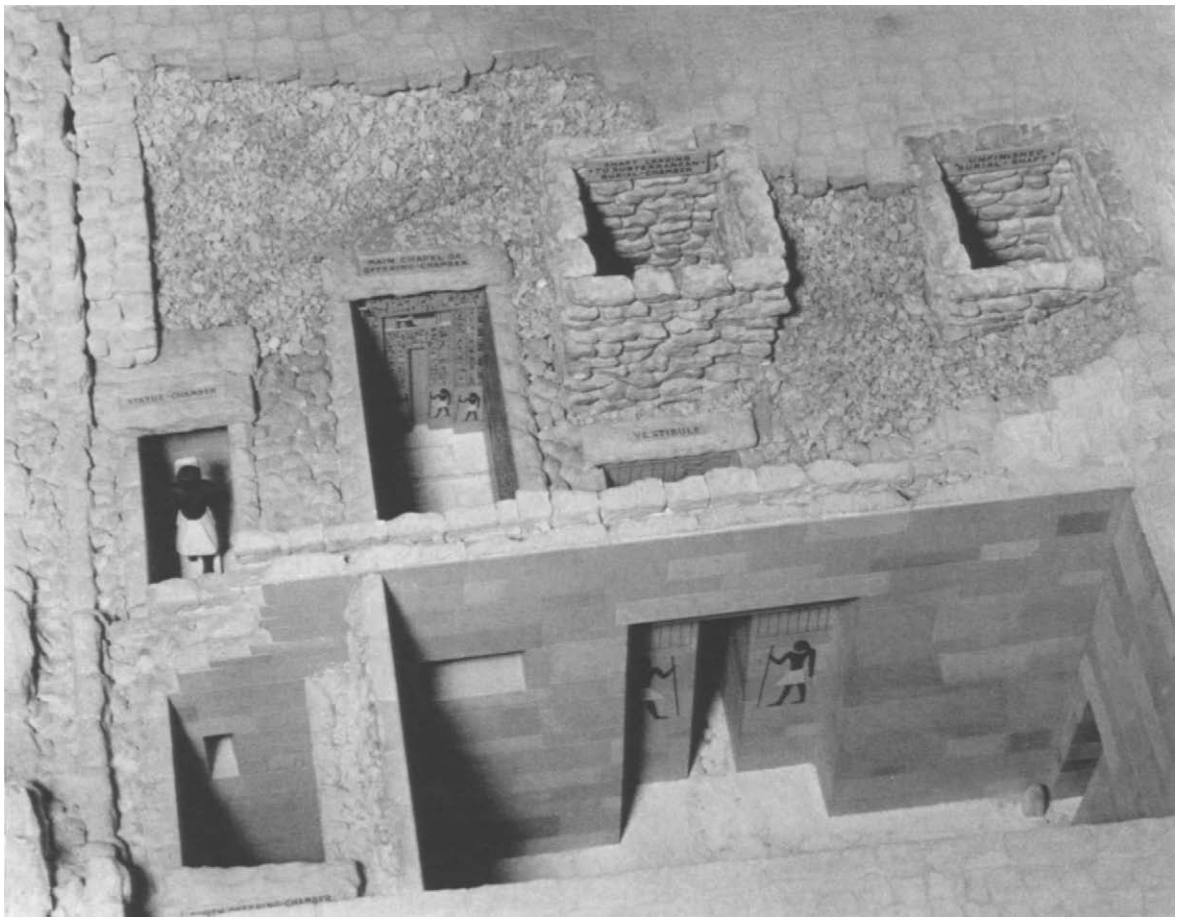


FIGURE 49. The tomb of the Chamberlain Pery-nēb. Fifth Dynasty. Model

stooping over to hoe the ground, driving a plow, poling a boat, carrying a burden, running, falling, fighting, and dancing—and, although there is still no change in the conventional method of representing the human body and no real movement in the figures, we again easily recognize what actions are taking place and even get an illusion of motion in the vivid patterns spread before us. Above all, the story is well and truly told: the Egyptian, his family, and his possessions are preserved in monumental form to all posterity; the sculptured scene is well suited to the space or architectural element which it adorns; and the eye of the spectator is pleased with and interested in what it sees.

3. The Chamberlain Pery-nēb

Toward the end of the Fifth Dynasty (about 2450 B.C.) the Lord Chamberlain Pery-nēb, son of the Vizier Shepses-Rēᶜ, built for himself a small maṣṭabeh in that part of the Old Kingdom cemetery at Saḳḳāreh which lies to the west of the pyramid of King Woser-kuf, the founder of the dynasty, and immediately to the north of the ancient funerary enclosure of King Djoser of the Third Dynasty. Shepses-Rēᶜ served under King Djed-ku-Rēᶜ Isesy, and it is probable that the tomb of his son, Pery-nēb, was erected either late in that king's reign or in the reign of his successor, King Wen-is.

In A.D. 1913—4,363 years later—the ★maṣṭabeh of Pery-nēb was purchased from the Egyptian

Government by the Metropolitan Museum and, under the supervision of Albert M. Lythgoe, at that time Curator of the Egyptian Department, the front half of the tomb, including the east façade and all the chambers, was dismounted and transported bodily to New York, where for many years the reconstructed monument has formed one of the most impressive and interesting items in the Museum's Egyptian collection.

When the tomb was originally erected, the area in which it stood, bounded on the north by one of the broad avenues of the Memphite necropolis and on the south by the enclosure wall of Djoser's pyramid, was already crowded almost to capacity with earlier maṣṭabeh tombs. Pery-nēb's maṣṭabeh had therefore to be squeezed in behind the great tomb of his father, Shepses-Rēᶜ, and its north wall abutted against the end of another maṣṭabeh, which occupied one of the choice sites along the avenue. Access to the forecourt of Pery-nēb's tomb was achieved through a narrow passage, leading from the avenue, between this maṣṭabeh and the rear wall of the tomb of Shepses-Rēᶜ.

The whole arrangement is clearly shown in a ★model of the tomb of Pery-nēb and its adjoining structures (fig. 49). Here also we see the plan and construction of the maṣṭabeh itself and the manner in which the courtyard and its flanking chambers were formed by walls extended forward from the front of the tomb and abutted against the back of Shepses-Rēᶜ's maṣṭabeh. A cut-away section of the bedrock beneath the maṣṭabeh shows the burial shaft and chamber, with Pery-nēb's limestone sarcophagus in place. The tomb had been plundered in antiquity, and of its original contents there remained only the skull and a leg bone of its owner, his four limestone visceral jars (often called "canopic" jars; see p. 118), some model vases of stone, some pottery jars, a few beads, and a number of fragmentary copper tools. The second burial shaft, presumably for Pery-nēb's wife, had been sunk to only a few feet below ground level and then abandoned unfinished.

Turning now to the tomb, the visitor is confronted, on the jambs of the central doorway, by *portraits of Pery-nēb* himself in the act of entering and of leaving his tomb (fig. 50). The reliefs, once painted in brilliant colors, show us a typical courtier of the Old Kingdom, a long walking stick in one hand, a neatly folded handkerchief or fly-whisk in the other. The strong, aristocratic face and the lithe, vigorous body are those of a man in the prime of life. The costume is simple, but foppish: a long, full wig, a "broad collar" of colored beads, a bead necklace supporting an amulet, a starched kilt with flaring front, and a pair of sandals, probably of leather. The final

FIGURE 50. Portrait of Pery-nēb on the façade of his tomb. H. 63½ in.





FIGURE 51. Pery-nēb inspecting the produce of his estates

touch of restrained elegance is added by Pery-nēb's small and carefully trimmed chin beard.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions blocked out in red ink over the heads of the figures and now scarcely visible contain lists of Pery-nēb's principal titles. Chamberlain and courtier, he asserts with evident pride that he was also "Keeper of the Crowns, Arranger of the King's Parure, Intimate of the Royal Bathing and Dressing Rooms, and Privy Councilor for All Royal Decrees," as well as "one whom the king loved" and "one who did that which the king praised."

In decorating the vestibule of the tomb the artist was interrupted before the completion of his work, presumably by the death of his patron. On the rear wall of the little room the draughtsman has sketched a picture of *Pery-nēb,* seated in a covered litter, *inspecting the produce of his estates* and receiving the reports of his accountants (fig. 51). "The gifts brought from the villages of the Delta and Upper Egypt," to quote the accompanying inscription, include a white oryx and two bullocks, led up by Pery-nēb's henchmen, probably at the heads of long rows of similar beasts and other offerings which were to have been represented on the adjoining walls. Immediately before Pery-nēb stands his steward, backed up by a scribe and a bookkeeper, presenting an open roll of accounts to his lord. In the register just above the steward are small kneeling figures of Pery-nēb's wife and his two sons. The name of his wife, a "Relative of the King," has unfortunately been omitted. The younger son, Shepses-Rēʿ, was evidently named after his grandfather, the elder son after an uncle, Neter-wosre, the owner of a maṣṭabeh built near that of Pery-nēb at Saḳḳāreh.

The sketches are rapid, since they were intended only as guides to the sculptors who were to have carved the wall, but they show clearly how practiced and assured the ancient artist had become, how little he depended on preliminary study, and how directly he could lay out his composition. Here and there the red outlines have been filled with washes of solid color, evidently applied in haste to give a semblance of finish when it became evident that there was insufficient time to carry out the carving of the reliefs.

On the walls of the passage between the vestibule and the chapel are *male and female figures personifying estates* which were to furnish in perpetuity the lord chamberlain's mortuary provisions. Laden with baskets of bread, jars of beer, and cuts of meat and carrying in their hands live birds and flowers, the "estates" proceed toward the chapel where the funerary feast is being served. Here again we have only the draughtsman's colored sketches, overlying faint traces of the guide lines which he used in spacing the figures and maintaining an even canon of proportions.

In the *chapel,* or main offering chamber of the tomb, the reliefs have been carved and painted; and the colors, though faded, are sufficiently well

preserved to give an idea of the original brilliance of the room. This chamber, as we know, was set apart for the presentation of food offerings to Pery-nēb's spirit—*the serving of the funerary meal*—and the reliefs on its walls show the ceremony in progress. On the front wall, below the window slot, the *butchers slaughter beeves* in the outer courtyard, and on either side *servants bring food* into the tomb. Pery-nēb's spirit has come up from the burial chamber below and entered the chapel through the great false door in the rear wall of the room. On the panel over this door and on the side walls of the chapel, immediately in front of it, we see him seated behind a table stacked with slices of bread (fig. 52). In the scenes on the walls Pery-nēb wears the ancient leopard-skin mantle of a priest, fastened at the shoulder with an elaborate bowknot. Before his face is laid out in tabular form the extensive list of offerings, the bill of fare of the funerary banquet. In front of the rows of servants are the mortuary priests who wash the offering table, burn incense, and bring the napkins for the repast, while the lector priest, distinguished by the diagonal sash across his chest, recites or reads aloud from an open papyrus the magical ritual which accompanies the performance of the ceremonies. Above, forming an intricate and once brilliantly colored frieze, are shown the numberless tables, stands, baskets, and jars of food and drink which made up the larder of the deceased courtier.

In its form the *stela* (fig. 53) is a simplified version of the paneled façade of the ancient palace, with the great central doorway set back in a recess in the front of the building. The doorway proper, here reduced to a narrow slot, displays at its top the stone drum which represents

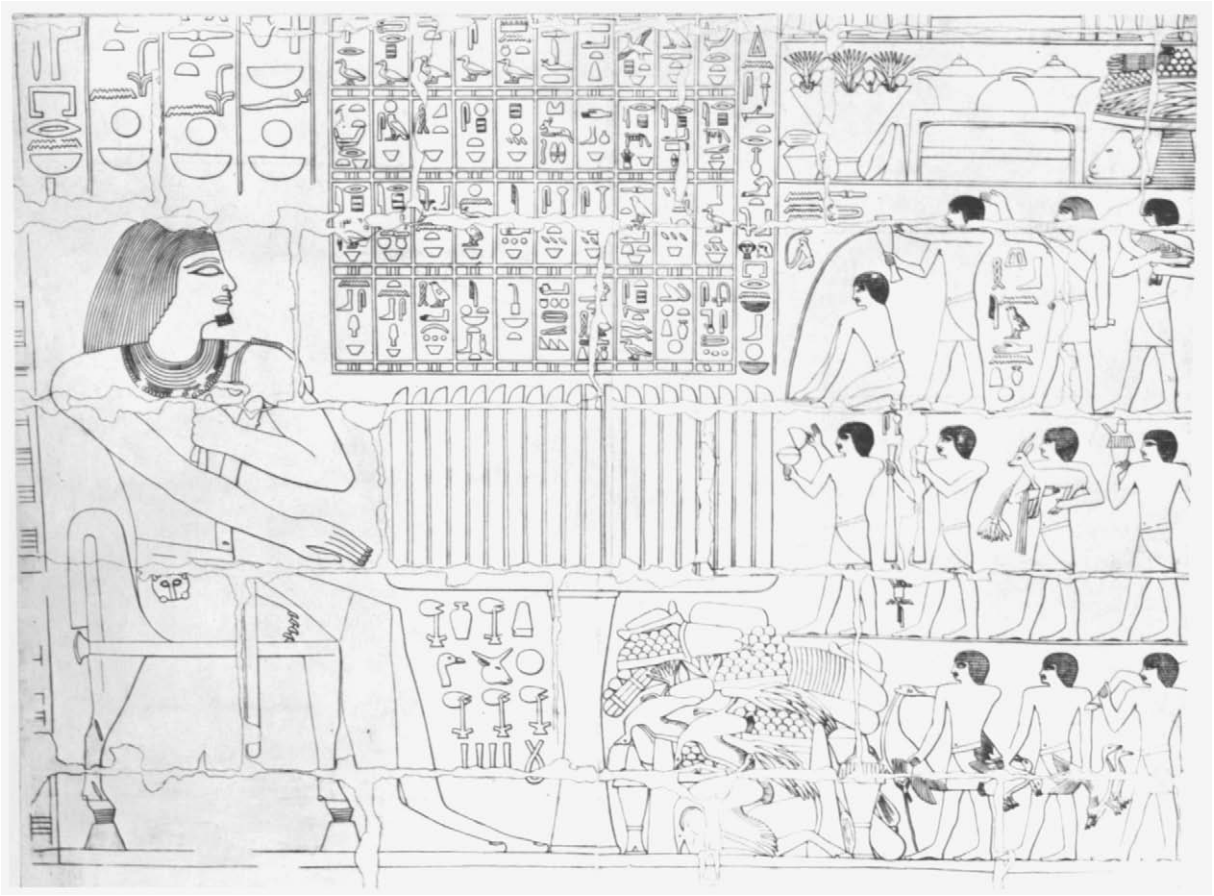


FIGURE 52. Pery-nēb at his funerary banquet

the rolled up portière of matting. Over the doorway the deceased appears in the interior of his house, as if seen through a window.

The beautifully carved and carefully painted hieroglyphic inscriptions on the stela provide us with an eloquent example of the highly decorative manner in which the formal written language of ancient Egypt could be used. Normally ancient Egyptian was written from right to left, with the birds, animals, and other signs facing to the right; but it could also be written from left to right and either across in horizontal lines or down in vertical columns. Full advantage was always taken of this adaptability, when inscribing doorways, stelae, and the like, to produce, as here, a symmetrical and centripetal composition.

To the Egyptian, however, the content of such inscriptions, stereotyped as they were, was certainly as important as their decorative effect and was considered as essential to the continued welfare of the deceased as the pictorial representations which accompany them. Most of the texts on the stela before us consist of repetitions of an extremely common formula, wherein it is stated that, through the grace of the king and one of the two great gods of the afterworld, there are called forth for the deceased all manner of offerings and all kinds of privileges and benefits in the hereafter. For example, the two lines inscribed on the lintel of the doorway proper speak of "A boon granted by Osiris, foremost of Busiris, that bread and beer may be evoked for him on New Year's Day, at the Feast of Thōt, at the beginning of the (civil) year, at the *Wag*-feast, and at every festival—(namely,) the Sole Companion (of the King), Pery-nēb"; and the two columns on the right-hand outer jamb tell of "A boon granted by the King and by Anubis, in front of the Divine Booth, that he may go in peace, (as) one in honor with the King; that he may go upon the goodly roads whereon the honored go, as a possessor of honor with the Great God—(namely,) the Sole Companion, Pery-nēb."

The sirdāb, or *statue chamber,* was built into the core of the mastabeh and could not be entered by visitors to the tomb. The statue[2] and part of the sirdāb, however, can be seen through a narrow slot in the rear wall of the little undecorated offering chamber on the left side of the court. The slot was provided, not that the visitor might gain a view of the statue, but that the *ku,* or spirit, of Pery-nēb, resident in the statue, might look forth into the outer world, see the gifts deposited in the offering chamber, and smell the aroma of the food offerings and incense.

Crossing the courtyard to the small *entrance chamber* on the right-hand (originally the north) side of the tomb, we are confronted by a replica of a heavy wooden door, with a pivot at top and bottom, swinging in sockets in the lintel and sill.

4. Prince Reʿ-em-kuy

If, in antiquity, we had passed through this door and through another at the outer end of the entrance passage, turned left on the avenue of tombs, and walked forty yards to the west, we should have come to the mastabeh of Reʿ-em-kuy, King Isesy's eldest son and a contemporary of Pery-nēb. Like the tomb of Pery-nēb, the decorated blocks from the ★chapel of Reʿ-em-kuy's mastabeh are now in the Metropolitan Museum, having been purchased from the Egyptian Government and brought to New York in 1908.

As the king's eldest son and heir apparent to the throne, with reason to suppose that he would some day be buried beneath a pyramid, Reʿ-em-kuy had apparently not prepared for himself a mastabeh tomb. At his death, which we can hardly doubt was premature, there was assigned to him the mastabeh of a judge named Neferiryet-nes, whose name and titles were erased and replaced by those of the prince.

---

[2] Of Pery-nēb's own painted wooden *ku*-statue only two small fragments were found when the tomb was excavated. The very similar and approximately contemporary statue now exhibited in the sirdāb belonged to a royal builder named Kuy-pu-Ny-sūt (see below, p. 112).

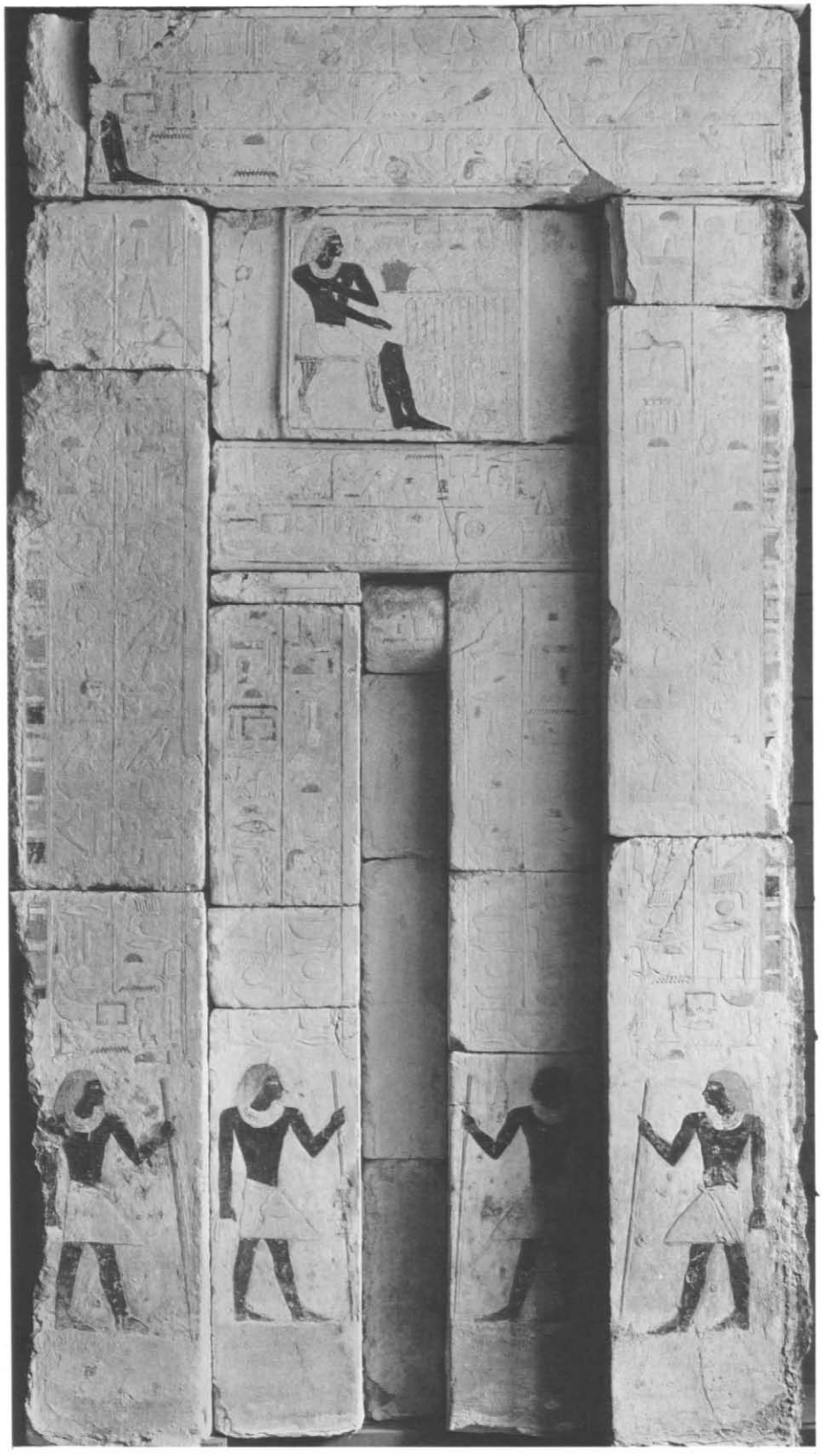


FIGURE 53.
False-door stela
of Pery-nēb.
H. 10 ft.

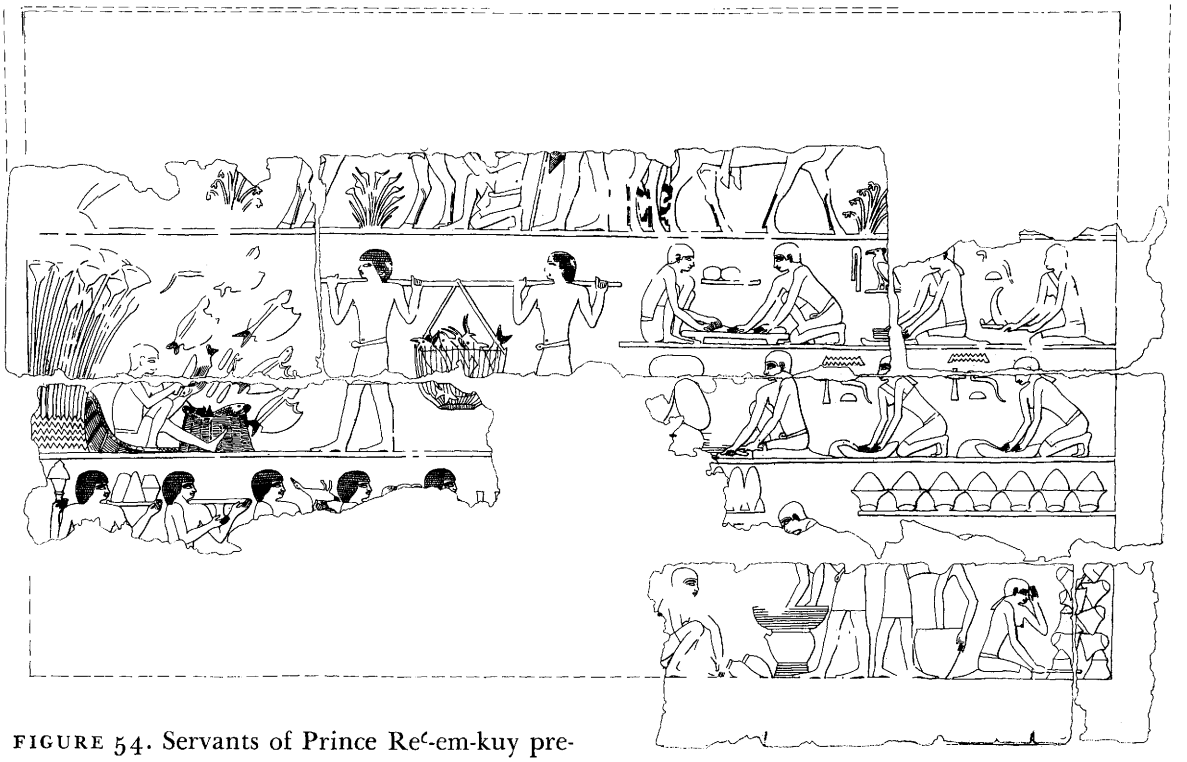


FIGURE 54. Servants of Prince Reᶜ-em-kuy preparing food and drink. Fifth Dynasty

Otherwise the *decoration of the small L-shaped chapel* of the tomb was not altered in any way, which is fortunate, as these reliefs are masterpieces of Fifth Dynasty sculpture. The color has been almost entirely lost, but its disappearance need not be deplored, for the delicacy of the modeling and the charm and vivacity of the drawing are all the more apparent. The purpose of the decoration was to assure perpetually to the dead the good things of this life, as in Pery-nēb's tomb, but in this case the artist has chosen to show the whole activity of an estate rather than merely the routine presentation of offerings. Hence we have in small compass, but drawn with all the perfection of the best of Old Kingdom art, a panorama of the everyday life of the time.

On either side of the entrance passage[3] the scenes are taken from *the service of the tomb.* In the lowest register *butchers are dressing slaughtered oxen,* in each instance cutting off the right foreleg, which the Egyptians called the *khopesh* () and which was always used as the meat offering par excellence—possibly because the other parts of the animal made better eating for the priests. Some of the men, otherwise disengaged, are whetting their knife blades () between the two leaves of their ingenious sharpeners (). Above the butchers *servants are carrying food* (live birds and other supplies) into the chapel. In the register above, *priests are dragging in Reᶜ-em-kuy's tomb statues,* each in its wooden shrine with doors ajar. An interesting detail is the man in front of each shrine who stoops over to pour water or oil under the sledge runners, thus making slippery the track over which the heavy vehicle is hauled. At the extreme top, in what is preserved of a fourth register, appears the bottom of a large Nile boat equipped with three steering oars.

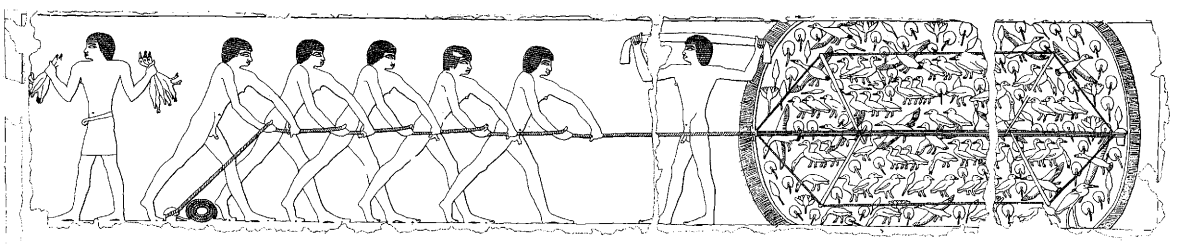
[3] The panels at the extreme outer ends of the relief as exhibited.

Inside the chamber, on the right, over a cupboard with a shelf for water jars, *food and drink are prepared by Re^{c}-em-kuy's servants* (fig. 54). Below a partially preserved scene of cattle breeding a man splits and cleans fish beside a papyrus thicket, while two fishermen bring up more fish in a large wicker basket slung between them on a carrying pole. Farther to the right, in the same section of wall, two men knead dough on a low table, women prepare garlic and other seasoning for the bread, a baker feeds sticks into an oven on which large oval loaves are being cooked, and two "female millers," as the hieroglyphic labels call them, grind flour in basinlike stone mills. The lower register summarizes *the process of making beer* in a scene which develops from right to left. Lumps of bread dough have been placed in pottery molds lined up on a shelf and heaped over an open fire tended by a woman who with her left hand shields her face from the heat of the flame. The yeasty lumps are broken up and mixed with water to form a thin mash which we see a second woman mixing in a large vat. The mash is then poured into a wicker sieve and strained by a brewer into a spouted vat set on a stand of coiled basketwork. Finally the beer is decanted through the spout of the vat into pottery jars, which the man at the left of the group is in the act of lining with pitch or resin. The register is filled out and completed by a row of the ever-present bearers of food. A single block from the rows of food offerings at the top of the wall gives us an idea of the bright colors with which the whole chapel was once painted.

The next group of reliefs to the left, including the stela, is from the west, or rear, wall of the chapel. Here, in the bottom register, is a lively picture of Re^{c}-em-kuy's fowlers *netting waterfowl* for his larder or poultry runs (fig. 55). At a signal from the lookout, who has jumped up from behind his blind and spread wide his white sash, five men, heaving mightily on the drawrope, are closing the wings of a great clapnet on a pond full of aquatic birds, probably lured there by bait of some kind. This is a scene which early became conventionalized, but never dull and hackneyed, in its treatment by the Egyptian, whose observation was born of his intense love of country life. Particularly interesting are the variety in the drawings of the birds caught in the clapnet and the attempt to show in unconventional attitudes such undistinguished individuals as the naked peasants who haul the rope. With these men of humble station the artist has felt free to take liberties which would never have been permitted with the dignity of a patron.

In the next register above is shown in some detail *the preparation of the meat course* for a great feast. Three stages in the dressing of beef appear. On the right two butchers are cutting off the *khopesh,* while a third sharpens his blood-drenched knife. To the left an ox has been partially skinned, and three men are engaged in cutting out the rib roasts which a fourth man carries away, together with the shoulder cuts. Between, a cook is seen cutting the meat into smaller pieces on a low chopping block and stewing them in a large cauldron. Lest any doubt exist as to what actions are taking place, the groups are accompanied by short hieroglyphic labels: "Butchering," "Cooking meat," "Sharpening the knife." At the right end of the third row from the bottom

FIGURE 55. Netting waterfowl in the marshes



a poultry cook is roasting a dressed and spitted goose over a brazier, keeping the low flame alive by means of a palm-leaf fan.

The rest of the wall, to the right of the stela, is taken up with *the banquet* itself—a scene comparable to that already observed in the tomb of Pery-nēb. At the upper left-hand corner we can make out the lower portion of the large figure of Reᶜ-em-kuy, seated in his carved chair with his back to the false door. Before him are ranged copious offerings, among which fruits, flowers, and covered jars on stands predominate. Below, butlers are bringing up additional foodstuffs on large wicker tables. The figure of Reᶜ-em-kuy, seated behind his table, is repeated at smaller scale in the "window" above the false door. Above this table are a nested ewer and basin for washing the hands, a trussed duck, and a cut of meat, and below are written the words "A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer." More offering bearers appear to the right and left of the stela, and the usual tabulated list of offerings occupies the upper half of the adjoining south wall of the chapel.

The musicians and dancers who provided entertainment at the banquet were shown, farther along, in the uppermost registers of what was the east wall. Of these there remains only part of a *row of female dancers* executing one of the group dances common in the Old Kingdom. Young girls, in short kilts and with their hair cropped close to their heads, are represented with arms raised high and with one foot lifted off the ground, while older women, in long dresses, sing and clap their hands in rhythm with the movements of the dance. Although it occurs in association with scenes reminiscent of earthly pleasures, this particular series of steps and gestures was actually part of the funerary rites performed at the tomb and is usually called "the goodly dances in behalf of the *ku*."

Below the offering list, on the south wall, Reᶜ-em-kuy's *huntsmen course and lasso antelope* in the hilly wastes bordering the Nile Valley (fig. 56). Over rolling terrain, with here and there a desert shrub, the lean *Salūki* hounds () slipped by the hunter leaning on his staff at the left of the scene have run down and seized a desert fox and one of a trio of slender gazelles (*Gazella dorcas:* ). Two other huntsmen have crept up upon a small herd of the slim-horned Nubian ibex (*Capra nubiana:* ) and are roping the beasts with their palm-fiber lariats. Out of range of the hunt a large desert hare () and a gazelle crouch beside scrubby bushes, and over the hunter poising his lasso for the throw we can make out a hedgehog rooting for insects in what may be an anthill. Unhampered here by the conventions which restrained him in the execution of more formal subjects, the Egyptian artist has drawn the animals with great charm, with remarkable fidelity, and with the closest observation of anatomy. Even the huntsmen have been caught in lively and, for the most part, successful poses. In the vibrant pattern of the whole scene we can overlook the fact that the bounding dash of the frightened gazelle and the loping run of the great hounds have been slowed down to a sedate amble—the Old Kingdom artist rarely succeeded in producing a sense of real movement in his figures. Fearing that his picture might prove insufficiently graphic, the sculptor has carefully added explanatory labels over nearly all the figures, as, for example, the quite unnecessary "Lassoing (of) an ibex by a hunter" over the group which portrays that action with complete clarity. Indeed, such carefully drawn scenes as these have in many cases given us the meanings of the otherwise unknown words written above them.

In a long, narrow land like Egypt, completely dominated by the great river which flows throughout its entire length, it is only natural that the bulk of travel should have been by water. The Egyptian depended on his Nile ships and boats for moving his military and quarrying expeditions, for his personal journeys and pilgrimages, the transportation of his goods, his fishing and hunting trips, and for the recreation which he derived from merely being out on the

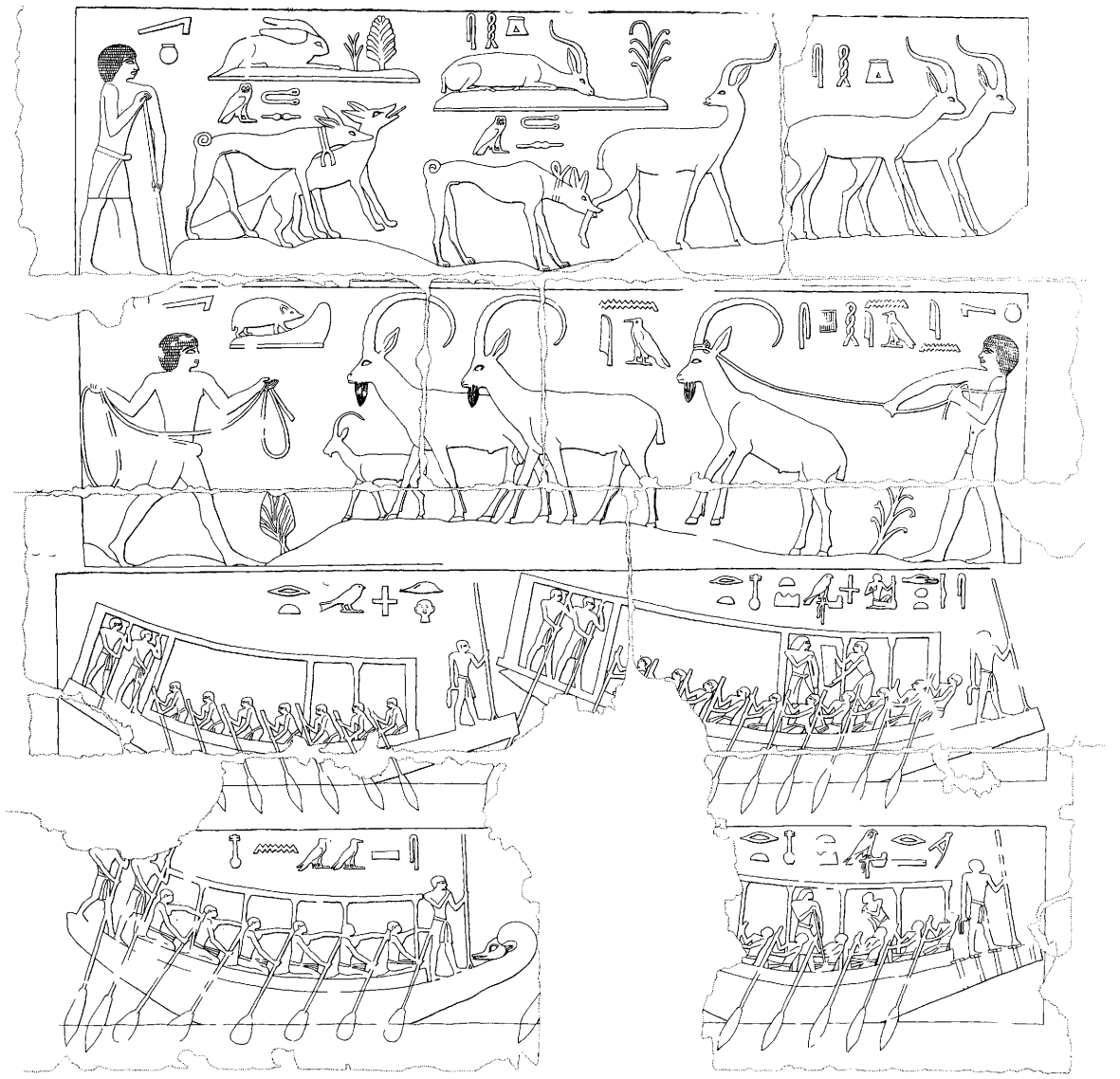
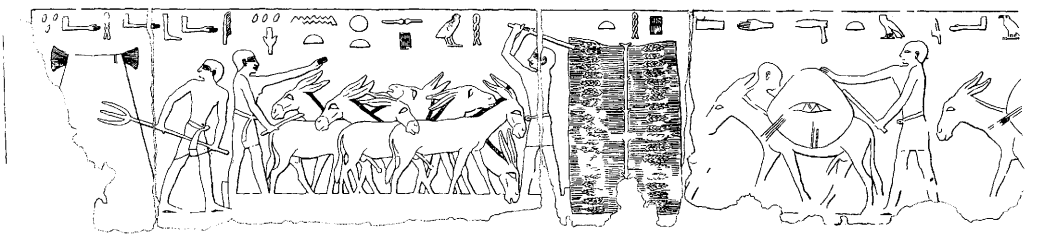


FIGURE 56. Hunting antelope in the desert. Below, Re^{c}-em-kuy's fleet of ships

cool surface of the river and its backwaters. The watercraft of ancient Egypt ranged from the papyrus skiff of the peasant or sportsman to the great war or merchant vessels of the king and were propelled by poles, paddles, oars, or sails.

Re^{c}-em-kuy's fleet of ships, navigating the waters of the "Goodly West"—that is, the hereafter—are blunt-ended craft of wood, equipped with long frames for the awnings which protected their passengers, crews, and cargoes from the heat of the sun (fig. 56, below). Three of the ships are driven by oars with long, pointed blades, the fourth by broad, rounded paddles. All are fitted with two steering oars, or "rudders," bearing against the rails of the ships well aft. The conning officer of each ship stands in the bow of the vessel, a long sounding pole in one hand, and guides his craft between the treacherous sandbanks of the river by shouting commands over his shoulder to his helmsmen. "Right rudder!" yells the skipper of the second ship, which, since the Egyptian in specifying directions always thought of himself as facing south, will turn the fleet to the



west. Under the awning of the leading ship Reʿ-em-kuy himself appears, leaning upon a staff and inspecting an open roll of papyrus which his steward holds before him. The "owner" is seen again, in identical pose, in the vessel at the head of the second column, with the steward in this case bowing in obeisance before his master. Interesting details of the scene are the wedged or knotted lashings with which the bow of this ship is reinforced and the animal figurehead of the paddle ship, a common device on vessels of this class and date.

In the great scene which occupies most of the east wall of the chapel *Reʿ-em-kuy inspects the activities and products of his estates.* His dignified and wholly conventional figure, standing like a gigantic hieroglyph ( ) at the right of the scene, contrasts sharply with those of the herdsmen bringing up his cattle and the peasants at work in his fields. The youth of the two boys who accompany their father is indicated only by their diminutive size, their nudity, and the single curled lock which hangs from their otherwise shaven heads. In other respects they are no more than miniature figures of men, the sculptor having not as yet made any study of child anatomy.

The parade of *Reʿ-em-kuy's cattle and poultry* is presented by his steward, the Scribe Ny-su-Wosret, accompanied by an assistant scribe or bookkeeper and bearing in his hand an inventory written on a roll of papyrus. Each beast and bird depicted probably represents scores of similar creatures. First come the long-horned beef cattle, led or prodded by their herdsmen. These are of two breeds, or types: the thick, heavy-muzzled Yewa and the somewhat more lightly built Negau. The former comprise two full-grown bulls ( ), a young bull, a cow, and a calf ( ), while the Negau are represented by males only. Next in line are domesticated antelopes: two white oryx (*Oryx leucoryx:*), a Nubian ibex ( ), a female addax (*Addax nasomaculata*), a full-grown gazelle ( ), and a young gazelle carried on the shoulders of the herdsman Shepses-Ptaḥ. The poultry division is introduced by the Scribe Nebḥuf and another *ku*-servant, both kowtowing. Cranes of three types, among them the gray crane (*Grus grus*) mill around at the head of an orderly procession of geese ( ) and ducks ( ) of various breeds, followed by a single pigeon and a small bird resembling a quail or plover. The birds are driven by two more *ku*-servants, the first, Shedu-Khuf-wy, having a name compounded with that of the king who built the Great Pyramid. Below the birds marches the long line of Reʿ-em-kuy's estates, personified as usual by female figures bearing produce from the estates, which are named in the accompanying inscriptions. The name "Region of Isesy" for the twelfth estate in line indicates that Reʿ-em-kuy lived during or after the time of King Djed-ku-Rēʿ Isesy.

In the *harvest scene* at the bottom of the wall (fig. 57), as in the portrayals of the animals above, the artist has depicted the activities of his patron's estate with painstaking accuracy, knowing full well that his work would be judged by generations of critical farmers. The crop being harvester is Spelt wheat, or emmer. At the right the reapers mow the wheat with wooden sickles ( ) edged with saw-toothed blades of flint (see p. 12), lopping off the upper half of the stalks and allowing the long stubble to remain. The mown wheat is bound into sheaves under the watchful eye of

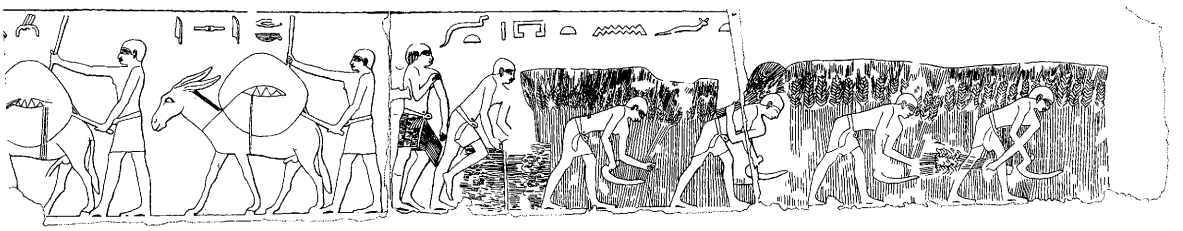


FIGURE 57. Harvesting wheat on the estate of Prince Re^{c}-em-kuy

an elderly foreman, who is easily singled out by his languid pose,[4] his elaborately paneled kilt, and the unkempt locks which fringe his bald pate. Baled in bulging saddlepacks of coarse cloth, the sheaves are transported on donkeyback to the threshing floor. "Giddap!" bawls the drover at the rear of the pack train as he belabors his typically overladen beast with a heavy stick. At their destination the sheaves are neatly piled in a huge stack beside the threshing floor. On the carefully prepared clay surface of the floor itself a herd of seven small donkeys, beaten and prodded by their excited drivers, mill around in a circle, threshing out the grain with their hooves. The confused circle of animals is well handled by the Old Kingdom draughtsman, even if the number of legs is insufficient for the heads depicted and the articulation between heads and legs is often vague. At the left of the scene we see the straw from the threshing floor being stacked by a peasant wielding a three-pronged wooden fork. The winnowing, sacking, and transportation of the grain to the granary are not shown in this somewhat abridged version of the ever-popular picture of the harvest.

Returning to the great *false-door stela,* we can see how the inscriptions of Nefer-iryet-nes, the original owner of the maṣṭabeh, have been cut away and those of Re^{c}-em-kuy carved in their place. From the latter we learn that the royal usurper of the tomb was a "Hereditary Prince, King's own eldest son, whom he loved, Chief Lector Priest, Scribe of the Sacred Writings, Elder of the House of the Serpent Stone, Attendant of the god Dewau, Magnate of the Incense, Servant of the Throne, Servant of the Mirror (?), Sole Companion, Chief Nekhābite of his father, and one in honor with the Great God." This characteristic list of Old Kingdom titles indicates that Re^{c}-em-kuy was one of the personal attendants of his father, the king, had been educated as a scribe, and held a number of priestly offices, some undoubtedly honorary. The inscription on the main lintel of the stela provides that offerings shall be evoked for the deceased on New Year's Day, at the regular monthly and half-monthly feasts, and "every day." The fact that the inner lintel and three jambs of the stela were never reinscribed testifies to the haste with which the tomb was altered for its princely occupant.

The six figures of the owner of the tomb appearing on the jambs of the stela are interesting chiefly for the variety of costumes which they display. In the upper figures on the outer jamb the deceased is without a wig and wears a kilt, originally long and full, reaching to his shins, but altered to knee length, presumably by Re^{c}-em-kuy's sculptor. In the figures below he wears a long, flowing wig and a short, flaring kilt. On the inner jambs the wig is like a cap, with rows of short, square-cut locks, the kilt is close-fitting, and the priestly mantle of leopard or panther skin has been added to the usual attire of an Egyptian noble. To reverse the figures, the artist has, on the right, caused the scepter to pass behind the body and has shown the left hand, holding the staff, in back view. It is surprising that the utter confusion in the articulation of the

[4] Leaning on a staff, which, through an oversight on the part of the sculptor, is not represented.

body produced by this inadequate solution of the problem is hardly noticeable until we attempt to analyze it. The fact that, when the tomb changed hands, it was felt unnecessary to alter these "portraits" of the owner is an eloquent witness to their lack of individuality and to the extreme conventionalization and stylization of relief figures of this class.

5. The Judge Ny-kū-Ḥor and His Wife, Sekhem-Ḥat-Ḥor

Scarcely one hundred yards east of the tomb of Reᶜ-em-kuy and less than two hundred feet from the site of Pery-nēb's tomb lies a maṣṭabeh built some generations earlier by a judge named Ny-kū-Ḥor. In 1908 the west wall of the decorated chapel of this maṣṭabeh was brought to New York, together with the reliefs from the chapel of Reᶜ-em-kuy.

FIGURE 58. The Judge Ny-kū-Ḥor and his wife, Sekhem-Ḥat-Ḥor. Fifth Dynasty. H. 33 in.



Ny-kū-Ḥor probably lived during the short reigns of King Woser-kuf and his four successors, which together totaled only about forty-two years (2560-2518 B.C.). He served as priest of Woser-kuf's sun temple, Reᶜ-em-Nekhen, probably after the death of the pharaoh, and as *wēᶜb*-priest[5] and mortuary priest[6] of the deified king. His association with Woser-kuf is further attested by the proximity of his maṣṭabeh to the pyramid of the king at Saḳḳāreh. As a judge (*sʒb*) Ny-kū-Ḥor bore the epithet "He-who-makes-just-the-judgment." His remaining titles include "Inspector of Scribes," "Privy Councilor," and "Relative of the King."

"His beloved wife," Sekhem-Ḥat-Ḥor, appears to have been a person of consequence in her own right. Also a "Relative of the King," she was in addition a "Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor, Mistress of the Sycamore," and "Priestess of Nit, Opener of the Ways, She-who-is-north-of-her-wall"—two leading goddesses of the Egyptian pantheon.[7] In common with many other devoted wives of the Old Kingdom she evidently took pride in the assertion that she was held "in honor by her husband."

The couple were the parents of at least four children, two boys and two girls. The elder son, Kuy-nofre, was a "Judge," "Scribe," and "*Wēᶜb*-priest," as was also the younger son, named after his father, Ny-kū-Ḥor. Of the two daughters, both "King's Relatives," one bore the ancient and honorable name Ḥetep-ḥras (see p. 65). The name of her sister is not preserved.

The west ★wall of the chapel of the family maṣṭabeh is adorned with two false-door stelae of equal size and similar type, one for the spirit of Ny-kū-Ḥor and the other for the spirit of his wife. On the jambs of the left-hand stela Ny-kū-Ḥor is depicted in conventional pose and attire, accompanied by the tiny figures of his sons, each grasping a small bird which we have no difficulty

[5] , *wᶜb*, "pure one."

[6] , *ḥm-nṯr*, "servant of the god."

[7] See Index of Names of Divinities.

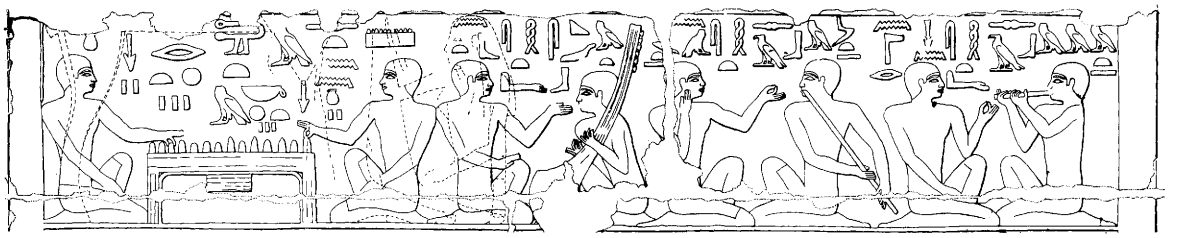


FIGURE 59. A game of draughts and a group of musicians. Chapel reliefs of Ny-kū-Ḥor

in recognizing as a crested hoopoe. Over the heads of the figures of Ny-kū-Ḥor are written his name, titles, and laudatory epithets. The figure and titles of Ny-kū-Ḥor also take precedence on the jambs of the right-hand false door, where man and wife are depicted together, the latter with her arm about her husband's shoulders in a gesture of affection (fig. 58). The stone portière of the doorway, however, is inscribed for Sekhem-Ḥat-Ḥor alone, and in the panel above we see her seated at her funerary banquet, the scene flanked on either side by the small figures of her daughters.

The *rows of offering bearers* at the right-hand end of the wall are drawn in outline and filled in with colored washes, like the scene in the vestibule of Pery-nēb's tomb. Those on the left, though carved, were carelessly painted—obviously in some haste.

The usual scene of *butchers at work* on slaughtered oxen occupies the lower register of the section of wall between the stelae. The butcher cutting off the foreleg of the right-hand ox says to his companion "Pull thou!" Behind him an assistant brings up a spouted pottery vat, and a second man carries a severed *khopesh*-joint.

Three of the men bearing food offerings in the register above are labeled "Servants of the *ku*," their leader being an "Inspector of *Ku*-servants." These, then, were minor priests, attached, theoretically in perpetuity, to the service of the tomb.

The major interest in these reliefs lies in the scene above the offering bearers, wherein two guests at the banquet amuse themselves after the meal with a *game of draughts* while Ny-kū-Ḥor's *orchestra* provides music for their entertainment (fig. 59).

The draughts players are just commencing a game of *senet*, a favorite table game of the ancient Egyptians, played with twelve to fourteen pieces (𓊃) on a board of thirty squares (𓏏), Moves were determined by rolling knucklebones, the primitive equivalent of dice, and the play in general resembled that of our modern game of backgammon. "Play, comrade," says the man on the left. "Here's the play, comrade," replies his opponent, making his initial move.

The musicians consist of three singers, who accompany their vocal offerings with formal and carefully studied gestures of the hands, and three instrumentalists, who play, respectively, on the bow harp (𓉐), the vertical flute, and the double clarinet. That a special type of vocalization was devised to accompany the playing of each particular instrument is indicated by the hieroglyphic labels written over the heads of the singers: "Singing to the harp," "Singing to the flute," and "Singing to the clarinet." The nicety of Egyptian expression is illustrated by the fact that the harpist is described as "striking" his instrument, while the flautist and clarinet player "blow into" theirs.[8]

6. The Overseer of the Granary Kuy-em-snēwy and the Judge Wer-djed-Ptaḥ

Approximately five hundred yards east of the site of the tomb of Pery-nēb at Saḳḳāreh lies a group of maṣṭabehs built during the early years of the Sixth Dynasty and forming part of the cemetery surrounding the pyramid of King Tety,

[8] For a discussion of ancient Egyptian music, see Part II.

the founder of the dynasty. Close beside the northwest corner of the enclosure wall of the pyramid, and immediately to the southwest of the huge and magnificently decorated tombs of the Viziers Kuy-gem-ny and Merer-wy-kuy, is a smaller maṣṭabeh of brick, constructed for the family of the Overseer of the Granary Seḥetpu and containing five small cruciform chapels for the various members of the family. The largest and finest of these chapels was built and inscribed for Seḥetpu's son, Kuy-em-snēwy, and a close relative of the latter's, Wer-djed-Ptaḥ. The west ★wall of the chapel (fig. 60) was purchased in 1926 by the Metropolitan Museum and has been re-erected in the Egyptian collection immediately opposite that of Ny-kū-Ḥor.

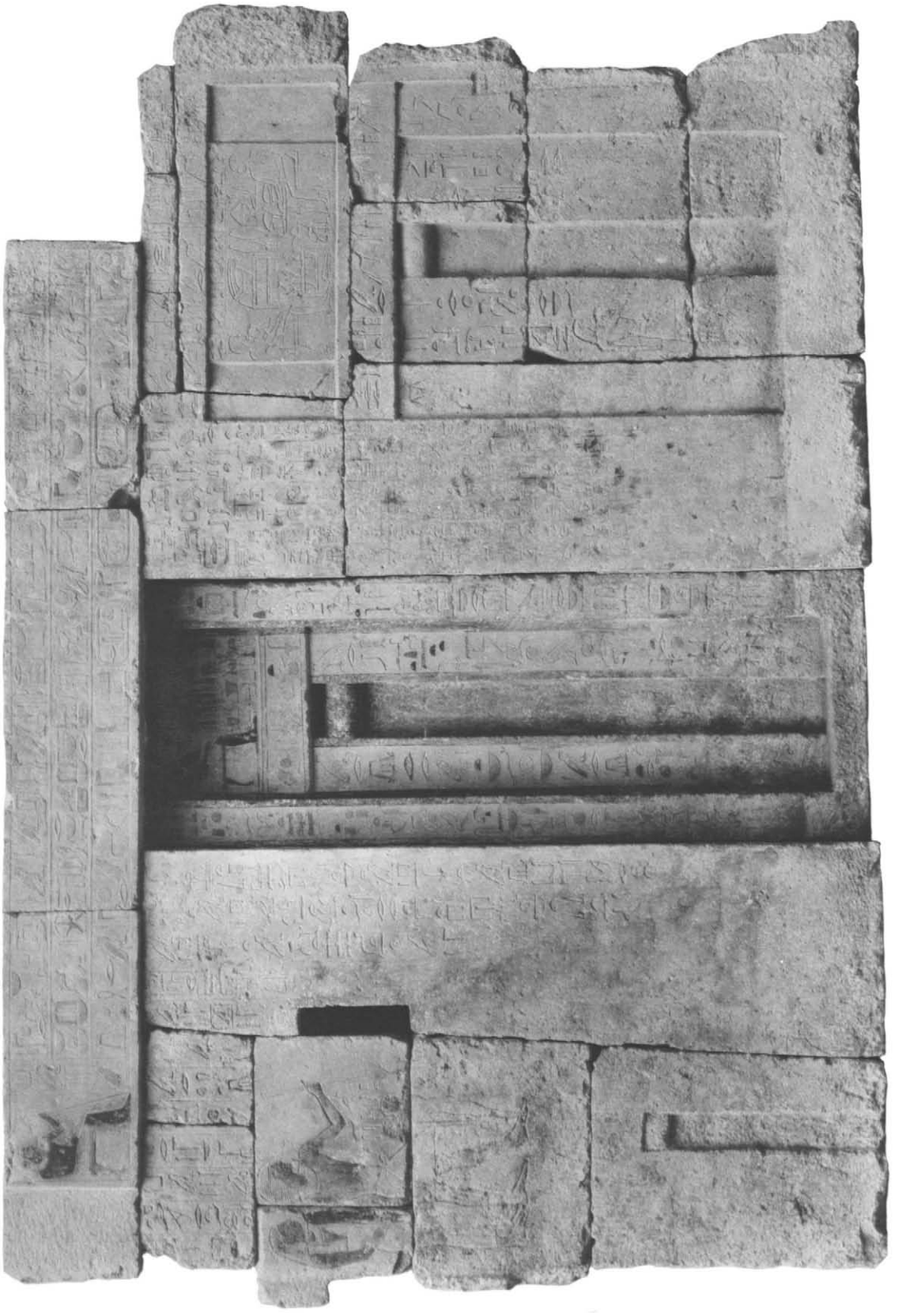
A comparison of the incised decoration of Kuy-em-snēwy's chapel with the delicate reliefs from the chapel of Ny-kū-Ḥor shows us that, during the century and a half between the execution of these two works, the art of the Old Kingdom had begun to become stale and hackneyed, the figures and hieroglyphs attenuated and angular, the modeling insensitive, and the work in general mechanical and lifeless. In the subject matter of the reliefs less wall space is devoted to lively scenes, crowded with amusing incident, and more emphasis is placed on long hieroglyphic texts, consisting, for the most part, of stereotyped offering formulae. Fortunately this tendency—fostered, no doubt, by the commercialization of funerary art—was not yet universal, and many of the monuments of the kings and great nobles of the Sixth Dynasty are conceived with imagination and executed with surpassing skill.

Two thirds of the wall of the chapel, including the great *central stela* and the bulk of the inscribed surfaces on either side of it, is dedicated to Kuy-em-snēwy. The stela, except for the colored bands of inscription, was painted to resemble red granite. The skillful, if not deceptive, imitation of the costly stone is especially evident in the narrow central slot and on the cylindrical drum at its top. In the panel above the doorway proper Kuy-em-snēwy is depicted in the usual manner, seated behind his table of offerings. The inscriptions on the inner jambs and lintel of the doorway consist solely of the titles and name of the owner. The outer jambs and the great lintel above are taken up with formulae invoking a goodly burial for the deceased, a happy existence in the tomb, and copious food offerings on the occasion of every type of festival. To the right of the false door another such formula surmounts a tabulated list of ninety-one offerings. A long and elaborate evocation of food, clothing, ointment, sweetmeats, and other benefits occupies four full-length columns to the left of the stela. The unfinished lower portions of these provide us with an excellent opportunity to study the drawing and cutting of monumental inscriptions at every stage of completion: the preliminary sketch in red ink, the finished drawing in black outline, and the partially and the completely carved hieroglyphic sign. The well-preserved colors on the stela proper show the detailed and naturalistic manner in which the individual signs were painted.

Beside a slot which once connected the chapel with the small sirdāb behind are carved the *figures of Kuy-em-snēwy and his family*. The latter include "his beloved wife, the Familiar of the King and Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor, Iryet-Nūb," "his son, Shepses-Ptaḥ," and a small personage, holding a bird and a lotus flower, who may be a priest or a younger son. The small, unfinished stela below the figures was probably intended for the spirit of the wife, Iryet-Nūb.

From his long array of titles it is evident that Kuy-em-snēwy had inherited from his father not only the eminently respectable office of "Overseer of the Two Granaries" (of Upper and Lower Egypt) but also sufficient priestly appointments in the sun temples and mortuary temples of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty to keep him constantly

FIGURE 60. West wall of the chapel of the Overseer of the Granary Kuy-em-snēwy. Sixth Dynasty. L. 12 ft.



occupied and handsomely paid. Either working in rotation with the shifting companies of lay priests or functioning in several capacities at the same time, he served as priest of Rēᶜ and priest of Ḥat-Ḥor in King Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ's sun temple, "Pleasure-of-Rēᶜ," as priest of Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ himself and as priest of the king's pyramid temple, as *wēᶜb*-priest of King Saḥu-Rēᶜ, and as priest of the pyramid temple of King Ny-woser-Rēᶜ.

Three painted wooden statues of Kuy-em-snēwy were found in the next chapel to the south, whither they had been moved to make room for an intrusive burial in the sirdāb. Two of these statues are in the Metroplitan Museum, and one is described on page 112.

The right-hand section of the chapel wall is occupied by the *stela of the Judge and Scribe Wer-djed-Ptaḥ,* evidently a close relative of Kuy-em-snēwy, perhaps a younger brother. The stela is similar in most respects to those which we have already encountered, but in the rectangular panel above the false door we see both the owner and his wife, Khenwet, seated face to face on either side of their funerary banquet. As depicted on the jambs of his stela, Wer-djed--Ptaḥ, in place of the usual staff, carries over one shoulder an elaborate knotted object with long streamers, possibly a fly-whisk. In the somewhat repetitive inscriptions on the lintels he calls himself "Judge and Scribe, Judge and Inspector of Scribes, Judge and Overseer of Scribes"—an obviously padded crescendo of titles. From the jamb inscriptions we learn that he was also one of the many so-called "familiars" of the king, a priest and *wēᶜb*-priest of the pharaoh, an inspector of accounts, a priest of the goddess Maᶜet, and a "Privy Councilor of the Great House."

7. Upper Egyptian Notables: Provincial Tomb Reliefs of the Late Old Kingdom

During the Sixth Dynasty Thebes, later the capital of the Egyptian empire, was still a provincial town of little importance, and up to the present it has produced few monuments of Old Kingdom date. Especial interest therefore attaches to a fragment of limestone ★relief found by the Museum's Expedition during the winter of 1916-1917 in a rock-cut tomb in western Thebes. On it we meet one of the officials of the provinces of Upper Egypt to whose ability and loyalty the kings at Memphis owed much of their prosperity and prestige. "The Attendant of the King, Governor of the South, Overseer of the Two Granaries, Wen-is-ᶜankhe," is accompanied by his small son and his wife, part of whose figure is preserved at the left of the fragment. The slender, angular forms, executed in sunk relief, are wholly characteristic of private tomb art of the late Old Kingdom and, though of provincial workmanship, agree closely with those which we have just seen in the Memphite reliefs of Kuy-em-snēwy.

From Dendereh, capital of the Sixth Nome of Upper Egypt, some thirty miles downriver from Thebes, comes a block of limestone relief or small ★stela found in the maṣṭabeh tomb of the Great Chief of the Nome Tjauty, also called Resy. The bold relief and the great amount of small detail which we see in the figure of Tjauty are earmarks of the provincial sculpture of this region at the end of the Old Kingdom. The inscription reads: "A boon granted by the King and by Osiris, Lord of Busiris, that the voice may go forth in bread and beer for the Chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt, Governor of the Castle, Sole Companion, Lector Priest, Estate Superintendent of Pharaoh, the honored Tjauty."

A similar ★panel, also from the Old Kingdom cemetery at Dendereh, portrays the Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor, Ḥotep-sy, holding in her hand a sistrum, or ceremonial rattle, an instrument closely associated with the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor and much used in her temple rites (see p. 125). Here, as in the relief of Wen-is-ᶜankhe, the sculptor has executed the figure in sunk relief and, though the proportions are far more attenuated than those of the figure of Tjauty, the same detailed treat-

ment of the wig, jewelry, and clothing is employed. The pit tomb in which this block was found was dated by Petrie to the end of the Sixth Dynasty or the beginning of the First Intermediate period.

8. Tomb Statues and Statuettes

The portrait statues provided as habitations for the *ku,* or spirit, of the deceased Egyptian and placed in the sirdābs of the maṣṭabeh tombs of the Old Kingdom are either of stone or of wood and conform to four principal types. (1) The upright male figure is posed, as in the tomb reliefs, in the act of striding forward, with the left leg invariably advanced. In the wooden statues the raised left hand usually holds a long walking stick, and the right hand grasps either a scepter (𓉐) or a handkerchief. (2) The standing female figure is normally presented in a completely stiff, frontal posture, with the feet together and the hands held straight down by the sides. (3) The seated figure, male or female, sits bolt upright on a blocklike throne, with the feet close together and the hands on the thighs, the left hand frequently holding a folded handkerchief. (4) The writing or reading scribe is portrayed as seated on the ground with his legs crossed under him, holding a partially open roll of papyrus spread out on his lap.

Stone statues, standing or seated, are often strengthened by a rectangular pier or flat pilaster carved in one piece with the back of the figure and occasionally inscribed. Group statues, carved from a single block of stone, are common. Most of these portray a man and his wife side by side, accompanied occasionally by smaller figures of their children, but the group may consist of almost any combination of related figures, and groups composed of multiple representations of a single person are far from rare.

There is, naturally enough, a difference in proportions and style between the stone statues and their wooden counterparts. Working in limestone or granite, the sculptor, though free to proportion his figures as he desired, was unable to achieve the detail and sensitivity of modeling attainable by the wood-carver. The latter, on the other hand, was restricted by the dimensions, especially the diameter, of the logs which he was able to obtain, and his figures tend to be unnaturally slender and attenuated. The arms of the larger wooden statues were perforce carved as separate pieces and attached by tenons to the figure, as was also frequently the case with parts of the clothing or accessories which projected beyond the limits of the main block. In general there is a tendency for the wooden statues to be less severely frontal and less quadrilateral in aspect than those executed from rectangular blocks of stone.

Statues of wood and limestone were normally painted in appropriate colors, which, though wholly conventional, added considerably to the naturalism of the figures. Brick red was used for the deeply tanned skin of the men, ocher yellow for that of the women, whose life normally confined them to the house or the shaded garden. The hair or wig is usually black, as are also the rims and irises of the eyes. The clothing is almost always white, sometimes decorated with designs in other colors. Bead collars, bracelets, and anklets are usually of several colors: blue, green, red, yellow, black, and white. To make a better surface for the paint, wooden statues were usually covered with a thin coating of fine white gesso, sometimes applied over a linen backing. Added vivacity and naturalism were achieved in the more costly statues by inlaying the eyes, the rims being of metal or ebony, the corneas of alabaster or rock crystal, the irises of polished obsidian or quartz.

The extent to which these *ku*-statues were true portraits of the persons whom they professed to represent varied considerably with the individual sculptor. That the artist of the Old Kingdom was capable of producing a speaking likeness of his patron is attested by such striking portraits as the well-known wooden statue of Kuy-ʿapre in



FIGURE 61. The King's Scribe Reʿ-ḥotpe. Gray granite. Fifth Dynasty. H. 23¼ in.

the Cairo Museum, familiar to students of Egyptian art as the "Sheikh el Beled." Certainly realism and individuality were qualities much desired in a tomb statue; but so also were good taste, dignity, and the wish to perpetuate the face and figure of a man, not as he may have appeared on the day the statue was ordered, but rather as he would want himself remembered throughout eternity—in the prime of life, with face and figure unravaged by age and infirmity. Moreover, there was a tendency during all periods of Egyptian art for the sculptor and draughtsman, trained in the ateliers of the court, to adopt the oft-studied features of the reigning pharaoh as the ideal facial type and, consciously or unconsciously, to make every portrait which they executed conform more or less to this type. There is, for example, more than an accidental likeness between the head of the wooden statue of Mītry, shown in figure 65, and the nearly contemporary alabaster head of King Shepses-kuf in Boston. This tendency, which we may be sure was heartily approved by both the king and his underlings, had a profound influence on the course of Egyptian portraiture. Finally, the modern student, feeling that he has found true individuality in the face of an Egyptian statue, is often disillusioned by the fact that there appears to be scarcely any resemblance between this face and another alleged portrait of the same person executed by a different artist. Frequently the disillusionment is all too well founded. At times, however, the supposed discrepancy may be traced, not to any real differences in the faces themselves, but only to differences in the way they are framed—specifically, to the presence or absence of a heavy wig.

The statues in the Museum's collection provide us with an opportunity to study Old Kingdom costume in three-dimensional representation and thereby to clear up some of the puzzles presented by the reliefs and drawings.

Men and women alike cropped their own sparse, wavy hair close to their heads (fig. 65) and, when appearing in public and on formal occasions, wore wigs made up of numerous fine tresses or braids of human hair. Two types of wig, affected by both men and women, were particularly popular during the late Old Kingdom: the rather full wig, bobbed at the shoulders (figs. 61-64), and the close, caplike wig, composed of overlapping rows of short, square-cut locks of hair, presenting the appearance of a neatly thatched domical roof (fig. 66).

Men's clothing consisted solely of the linen kilt, a tailored band of cloth wound around the hips, with the top of the overlapping outer end tucked up under the belt or waistband of the garment. The kilt could be either short and snug, ending well above the knees, or long and full, extending almost to the ankles. The overlapping end of the short kilt was cut in a curve, was often pleated, or goffered, and not infrequently was colored or overlaid to resemble gold (figs. 64, 66). The full kilt, long or short, was frequently

tailored and starched to form at the front a flaring, triangular apron—an extremely foppish and impractical garment (fig. 65). The linen belt of the more elaborate kilts was fastened by means of an ingenious double loop (), and the overfold of the kilt was held in place by a long tab, projecting upward under the tightly buckled belt.

Women normally wore a single, long, and usually tight-fitting dress of linen extending from the shins to just below or just above the breasts and supported by tapering shoulder straps (fig. 64). Such dresses were frequently dyed bright colors--blue, red, yellow—and at times adorned with polychrome designs or overlaid with netlike patterns of colored beads.

Broad collars (), necklaces, bracelets, and anklets of stone or faience beads and other materials were worn by men and women alike (fig. 64), and cosmetics—especially the black and green eye cosmetics—were freely used by both sexes.

Sandals were probably worn only on formal occasions; for the ancient Egyptian, like his modern descendant, found it easier and more comfortable to go barefooted. The sandal itself was no more than a sole of leather or woven basketry fitted with an extremely simple system of binding straps (see p. 240).

In 1948 the Museum acquired by purchase a fine limestone portrait ★head of the Fourth Dynasty which, since it was found by the Harvard-Boston expedition in a maṣṭabeh tomb east of the Great Pyramid at Gīzeh, is well dated and fully documented. The head, that of a young man, is not part of a statue, but is complete in itself. It belongs to a class of portrait generally known as a "reserve head," which was placed, not in the chapel, but in the burial chamber of the tomb to serve as a substitute for the head of the mummy of its deceased owner in case the latter were destroyed. In spite of the restrained, even cursory, treatment, the lean face and well-shaped head have a power and dignity not found in many more detailed portraits.

The ★torso of a life-size female statue in painted limestone, said also to be from Gīzeh, is without inscription or other documentary indication of date. The masterly simplification of the modeling, the monumental dignity of the proportions, and the complete assurance of the work in general, however, are characteristic of the "classic" period of Old Kingdom sculpture as exemplified by the products of the court sculptors during the early years of the Fifth Dynasty. Interesting features are the painted broad collar, with its outer row of drop-shaped beads, the elaborate, colored patterns of the woman's dress, and the rectangular pier at the back of the figure.

In a gray granite ★statue of the Fifth Dynasty we see the King's Scribe Reʿ-ḥotpe (fig. 61) in the characteristic pose of members of his learned and much envied profession. We may well imagine that the open roll of papyrus which Reʿ-ḥotpe holds on his lap is an edict of his royal master; for, in addition to the title quoted, he also held the offices of "Keeper of the King's Document

FIGURE 62. An official of the Fifth Dynasty. Limestone. H. 8½ in.





FIGURE 63. Head of a man. Painted limestone. Fifth Dynasty. H. about 4½ in.

Case" and "Scribe of the King's Decrees." The figure, presumably from the sirdāb of Reʿ-ḥotpe's maṣṭabeh at Saḳḳāreh, is the finest of nineteen statues found there in 1861 by Auguste Mariette.

The granary official Ny-ku-Rēʿ is represented in similar fashion in an attractive red granite ★statuette, also of the Fifth Dynasty and probably also from Saḳḳāreh. This statuette, a little over a foot in height, is an interesting example of the ancient Egyptians' sparing use of paint to enhance the wig, eyes, and other details of a figure carved in a hard, elaborately grained stone.

The ★head of another official of the Fifth Dynasty (fig. 62) belonged once to a limestone statue slightly under life size. The face framed by the heavy, flaring wig is extremely handsome, the battered condition of the nose and left cheek having in no sense destroyed the impression of aristocracy and vitality which we derive from the remaining features.

Although less than four and a half inches high, the painted limestone ★head illustrated in figure 63 is a noteworthy example of the Old Kingdom sculptor's ability in the field of realistic portraiture. The head, broken from a tomb statuette of the Fifth Dynasty, shows us the strong, heavily wrinkled features of a man well advanced in age. The face, modeled in extraordinary detail, is painted a brownish yellow. The short, full wig is black, and there are traces of black paint on the brows, rims, and pupils of the eyes.

A painted limestone group ★statuette of the Steward Memy Sabu and his wife is from a small maṣṭabeh of the late Fifth or early Sixth Dynasty at the northern edge of the great west cemetery at Gīzeh. The pose of the two figures, with the man's arm thrown affectionately around his wife's neck, is rare in the Old Kingdom and is awkwardly handled in the one or two other groups in which it occurs. Here the sculptor has simplified the problem by arbitrarily reducing the height of the woman, bringing the top of her head level with her husband's shoulder.

Early in the Fifth Dynasty a man named Mītry and his wife were buried in a maṣṭabeh tomb near the southeast corner of the enclosure surrounding the Step Pyramid at Saḳḳāreh. Mītry was the administrator of one of the provinces of Egypt, a priest of the goddess Maʿet, a "Magnate of the Southern Tens," a privy councilor, and a director of scribes. The name of his wife, a priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor, is not completely preserved, but was compounded with that of King Men-kū-Rēʿ of the Fourth Dynasty. Eleven wooden statues were found in the sirdāb of Mītry's tomb, one of which was discarded, five retained by the Cairo Museum, and five allotted to the Metropolitan Museum.

Of the last the most striking are two nearly life-size standing ★figures of Mītry and his wife, evidently a pair (fig. 64). The feet of both statues have been damaged, and the wooden bases have had to be restored; but the figures in general are well preserved, and the carved and painted details of the costumes and jewelry are extremely interesting.

A second pair of standing ★figures of the same couple, though less well preserved, is of somewhat better workmanship. Especially notable is the deftly modeled portrait of Mītry, represented without his wig and dressed in a full kilt with flaring front (fig. 65).

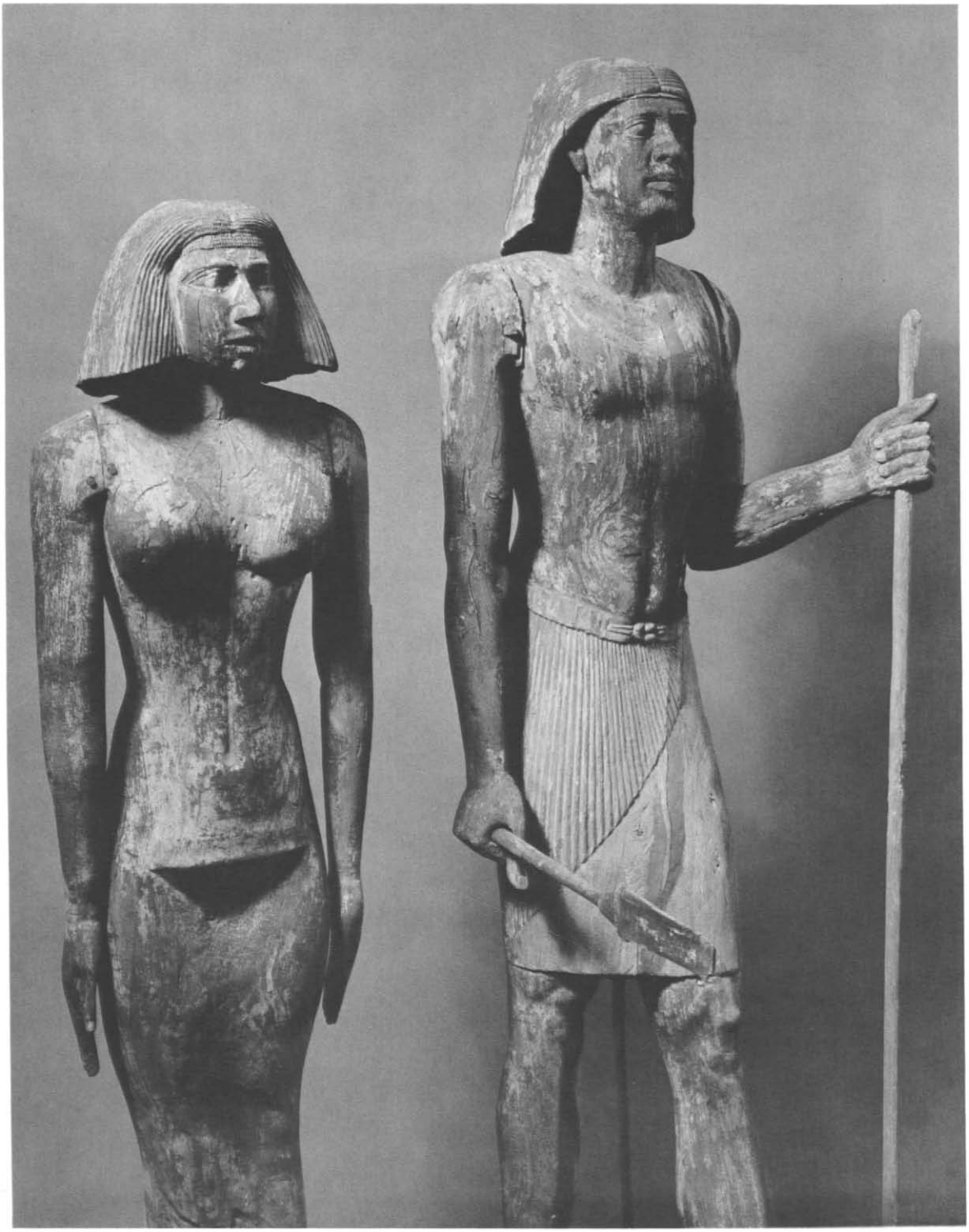


FIGURE 64. The Province Administrator Mītry and his wife. Wood. Fifth Dynasty. H. 52½-58¼ in.



FIGURE 65. The Province Administrator Mītry. Wood. H. 39¾ in.

A somewhat smaller, seated ★statue of Mītry completes the group. Here again we find new variations in costume and the same slightly coarse modeling seen in the larger standing figures.

Three other wooden ★*ku*-statues of the Fifth Dynasty represent a courtier whose name has not been preserved to us. Distinctly mediocre in style and quality as portraits, these figures nevertheless are interesting for their types and for the several kinds of kilt and wig which they wear. Their exaggerated slimness is a mark of their cheapness, indicating that their owner could not afford the massive logs necessary to the carving of properly proportioned human figures. All three statues were found in 1925 in the untouched sirdāb of a maṣṭabeh near the Step Pyramid.

In the well-proportioned and skillfully carved ★statue of Kuy-em-snēwy executed in the Sixth Dynasty (fig. 66) we find, coupled with considerable technical ability, the lack of vitality and originality which we have already seen in the reliefs from his chapel (p. 104). This is also true of the very similar ★statue of Kuy-pu-Ny-sūt, the King's Chief Carpenter and Builder, son of the King's Builder Kuy-em-ḥesyet and one of Kuy-em-snēwy's near contemporaries, whose maṣṭabeh lies just to the north of the tomb of Kuy-em-snēwy at Saḳḳāreh.

Two slender wooden ★statuettes of the Sole Companion Tjetety are typical of funerary objects turned out by "mass production" in the Sixth Dynasty. These were probably not made to order, but purchased from a stock of such statuettes kept on hand by the sculptor for the benefit of persons of moderate means. Though badly proportioned and lacking in individuality, they are characteristic of the tomb equipment of the average Egyptian and, as such, are no less significant to our study of Egyptian art than the costly, "custom-made" possessions of the wealthy.

In much the same category, but of better quality, is the limestone ★statuette of Idy, a workshop superintendent and overseer of priests. The attenuation of the figure, the bulging eyes, and the abnormally long fingers and toes, though more typical of sculpture in wood, are paralleled in many stone statues and statuettes of the Sixth Dynasty. We know nothing of Idy's life and activities (the name is exceedingly common in the late Old Kingdom); but the recent history of the statuette is well worth recording. The piece was presented by the Khedive Saʿīd Pasha to Commo-

dore Matthew C. Perry on the occasion of the latter's visit to Egypt in 1854 and was obtained for the Museum from Commodore Perry's granddaughter.

A much larger limestone ★statuette from Dendereh shows the ultimate degradation of the sculptural tradition of the Old Kingdom. The seated figure is squat and heavy, the head disproportionately large, and the modeling not only coarse but inept and without structural significance. The statuette, made during the last years of the Sixth Dynasty (about 2285 B.C.), has, in fact, all the faults of the archaic figures of the Early Dynastic period (fig. 33), but lacks their naïveté and freshness of approach. The owner of the statuette, Prince Idu II, was governor of the nome of Dendereh and "overseer of the rich estates of Pharaoh"—a person of considerable local importance. His brick maṣṭabeh, southwest of the temple of Ḥat-Ḥor at Dendereh, is one of the largest in a cemetery of the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate period.

In addition to the *ku*-statues of their owners, many tombs of the Old Kingdom have yielded statuettes of the servants and farm workers of the deceased, caught at their daily tasks. Such a figure is that of the sturdy ★brewer (fig. 68) executed in painted limestone for the benefit of a wealthy official of the Fifth Dynasty. The man is engaged in straining mash through a wicker sieve into the spouted vat beneath—a step in the making of beer which we have already witnessed in the brewing scene in the chapel of Reʿ-em-kuy. The crude wooden statuette of a ★peasant breaking the ground with a typical, long-bladed Egyptian hoe (⊂) comes from the sirdāb recess of the maṣṭabeh of Tjetety at Saḳḳāreh, where it was found together with the two wooden statuettes bearing his name described above. It is interesting as being a forerunner of the often elaborate wooden "funerary models" of the Middle Kingdom (pp. 262-274). An amusing little statuette in painted limestone showing a ★peasant woman suckling her two children is one of a large group of such genre figures found in the tomb of a cemetery

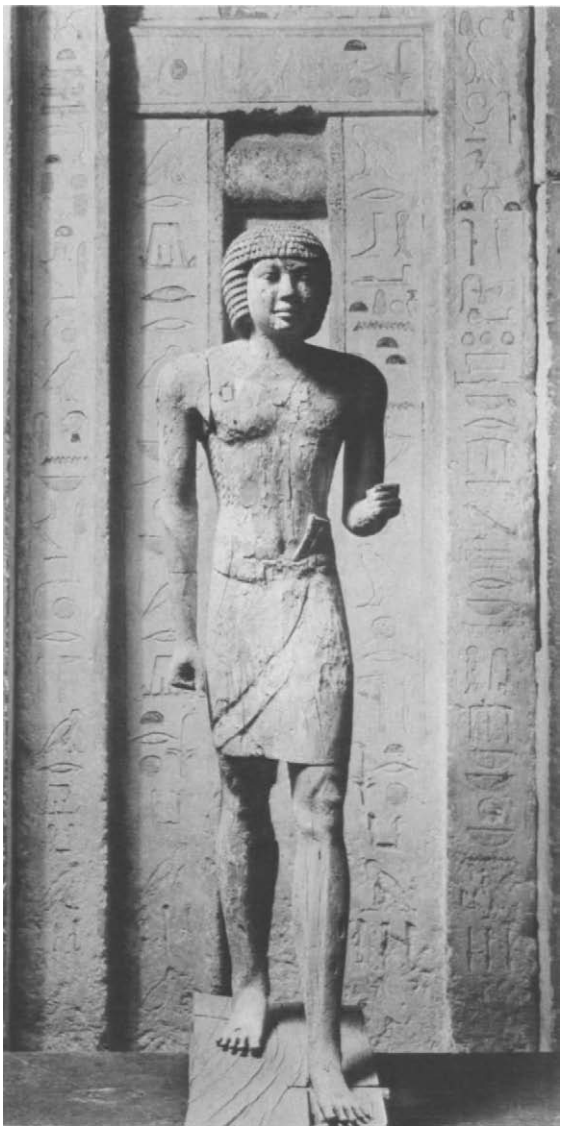
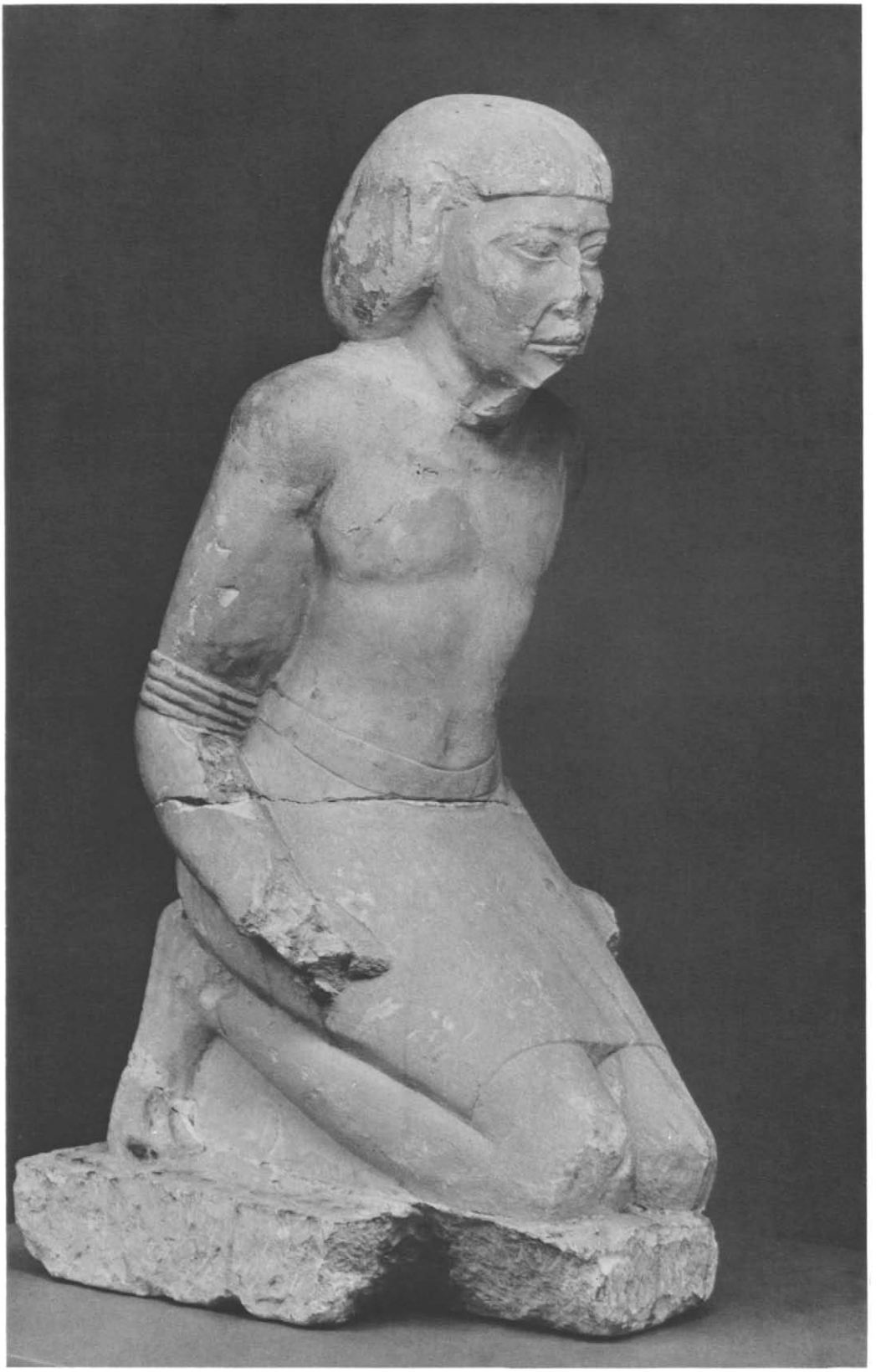


FIGURE 66. The Overseer of the Granary Kuy-em-snēwy. Wood. Sixth Dynasty. H. of statue 46½ in.

official of the Sixth Dynasty at Gīzeh. Most of the others are in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago.

Like most of the peoples of the ancient Near East, the Egyptian derived a naïve sense of satisfaction and security from representations of his defeated enemies, and it is not surprising that from the earliest times figures and reliefs of slain



or captive foreigners occur in association with monuments devoted to the security, welfare, and glorification of the dead. Little statuettes of bound foreign captives are known from shrines of the Early Dynastic period and tombs of the Old Kingdom, but it is, naturally enough, in the mortuary temples of the kings that this type of figure is best represented. Four magnificent stone heads of foreigners were recovered from structures of the Third Dynasty surrounding the pyramid of King Djoser at Saḳḳāreh and the pyramid temples of Ny-woser-Rēᶜ and Wen-is of the Fifth Dynasty and Pepy II of the Sixth Dynasty have yielded fragments of limestone statues of kneeling prisoners of war with the arms drawn back and lashed at the elbows.

Early in 1947 the Museum obtained by purchase an exceptionally fine and well-preserved statue of this type, said to have been found in 1914 somewhere in the vicinity of Saḳḳāreh (fig. 67). The limestone ★figure, about three-quarters life size, is that of a man kneeling on both knees, with the body bent slightly forward and the elbows drawn back and securely lashed together with four turns of stout cord, the lashing extending across the back of the figure from elbow to elbow. The slender proportions and the accomplished but unvigorous modeling of the torso are highly reminiscent of the statues of Kuy-em-snēwy (fig. 66) and Kuy-pu-Ny-sūt and suggest a date in the Sixth Dynasty.

The face, modeled in great detail and with extraordinary strength and individuality, is clearly intended as an accurate racial portrait. It is a narrow face with prominent and complicated bony stucture and deep lines around the full and slightly protruding mouth. The large eyes, long and tilted slightly below the sharp brow ridges, are distinctly "oriental" in character. The battered nose, to judge from the high, thin bridge, was sharp and probably aquiline. Of the small,

FIGURE 67. A foreign captive. From a royal mortuary temple of the Sixth Dynasty at Saḳḳāreh. Limestone. H. 35½ in.



FIGURE 68. A brewer straining mash. Painted limestone. Fifth Dynasty. H. 17 in.

square-cut beard or goatee all that remains is a narrow spur running a short distance up the right side of the chin and part of the short, rectangular support projecting from the front of the neck. Traces of brownish red paint remain on the face and, as an underpainting, on the hair above the forehead. The latter is treated like a plain, rather thick cap, descending down the sides of the head to the shoulders and, at the back, to the nape of the neck. A short, tight-fitting, and perfectly plain kilt, similar to those worn by the Egyptians themselves, is the man's only garment.

The facial type, small chin beard, short headdress, plain kilt, and reddish flesh color combine to identify the prisoner as one of a tribe of Hamitic nomads inhabiting the mountainous regions of the eastern desert from Sinai on the north to Nubia on the south. This warlike people, the Iuntiu, figures prominently in Egyptian records

from the First Dynasty onward, is included among Egypt's nine traditional enemies, the "Peoples of the Bow," and is one of four types of foreigners commonly represented in temple reliefs of the Old Kingdom.

The large scale and the excellent quality of the statue make it likely that it once stood, with others of the same class, in the pyramid temple of a pharaoh of the late Old Kingdom—perhaps in the open altar court or along the avenue of approach. Such stone figures may, indeed, have been intended as permanent replicas of actual enemy chieftains, who, bound and helpless, were lined up in the court of the temple to be dispatched by the king in the presence of his fellow deities. This figure was not, as is often the case with representations of foreigners, designed as an ornamental support for some portion of the building or as part of a pedestal, but as a free-standing statue, completely modeled on all sides and mounted on a base of its own. In its presence we cannot help but regret the conventions which prevented the Egyptian sculptor from incorporating into the portraits of his kings and fellow countrymen a fraction of the realism and vitality present in this portrayal of a conquered enemy.

9. Tomb and Household Equipment

To receive the libations and the food offerings presented to the spirit of the dead, almost every tomb was provided with a low stone table or offering slab placed immediately in front of the false-door stela. The table was usually rectangular in plan and was equipped with a spout at the forward edge to carry off the water and other liquids poured upon it. Sometimes the slab was given the form of the hieroglyph  , a loaf of bread perched upon a rolled mat, which at an early period came to be a general symbol for "offering." More frequently, as in the tomb of Pery-nēb, this sign was carved in relief upon the surface of the table. Libation vases (), loaves of bread ( , ), and cuts of meat ( , , ) also were depicted in relief on the tops of the more elaborate tables. Shallow basins cut in the surfaces of the slabs collected the poured liquids, which were then drained off by runnels leading to the projecting stone spout. Many tables are inscribed with the names and titles of their owners and with one or more of the customary offering formulae.

A large limestone ★offering table of this type (fig. 69), provided with four stubby legs, comes from the courtyard of an Old Kingdom tomb at el Lisht, where it was found by the Museum's Expedition in 1931, still in position against the base of an uninscribed and much damaged false-door stela. The ingenious and highly complicated system of compartments and drainage channels on the top of the table must have been a source of considerable amusement both to the maker of the table and to its users. A smaller and far less complicated ★table, also of limestone, is inscribed for the Foreman of the Workshop Ḥem-Rēᶜ.

A common form of table, used in households, temples, and tombs, consists of a circular tray supported on a tapered, columnar stand with slightly incurved sides ( , ). With a tall stand, like the example in diorite inscribed for King Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ (fig. 41), this type of table appears frequently in tomb reliefs, especially in those depicting the deceased seated at his funerary banquet (fig. 52).

Even more common was the smaller table or tray, with a lower and broader stand (), made in a variety of materials—stone, pottery, wickerwork—and known from almost every period of Egyptian history. Several ★tables of this type, in limestone and in ornately grained and highly polished alabaster (calcite), are from private tombs of the Sixth Dynasty at Saḳḳāreh and Abydos. A comparison of these with similar alabaster tables from tombs of the Early Dynastic period shows how little the graceful and wholly traditional form changed during five or six centuries.

An alabaster ★offering slab or model offering

table in the form of the hieroglyph  is inscribed with the titles and name of the Steward and Overseer of the New Towns ᶜAnkh-wedjes and is almost certainly from his tomb. The term "New Town," presumably a recently founded settlement, is used especially in connection with a group of Upper Egyptian towns in the neighborhood of Koptos, which were granted privileges and immunities by royal decrees of the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate period. "ᶜAnkh-wedjes" is a name known in both the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasty.

From the tomb of the same person comes another ★tablet of alabaster, provided with seven small, circular hollows for the so-called "Seven Sacred Oils," a drop or two of which may have actually been placed in the little basins. Above each hollow is written the name of the "oil" contained therein: (1) "Festival Perfume," (2) "*Ḥekenu*-Oil," (3) "Syrian Balsam," (4) "*Nechenem*-Salve," (5) "Anointing Oil," (6) "Best Cedar Oil," (7) "Best Libyan Oil." The same substances, named in the same order, appear in the offering lists of the earliest preserved versions of the Pyramid Texts, in tomb and coffin inscriptions of the Old Kingdom and later periods, and in funerary papyri of the New Kingdom. They were used in the daily temple ritual for the ceremonial anointing and perfuming of the god (represented in tangible form by his cult statue) and, in precisely the same manner, for anointing or presentation to the *ku*-statue of the deceased Egyptian as part of the mortuary service performed in the tomb. There can be little doubt that the same unguents, salves, and perfumes were also used by living Egyptians in the course of their ordinary, daily existence.

Another, and very important, rite in the mortuary service was the symbolic "opening of the mouth" of the deceased person, that he might regain his powers of speech and his ability to partake of the food and drink offerings presented to him. This act, a preliminary to the actual presentation of the offerings, was performed during the Old Kingdom with a forked instrument of flint, called the *posesh-kef,* and was accompanied by the pouring of libations and other

FIGURE 69. Offering table of the Old Kingdom. Limestone. L. 34 in.

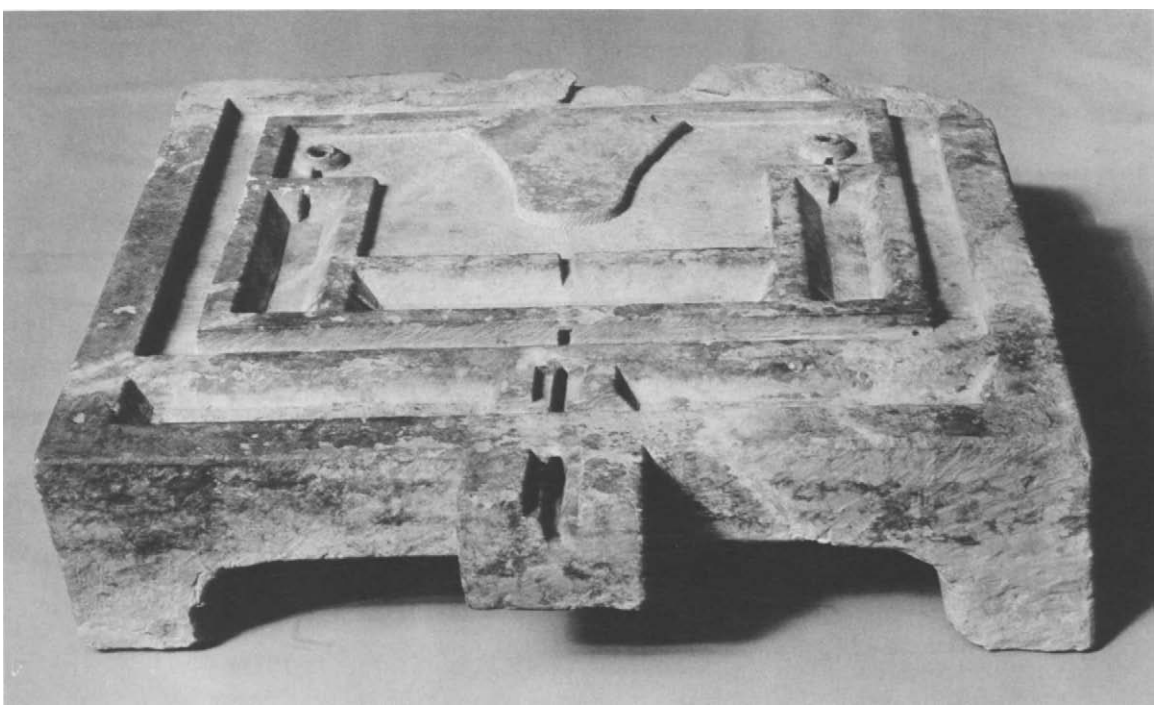




FIGURE 70. Models of the equipment used in the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth." Alabaster and slate. Fifth or Sixth Dynasty. L. of plaque 8¾ in.

magical rites. The apparatus required to perform this ceremonial act is preserved in miniature in a set of stone ★models from a tomb of the Fifth or Sixth Dynasty (fig. 70). In the center of the set we see the *posesh-kef* instrument, flanked by vases for the purifying liquids and, below these, cups for pouring the libations.

Of the many types of stone vessels with which the tombs of the Old Kingdom were furnished the most important and the most interesting were the jars intended to contain the viscera of the deceased, removed from his body in the process of mummification. These jars, of simple but distinctive shape, were usually provided in sets of four. They have come to be known in modern times as "canopic" jars because they were associated in the minds of early students of Egypt with the Greek hero Kanopos, who is said to have been worshiped, in the Delta town named after him, in the form of a jar. The limestone ★canopic jars of the Chamberlain Pery-nēb (fig. 71), found in the burial chamber of his tomb, illustrate the characteristic Old Kingdom form. The jars themselves and their low, slightly convex lids are roughly shaped, and no two are exactly alike. Like the other extant examples from this period, they are clean inside and out and appear never to have been used.

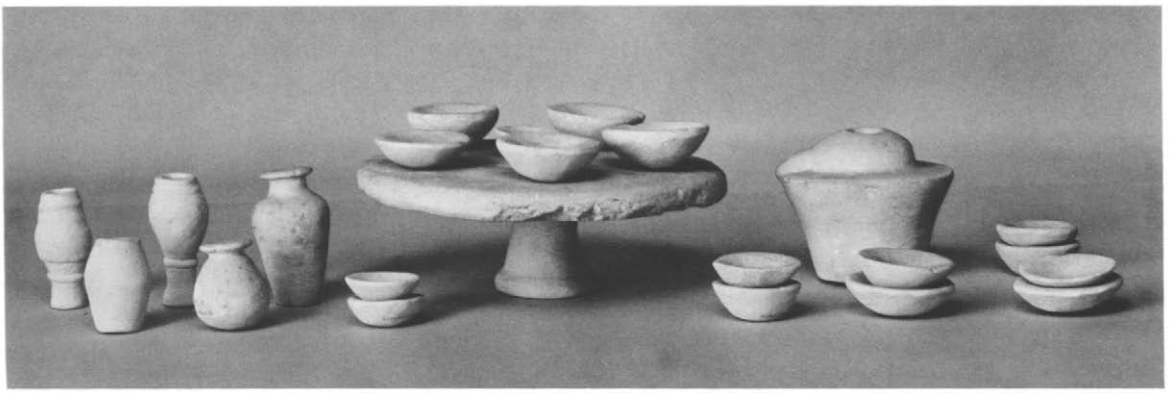
The graceful forms of the alabaster ★vases and cups from tombs of the Sixth Dynasty are enhanced by the beauty of the fine, translucent stone and the luster of the surface polish. Many of the vases were undoubtedly made to hold valuable unguents and cosmetic salves. The rim of the drinking bowl was evidently recurved to fit snugly against the lower lip of its user.

In addition to full-size vessels of stone, model ★jars and dishes, usually of limestone, are found in great quantity in tombs and graves of the late Old Kingdom. Among the seventy model vessels recovered from the tomb of Pery-nēb we recognize wine and ointment jars, with and without stands, deep and shallow bowls, drinking and libation cups. A complete ★table service (fig. 72), executed in limestone on a miniature scale, comes from another tomb in the Memphite necropolis. This includes a stone table, dishes, wine and water jars, and a small dummy ewer and basin for washing the hands before and after a meal. By magic, of course, these small substitutes for the costly and bulky vessels which they represent achieved full size and serviceability in the hands of the dead.

More model vases, in this instance of alabaster, are seen in a group of ★objects found in an in-

FIGURE 71. Canopic jars of the Chamberlain Pery-nēb. Limestone. H. 9½ in.





tact grave of the Sixth Dynasty at Zaraby, in Upper Egypt. Here also we find a full-size ointment vase of alabaster ( ), a slate palette for grinding eye cosmetic (p. 15), and two necklaces of carnelian, shell, and faience beads. This small collection represents the complete funerary equipment of the occupant of the grave, clearly a person of the poorer class, for whom the manner of burial had not changed greatly since the days of Egypt's prehistory. With the group are shown a number of miniature ★vases in various hard stones, among them an exquisite little ointment jar in polished diorite and a small spherical vase in the same attractively mottled stone.

Limestone ★food cases in the shapes of trussed geese, a trussed duck, and a leg of beef (fig. 73) are reproductions in a permanent material of the wooden boxes actually used to contain dressed fowls and cuts of meat. Such carefully carved containers served two purposes: to hold the items of food which they represent and, through magic, to take the place of the latter when, inevitably, the real fowls and meats had been destroyed by decay. All four cases were found in private tombs of the Sixth Dynasty at Gīzeh by the joint expedition of Harvard University and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and were obtained by the Metropolitan Museum in 1937 in exchange for antiquities sent to Boston.

In ancient Egypt, as in other countries of the Near East, it was customary to wash the hands before and after eating and even during a meal.

FIGURE 72. Model table service. Limestone. Fifth or Sixth Dynasty. H. ¾-3½ in.

For this purpose a ewer with a long, slender spout and a deep, straight-sided basin ( ) were provided at all feasts and formed, as well, regular items of tomb and temple equipment. It is clear from the Egyptian names of the two vessels that the ewer contained a mixture of water and natron, a cleansing soda used in place of soap, and that sand, also used as a cleanser, was placed in the basin. When not in use the ewer was nested inside the basin, and it is thus that the vessels are found in the tombs and represented in ancient reliefs (fig. 52), paintings and models (fig. 72). The ewer was almost always of metal (copper, bronze, or silver), but the bowl was not infrequently of another material, for example, stone or pottery.

FIGURE 73. Food cases for trussed fowls and a leg of beef. Limestone. Sixth Dynasty. L. 10½-21½ in.





FIGURE 74. Copper ewers and basins. Sixth Dynasty. H. 4-9 in.

In the examples in the Museum's collection, datable to the late Old Kingdom, both ★ewers and basins (fig. 74) are of copper, in one instance coated with antimony to imitate silver. The largest set and one of the smaller sets are from the tomb of an official named Tjetju in the maṣṭabeh field adjoining the pyramid of King Tety of the Sixth Dynasty. The basins and the bodies of the ewers were hammered to shape from single sheets of copper. The spouts of the ewers were cast in molds and attached to the bodies by means of copper rivets or simply inserted in place and crimped to the bodies by cold-hammering. In their oxidized state some of these vessels give the impression of having been soldered in place, but soft solder is not known to have been used in Egypt before the Roman period.

Almost as handsome as the vessels of stone and metal are the fine polished red ★pottery jars and bowls of the Third to the Sixth Dynasty. The shapes include several graceful bottles, a deep bowl with a spout, and shallow drinking bowls with recurved lips. The most interesting vessel is a brewer's ★vat, exactly like the one which we have already seen represented in the brewing scene in the tomb of Reᶜ-em-kuy (fig. 54) and in the painted limestone statuette of a Fifth Dynasty brewer (fig. 68). The wide-mouthed, flat-bottomed vessel is obviously of special design and is admirably suited to its purpose. The small spout, for example, is so placed that the clean beer could be decanted from the vat, leaving the lees in the bottom and the barm, or frothy scum, at the top. The vat is from the intact tomb of a man named Impy, who lived during the Sixth Dynasty and was buried at Gīzeh not far from the Great Pyramid.

As in many oriental countries of the present day, the ancient Egyptian, when sleeping, laid his head on a wooden headrest, usually a curved "pillow" mounted on a columnar or framework support (𓊪). To us such an arrangement appears extremely uncomfortable, and even the ancient Egyptian at times tempered the hardness of his pillow by wadding it with linen bandages. In spite of his elaborate beliefs regarding the life beyond the tomb, the Egyptian never entirely abandoned the primitive conception of death as a form of eternal sleep; and the headrest is frequently found either under or near the head of the dead man as he lies in his coffin. Four wooden ★headrests now in the Museum's collection were

found in graves and tombs of the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties at Kafr Ṭarkhān.

Like many other objects normally made of wood or other perishable materials, headrests designed specifically for use by the dead were frequently carved in stone; these last are therefore to be classed as funerary reproductions, rather than as real, usable items of furniture. Such a ★headrest, carved in alabaster for a wealthy official of the Sixth Dynasty named Khenty-kuy (fig. 75), was found in his maṣṭabeh tomb near the pyramid of King Tety at Saḳḳāreh. Like many of its wooden prototypes, it is made in three parts: the curved pillow, the fluted shaft, and the rectangular base. One of several found in the tomb, this headrest is a fair sample of the beautiful and luxurious furnishings of an Old Kingdom maṣṭabeh of the better class.

The base and shaft of a similar ★headrest, also of alabaster, comes from Mīr, the site of the ancient cemetery of Ḳūṣ, or Kusae, the capital of the Fourteenth Nome of Upper Egypt. The base is inscribed with the title and name of the King's Gentleman Ḳusy-em-saf ("The-God-of-Kusae-is-his-protection"), one of the dependents of Pepy-ʿankhe, a feudal lord of the Fourteenth Nome in the reign of King Pepy II of the Sixth Dynasty.

Two clay ★balls from a tomb of the Third or Fourth Dynasty at el Reḳāḳneh, in Upper Egypt, though hardly to be classed as works of art, are of considerable interest to the student of ancient Egyptian funerary practices. The balls, some of forty found in the maṣṭabeh, contain bits of papyrus or linen and have the word *ḥtm*, "seal" or "make a contract," scratched on their exterior surfaces. It is believed that they and their contents are symbols of the contracts drawn up between the owner of the tomb and his mortuary priests, covering food offerings to be supplied and services to be rendered by the latter, and that they were deposited in the tomb by the priests as tokens of their good faith and their intention to fulfill the original contracts.

FIGURE 75. Alabaster headrest of Khenty-kuy. Sixth Dynasty. H. 7¾ in.



10. Biographical Inscriptions and Didactic Treatises

In our survey of decorated tombs and inscribed objects dating from the Old Kingdom we have become acquainted with some of the standard funerary and religious texts of the Egyptians. No study of the period, however, would be complete without some mention of the two other classes of writings, either preserved on monuments of the Third to Sixth Dynasties or derived from works composed at this time.

It has been remarked that much of our knowledge of the history and life of the Old Kingdom is derived from biographical inscriptions written in the tombs of the great officials. The earliest text of this type now known is the biography of the nomarch Metjen, who lived during the latter years of the Third Dynasty and died in the reign of King Snefru, the founder of the Fourth Dynasty. Although concerned entirely with Metjen's own career, especially with his promotions, the text throws considerable light on the departments and general organization of the pharaonic government. An inscription of an official named

Debeḥ-ny describes how his tomb was built by order of his royal master, King Men-kū-Rēᶜ of the Fourth Dynasty. A will drawn up by the Palace Steward Ny-ku-ᶜonekh and inscribed on a wall of his tomb at Saḳḳāreh gives us insights into the legal phraseology and the estates of the wealthy in the reign of King Woser-kuf of the Fifth Dynasty. In his biography, composed in the reign of King Djed-ku-Rēᶜ Isesy, the Vizier Senedjem-yeb quotes verbatim two letters from the king—needless to say, of a laudatory nature.

In the Sixth Dynasty the biographies of the nobles become much more expansive and assume the character of true historical documents, with often detailed accounts of campaigns, expeditions, and building activities. The outstanding example is the inscription of Weny, whose long, active, and intensely interesting career began in the reign of King Tety, spanned the entire reign of Pepy I, and lasted well into the reign of Mery-en-Rēᶜ I. Of equal interest are the biographies inscribed in the rock tombs of the nomarchs of Elephantine — Ḥor-khūf, Pepy-nakhte, Sab-ny, and others—recounting the deeds of these "Keepers of the Door of the South" in their conquest and exploitation of Nubia.

In the literary field the most popular productions of the Old Kingdom were the "teachings," or "instructions," attributed to such sages as the Vizier Kuy-gem-ny of the Third Dynasty and the Vizier Ptaḥ-ḥotpe, who lived in the reign of King Isesy. These treatises, usually addressed to a younger man, often a son of the author, are composed of maxims, proverbs and detailed rules of conduct. The modern reader usually finds them a little tedious, but they were evidently very much to the taste of the ancient Egyptian. A similar work is the "Satire on the Trades" (often inaccurately called the "Instruction of Dewauf"), commending the career of the scribe as superior to all other professions. All are preserved to us only in much later copies, written on papyri of the Middle and New Kingdoms. A folk tale copied in a papyrus of the Second Intermediate period tells of wonders which took place in the reigns of the pharaohs Djoser, Neb-ku, Snefru, and Khuf-wy, including the legendary account of the rise of the Fifth Dynasty referred to on page 66. Scraps of popular songs of the Old Kingdom have also come down to us, among them a ballad sung by the bearers of a sedan chair and the song of a shepherd to his sheep.

VIII. THE SIXTH DYNASTY AND THE END OF THE OLD KINGDOM

VIII. The Sixth Dynasty and the End of the Old Kingdom

IN THE LIST of kings in the Turin Papyrus a break is made following the reign of Wen-is, and a summation of the years of the kings of Egypt back to the time of Menes is inserted to indicate the end of a great era. Yet there is no evidence that violent political disturbances or any immediate change in the life of the country accompanied the transition from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasty. Indeed, we are not sure whether King Tety, the founder of the new ruling house, usurped or simply inherited the throne.

Of Tety's reign we know little. His pyramid at Saḳḳāreh, northeast of the Step Pyramid, is adjoined by the splendid maṣṭabehs of his officials, several of whom served also under Wen-is. Like those of his predecessor and most of his successors, the chamber and passages of the king's tomb are inscribed with hundreds of columns of Pyramid Texts. The small pyramids of two of his wives, Queen Khuyet and Queen Ipwet, lie close beside that of the pharaoh. Ipwet, the mother of King Pepy I, was herself the daughter of a king, quite possibly a daughter of Wen-is.

An alabaster model of a ★sistrum, or rattle (fig. 76), made as a votive offering to the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor is inscribed with Tety's kingly names and titles. On the shrine-shaped head of the sistrum we read: "The Horus Seḥetep-towy, He-of-the-Two-Goddesses Seḥetep, Horus of Gold Som, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Rēᶜ, Tety, given life and well-being forever"; and on the shaft of the miniature papyrus column which forms the handle: "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Rēᶜ, Tety, beloved of Ḥat-Ḥor, Mistress of Dendereh, (and) given life forever." The shrine-shaped, or *naos,* sistrum of this type was always closely associated with the cult of Ḥat-Ḥor; and the little temple (*ḥat*) combined with the falcon (*Ḥor*) at the top of the instrument is the name of the goddess in the form of a rebus. The cobra below the feet of the falcon is perhaps the emblem of an affiliated snake goddess, Neḥmet-ᶜaway, and is often represented inside the small shrine rather than above it. Though not to be classed as a real musical instrument, this sistrum was once fitted with two copper wires that passed through the holes in the sounding box and supported tiny metal plates which tinkled when the rattle was shaken.

Tety's successor, Woser-ku-Rēᶜ, is hardly more than a name in the list of kings at Abydos. He has, however, left us two cylinder seals inscribed with his name and titles as king, one of which is in the Brooklyn Museum.

With the long and vigorous reign of King Mery-Rēᶜ Pepy I the dynasty begins to show its mettle. To this pharaoh, in his campaigns against the Semitic peoples of Sinai and southern Pales-



FIGURE 76. Model sistrum of King Tety. Alabaster. Sixth Dynasty. H. 10½ in.

tine, belongs the credit for abandoning the purely defensive military tactics of his predecessors and for carrying the might of Egyptian arms into the heart of an enemy country. With vast armies recruited in the Delta, in Upper Egypt, and among the subjugated tribesmen of Nubia, Pepy's general, Weny, not only drove back the troublesome Bedawīn and their allies the ʿAmu, but invaded and laid waste their homeland as far north as Carmel, trapping the enemy in the last of five great campaigns by landing troops from ships far up the Palestinian coast. Early in his reign the king bore the praenomen, or throne name, Nefer-sa-Ḥor, which has been found, for example, inscribed on the rocks at Tūmās, one hundred and fifty miles above Aswān—one of the many testimonials of the pharaoh's extensive subjugation of Nubia. Men-nefer, the name of Pepy's pyramid at Saḳḳāreh, was adopted as the name of the near-by capital city and survives in its Greek form, Memphis. In addition to the pyramid, the king constructed temples at Tanis and Bubastis, in the Delta, and at Abydos, Dendereh, and Koptos, in Upper Egypt. Two copper statues of his, found in the ancient temple at Hierakonpolis, are among the most extraordinary works of Egyptian art.

It was probably after the unexplained fall from grace of his queen, Yamtisy, that Pepy took as his two principal wives the daughters of a certain Khuy of Abydos, a man of nonroyal rank but of considerable power in the Thinite Nome. Both ladies dutifully adopted the single name ʿAnkhes-en-Mery-Rēʿ, "She-lives-for-Mery-Rēʿ"—a fact which modern historians have found not a little confusing. The elder wife was the mother of Pepy's successor, King Mery-en-Rēʿ ʿAnty-em-saf; the younger, the mother of King Nefer-ku-Rēʿ Pepy II.

A large ★jar and an ointment vase (𓏛) of alabaster (fig. 77) were made on the occasion of Pepy's first *sed*-festival, or jubilee. This event,

which took place on the thirtieth anniversary of a king's appointment as heir to the throne, was always celebrated with elaborate ceremonies.[1] The inscriptions on both jars record the festival for which they were made and give the pharaoh's names and titles—on the larger vase in the lengthy, repetitive fashion characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty: "Long live the Horus Mery-towy, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Rēᶜ, Pepy, He-of-the-Two-Goddesses Mery-khet, Son of Rēᶜ, Pepy, Double Horus of Gold, Son of Rēᶜ, Pepy, given life and gifts (on) the first occasion of the *sed*-festival. May he live, like Rēᶜ!" On the side of this vase the title and name of "the King's beloved wife, Mery-Rēᶜ" (for ᶜAnkhes-en-Mery-Rēᶜ?), were added in a style of carving different from that of the original inscription, indicating that, subsequent to its use in the jubilee celebration, the vase was appropriated by one of Pepy's queens, perhaps for her tomb.

Other contemporary monuments bearing the name of Pepy I include a piece of limestone ★relief from el Lisht,[2] two fragmentary false-door ★stelae of limestone from private tombs, a ★cylinder seal of the king, and five ★cylinder seals of officials of his reign.

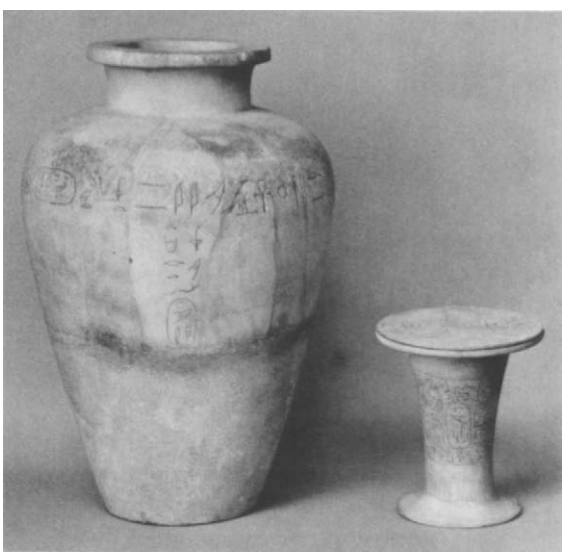
The stelae, both of crude workmanship, come, respectively, from the tomb of the Lector Priest Mery-Rēᶜ-sonbe and from that of the Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor Nebet. Both carry inscriptions requesting offerings for Pepy's tomb, the pyramid called "The-beauty-of-Mery-Rēᶜ-endures." Nebet's stela is interesting as showing in the doorway slot the two valves () of the door itself, with its pivots and sliding bolts ().

A small seal, of lapis lazuli, bears the simple legend "Belonging to King Mery-Rēᶜ" and was probably used for marking crown property or sealing royal documents. Two others, of black steatite, are inscribed for an official attached to the service of the pyramid and for a "Sole Companion, who does what is praised by the Horus Mery-towy, (King) Mery-Rēᶜ."

A large cylinder in glazed steatite, once used by an official of the palace, makes mention in its inscription of Pepy's first *sed*-festival and adds "May he celebrate very many!" A second example, in blue paste, bears the titles of a courtier and palace attendant who "passed every moment" with the king and "did that which the God praised every day." A third great seal, much broken and battered, is of turquoise matrix. It was used by a "Sole Companion," lector priest, and privy councilor of the king. It is a peculiarity of official seals of this class that, whereas the names and titles of the king and the titles of the offices held by the custodians of the seals are given at great length, the names of the latter appear nowhere in the inscriptions. This suggests the conclusion that such seals belonged to the offices listed and not to the individuals who from time to time occupied the offices.

"Mery-Rēᶜ," the throne name of Pepy I, occurs also on two scarab-shaped ★seals, made, four

FIGURE 77. Two inscribed jars of King Pepy I. Alabaster. Sixth Dynasty. H. 14¾ and 6 in.



[1] The dynastic *sed*-festival commemorated in purely symbolic form the primaeval custom of slaying the aged king and installing in his place his youthful successor—a custom still prevalent among certain primitive African tribes. Following the first jubilee, additional celebrations of the *sed*-festival were held every two years.

[2] Reused in the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I. See p. 63.

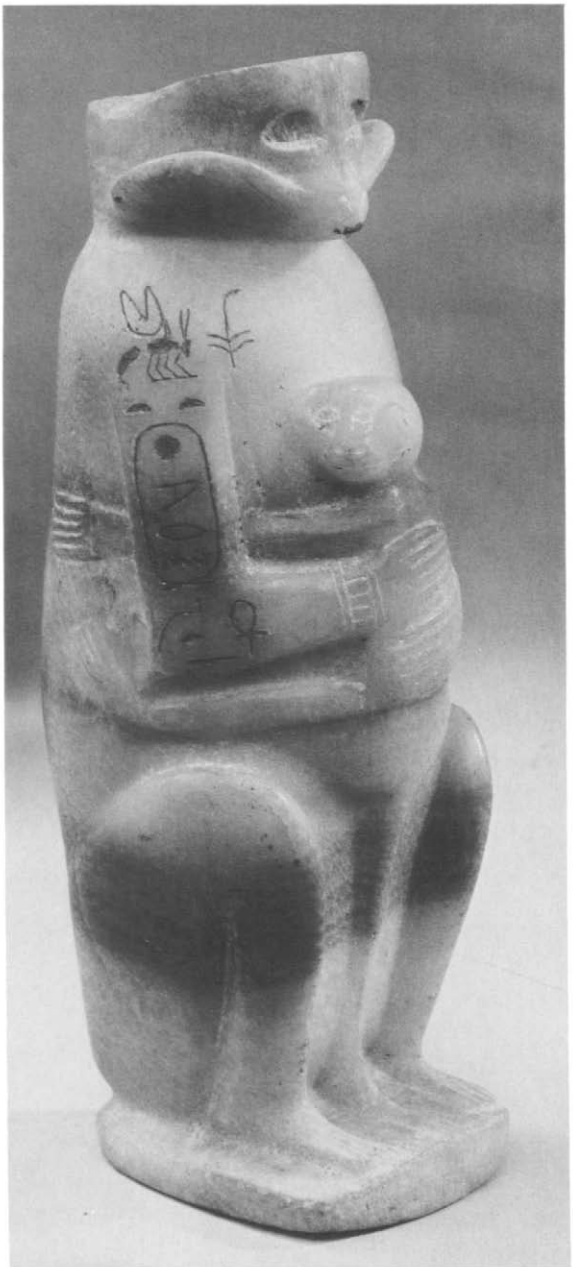


FIGURE 78. Alabaster vase inscribed with the name of King Mery-en-Rēᶜ. Sixth Dynasty. H. 7¼ in.

hundred years after his time, in the Twelfth Dynasty. One of these is of lapis lazuli, the other of amethyst, mounted on a copper ring.

Three small bronze ★tablets are inscribed with the name of the "Sole Companion, Attendant of the King, Mery-Rēᶜ-sonbe ('[King-] Mery-Rēᶜ-is-healthy')," a man probably born in the time of Pepy I. The tablets are associated with a bronze saucer of Pepy's successor, Mery-en-Rēᶜ, and are probably to be dated to his reign rather than to that of his father. Inscribed plaques of this type were often employed in "foundation deposits" of important buildings. Such deposits consisted of groups of offerings and other appropriate objects, buried in shallow pits under the corners, gateways, and axis line of the building, and correspond in a general way to modern cornerstone deposits (see p. 156).

Both Mery-en-Rēᶜ and Pepy II inherited their father's vigor and ability. The former met his death prematurely after a brief coregency with Pepy I and an independent reign of five or six years, but during these years he did much to expand and consolidate Egyptian power in Nubia. Under the supervision of the faithful Weny, now "Governor of Upper Egypt," a series of ship canals was cut through the rock barriers of the First Cataract, and in the fifth year of his reign Mery-en-Rēᶜ appeared in person at the cataract to receive the homage of the southern chieftains.

The bronze ★saucer or model bowl referred to above has engraved on its side the name of King Mery-en-Rēᶜ and the name of his pyramid, erected at Saḳḳāreh and called "The-beauty-of-Mery-en-Rēᶜ-appears." It is quite possible that the piece is from a foundation deposit of the pyramid or one of its subsidiary buildings.

An amusing alabaster ★vase in the form of a mother monkey clasping her young to her body (fig. 78) also was once the property of the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mery-en-Rēᶜ," as indicated by the inscription on the right arm of the animal.

At his brother's death Pepy II, a child of six at the time, ascended the throne of Egypt and ruled the land for ninety-four years, dying in the hundredth year of his life after the longest reign in the history of the world. During the king's minority the government of the country was

probably in the hands of his mother, Queen ᶜAnkhes-en-Mery-Rēᶜ, and her brother, the nomarch Djaᶜu of Thinis, whom the young Pepy had appointed as vizier, chief justice, and governor of the residence city.

The second year of Pepy's reign was marked by the return from the remote southern country of Yam of a great caravan, led by Prince Ḥor-khūf of Elephantine and bringing, together with a rich cargo of ivory and other treasures, a dancing pygmy as a present to the king. In high excitement the eight-year-old ruler indited a letter to Hor-khūf, thanking him for the gift and urging him to take every precaution that the pygmy should arrive at Memphis in good condition—a letter happily preserved to us in the inscriptions of Ḥor-khūf's tomb opposite Elephantine.

In addition to caravan expeditions to Yam and other distant points in Nubia and the northern Sūdān, trading voyages to the land of Pwēnet, on the Somali coast, were common occurrences in the reign of Pepy II. An official of one of the lords of Elephantine has recorded the fact that he "eleven times traveled and returned to and from Pwēnet with the Chancellor of the God, Khuy, and with the Chancellor of the God, Djedy, to Byblos." To reach Pwēnet the Egyptians either crossed overland from Koptos to the Red Sea coast, where ships were built for the long voyage south, or sailed the whole way, entering the Red Sea at its northern end near the isthmus of Suez.

Pepy's pyramid at South Saḳḳāreh, like those of his immediate predecessors farther to the north, is of small rubble masonry, revetted with backing and casing blocks of cut limestone. The pyramid temple, though in ruins, still retains much fine, delicately carved relief. About the king's tombs are grouped the pyramids and chapels of all his known queens and the painted tomb chambers of his minor courtiers. The latter were surmounted by small, solid maṣṭabehs of brick and limestone, which during the reign of Mery-en-Rēᶜ had replaced the vast, multi-chambered tombs of the Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties. The great nobles were no longer buried at Memphis about the pyramid of their king, but made for themselves rock-cut cliff tombs in their own provinces in Middle and Upper Egypt.

Early in his reign the young king seems to have married his brother's widow, Queen Nit, who was also his own half sister, the eldest daughter of Pepy I and Queen ᶜAnkhes-en-Mery-Rēᶜ I. A son of the royal couple is probably to be identified with one of the shadowy kings who succeeded Pepy II. Later, probably following the death of Nit, Pepy took as his queen another princess of the blood royal, the "King's Eldest Daughter, Ipwet," possibly the daughter of King Mery-en-Rēᶜ. A third queen, ᶜAnkhes-en-Pepy, was apparently married during Pepy's later years; for she survived her long-lived husband and perhaps lived to see her son (or grandson?), Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ II, become King of Upper and Lower Egypt. Sometime during the chaotic years which saw the collapse of the Sixth Dynasty she was buried in a storeroom adjoining the pyramid of Ipwet in a usurped granite sarcophagus the inscriptions of which describe her as "a daughter of the God, fresh and young." A fourth lady, the King's Wife, Wedjeb-ten, though neither the daughter nor the mother of a pharaoh, is the owner of a small pyramid, complete with chapel and inscribed burial chamber, near the northeast corner of the king's tomb.

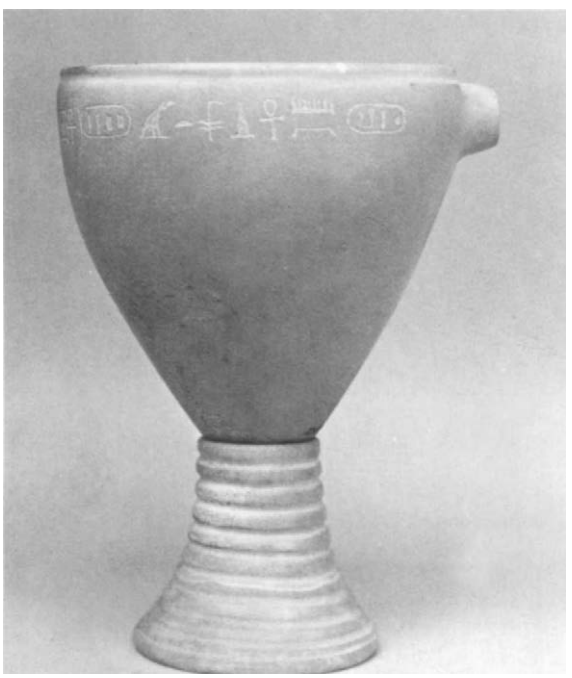
A graceful alabaster ointment ★vase of Pepy II bears on its side a panel of inscription with the king's names and titles: "The Horus Netery-khaᶜu, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, given life, like Rēᶜ." The panel is framed at its top by an elongated version of the hieroglyph for "heaven" () and at each side by a long  -scepter, symbol of "well-being."

A spouted alabaster ★cup (fig. 79), mounted on a stand of the same material, was the property of the king's mother. The title of the great lady is given, as was usual, in association with the name of her son's pyramid, "The-life-of-Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ-endures." Her name, here written "ᶜAnkhes-en-Pepy," must be a variant form of "ᶜAnkhes-en-

Mery-Rēᶜ", for that was the name of the mother of Pepy II—and even a king of Egypt had only one mother.

Beginning in the Fourth Dynasty the kings of Egypt had found it expedient to exempt from taxes, drafts of enforced labor, and other imposts the personnel and possessions of the pyramid temples, the residence cities adjoining the pyramids, and the great tombs of high-ranking officials of the crown. Such exemptions were published in the form of royal decrees carved on the walls of the buildings in question or on stelae erected before them. An excellent example is the decree issued by Pepy I in favor of the inhabitants of the ancient residence city of Snefru at Dahshūr and found inscribed upon one of the ruined walls of the town. Gradually the same privileges and exemptions were extended to the temples of the gods, among them the temple of the great fertility god Mīn at Koptos, in Upper Egypt. A number of royal decrees from the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate period have been recovered in the ruins of this temple, where they had been carved in monumental hieroglyphs on limestone slabs built into or set up in the gateway of the building.

FIGURE 79. Alabaster cup of Queen ᶜAnkhes-en-Pepy. Sixth Dynasty. H. 7 in.



The Museum possesses six fragments of these important historical documents, including a piece with the last ten columns of a ★decree issued by Pepy II in behalf of a royal foundation at Koptos, called "Mīn-makes-thrive-the-foundation-of-Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ." Two other fragments of the same decree are in the Cairo Museum, and a fourth fragment, when last heard of, was in the hands of a dealer. After listing the privileges and exemptions assigned to the temple, this decree, as preserved on our fragment, goes on to say that, while no further exemptions shall be extended to any town previously covered by exemption in Upper Egypt, no act contrary to the interest of this particular establishment will be permitted and no official shall meddle with the affairs of the king's foundation except to protect it. There follows a statement of the penalty which will be incurred by an official who disregards the decree. Finally, the king orders that a wooden pole shall be erected in the town and that his decree shall be inscribed "on a stela of limestone at the gateway of the temple of Mīn in Koptos." The concluding sentence charges the "Sole Companion Idy," with the responsibility of delivering and posting the decree.

The Sixth Dynasty, moribund during the latter part of the reign of the ancient Pepy, survived his death by only a few years. At the end of the dynasty five or six ephemeral kings rose and fell in rapid succession, among them a King Mery-en-Rēᶜ ᶜAnty-em-saf II and a ruler named Men-ku-Rēᶜ Nit-oḳrety, with whom is probably to be identified the fabulous Queen Nitokris of later legend. According to the Turin Papyrus Mery-en-Rēᶜ II reigned for thirteen months and Nit-oḳrety for two years, one month, and one day.

The outstanding accomplishments of the Sixth Dynasty were the expansion of Egyptian power in Nubia and the broadening and intensification of Egypt's trade relations not only with the Afri-

can countries south of her borders but also with the eastern Mediterranean lands to the north. We have seen how, through the tireless efforts of the powerful nomarchs of Elephantine, now also called the "Governors of Upper Egypt," Egyptian sovereignty in Nubia was extended to the Second Cataract, tribute and levies of troops were exacted from the chiefs of such warlike tribes as the Medjay, the Yerdjet, and the Wawat, trading caravans and quarrying expeditions traveled safely through Nubian territory, and fleets of Egyptian ships carried on a brisk commerce with the coastal peoples of Somaliland. To the north the trade with Phoenicia increased in tempo, Egyptian war and merchant vessels cruised the Palestinian and Syrian coasts at will, an Egyptian army overran and laid waste southern Palestine, and relations were established on a firm basis with the island principality of Crete.

Meanwhile, however, the Old Kingdom, dependent by its very nature upon the centralization of power in the person of an aloof and semidivine monarch, was crumbling, as the once unbridgeable gap which existed between the king and his nobles gradually closed until, finally, it did not exist at all and the pharaoh became merely one of many local rulers, each of whom, as in primaeval times, governed his own portion of a disunited country. The first stages of the process are discernible as early as the end of the Fourth Dynasty, when a king of Egypt, impoverished by his colossal program of building and by his all too bountiful gifts to his already wealthy courtiers, found it expedient to marry his daughter to an influential commoner. Thereafter, until the final breakdown at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, evidences of the decline of the pharaonic power and the rise of the landed nobility are plentiful. Marriages of kings to women of nonroyal rank become more and more common. As the kings' pyramids decrease in size and splendor, the mastabehs of the great nobles assume more and more vast proportions. Gradually the royal cemetery loses its significance and importance, and the nobles no longer make their tombs around the pyramid of the king, but in their own provinces. The governorship of a province, once achieved only through royal appointment, becomes hereditary and is passed from the nomarch to his son with only a perfunctory nod in the direction of Memphis. The establishment during the late Old Kingdom of so powerful an office as that of Governor of Upper Egypt set a dangerous precedent, and one cannot help but feel that it was only through personal loyalty that these great rulers of Upper Egypt and Nubia directed their vast resources to the service of the crown. Once the king, incapable of controlling his provincial governors by force, found himself unable to win their loyalty through favors and wisely chosen concessions, the whole fabric of the pharaonic government fell to pieces.

So ended the Old Kingdom, five hundred years after its inauguration by King Djoser. The rulers who followed the Sixth Dynasty belong to what we find it convenient to call the "First Intermediate period"—two centuries of petty kinglets and local dynasts, whose reigns fall between the end of the Old Kingdom and the rise to power of the Theban kings of the Eleventh Dynasty.

IX. THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Kings of the First Intermediate Period

DYNASTY VII (2280 B.C.)

Interregnum: 70 Memphites, who ruled for 70 days (Manetho)

DYNASTY VIII (2280-2242 B.C.)

Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, "the Younger"	4 years 2 months
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, Neby	
Djed-ku-Rēᶜ, Shemay	
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, Khendu	
Mery-en-Ḥor	
Nefer-ku-Min ("Nefer-es" of Turin Pap.?)	2 years 1 month
Ny-ku-Rēᶜ	
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, Tereru	
Nefer-ku-Ḥor	
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, Pepy-sonbe	
Nefer-ku-Min, ᶜAnu	
Ḳa-ku-Rēᶜ, Iby	1 year 8 months
Wadj-ku-Rēᶜ (Horus Khaᶜ-[bau?])	4 + years
Nefer-kū-Ḥor, Ka-pu-yeby (Horus Netery-bau)	
Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ (Horus Demedj-yeb-towy)	

DYNASTY IX (2242-2133 B.C.)

Mery-yeb-Rēᶜ, Achtoy I
.....
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ
Achtoy II
Setwet
Achtoy III
Mery- .....
Shed- .....
Ḥ- .....
.....
S- .....
.....
.....

DYNASTY X (2133-2052 B.C.)

Mery-Ḥat-Ḥor (?)
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ
Waḥ-ku-Rēᶜ, Achtoy IV
Mery-ku-Rēᶜ
Neb-kū-Rēᶜ, Achtoy V

UNPLACED KINGS

Ity (Inscription at el Hammāmāt)
I-em-ḥotep (Inscription at el Hammāmāt)
Sekhem-ku-Rēᶜ (Elephantine Papyrus)
Djoser-nūb (?) (Ramesside tomb inscription at Saḳḳāreh)

IX. The First Intermediate Period

1. The State of the Land

THE CONDITION of Egypt following the collapse of the Sixth Dynasty is best described by an alleged eyewitness, the sage Ipu-wēr, whose writings are preserved in a papyrus of Middle Kingdom date, now at Leiden.

"All is ruin," says Ipu-wēr. "A man smites his brother, (the son) of his mother.—Plague is throughout the land. Blood is everywhere.

"A few lawless men have ventured to despoil the land of the kingship.—A foreign tribe from abroad has come to Egypt.—Asiatics are skilled in the arts of the Delta.—The tribes of the desert have become Egyptians everywhere.—Elephantine and Thinis [are the dominion] of Upper Egypt, without paying taxes owing to civil strife. —The ship of the [Southerners] has gone adrift.

"The plunderer is everywhere.—Gates, columns, and walls are consumed by fire.—No longer do men sail northwards to [Byblos]. What shall we do for cedars . . . ? Gold is lacking.—Princes are hungry and in distress.—Corn has perished on every side.—Squalor is throughout the land. There are none whose clothes are white in these times.

"No craftsmen work. The enemies of the land have spoilt its crafts.

"No offices are in their (proper) place. . . .— The laws of the judgment hall are cast forth. Men walk upon them in public places.—Officials are slain and their records are taken away.—The corn of Egypt is common property.

"He who possessed no property is (now) a man of wealth.—The poor of the land have become rich, and the possessor of property has become one who has nothing.—All female slaves are free with their tongues.—The son of a man of rank is no longer distinguished from one who has no such father.—The children of princes are cast out in the streets.

"The secrets of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt are divulged.—What the pyramid concealed is become empty.—The (royal) Residence is overturned in a minute.—The storehouse of the king is the common property of everyone, and the entire palace is without revenue.

"Great and small say: 'I wish I might die.' Little children say: 'I never should have been born'."[1]

This pessimistic and probably exaggerated account pretty well covers the woes which beset the country, especially northern Egypt, at this time: the civil wars, the infiltration of the Delta by the Bedawīn of Sinai and southern Palestine, the breaking away of the nomes of Upper Egypt, the wholesale plundering and general lawlessness,

[1] Adapted from Gardiner, *Admonitions*, pp. 9-12 (see Bibliography, § 8).

the extreme poverty, the "social revolution," and the instability of any sort of authority, including that of the numerous self-styled kings. The last condition is deftly summed up by the prophet Nefer-reḥu: "The land is diminished, its rulers are multiplied." A glance at the tentative list of kings drawn up on page 134 suffices to demonstrate the truth of this statement.

2. The Dynasties of Memphis

Manetho's "Seventh Dynasty," if it existed at all, probably represents an emergency regime, set up at Memphis to replace temporarily the kingship which had disappeared with the collapse of the last ruling family of the Old Kingdom. It may have been a sort of oligarchy, composed of a council of the most powerful surviving officials of the Sixth Dynasty, who ruled together or in succession for the period of seventy days preceding the establishment of the Eighth Dynasty.

The Memphite kings of the short-lived Eighth Dynasty, whose feeble authority probably did not extend much beyond the confines of Middle Egypt, endeavored to carry on the traditions of the Old Kingdom. Many of them adopted the throne names of their predecessors of the Sixth and Fifth Dynasties, and all of them probably were buried or planned to be buried at South Saḳḳāreh in the vicinity of the pyramid of Pepy II. Their names are preserved in the lists of kings at Abydos; in recent years many of these names have been given some historical reality by their appearance in inscriptions or on inscribed objects datable to the First Intermediate period.

The founder of the dynasty, King Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, was apparently a son or grandson of Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ Pepy II and Queen ᶜAnkhes-en-Pepy (p. 129), and was called "the Younger" in deference to his distinguished forebear, whose name he had assumed. He is one of the three kings listed in the Turin Papyrus for this dynasty, where he is assigned a reign of four years and two months, the longest of the three reigns recorded. At South Saḳḳāreh he apparently built a pyramid called, rather pathetically, "Enduring-is-the-life-of-Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ," buried his mother (or grandmother), ᶜAnkhes-en-Pepy, in a usurped sarcophagus, and provided her with a limestone stela on which his name appears.

Of Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ's successors Nefer-ku-Min probably appears (as "Nefer-es") in the Turin Papyrus with a reign of two years and one month; and his name and those of Khendu (or Khendy), Ny-ku-Rēᶜ, and Tereru (or Telelu) occur either on small objects of the First Intermediate period or in later texts. Although some of the names are of Asiatic type, it is highly unlikely that the dynasty as a whole was of Syrian origin, as has been suggested. Ḳa-ku-Rēᶜ Iby, the third of the three kings listed in the Turin Papyrus for this dynasty, was the owner of a very small, unfinished pyramid and chapel discovered at South Saḳḳāreh. Like those in the tombs of his predecessors of the Sixth Dynasty, Iby's burial chamber was inscribed with Pyramid Texts.

The kingdom ruled by the Memphite pharaohs was of limited extent and uncertain unity. On the north marauding bands of Bedawīn, who had broken into the land during the declining years of Pepy II, roamed the whole of the Delta. In Upper Egypt the nomarchs, like the feudal barons of mediaeval Europe, governed their own provinces with little dependence on the kings at Memphis.

The last three rulers of the Eighth Dynasty—the Horus Khaᶜ-[bau?] (King Wadj-ku-Rēᶜ), the Horus Netery-bau, King Nefer-kū-Ḥor, and the Horus Demedj-yeb-towy (King Nefer-ir-kū-Rēᶜ?)—are known chiefly from a series of royal decrees which they issued in behalf of their funerary foundations in the temple of Mīn at Koptos and in behalf of a powerful local family of Koptos, two members of which, the nomarch Shemay and his son Idy, were successively elevated to the offices of governor of Upper Egypt and vizier. Like those promulgated by the kings of the Sixth Dynasty, copies of these decrees were sent by royal messenger upriver to Koptos, where they

were inscribed on slabs of limestone and posted in the gateway of the temple of Mīn. There is no substantial basis for the belief, held by some students of Egyptian history, that the kings who issued the decrees were members of an Upper Egyptian royal dynasty residing at Koptos itself or at Abydos.

A ★decree of the Horus Khaʿ-[bau] (King Wadj-ku-Rēʿ) and four ★decrees of his successor, the Horus Netery-bau, King Nefer-kū-Ḥor, are preserved in a fragmentary state in the Museum's collection. The edict of Khaʿ-[bau], of which the Museum possesses one of two small fragments, is addressed to the Governor of Upper Egypt Shemay and provides for a fixed amount of offerings to be presented at regular intervals to the god Mīn of Koptos and, "after the god is sated therewith," to be offered in turn to a statue (?) of the king set up in the temple. The document is dated to "Year 4" of the king's reign, one of the highest year dates we possess for the ephemeral rulers of the Eighth Dynasty.

The four decrees of the Horus Netery-bau (King Nefer-kū-Ḥor) were issued on a single day in the first year of the king's reign ("Year of Uniting the Two Lands"), perhaps on the date of his accession to the throne. In the first of these Netery-bau specifies the titles which are to be borne by his eldest daughter, Nebyet, wife of the Vizier Shemay, and appoints the Commandant of Soldiers Chrod-ny to be her bodyguard. Furthermore, the king orders the construction of a sacred barque of a deity called "Two Powers," probably the biune god Horus-Mīn, and designates its length in cubits.

The most complete of the four decrees (fig. 80) was issued by Netery-bau in favor of Shemay's son, the nomarch Idy, who is appointed to succeed his father as governor of Upper Egypt with specified jurisdiction over the seven southernmost nomes from Elephantine to Diospolis Parva (the modern Hu). It reads as follows: "The Horus Netery-bau. Sealed in the presence of the King himself (in) Month 2 [of Prōyet, Day 20]. Royal decree (to) the Count, the Over[seer of

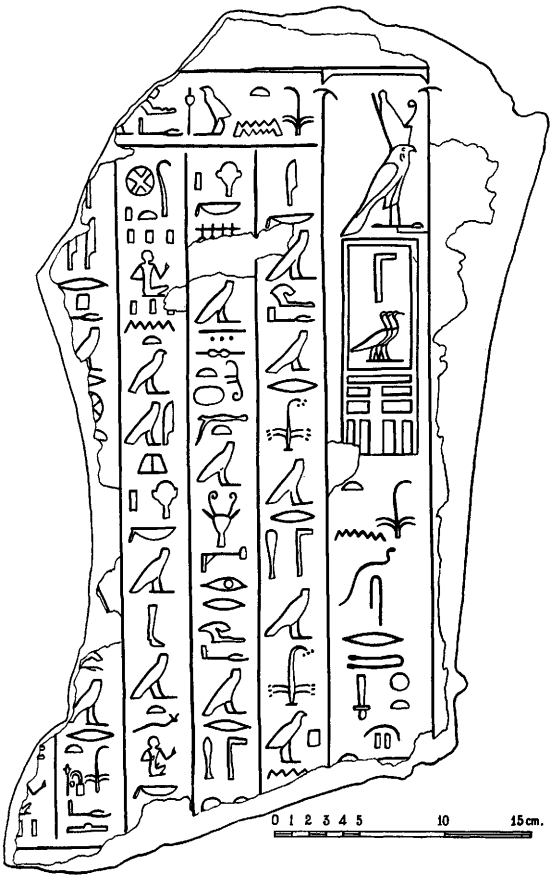


FIGURE 80. Decree of King Nefer-kū-Ḥor from Koptos. Eighth Dynasty. H. 18½ in.

Priests, Idy]: Thou art (appointed) Count, Governor of Upper Egypt, Overseer of Priests in this same Upper Egypt, which [is under] thy supervision southward to Nubia, northward to the Sistrum Nome, functioning as Count, Overseer of Priests, Chief of the rulers of towns who are under thy supervision, in place of thy father, the Father of the God, beloved of the God, the Hereditary Prince, Mayor of the [Pyramid Ci]ty, Chief Justice, Vizier, Keeper of the King's Archives, [Count, Governor of Upper Egypt, Overseer of Priests, Shemay. No] one [shall have rightful claim against it]. . . ."

A third royal edict of Netery-bau appoints or confirms the appointment of Idy's brother, whose name is not preserved, to a post in the



FIGURE 81. Frieze from the tomb of the Chief Priest Merery. Limestone. Eighth Dynasty, L. at top 76 in.

temple of Mīn. The appointee, who had previously served under his father, Shemay, is told that he will now be under the charge of his brother. Preceding this edict, on the same slab of stone, are the concluding formulae of another, addressed perhaps to Idy to inform him of his brother's appointment. These typical instructions regarding the delivery and mounting of a decree are worth quoting: "[My Majesty commands thee to post] the words [of this decree at the gate]way of the temple of Mīn [of Koptos forever] and ever. There is sent the Sole Companion, Ḥemy's (son), In-yōtef, concerning it. Sealed in the presence of the [King] himself (in) the Year of Uniting the Two Lands, Month 2 of Prōyet, Day 20."

Fifteen miles north of Koptos lies Dendereh, the ancient capital of the Sixth Nome of Upper Egypt and the principal Upper Egyptian cult center of the great cow goddess Ḥat-Ḥor, whose temple, rebuilt in Graeco-Roman times, is still a center of attraction to travelers up the Nile. Here during the Eighth Dynasty a senior priest of Ḥat-Ḥor named Merery built for himself a maṣṭabeh tomb in the extensive cemetery which fans out behind the temple of the goddess. Merery's maṣṭabeh, larger than most of its neighbors, was of brick construction, with a barrel-vaulted passage and a burial shaft covered with a brick dome. The great niche for the entrance doorway and the façade of the tomb were adorned with long hieroglyphic inscriptions carved on blocks of limestone in "the barbarous, yet detailed style of relief sculpture" which is characteristic of the period. The blocks from two of these inscribed friezes, found by the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1898, are now in the Metropolitan Museum.

At the left end of the broad ★frieze from over the doorway of the tomb (fig. 81) we see Merery standing, staff and scepter in hand, the detailed treatment of his wig, broad collar, and fringed kilt contrasting strangely with the styleless uncertainty of the figure as a whole. From the last three of the many titles written before the figure we learn that he was a Lector Priest, Overseer of Priests, and Keeper of the Sacred Cattle (of Ḥat-Ḥor). The other titles, "Count, Chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion," we may assume to be, as they frequently are from now on, purely honorary—stock titles, carried over from the Old Kingdom and bestowed, with no thought to their original meanings, on all men of rank. The three other extant blocks from the frieze are taken up with the central portion of a long text, which commences as a more or less stereotyped offering formula but about halfway through develops into an extremely favorable autobiography of Merery, filled with statements of his wisdom and impartiality, his defense of the poor and oppressed, and the prosperity which he brought to the temple. We learn that his predecessor, a certain Beby, was "Great Chief of the Nome" of Dendereh, and we may infer therefrom, as from the size of his maṣṭabeh, that Merery himself was a person of considerable importance, even though he does not bear the titles of a nomarch.

This impression is supported by the fragmentary inscriptions on the blocks from a narrow



★frieze which apparently extended across the whole front of Merery's maṣṭabeh. Here he says, in part: "I was one beloved of Dendereh in its entirety, one praised by his city, and beloved of travelers. . . . I was a haven for this whole land."

Also from Dendereh or from Ḳeneh, just across the Nile, comes the crude but interesting tomb ★stela of a man named Nefer-yu (fig. 82), who calls himself a "Chancellor" and "Sole Companion of the King" and who appears, like Merery, to have lived during the early part of the First Intermediate period. This stela, complete and with its rather garish colors excellently preserved, reproduces the old palace façade in considerable detail, framed by a cross-lashed torus molding and a polychrome block border and surmounted by a high cavetto cornice. On the double doors are painted sliding door bolts and a pair of eyes, so that the spirit of the deceased might pass or gaze forth into the world outside his tomb. Figures of Nefer-yu and his wife, Wedjeb-djet, appear on the jambs of the doorway, the man in one instance depicted with the yellow flesh color normally reserved for women. In the panel above the door we are permitted a view into the interior of the building, where Nefer-yu, holding a perfume vase to his nose, sits before his funerary banquet.

The horizontal inscriptions are the usual offering formulae naming the gods Osiris and Anubis as the benefactors of the deceased; but in the texts which flank the doorway Nefer-yu speaks to the living and tells them of his acts of charity, the services which he rendered his superiors during the troubled times in which he lived, and his own rise to power. "I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked," says Nefer-yu. "In my own boat I ferried across (the Nile) the man who had no boat. I gave property alike to him whom I knew and him whom I knew not. O ye who live on earth and who love life, I succored the great ones until the year when slaughter was ended. I wrought mightily with my oxlike arm in order to be established among my children by my elevation (?). I did it that I might become greater than the great ones and (all) the grandees, my entire city being my witness."

The painted limestone ★stela of the Count and Lector Priest Indy (fig. 83) is from the district of ancient Thinis, sixty miles downstream from Dendereh. In theory the nome of Thinis was a province of the kingdom ruled over at this time by the Memphite kings of the Eighth Dynasty, and Indy would therefore have owed allegiance to one of these pharaohs. Aside, however, from the honorary title "Chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt" and Indy's statement that he himself "ruled Thinis," there is no mention in the inscriptions on the stela of any recognized authority, local or otherwise. The opening words of Indy's speech, "I was a citizen excellent in battle," may reflect his participation in border warfare with the nomes to the south, but this is highly conjectural. The rest of the speech is taken up with personal matters: the love borne him by his family, his rise to power from meagre beginnings, his desire for and attainment of a flawless reputation.

On the stela Indy's angular but vigorous figure is accompanied by that of his wife, the Sole Royal

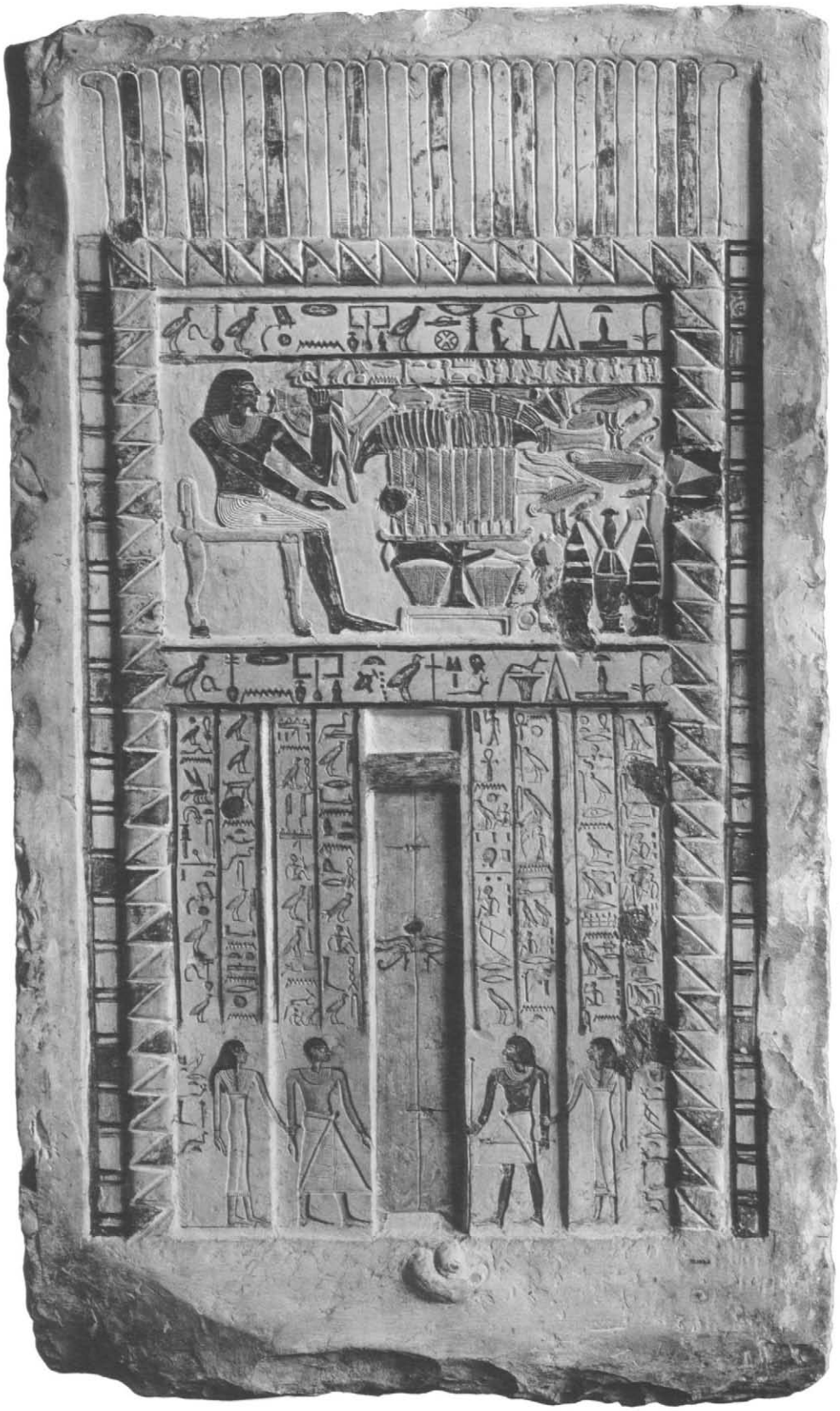


FIGURE 82.
Stela of the Chancellor Nefer-yu. Painted limestone. Eighth Dynasty. H. 45½ in.

Favorite and Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor Mūt-mauty, whose elaborate coiffure and unusual dress are represented in great detail. Two servants, depicted at very small scale, attend to their master's needs. One carries his sandals, the other holds before his mouth a bowl of liquid, presumably poured out from the jar which the servant brandishes in his other hand. These and the few items of food and drink shown at the right serve to recall the funerary banquet so elaborately portrayed on other monuments. The stela itself is not of the palace-façade, or false-door, type, but in the form of a flat tablet which, either rectangular, as here, or with a rounded top, is henceforth the more common type.

On a fragment of limestone ★relief from the chapel of a tomb of this period is preserved part of a row of offering bearers, surmounted by an offering formula invoking the king and the mortuary god Anubis. The god is described, in the usual manner, as being "on his mountain" (the desert plateau), "in the place of embalming," and as "lord of the Holy Land" (the necropolis). The personal names Pa-idnu and Woser can be seen beside the second and third figures in line.

A comparison of these crude little figures with those of the bearers of offerings in the maṣṭabeh chapels of the Old Kingdom demonstrates clearly what the political disruption and the general poverty and instability of the First Intermediate period had done to Egyptian art and to the Egyptian artist. All through this period, however, it is the lack of technical ability and the loss of a sense of style that we feel chiefly. Of spirit and originality there is plenty—more, perhaps, than during the periods of Egypt's prosperity, when the carefully trained artists of Memphis and, later, of Thebes, working for wealthy and discriminating patrons, produced the highly stylized masterpieces of Egyptian art.

3. Seals and Seal Amulets of the First Intermediate Period

In addition to the inscribed cylinders characteristic of the Early Dynastic period and the Old Kingdom, there came into use in the Sixth Dynasty the type of seal with which we are more familiar: the stamp seal, circular, oval, or rectangular in shape, with flat underside and convex top. Although objects of this class always bear an incised design or pattern on the undersurface and are otherwise adapted to use as seals, it is probable that the majority of them were never actually so employed but were worn or carried by their owners as amulets or simply as ornaments, like our modern signet rings. It is, moreover, an interesting fact that of 229 seal amulets recovered from graves at Kau and el Badāri, in Upper Egypt, 218 were found on the bodies of women. From the Middle Kingdom on, the seal in the form of the scarab beetle is the dominant type, but during the Sixth to Tenth Dynasties a great variety of shapes were produced.

The Museum possesses a small but fairly repre-

FIGURE 83. Stela of the Lector Priest Indy. Painted limestone. Eighth Dynasty. H. 28 in.





FIGURE 84. Seals of the First Intermediate period. Steatite, limestone, faience, bone, and rock crystal. L. ½-1½ in.

sentative collection of ★seals datable to the First Intermediate period (fig. 84). Among these we see circular and rectangular button seals, rectangular seals with pyramidal and hemicylindrical backs, circular and oval seals, the backs adorned with the heads of animals in high relief—lions, hippopotami, and crocodiles—and several seals surmounted by little figures carved in the round —a pair of hawks, a woman nursing a child, a cow and calf. The materials include glazed and unglazed steatite, limestone, faience, bone, and rock crystal. The designs on the undersides of the seals (fig. 85) comprise geometric and maze patterns, animals, birds, insects, and plants, and, occasionally on the later seals, a hieroglyphic sign, such as ☥, "life," or 𓋹, "protection," usually flanked in heraldic fashion by a pair of hawks (𓅃). Among the animals represented we may recognize the lion (𓃭), the ibex (𓄡), the monkey (𓃬), and the desert hare (𓃹). On a large oval seal appears a clump of papyrus (𓇋) flanked by human figures who grasp the stems of the plants, a design reminiscent of the symbolic representation of the union of Upper and Lower Egypt as seen on later monuments (e.g., p. 181). A steatite seal found by the Museum's Expedition at el Lisht—shown upside down in the illustration—evidently depicts an ☥-sign, flanked by birds, surmounting a *khopesh*-joint (𓎛).

It is probable that this type of seal was of Asiatic origin and was imported into Egypt in the late Sixth Dynasty at the time of the infiltration of foreigners deplored by Ipu-wēr, an infiltration reflected in the Asiatic names of some of the kings of the Eighth Dynasty. On the other hand, although many of the seals show forms and designs of Syro-Cappadocian type, there can be little doubt that the vast majority were manufactured in Egypt.

4. Scarab Seals

Seals with backs carved in the shape of the common dung beetle *(Scarabaeus sacer),* usually called simply "scarabs," make their appearance in the First Intermediate period and thereafter are far and away the most common type of Egyp-

tian seal or seal amulet. The popularity of the scarab-shaped seal is easily accounted for. The beetle is a form ideally suited to the convex back of an oval seal, which even when uncarved suggests the shape of the insect. Furthermore, the scarab beetle is not only one of the commonest and most striking of Egyptian insects but also one which from an early time was closely associated with the life-giving properties of the morning sun and thereby believed to be endowed with strong amuletic powers. The Egyptian word for "become," "come into existence," and one of the names of the sun god are from the same word stem *(kheper)* as the word for scarab beetle and are written with the sign 𓆣. In paintings and reliefs of later epochs the scarab is often depicted rolling the globe of the sun with its hind legs in precisely the same manner that in real life the beetle trundles the ball of dung in which its eggs are laid and hatched. On the earliest seals of this type the beetle is low, flat-backed, and without the detailed delineation of wings and legs seen in later examples.



FIGURE 85. Seal devices of the First Intermediate period. Undersides of the seals of figure 84. L. ½-1½ in.

5. The Dynasties of Herakleopolis

About 2242 B.C., after half a century of nominal occupancy by the weak rulers of the end of the Sixth Dynasty and the petty kinglets of the Eighth Dynasty, the throne of Egypt was seized by Achtoy, the powerful and able nomarch of the Twentieth Nome of Upper Egypt, whose city, called by the Egyptians "Nen-Ny-sūt" and by the Greeks "Herakleopolis," occupied the site of present-day Ahnāsyeh, on the west side of the Nile, just south of the entrance to the Fayyūm. Assuming the throne name Mery-yeb-Rēᶜ, Achtoy set about crushing the rebellious nomarchs of Middle Egypt with such violence that he has been called by Manetho "more terrifying than all his predecessors," the doer of "evil to the inhabitants of all Egypt." He evidently succeeded in reuniting the central portion of his shattered country under a strong government but apparently did not extend his rule into the Delta, which remained in the hands of the Asiatics, or southward into Upper Egypt, even as far as Thinis, though his name occurs in an inscription at the First Cataract.

Achtoy's name is also preserved on a number of small monuments made during his reign, among them the fragment of an ivory ★coffer (fig. 86), with inscriptions once inlaid with semiprecious stones, found by the Museum's Expedition at el Lisht. Of the inlay there now remains only the carnelian heart (𓂝) in the king's Two Goddesses name, Mery-yeb-towy.

Mery-yeb-Rēᶜ Achtoy I and the seventeen Herakleopolitan kings of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties who succeeded him ruled together

FIGURE 86. Part of an ivory coffer of King Achtoy I. Ninth Dynasty. L. 5¼ in.



about one hundred and ninety years, from 2242 to 2052 B.C. Except for its founder, we know little of the thirteen kings of the Ninth Dynasty, most of whose names are listed in whole or in part in the tattered fragments of the Turin Papyrus. The name Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ for the third king of the dynasty indicates that the Herakleopolitans, like the Memphites whom they had replaced, regarded themselves as the legitimate successors of King Pepy II of the Old Kingdom. At least two of Mery-yeb-Rēᶜ's successors of the Ninth Dynasty bore the exceedingly common name Achtoy (previously read "Khety" and accordingly are listed as Achtoy II and Achtoy III.

With the Tenth Dynasty, for which the Turin Papyrus lists five kings, we are on firmer ground. Although we know more than the name of the founder of the dynasty, Mery-Ḥat-Ḥor, and have scant information regarding his successor, another Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, the last three kings of the house of Herakleopolis are reasonably historical personages.

Waḥ-ku-Rēᶜ Achtoy IV was the alleged author of the famous "Instruction to King Mery-kᵾ-Rēᶜ" (his son and heir), an outstanding example of Egyptian didactic literature and the source of much valuable information on the Herakleopolitan period. From this work we learn that Waḥ-ku-Rēᶜ regained control of the Delta, driving out the Asiatic invaders and inaugurating a period of intensive reconstruction under a well-planned administrative system directed from Memphis, which remained, as before, the seat of the pharaonic government and the site of the royal cemetery. To facilitate communications between the ancient capital and the king's residence at Herakleopolis a canal fifty-five miles in length now linked the two cities. With the recovery of the Delta harbors trade was reopened with the Syrian coast, and fine coniferous woods were again imported into Egypt.

While bending every effort to consolidate and defend the territory regained in Lower Egypt, the kings of Herakleopolis did little to expand their kingdom to the south but endeavored merely to protect their southern boundary and to maintain peaceful relations with the rising dynasty of Thebes, which had now become the leader of the allied nomes of Upper Egypt. That peace with the south existed for long periods of time is indicated by the fact that the Herakleopolitans were able, probably through an arrangement with Thebes, to obtain blocks of red granite from the quarries at Aswān. In the latter half of the Tenth Dynasty, however, border skirmishes with the warlike Thebans became increasingly frequent and increasingly serious. In dealing with them the kings at Herakleopolis depended largely upon the ability and loyalty of the nomarchs of Si'ūt (Asyūt), the capital of the Thirteenth Nome of Upper Egypt, and it is from the inscriptions in the tombs of these "Commanders of Middle Egypt" that much of our knowledge of the times is derived. Aided undoubtedly by one of the nomarchs of Si'ūt, King Waḥ-ku-Rēᶜ was enabled temporarily to occupy the border fortress of Thinis, a deed which, he boasts, had not previously been accomplished, even by his distinguished ancestor Achtoy I. His triumph, however, was short lived; for the Thebans under Waḥ-ᶜonekh In-yōtef not only captured Thinis but pushed north of it as far as Aphroditopolis, in the Tenth Nome of Upper Egypt. The bold words of Achtoy, nomarch of Si'ūt, do not conceal the fact that he was forced to meet the enemy, not far to the south, but on the borders of his own province.

Achtoy IV's successor, Mery-ku-Rēᶜ, began to find himself in real difficulties. During his reign Si'ūt fell, and the fighting moved northward into the Fifteenth, or Hermopolite, Nome, which found itself overrun by the undisciplined armies of the contending dynasts. The new Theban offensive was now being led by King Montuḥotpe II, whom the Herakleopolitans were unable to crush. At his death Mery-ku-Rēᶜ was buried at Memphis, near the tomb of King Tety of the Sixth Dynasty, in a pyramid called "Flourishing-are-the-abodes-of-Mery-Ku-Rēᶜ" — a gross misrepresentation of the actual state of affairs.

The last of the Herakleopolitans, King Neb-kū-Rēᶜ Achtoy V, is probably to be identified with the pharaoh in the "Tale of the Eloquent Peasant," a popular story of the time preserved in a papyrus of the Middle Kingdom. This tale concerns an Egyptian peasant who, having been robbed of his belongings by a wealthy landowner, addressed his complaints to the king's high steward with such extraordinary eloquence that the pharaoh had him present his case again and again purely for the pleasure which he derived from hearing the peasant talk. It was well for Neb-kū-Rēᶜ that he had a sense of humor; for his reign and his dynasty were soon terminated by a complete victory for Thebes and a new union of the "Two Lands" under King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty.

6. Tomb Reliefs and Pottery Vessels of the Herakleopolitan Period

There is evidence, as we have seen, that during the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties the tombs of the kings were built at Saḳḳāreh in the vicinity of Djed-eswet, the pyramid of King Tety of the Sixth Dynasty, the name of which had come to be a general term for Memphis itself. It was just to the east of this pyramid that in 1905-1906 the Egyptian Government's excavations uncovered a number of small private tombs of the Herakleopolitan period, built for the most part in the core of a large maṣṭabeh of the late Old Kingdom. What sculptured decoration the tombs possessed seems to have been concentrated on their limestone false-door stelae and on the side walls of the shallow offering niches in which the stelae were erected. In 1910 the Museum obtained by purchase blocks from the walls of two of these niches: the right-hand wall of the niche of Anup-em-ḥēt ("Anubis-is-foremost"), an inspector of officials attached to the service of the royal pyramid, and part of the left-hand wall of a similar niche, the name of whose owner is not preserved.

The ★relief of Anup-em-ḥēt (fig. 87), scarcely twenty-eight inches in height, preserves at ridiculously small scale and with amusing crudity three of the scenes that we have already encountered in the maṣṭabeh chapels of the Old Kingdom. In the lowest register a lector priest offers incense to the owner of the tomb and "his

FIGURE 87. Relief of the Inspector Anup-em-ḥēt. Limestone. Ninth or Tenth Dynasty. H. 27 in.



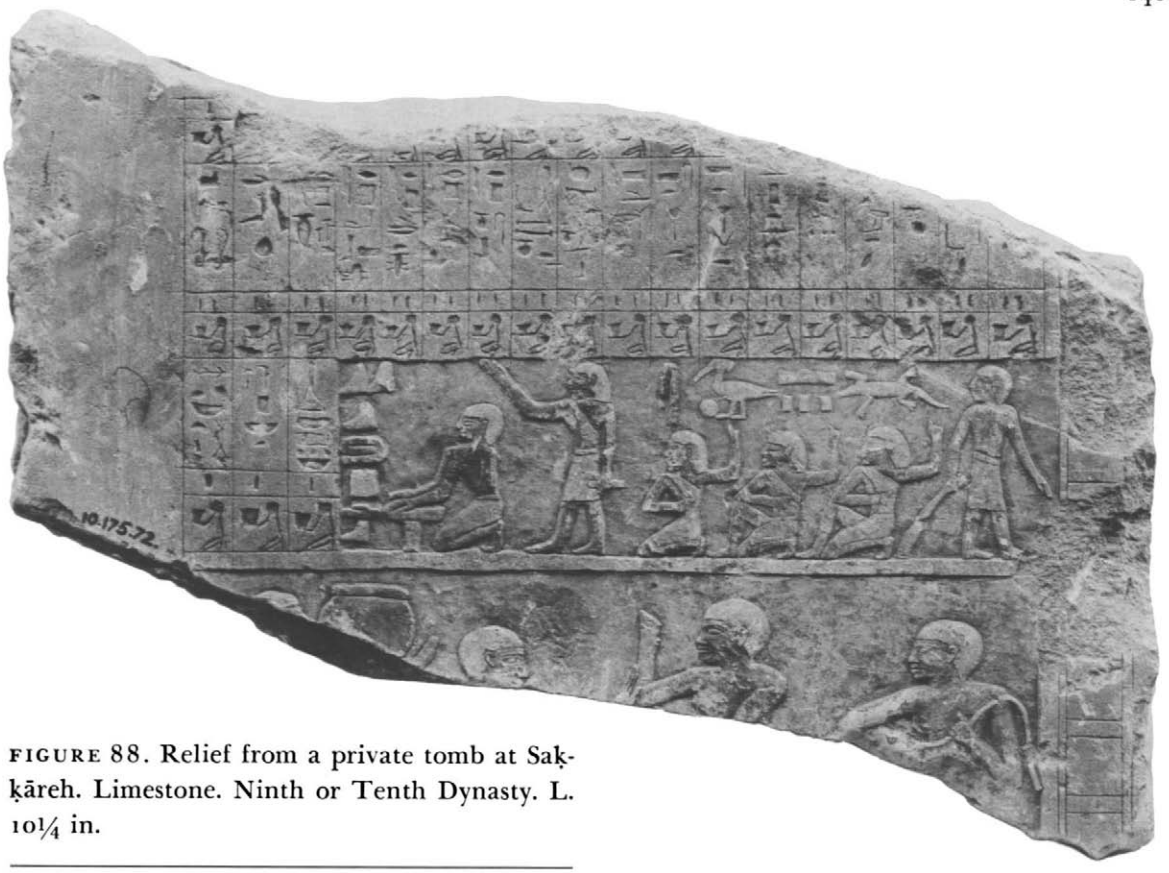


FIGURE 88. Relief from a private tomb at Saḳ-ḳāreh. Limestone. Ninth or Tenth Dynasty. L. 10¼ in.

beloved wife, Sit-Sobk." Above, three offering bearers or personified "estates"—two female and one male—carry baskets of bread, beer, and cuts of meat in the direction of the stela, which once adjoined the right-hand edge of the block or, as the accompanying inscription says, "fetch the offerings which are brought to him in his house of food." The woman at the end of this all too brief procession is accompanied by a minute antelope, which she restrains by means of a leash. At the top a man, leaning heavily upon a staff, leads up a bull calf, labeled: "Yewa"—a funny, stubby little animal, which looks rather like a bear—and behind comes the butcher, Yeby-puwosre, a knife in one hand, a vat for catching the blood held aloft in the other.

The other niche ★relief from Saḳḳāreh (fig. 88) carries part of a long tabulated list of offerings and below it a much abridged but rather interesting scene showing the various rites performed by the priests at the funerary banquet. Behind a kneeling *ku*-servant, who prepares the table, stands a lector priest, holding a papyrus roll in his left hand and gesturing broadly with his disproportionately huge right arm while he recites the appropriate ritual. Farther to the right three kneeling lector priests chant the "many transfigurations" that transform the deceased into a "Glorious Spirit," flinging their left arms aloft and beating their breasts with their right hands. At the close of the rites the last departing priest, as he passes through the door of the chapel (at the extreme right), drags behind him a broom for exorcising the evil spirits which might lurk in the tomb. Below the priests appear the upper parts of a group of butchers engaged in the familiar act of cutting off the foreleg of a slaughtered ox.

In view of the uncertain times in which they lived it seems ungracious to criticize the un-

trained draughtsmen and sculptors who attempted to reproduce for their poverty-stricken patrons these time-honored episodes in the service of the tomb. Crude though their work may be, it is filled with amusing incident, a lively spirit, and a quality of eagerness which we shall not find in the hackneyed works of the other dark eras of Egypt's history, the Second Intermediate period and the decadent times of the last dynasties.

In the tombs of the Herakleopolitan period are found the prototypes of the tomb furnishings of the Middle Kingdom: the rectangular wooden coffins, the mummy masks of linen and plaster, the chests for the canopic jars, the pottery offering trays, and the funerary models. Since, however, tomb material of the First Intermediate period is scarce and, for the most part, uncertainly dated, it seems wise to postpone the treatment of the new developments in Egyptian funerary art and burial practices until we can add to the few objects possibly datable to the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties the similar but copious and accurately dated material of the Middle Kingdom.

We should not, on the other hand, overlook the significant developments in the forms and materials of the ★pottery vessels of the Seventh to Tenth Dynasties (fig. 89), which are preserved in great quantity, form a well-dated series, and provide us with an unbroken archaeological bridge between the Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom. As in all the periods when general poverty and a lack of skilled craftsmen curtailed the manufacture of the more costly vessels of stone and metal, there is a decided increase in both the quantity and the quality of the potter's humble wares.

The types include large spherical or ovoid beer jars with molded rims; straight-sided versions of the graceful *ḥes*-vase ( ) of hoary antiquity; small drop-shaped jars, either single or grouped together in sets of two or four; fine, thin-walled little bowls, hemispherical or with angled profiles, the rims sometimes decorated with combed or scrabbled patterns; bowls with sections of the lip folded in to form a series of small spouts around the rim; heavy jar stands with triangular openings in the sides; and tall, slender offering stands or braziers.

The favorite ware is a hard, fine-grained pottery, gray green to pinkish white in color, made from a marly desert clay much favored in modern times by the well-known potters of Ḳeneh and el Ballās. Familiar to residents of Egypt as the material of the porous pottery bottles in which drinking water is cooled and which are called in Arabic *ḳullehs,* this distinctive class of pottery is conveniently referred to as "*ḳulleh*-ware." Coarse red or brown pottery, the surfaces frequently covered with a brick red wash, or slip, of haematite, was used extensively for the big jar stands and the larger and heavier vessels. Many of the fragile small bowls were made of a very soft and fine-grained brown pottery, produced from much refined river clay and having a smooth, rather velvety texture. It will be seen that many of the jars and bowls, in addition to having been turned on the potter's wheel, have had their lower parts scraped or whittled to shape with an edged tool—a technique especially common during the First Intermediate period and the Middle Kingdom.

Most of the vessels described and illustrated here are from graves of the Seventh to Tenth Dynasties at Dendereh, Abydos, and Girgeh, in Upper Egypt, and from Sedment, the site of the cemetery of Herakleopolis.

7. The Nomarchs of Thebes

At the end of the Old Kingdom the city called Waset by the Egyptians and Thebes by the Greeks of later times consisted of a few small settlements in the neighborhood of modern Luxor, on the east bank of the Nile twenty-three miles south of Koptos. The town, however, was beginning to replace Hermonthis (Erment) as the capital of the Fourth Nome of Upper Egypt, the Nome of the Scepter ( ), and as the principal seat of the local war god, Ṃontu, who was

worshiped also in the neighboring village of Medu (the modern Medamūd) and the Roman Tuphium (Ṭod). Another divinity, Amūn, a local form of the great god Mīn of Koptos, had a small temple at Karnak, a mile and a half north of Luxor, but did not rise to prominence until the Twelfth Dynasty. The cemetery of Thebes lay across the river in the neighborhood of the modern village of Ḳurneh. A hill, called el Khōkheh, in the center of this village has yielded several rock-cut tombs of the late Sixth Dynasty (see p. 106); but the cemetery of the First Intermediate period occupied a plain three-quarters of a mile to the northeast, across the Nile from the temples of Montu and Amūn at Karnak.

With the rise of the Herakleopolitans in the north Thebes apparently formed a defensive alliance with Koptos. Later, in the time of Sehertowy In-yōtef of the Eleventh Dynasty, Thebes and Koptos fought together against the nomarch ʿAnkhtify of Edfu, who had rallied the three southernmost nomes of Upper Egypt in behalf of the Herakleopolitan king Nefer-ku-Rēʿ of the Tenth Dynasty. At what moment Thebes became the dominant Upper Egyptian power cannot at present be determined; but it is clear that it was the princes of Thebes with whom the Herakleopolitans of the Tenth Dynasty found themselves engaged in intermittent border warfare and by whom they were eventually defeated and replaced as rulers of Egypt.

During the Seventh to Tenth Dynasties Thebes was governed by a family of nomarchs most of whom bore the common name In-yōtef. First in chronological order was the "Hereditary Prince and Count, Great Chief of the Scepter Nome, Keeper of the Door of the South, In-yōtefy," who, since he calls himself a "Confident of the King," evidently lived at a time when Thebes still recognized the authority of the pharaohs of Memphis. The traditional founder of the line, however, was In-yōtef-ʿo, son of Ikuy, who on later monuments is called a "Hereditary Prince and Count" and who was clearly regarded by posterity as the father of the Middle Kingdom. He is mentioned



FIGURE 89. Pottery vessels of the First Intermediate period. H. 2¼-16½ in.

on a stela of the Eleventh Dynasty in the Museum's collection (p. 153), had a statue dedicated to him by a king of the Twelfth Dynasty, and is named, without a cartouche or royal titles, in the Eighteenth Dynasty table of kings from the temple at Karnak. The nomarchs who succeeded the son of Ikuy included the "Hereditary Prince and Count, Great Chief of Upper Egypt, In-yōtef," and the "Great Prince of Upper Egypt, In-yōtef-ʿo."

Under these vigorous and warlike leaders the influence of Thebes was gradually expanded until, in 2134 B.C., the ruling nomarch, another In-yōtef, felt himself powerful enough to challenge the authority of the pharaohs of Herakleopolis and to declare himself "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," with the Horus name Seher-towy ("Pacifier-of-the-Two-Lands") and the kingly epithet "Son of Rēʿ." Although neither he nor his first three successors ever wore the double crown or ruled over the whole country, he has been accepted by tradition as a legitimate king of Egypt and as the founder of the Eleventh Dynasty. Because of this both Seher-towy In-yōtef and his immediate successors are more conveniently dealt with in the first of the chapters on the Middle Kingdom, even though, in all accuracy, this new era cannot be said to have begun until the final defeat of the Herakleopolitans by King Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ Montu-ḥotpe in 2052 B.C..

X. THE MIDDLE KINGDOM:

I. The Eleventh Dynasty

Kings of the Middle Kingdom: I

DYNASTY XI (2134-1991 B.C.)

Seher-towy In-yōtef I	2134-2131 B.C.
Waḥ-ᶜonekh In-yōtef II	2131-2082 B.C.
Nakhte Neb-tepy-nefer In-yōtef III	2082-2079 B.C.
Seᶜankh-yeb-towy Montu-ḥotpe I	2079-2061 B.C.
Neb-hepet-Rēᶜ Montu-hotpe II	2061-2010 B.C.
Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe III	2010-1998 B.C.
The God's Father Se'n-Wosret, and others	1998-1993 B.C.
Neb-towy-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe IV	1993-1991 B.C.

Other rulers of the Middle Kingdom are listed in the tables on pages 170 and 340.

X. The Middle Kingdom:

I. THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY

1. The Early Kings

SEHER-TOWY, King In-yōtef I, the founder of the Eleventh Dynasty, survived his assumption of the pharaonic titles by only three or four years and was buried in a great courtyard tomb, which, as nomarch, he had excavated for himself in the narrow plain at the northern end of the Theban necropolis across the river from the temple of Montu at Karnak. The façade of the king's tomb, a great rock-cut portico pierced by a dozen doorways leading to the subterranean burial complex, occupied the rear, or western, end of the courtyard and was in all probability surmounted by a small pyramid of mud brick.

The Horus Waḥ-ʿonekh, King In-yōtef II, ruled over the five southernmost nomes of Upper Egypt for almost fifty years and during these years fought valiantly and with considerable success against the pharaohs of Herakleopolis. A great stela from his courtyard tomb, just to the south of that of Seher-towy, tells how he captured the border fortress of Thinis and ravaged "its northern boundary as far as the nome of Aphroditopolis." At Thebes he contributed "august libation vases" to the temple of the chief god, Montu, and of the other gods he says, "I built their temples, wrought their stairways, restored their gates, and established their divine offerings."

In addition to the principal stela, the tomb of In-yōtef II apparently contained a number of small rectangular ★tablets of the king, set up at intervals around the courtyard. One of these has survived to the present day and is now in the Museum's collection (fig. 90). Here we see "the Horus Waḥ-ʿonekh, one in honor with Osiris, the Son of Rēʿ, In-yōtef-ʿo, Creator of Goodness," presenting a bowl of beer and a jar of milk to the god Rēʿ and the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor, saying the while "that which they both love." The small, clumsily proportioned figure of the king, executed in bold relief and showing immense detail in the treatment of the costume, is highly reminiscent of the relief figures of the Eighth Dynasty from Dendereh (p. 138). The long and difficult texts with which the bulk of the stela is taken up comprise an offering formula invoking a god whose name has been destroyed, a prayer addressed by the king to Rēʿ-Atūm, god of the setting sun, asking protection in the darkness of the night, and a hymn wherein In-yōtef requests the gods of the western heaven to intercede for him with the sky goddess Ḥat-Ḥor, that he may share with her her food offerings and other benefits.

At his death the aged king was succeeded by his son, the Horus Nakhte Neb-tepy-nefer, King In-yōtef III, evidently a fairly elderly man, who died only a few years after his succession. In spite of the brevity of his reign the name of this king is



FIGURE 90. Stela of the Horus Waḥ-ʿonekh, King In-yōtef II. Limestone. Eleventh Dynasty. H. 17 in.

preserved on several contemporary monuments, among them the limestone tomb ★stela of the Henchman Megegy, whose formal name, Amun-em-ḥēt ("Amūn-is-foremost"), was compounded with that of the hitherto little-known local god of Thebes.

On his stela Megegy and his wife, Ḥen-itĕ, appear seated side by side on a couch, attended by an unnamed person, probably a son. Their figures, crudely carved in sunk relief, show the curious attenuation and angularity prevalent in this type of carving all through the First Intermediate period and contrast strongly with the rather heavy proportions of approximately contemporary figures executed in true relief. The inscription, which commences, as usual, with a request for offerings, is devoted largely to a speech by Megegy wherein he says: "I passed a lifetime (rich) in years in the time of the Horus Neb-tepy-nefer, making his heart to dance every day with everything that his spirit loved. I was one who loved good and hated evil, one who made of each day more than it required. I did not diminish the year by a day. I did not waste the good hour. I have spent (many) years on earth and have reached the roads of the necropolis. I have made all the tomb equipment which is made for honored ones. I was one who passed his day and who followed his hour in the course of every day."

The reign of Neb-tepy-nefer's son, the Horus Seʿankh-yeb-towy, King Montu-ḥotpe I, can hardly be called brilliant. This king has left us few monuments, and his tomb, laid out at enormous scale to the south of those of his predecessors, remains unfinished. In his fourteenth regnal year Thinis was lost to a Herakleopolitan offensive, and it was perhaps in this defeat that the king's own son, Prince Heru-nufer, was killed at the head of his troops. The prince's mother, Sit-Sheryet, bore the title "King's Chief Wife," but Montu-ḥotpe's principal queen at the end of his reign was Yaʿḥ, the mother of his successor.

One of the few surviving monuments of Seʿankh-yeb-towy Montu-ḥotpe is a glazed steatite ★seal in the Museum's collection, carved in the shape of a calf lying down and bearing the king's names on its underside.

2. Montu-ḥotpe II and the Supremacy of Thebes

It was during the long and glorious reign of the Horus Netery-Ḥedjet, King Montu-ḥotpe II, that Thebes at last came into her own as the home of the rulers of Egypt. Driving with relentless force against the declining power of the pharaohs of the north, the Thebans crushed the loyal nomarchs of Asyūt, won over the princes of Hermopolis, and, before a decade had passed, found themselves under the walls of Herakleopolis itself. About 2052 B.C., the ninth year of the reign of Montu-ḥotpe II, the city fell to a series of assaults, in which the victors appear to have lost only sixty men (see also pp. 163, 260, 277), and the descendants of the nomarchs of Thebes became the ruling dynasty of the whole of Egypt. Desultory fighting seems to have continued in the north for some years, but the power of the

Herakleopolitans was broken and the Middle Kingdom truly launched.

In recognition of this event Montu-ḥotpe changed his Horus name to Som-towy ("Uniter-of-the-Two-Lands"), which he also used as his Two Goddesses name, added to these the Golden Horus name Ḳa-shuty ("High-of-Plumes"), and adopted a standard spelling for his throne name, Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ. It was by this last name that he is most commonly referred to on all subsequent monuments. In a temple inscription of the Nineteenth Dynasty the names of King Menes of the First Dynasty, King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ of the Eleventh Dynasty, and King Aᶜḥ-mosĕ of the Eighteenth Dynasty are listed together, obviously as the founders of the Old, the Middle, and the New Kingdoms .

Flushed as they were with their recent triumphs, the Thebans did not forget the old nomarch In-yōtef, son of Ikuy, and the name of this remote ancestor of Montu-ḥotpe II appears with honor on a limestone tomb ★stela carved during his reign for a gatekeeper of the royal treasury named Maᶜety (fig. 91). "May the voice go forth with bread and beer," says Maᶜety, "for In-yōtef the Elder, born of Ikuy, that he may give to me offerings in the necropolis in the course of every day." Mentioned here also is one of the great men of Maᶜety's own time, the Chancellor Beby, probably the same man who later became vizier of Egypt and who is known on other monuments from western Thebes.

This stela, made for a Theban official of inferior rank, has significance aside from its historical interest, for its heralds a new era of peace and prosperity in a country long torn by civil strife and conditions adverse to the production of fine works of art. In the well-proportioned figure of the owner of the stela and in the crisp, refined, and assured carving of the relief and the inscriptions we feel once again, as in the sculptures of the Old Kingdom, that we are dealing with an artist trained in the ateliers of a rich and powerful state. Here we see, as of old, the formality, the strict adherence to long-established

FIGURE 91. Stela of the Gatekeeper Maᶜety. Limestone. Eleventh Dynasty. H. 14¼ in.



conventions, the clean draughtsmanship, the technical perfection, the fine sense of composition, and the impeccable taste which are the true earmarks of the best tradition of the art of ancient Egypt. Yet in the style and in the general feeling of the work there are new qualities which we have not encountered in the dignified and somewhat aloof products of the Memphite ateliers of the Old Kingdom.

We meet here an Upper Egyptian art, the outgrowth of a long period of fumbling experimentation by provincial craftsmen. Though there is in this art a certain harshness and ungraceful angularity, there is at the same time a vigor and freshness, a new feeling of naturalism and individuality, and a homely interest in exquisitely executed detail which have an appeal of their own, more eloquent in many ways than the perfection of the noble works of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. With the Twelfth Dynasty we shall witness in the region of Memphis a conscious attempt to return to the cultural and artistic traditions of the Old Kingdom; but Middle Kingdom art in general is the product of many different schools and many different centers of culture scattered along the Nile and lacks the uniformity in style, concept, and quality which prevailed when Memphis alone was the cultural fountainhead of all Egypt.

So, too, did the Middle Kingdom itself lack the complete centralization of power in the person of the king and in the capital city that had been the keynote of the Old Kingdom. All up and down the river the hereditary nomarchs retained much of the power and independence that they had seized for themselves during the chaotic centuries of the First Intermediate period. At each of the great provincial capitals the local prince held his own court, maintained his own army and fleet, dated events to the years of his own rule, and made his vast and lavishly decorated tomb in the cemetery of his ancestors, surrounded by the tombs of his many officials and henchmen. The prosperity of the Middle Kingdom—indeed, its very existence—was due to the success with which Neb-hepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe and the line of strong and able kings who followed him were able to dominate the powerful nomarchs, to gain their loyalty, and to turn their vast resources to the uses of the crown and of the nation.

In addition to crushing one by one the rebellious elements among his own people, Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ appears also to have consolidated his borders and protected his quarries, mines, and trade routes by vigorous campaigns against the peoples of Lower Nubia, the Libyan tribes of the western desert, and the Asiatics of the north and east. He claims mastery over all the traditional foreign enemies of Egypt, called collectively the "Nine Peoples of the Bow" or, more simply, the "Nine Bows"; and in the inscriptions of a chapel at Dendereh he is described as "clubbing the eastern lands, striking down the hill countries, trampling the deserts, enslaving the Nubians, . . . the Medjay and Wawat, the Libyans, and the [Asiatics]."

Inscriptions dating from his reign occur at the First Cataract; at Abisko, seventeen miles farther south; in the quarries of the Wādy el Hammāmāt and at Ḥat-nūb; and on the rock walls of the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl, a ravine piercing the western cliffs of the Nile Valley near Gebel Silsileh on the ancient boundary of Nubia. Here, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, the king went to meet his eldest son, "the God's Father, Son of Rēᶜ, In-yōtef," the heir apparent to the throne, who, with the Chancellor Achtoy, was returning from a tour of inspection of the lands to the south. Accompanying the pharaoh were his mother, Queen Yaᶜḥ, and most of the members of his court, including the court sculptors, who carved relief figures of the king and his family on the rock surface near the eastern end of the ravine.

The king's building activities appear to have been confined largely to Upper Egypt. At Gebelein, seventeen miles south of Thebes, he erected a chapel and a great door in an ancient temple of Ḥat-Ḥor, and at Ṭod he rebuilt the temple of

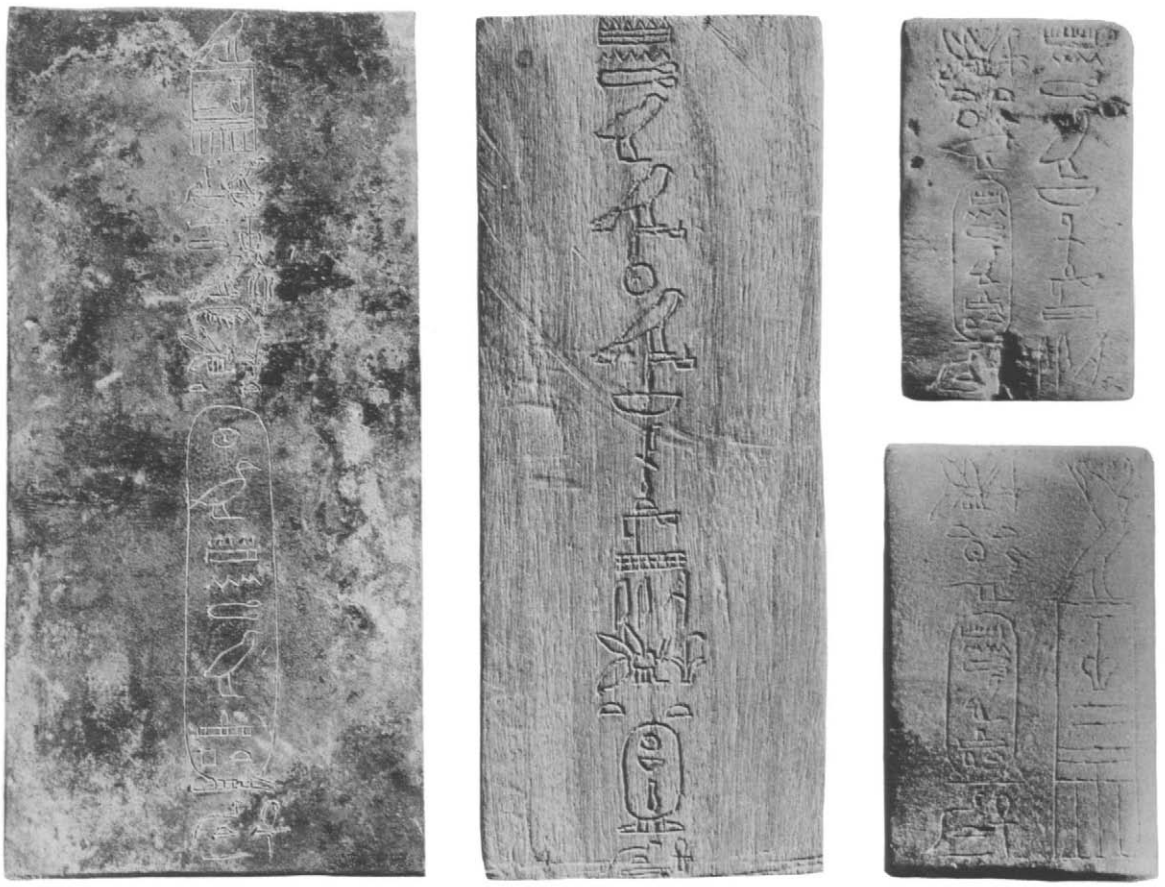
Montu. North of Thebes he has left us parts of a sculptured shrine at Deir el Ballās, a chapel at Dendereh dedicated to Ḥat-Ḥor, Horus, Ḥor-akhty, and Mīn, and additions to the old temple of Osiris at Abydos.

3. The Tomb and Mortuary Temple of the King

At Thebes Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's most notable building was his own tomb, erected in an imposing bay of the western cliffs, a mile to the west of the tombs of his predecessors, in a locality later occupied by early Christian monks and called in Arabic *Deir el Baḥri,* "the Northern Monastery." The tomb monument, a raised terrace fronted by a columned portico and surmounted by a pyramid surrounded by colonnades, clearly derived its form from the portico tombs of the earlier kings. The courtyard, in this case a huge shield-shaped area bounded on three sides by the natural cliff walls, was approached on the east by a long paved causeway enclosed between high walls and extending in an easterly direction to a Valley Temple at the edge of the cultivated land. Along the avenue stood painted sandstone statues of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ in the guise of the mummiform god Osiris.

Entering the courtyard through the great east gateway, the visitor in ancient times passed between rows of sycamore-fig trees and groves of tamarisk shrubs and mounted an inclined ramp to the temple platform. Wending his way around the base of the pyramid through an outer colonnade and an ambulatory composed of 140 octago-

FIGURE 92. Tablets from foundation deposits of the mortuary temple of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe at Thebes. Copper, wood, and alabaster. Eleventh Dynasty. H. 2¾-5¾ in.





nal piers, he next found himself in an open, colonnaded court. In the center of this a sloping passage, running down into the bedrock for a distance of 164 yards and revetted throughout most of its length with blocks of purple sandstone, led to the granite burial chamber of the king with its shrine-shaped sarcophagus of fine alabaster. Behind the court was a hypostyle, or pillared, hall, its roof supported by eighty octagonal columns. At the western end of the hall an altar, flanked by screen walls of limestone, stood before a rock-cut niche for the royal *ku*-statue. Combining in one structure both the tomb proper and the mortuary temple of the king, the building—probably by association with the adjoining mortuary temple of Queen Ḥetshepswet of the Eighteenth Dynasty—has come to be known in modern times as the "temple" of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ and will be so referred to in the following pages. In antiquity it was called Akheswet, or, more fully, "Glorious-are-the-abodes-of-Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ."

During its construction the building underwent many changes of design. These included a change in the orientation of the temple and the causeway, alterations in the size and shape of the courtyard, at least two changes in the position of the burial shaft, and a considerable amount of redesigning of the interior arrangement of the structure.

At the outset of the work, following the necessary cutting and grading, about a dozen holes were dug in a line to mark the axis of the building, and in each hole were deposited flat, triangular loaves of ★bread, four of which are in the Museum. Subsequently a square hole was cut in the foundation trenches at each corner of the proposed terrace, and in these were laid down the groups of food offerings and other objects intended to identify and provide for the future well-being of both the building and its owner.

FIGURE 93. "Osiride" statue of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe. Painted sandstone. Eleventh Dynasty. H. 80 in.

At the top of each ★foundation deposit were four flat mud bricks, one solid, the remainder each containing an inscribed tablet made of one of the other materials of which the temple was to be built—wood, stone, and metal (fig. 92). The inscriptions on the tablets give the names and titles of the king: "The Horus Som-towy, He-of-the-Two-Goddesses Som-towy, Horus of Gold Ḳa-shuty, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ, may he live forever!" or "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Son of Rēᶜ, Montu-ḥotpe, beloved of Montu, Lord of Thebes." Below, laid out in numerous pottery dishes, were food offerings: cuts of meat, including the head, leg, ribs, and other parts of an ox, conical and circular loaves of bread, barley grains, figs, grapes, and other fruits. Miniature jars, sealed with mud stoppers, at one time contained wine or beer.

An ancient ★plan of the temple grove, drawn in red ink by Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's landscape architect on one of the sandstone floor slabs of the building, shows the pits for the trees laid out in regular and carefully spaced rows in front of a small and purely symbolic representation of the platform and ramp. Although the scheme, as projected here, was altered somewhat in the actual planting, the drawing is an interesting example of the way in which the Egyptians studied the layouts of their formal groves and gardens.

An "Osiride" ★statue of Montu-ḥotpe II in painted sandstone (fig. 93) is from the courtyard of the temple, where it once stood, with many others like it, flanking the avenue of approach. In addition to the red crown of Lower Egypt, the king wears the short, close-fitting garment associated with the celebration of the *Ḥeb Sed,* or jubilee festival (p. 126), and the statue may well date from the celebration of this festival which was held in the king's thirty-ninth regnal year, exactly thirty years after the victory over the Herakleopolitans and the new union of the Two Lands. In its wooden, mummylike pose the figure suggests the god Osiris, with whom, at death, the king was identified, and the hands, crossed over the breast, are pierced with holes for the handles of wooden or metal replicas of the crook and "flail" of Osiris (see p. 286). The extraordinary heaviness of the figure, particularly the legs and feet, was undoubtedly dictated by a desire for strength and rigidity; for it must be remembered that this statue, carved in a soft, friable stone, was designed to stand without support throughout eternity amid the strong winds which whip across the Theban plain.

A fragment of one of the octagonal sandstone ★columns of the temple, clearly a piece from near the top of the shaft, preserves the beginning of a vertical line of monumental inscription with the king's Horus name, Som-towy, flanked by borders in the form of elongated 𓋹-scepters.

A block of limestone ★relief (fig. 94), brightly painted, is from the screen wall on the south of the altar at the extreme inner end of the hypostyle hall. At the center of the scene stands Montu-ḥotpe II, wearing the tall white crown of Upper Egypt, the long, curved beard of a god, a broad collar, depicted in considerable detail, and a close-fitting linen garment of ancient type, supported by a strap over one shoulder (see fig. 24). Before the face of the king are inscribed his Horus name, Som-towy, and his personal name, Montu-ḥotpe, followed by the wish "May he live forever!" Of especial interest is the very detailed representation of the palace façade in the panel enclosing the Horus name. Perched on a clump of the heraldic plants of the Southland, Nekhābet, the vulture goddess of Upper Egypt, once extended to the royal falcon on the name panel the emblematic scepter of "well-being." In the accompanying inscription the goddess is picturesquely called "the White One of Hierakonpolis with outstretched arm." The object at the right of the king is a tall sunshade in the form of a lily pad, an emblem of pharaonic rank, and the inscription below this symbol begins with the words "May he be foremost of. . . ." Behind the pharaoh stands the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor, her head surmounted by the disk of the sun and the horns of her sacred animal, the cow of heaven. In her



FIGURE 94. King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe. Block of relief from the king's mortuary temple at Thebes. Painted limestone. Eleventh Dynasty. L. 38½ in.

speech, addressed to the king, the goddess says: "I have united for thee the Two Lands according to the command of the Spirits. . . ." The words of another divinity, who faced the king and whom he is evidently in the act of worshiping, are preserved in part at the left-hand edge of the block: "[O . . . Lord] of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ, Son of Rēᶜ, Montu-ḥotpe. . . . [I give to thee] special endowments, more than (to) all thine ancestors, inasmuch as. . . ."

Many other pieces of ★relief from Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's temple, though fragmentary, give us a very fair idea of the subject matter of the original scenes. Several portraits of the king show him wearing different types of royal headdresses—the white crown of Upper Egypt, the red crown of Lower Egypt, the filletlike diadem with the *uraeus* serpent over the brow—and in the presence of various divinities, the god Ḥor-akhty ("Horus of the Horizon"), the cobra goddess Udōt of Lower Egypt, and others. On one of the fragments of the royal figure is part of an elaborate ornament of beads worn suspended from the girdle in the manner of a sporran. Numerous pieces of inscription preserve parts of the king's names and epithets. Figures of soldiers with bows and arrows recall his campaigns and military expeditions. An ox, labeled: "A thousand yewa cattle," must have formed part of a parade of sacrificial animals. In the small fragments of a marsh or river scene we see stretches of water, boats, papyrus thickets, lotus flowers, birds, fish, and crocodiles.

4. The Ḥarīm of King Neb-ḥepet Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe

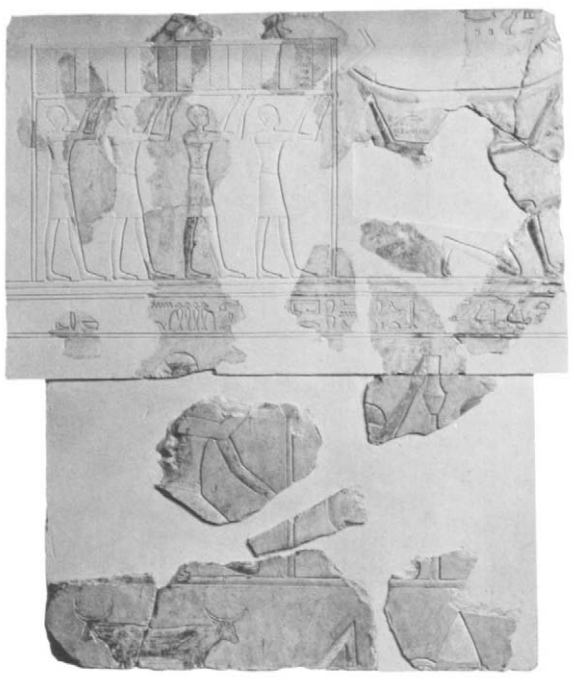
In addition to Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's own burial shaft and chamber, the temple structure and the surrounding courtyard contain more than thirty tombs for the numerous wives, "fiancées," and concubines of the king. Chief among the women were Queen Tēm, the mother of Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe, and Queen Nefru, Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's own full sister. The former was buried in a chamber entered through a short, sloping passage at the southwest corner of the hypostyle hall of the temple. Her sarcophagus, of coarse alabaster slabs fitted together on a sandstone base, is the largest of its type and date in the Theban necropolis.

The tomb of Queen Nefru, cleared and restored by the Museum's Expedition in 1925, is excavated in the base of the cliffs just outside the original north brick wall of the temple court and clearly dates from the early years of the

reign. A short corridor leads from the front of the tomb to a small subterranean chapel, which, like the corridor itself, was once adorned with fine limestone masonry, elaborately carved and painted. Hence a second and longer passage winds down through the bedrock to a false crypt and, finally, to the real burial chamber, lined with painted slabs of sandstone and containing the queen's limestone sarcophagus. The walls of the burial chamber follow the scheme of decoration seen on the interiors of contemporary coffins (p. 314) and, in addition to friezes of brightly colored personal and funerary belongings, carry many columns of the now popular Coffin Texts (p. 83) written in cursive hieroglyphs. When, more than half a millennium later, the tomb and its entrance were covered by Ḥet-shepswet's great mortuary temple, a narrow tunnel was provided for the Eighteenth Dynasty antiquarians and tourists who wished to visit the sepulcher of the ancient queen. Ink graffiti left by scribes and other sight-seers of the New Kingdom and found on many of the blocks recovered from the first corridor and chapel of the tomb show that full advantage was taken of this opportunity.

Fragments of painted limestone ★relief from the tomb of Nefru are excellent examples of Theban tomb sculpture of the Eleventh Dynasty. Those executed in sunk relief are from the first corridor of the tomb, where the light pouring through the entrance doorway was strong. Those worked in true relief are from the more dimly lighted chapel. In a group of fragments which comprises parts of three registers from the decoration of the corridor (fig. 95) we catch glimpses of the funerary rites performed in honor of Queen Nefru and of the cult objects, magical symbols, and other paraphernalia essential to the welfare of the dead. In the upper register male figures bring the funerary boats in which the spirit of the queen will journey to the "Goodly West" or fare downstream to Abydos to be joined with Osiris. On an isolated fragment the boats have reached their destination, and the mooring stakes are being driven. Below, kneeling figures present gigantic *ʿaba*-scepters ( ), and in the lowest register appear the tops of a pair of "flails" and a counterpoise for a broad collar. Farther along in the same register is a pair of the curious emblems, or totems, of Abydos—apparently long wigs bedecked with ostrich plumes, mounted on poles, and flanked by uraeus serpents. In the line of inscription above the scepters mention is made of "fresh bread of the festivals of heaven," of the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor, and of "eating the bread and drinking the beer of the two jars which come forth in the presence of Khenty-Amentiu ('First-of-the-Westerners')." Above the right arm of the kneeling figure holding aloft a boat is one of the numerous ink inscriptions of Eighteenth Dynasty tourists—in this case two scribes who "came to see the tomb." On another group of fragments (fig. 96) appears a graceful acacia tree, probably planted beside the tomb and sheltering in its cool shade great water or beer jars sup-

FIGURE 95. Relief from the tomb of Queen Nefru at Thebes. Painted limestone. Eleventh Dynasty. H. 48 in.



ported on ring stands and with their mouths covered by small hemispherical bowls.

From the chapel are preserved fragments of a double false door with an intricately paneled lunette and several pieces of offering scenes with Nefru's butler serving beer, slender young girls, hand in hand or bearing symbols of the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor, and rows of fatted sacrificial cattle. There are also parts of large figures of the king and queen, two rows of dignitaries of the court, and men and oxen dragging the queen's sarcophagus. Fragments of inscription preserve the name of Nefru's mother, Queen Yaᶜḥ, who was also, as we have seen, the mother of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ himself. Across one side of a carved and painted winged sun disk is scrawled the graffito of "the Scribe Iy," who "came to see the tomb of the King's Daughter."

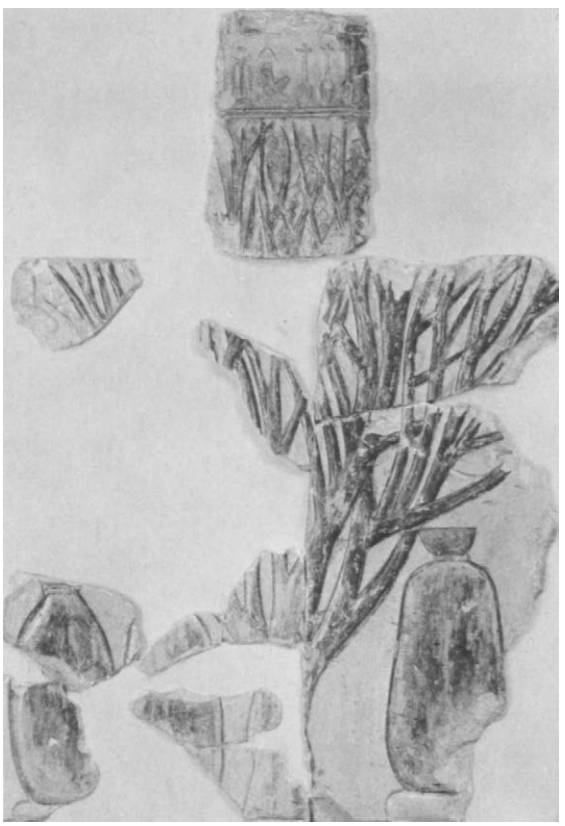


FIGURE 96. Relief from the tomb of Queen Nefru. Painted limestone. H. 32 in.



FIGURE 97. Section of the shrine of the King's Favorite Henhenet. Painted limestone. Eleventh Dynasty. Restored. H. 47 in.

In later years the burial chamber was broken into and the tomb plundered from end to end. Of the few objects which remained to modern times the Museum's collection includes a ★necklace of faience and stone beads (p. 229), some pieces of pleated and inscribed linen ★sheets (p. 260), and four small ★mummiform figures of wax or clay, each in a miniature coffin inscribed with the usual formulae and the name of the queen (p. 327).

It was also early in the reign of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ that six young ladies of his ḥarīm—wives or wives-to-be—were buried in the newly graded temple platform in a row of shallow pit tombs lined up behind the site of the as yet unbuilt pyramid. They ranged in age from five to scarcely more than twenty years; and their names, given in the order of their tombs from south to north, were Henhenet, Kemsiyet, Kawiyet, Sadeh, ᶜAshyet, and Muyet. Each was provided with a limestone sarcophagus, several of which are of great beauty, and, above ground, with an elaborately carved little shrine for her *ku*-statue; and each

naïvely claims in her inscriptions to have been the "Sole Favorite of the King."

The shrines were small closets, originally free-standing, in no case more than nine feet square or over nine or ten feet in height. Sections of the exterior surfaces of the ★shrines of Henhenet and ʿAshyet (fig. 97), restored in the Museum, give us an idea of the arrangement and style of the decoration. Each of the little buildings was surmounted by a deep cavetto-and-torus cornice and adorned at the corners with engaged lotus columns. On the front, around the small doorway, were scenes executed in bold relief, showing the royal lady seated with the king or by herself, receiving the attentions of her servants and the officials of her household. Also depicted were food offerings, offering bearers, oxen, both slaughtered and on the hoof, and milch cows with calves. The sides and backs of the shrines were decorated with double doors painted to resemble wood and surmounted by lunettes in which bound papyrus plants, hawk heads, symbols of stability (𓊽), and little reeded colonnettes were combined to form the ornate grills of typical oriental window screens, not unlike the intricate *mushrabīyeh*-work still found in women's quarters throughout the Near East. It is interesting to see how these stone shrines preserve in their decoration the structural details of their primitive prototypes of wood and reed: the binding of the columns, the lashing of the torus moldings, the reedlike ribbing of the colonnettes, and the leaves of the cavetto cornice (see pp. 50 f.).

Henhenet's ★sarcophagus (fig. 98) is not carved from a single block, but made up of six slabs of limestone skillfully fitted together on a sandstone base to form a rectangular box. Smaller pieces, grooved to receive the lid, top the long sides of the box, which was originally held together at the corners by straps of copper. The lid, made originally for Kawiyet, is provided with holes for the ropes by means of which it was lowered into place. Kawiyet's inscription on the lid is carved; those of Henhenet, on the box, are written in green paint. They state that, through the favor of the gods Osiris and Anubis and the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, a good burial is assured and offerings are called forth for "the King's Only Favorite, the Priestess of Ḥat-Ḥor,

FIGURE 98. Sarcophagus of Henhenet. Limestone. Eleventh Dynasty. L. 8 ft. 7 in.



Henhenet, the justified." In one text the head of the hieroglyph 𓃭 has been severed from the body to render the creature harmless to the deceased person—a superstitious practice common in funerary inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom and later. A pair of magical eyes on the left side of the box near the head end permitted the occupant of the sarcophagus to gaze forth into the world outside.

When found by the Museum's Expedition the small mummy of the Princess Muyet, a child of five, lay enclosed in two rectangular wooden ★coffins, nested one inside the other, within her great limestone sarcophagus. Both coffins are of mediocre quality, and from the obvious alterations of the name of the owner in their inscriptions it is clear that both were originally made for another person. The outer coffin, six and a half feet in length, is constructed of light planking, of sycamore or some other local Egyptian wood, and is coated on the exterior with white stucco, on which the inscriptions are painted in green with thin black outlines. The inner coffin is less than six feet long; except that it is of cypress or pine and is stained yellow inside and out, it is practically a duplicate of its larger mate. Both coffins have the great eyes painted on their left sides. In the details of their construction and in the content and distribution of their inscriptions the coffins conform to the usual Middle Kingdom practices (see pp. 312 ff.).

On the body of the little girl were found five handsome ★necklaces, evidently the personal jewelry which she wore during her brief life. These are described below in the section devoted to Middle Kingdom jewelry (p. 229; fig. 144).

The intact tomb of the King's Wife, Amūnet, was discovered in 1893 inside the temple precincts. On the bandages from Amūnet's mummy appear the names of the King's Daughter Ideḥ and the ladies Mēnet and Tenenyet. A woman named As, another member of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ's extensive ḥarīm, is depicted in the temple reliefs. Two tattooed Nubian dancing girls remain anonymous, but the tomb of one yielded an amusing wooden ★jewel box with sliding lids and a gold and silver ★amulet in the form of the hieroglyph 𓋹, signifying "protection" (pp. 164, 230).

5. The Court of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ Montu-ḥotpe

The God's Father In-yōtef, the king's eldest son, evidently predeceased his father and was buried in a large tomb close to the inner enclosure wall of the temple. Empty when found, the tomb has been identified only by some graffiti scratched on the near-by temple wall. Among the other identified tombs in the temple area are those of the Treasurer Bewau Montu-ḥotpe and a courtier named Si-Yaʿḥ, the son of Reny-oḳre, to whom belonged a little ★wax figure with a wooden coffin (see p. 327) similar to those of Queen Nefru.

Several hundred yards south of the temple of Montu-ḥotpe II rises a rocky prominence, called nowadays the Hill of the Sheikh ʿAbd el Ḳurneh. In the north slope of this hill, facing the temple of the king, the Vizier and Governor of the Pyramid City, Dagy, made his colossal portico tomb and adorned it with paintings and relief sculpture of great interest and of a quality hardly surpassed by those of the temple itself. Among the fragments of painted ★relief recovered in 1912 by the Museum's Expedition from the main entranceway of the tomb we recognize part of a large figure of Dagy himself, wearing about his neck a broad collar and a white cord from which was suspended the seal of his exalted office. The two young men shown kneeling and clasping their forearms in gestures of respectful salute were probably Dagy's sons (fig. 99), one of whom is named Si-Iset. At the top of a scene in which the vizier was evidently depicted inspecting his vast herds of cattle the label "Milch cows, 32,500" is preserved, with the heads of the animals below and the designation of the herdsman at the right. Here, too, we see the colored block border and the frieze of *ḥekeru*-orna-

ments (𓏏𓏏𓏏) with which the tops of tomb walls were frequently adorned and which perhaps reproduce the lacings used to support the matting walls of primitive houses. In a fragment from the upper corner of a wall surface a butcher cuts up an ox while a Chief Lector Priest named Tety-em-saf stands by and recites, with an appropriate gesture, the offering formula "in behalf of the *ku* of the Hereditary Prince Dagy." Two blocks, perhaps from the same scene, show a great variety of food offerings heaped up in colorful profusion; on these blocks there are also preserved the bottom of a tabulated list of offerings and part of a long horizontal inscription giving Dagy's manifold titles.

Less fortunate in his choice of artists was the Overseer of the Ḥarīm Djar, whose broad portico tomb, cleared by the Museum's Expedition in 1931, is decorated with paintings of astounding crudeness. The tomb of Djar, like that of Dagy, was cut in the low slopes on the south side of the valley of Deir el Baḥri, facing Montu-ḥotpe's causeway.

It was, however, in the towering cliff which bounds the temple area on the north that most of the great men of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's court made their tombs. The four tombs at the inner, or western, end of the row are uninscribed and perhaps were unoccupied by their intended owners; for in the fourth tomb were found the battered bodies of sixty of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's soldiers, slain, it is believed, during the siege of Herakleopolis.

FIGURE 99. Sons of the Vizier Dagy. Painted limestone relief from the tomb of Dagy at Thebes. Eleventh Dynasty. L. 24½ in.



The fifth tomb in line eastward from the temple site is that of the Chancellor Achtoy, whom we have already encountered in the rock carvings of the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl and whose name appears on ★sheets from the royal mummies and on other inscribed objects of the reign of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ throughout the region of Deir el Baḥri. The tomb is characteristic of those of all the great officials buried in the cliff overlooking Deir el Baḥri. A flight of brick steps leads upwards through a broad, terraced courtyard to the rock-cut façade, revetted with brick and having at its center a lofty entranceway, closed in antiquity by a ponderous door of wood. Behind the door a high, sculptured corridor leads back into the cliff to the painted chapel, which once contained a statue of Achtoy mounted on a sandstone base. Beyond the chapel another passage slopes downward through two false crypts (vainly intended to deceive plunderers), reverses its direction under the floor of the second, and descends at length to the real burial chamber. This room was lined with slabs of limestone inscribed with a list of offerings and painted with friezes of the copious equipment and provender which Achtoy hoped to take with him into the afterlife: jewels, perfume pots, bows, arrows, and battle axes by the hundreds and by the thousands, as well as joints of meat, loaves of bread, fruits, and vegetables in astounding profusion. The sarcophagus was sunk into the floor of the chamber and was once covered by the paving slabs—another futile device to safeguard the body of the chancellor from the ever-prevalent tomb robber. It is probable that the interior of the sarcophagus was inscribed with Coffin Texts, as were those in most of the neighboring tombs of Achtoy's great contemporaries.

During the Late Dynastic period the fine ★reliefs in the corridor of the tomb, including two stelae with the figure of the king just inside the

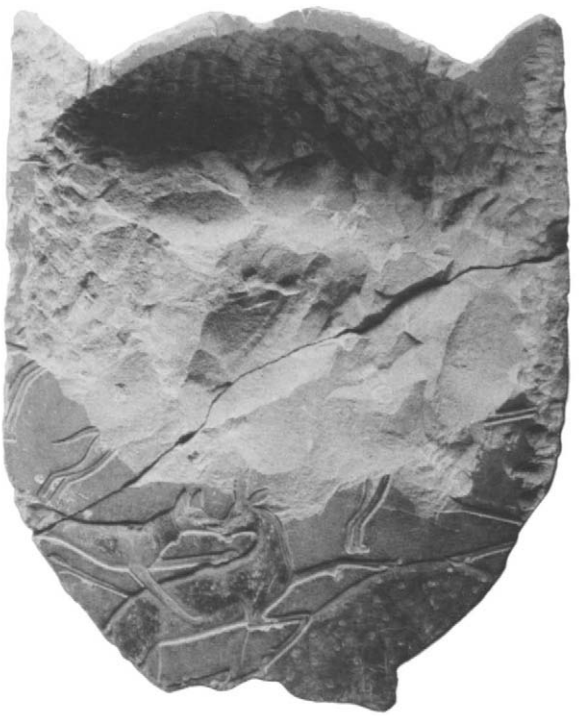


FIGURE 100. Part of a hunting scene from the tomb of the Chancellor Achtoy. Painted limestone relief of the Eleventh Dynasty, partially carved into a platter in Late Dynastic times. H. 18 in.

entrance, were broken up and used in the manufacture of stone dishes. On the few fragments which remain we catch glimpses of spirited scenes of hunting, fishing, and fowling, rows of Achtoy's clerks and servants, lines of men dancing and of women playing on castanets, parts of large-scale figures of the chancellor himself and of his dwarfish jester, and friezes of objects displayed on wooden stands—bows, jeweled broad collars, and sacred emblems. At the lower edge of a partially carved stone platter we can still make out part of one of the hunting scenes, with hounds chasing gazelles across a rose-colored desert (fig. 100); it is reminiscent of the similar scene in the tomb of Reʿ-em-kuy, but far more lively and filled with movement. Under a row of huntsmen carrying bows and clubs appears part of a scene of bird-catching, wherein we may study the details of the great clapnet, with its anchor post, spreaders, drawropes, and netting (fig. 101). Figures of huge hunting dogs and small, agile monkeys display the age-old flair of the Egyptian artist for the representation of animals. Half of a beautifully carved lunette from over Achtoy's stela is probably from the chapel of the tomb. Here, in addition to the elements already seen in the similar lunettes from the shrines of the queens, appears the large ☥-symbol of "protection," almost an exact replica in stone of a gold and silver amulet of this period in the Museum's collection (pp. 162, 230). A happy chance has preserved on one of the chips of relief the inscription of a scribe, named Neb-enteru, who paid a visit to the tomb of "his ancestor Achtoy" in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Ramesses II (1281 B.C.).

Of the original contents of the tomb little remains save the fragments of seven wooden ★statuettes of Achtoy (p. 210), a few broken ★bows and arrows (p. 280), and a number of wooden funerary ★models, among them some models of the great bull's-hide shields carried by Middle Kingdom soldiers (p. 278).

Farther to the east lie the tomb of the Steward Ḥenenu, with its painted sarcophagus and the fragments of four great stelae, and that of the Henchman Ḥor-ḥotpe, whose beautifully preserved sarcophagus and burial chamber are inscribed with over eight hundred columns of Coffin Texts.

Fragments of two of the big limestone ★stelae from the tomb of the Steward Ḥenenu show that these works were not only excellent examples of the fine relief style of the mid-Eleventh Dynasty but monuments of considerable historic interest. From their inscriptions it is clear that this Ḥenenu, who prepared his tomb at Deir el Baḥri in the reign of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ, was the same man who some years later, under Seʿankh-ku-Rēʿ Montu-ḥotpe, led an expedition of three thousand men along the Koptos road to the Red Sea and left in the Wādy el Ḥammāmāt a long and intensely interesting description of his exploits.

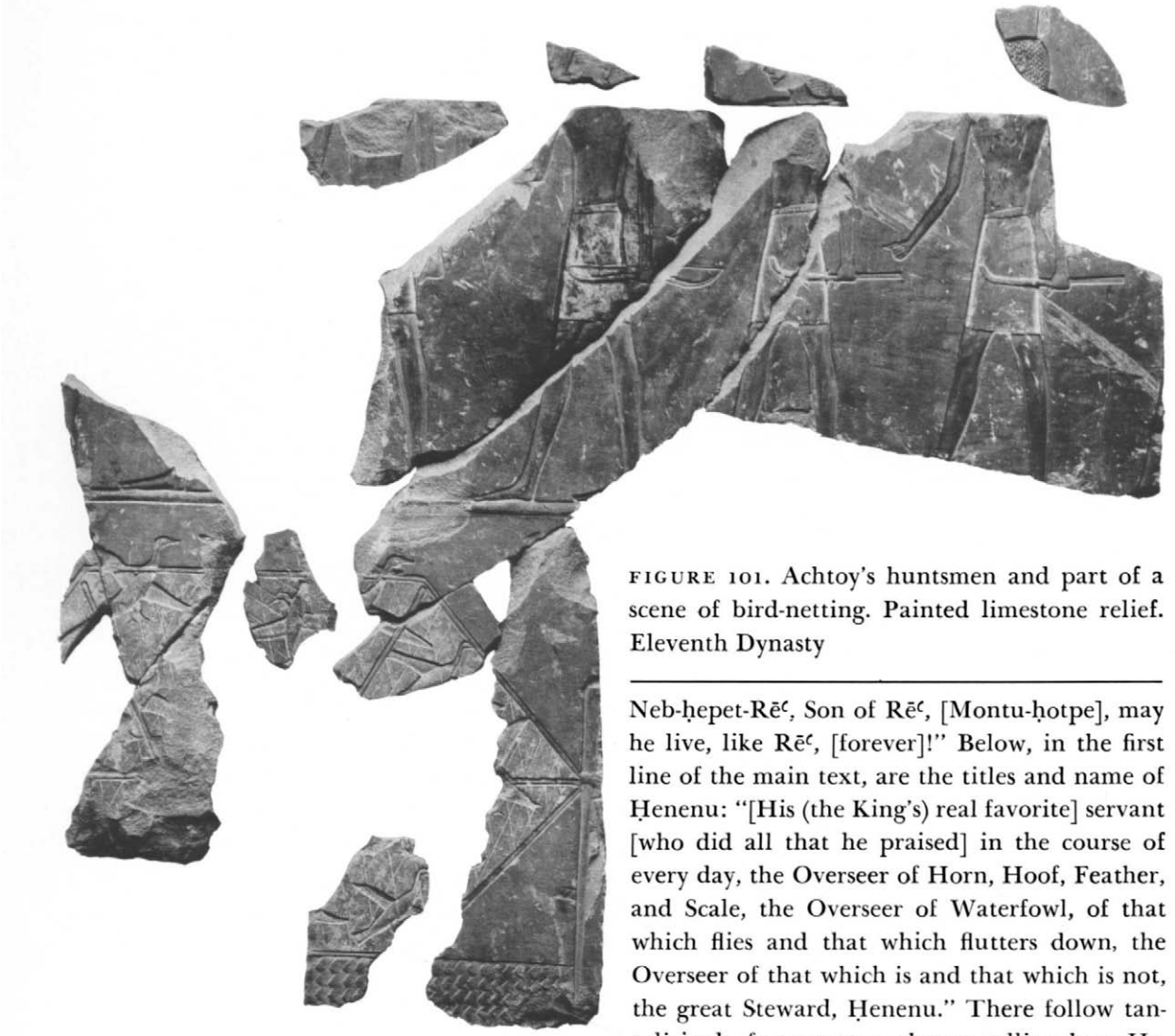


FIGURE 101. Achtoy's huntsmen and part of a scene of bird-netting. Painted limestone relief. Eleventh Dynasty

The stelae, once mounted on opposite walls of the entrance corridor of the tomb, just inside the doorway, were large rectangular panels of limestone, framed around the edges with raised bands of monumental inscription and inscribed with some sixteen lines of biographical text, beside which, in each case, appears a relief figure of the owner of the tomb seated behind a table of offerings. The better preserved of the two monuments bears across its top the full titulary of Montu-ḥotpe II: "The Horus [Som-towy], He-of-the-Two-Goddesses [Som]-towy, Horus of Gold Ḳa-shuty, . . . [King of Upper and Lower Egypt], Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ, Son of Rēᶜ, [Montu-ḥotpe], may he live, like Rēᶜ, [forever]!" Below, in the first line of the main text, are the titles and name of Ḥenenu: "[His (the King's) real favorite] servant [who did all that he praised] in the course of every day, the Overseer of Horn, Hoof, Feather, and Scale, the Overseer of Waterfowl, of that which flies and that which flutters down, the Overseer of that which is and that which is not, the great Steward, Ḥenenu." There follow tantalizingly fragmentary phrases telling how Ḥenenu taxed the nomes of Thinis and Aphroditopolis in behalf of the king, how he cleared canals that had become blocked, how he organized a large military expedition, how he provided for "the house of My Lord and for his amusement in all his beloved resorts," how he excavated for himself his tomb equipped with an altar of Aswān granite, and how he journeyed to Syria to procure timber for the king's buildings.

To the east of the tomb of Ḥenenu is that of the Vizier Ipy, much plundered and with its vast, inscribed sarcophagus and canopic chest of limestone broken and charred by fire. Here, however,

the Museum's Expedition made one of its most interesting discoveries—the letters and other documents of one of Ipy's *ku*-servants, or mortuary priests, a delightfully garrulous old fellow named Ḥiḳ-nakhte. Here also were found a cache containing the complete equipment for and the supplies left over from embalming the mummy of the vizier (for another such cache, see § 6 below) and, immediately beside this, the intact tomb of a certain Emseḥ, evidently one of Ipy's relatives or vassals.

The line of cliff tombs of the great men buried in the time of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe ends with that of the Chancellor Meru, which, in addition to a well-preserved sarcophagus and burial chamber, contained a stela, now in Turin, dated to the forty-sixth regnal year of the king. Thence eastward the tombs belong to officials of the Twelfth Dynasty who remained at Thebes after the court and the royal cemetery had been transferred to the region of Memphis.

6. King Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe III and His Chancellor, Meket-Rēᶜ

When, in 2010 B.C., Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ died after a reign of fifty-one years, he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, a man already past middle age, who, as the Horus Seᶜankh-towyef, King Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe, ascended the throne of Egypt and ruled for twelve peaceful and prosperous years. Although in his youth he was represented as a warrior in the reliefs of his father's mortuary temple, the new king appears to have devoted his own reign almost entirely to building, and in various temples from Elephantine to Abydos he has left us reliefs of an excellence rarely surpassed in the annals of Egyptian art.[1] As in the time of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ, the pharaoh's caravans passed southward to Nubia through the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl; and in the eighth year of his reign his steward Ḥenenu, while heading a quarrying expedition of three thousand men in the Wādy el Ḥammāmāt, built and dispatched ships to Pwēnet "to bring him fresh myrrh from the sheikhs of the desert."

Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ's tomb and mortuary temple, founded in a magnificent bay of the western cliffs half a mile southwest of the temple of his father, never progressed beyond the cutting and grading of the temple platform and sections of the causeway and the partial excavation of the king's burial passage. Foundation deposits, with offerings of meat, were laid down in a trench before the temple site, a few burial pits were dug in the platform near the royal shaft, and in the cliffs round about the wealthy officials of the reign made their rock-cut corridor tombs, similar in style to those of the courtiers of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ.

One of the richest and most powerful of these officials was the Chancellor and High Steward Meket-Rēᶜ, who had previously served under Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ's father and left his name in the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl. His great tomb, fronted by an extensive walled courtyard and by a broad portico of octagonal columns, occupies a choice site well up in the cliff to the northeast of the temple platform. Fragments of painted ★relief and a few ★sculptor's models were found in the corridor of the tomb. In the burial chamber were the remains of a gigantic sarcophagus, a gilded ★coffin (p. 319), and over twelve hundred model ★weapons and tools—axes, staves, bows, arrows, shields, adzes, and chisels (pp. 280, 288). A second corridor, running parallel to the central passage, leads to the chapel and burial chamber of the Chancellor In-yōtef, who was almost certainly Meket-Rēᶜ's son. Just outside the courtyard of the tomb there was a cache of ★embalmers' materials, similar to that of the Vizier Ipy of the preceding reign. A few yards in front of the portico and close beside the south wall of the court the Museum's Expedition in the season of 1919-1920 found the intact tomb of Meket-Rēᶜ's Estate Manager Waḥ and was fortunate enough to obtain almost the whole of this fine Middle Kingdom ★burial for the Museum's collection.

[1] Including a fine piece of limestone relief in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum (Williams, *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, April, 1918, p. 17).



FIGURE 102. Fragment of a slate bowl inscribed with the names of King Montu-ḥotpe IV of the Eleventh Dynasty and King Amun-em-ḥēt I of the Twelfth Dynasty. From el Lisht. H.1½ in.

The great find, however, was the now famous ★funerary models of Meket-Rēᶜ—twenty-three painted wooden replicas of the chancellor's house and garden, the shops of his estate, his fleet of ships, his herd of cattle, and his servants bringing offerings to his tomb—all executed in miniature, but with the utmost accuracy and attention to detail, and recovered in a state of almost perfect preservation. The models were found all together in the sirdāb of the tomb, a little rock-cut chamber concealed under the floor of the main corridor about halfway between the entrance and the chapel. Probably no single find has contributed so graphically to our knowledge of the estates and other possessions of a wealthy Egyptian of the Middle Kingdom or provided us with such rich material for a general study of daily life in ancient Egypt (see pp. 262 ff.).

7. The End of the Eleventh Dynasty

The God's Father Se'n-Wosret, Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ's eldest son and the heir apparent to the throne, evidently did not survive his father's death long enough to be crowned and to assume the titles of king. There followed a period of five years concerning which we have no definite information but which may have been taken up by the fleeting reigns of two kings who have left us a series of rock inscriptions in Lower Nubia and whose Horus names are strikingly like that of Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ. These were the Horus Senefer-towyef, King Ḳa-ku-Rēᶜ, the Son of Rēᶜ, In[-yō-tef?], and the Horus Goreg-towyef, King I-khent-yeb-Rēᶜ(?). To this period may also belong a third king, known to us only from an inscription in Nubia, the Horus of Gold Chonem-Rēᶜ, King Wadj-ku-Rēᶜ, the Son of Rēᶜ, Seger-seny.

At the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, with a reign of only two years, must be placed King Neb-towy-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe IV. This king is known to us from a series of long and interesting inscriptions in the quarries of the Wādy el Ḥammāmāt and from a fragment of a slate ★bowl from el Lisht in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 102), whereon his name appears together with that of King Amun-em-ḥēt I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty. Neb-towy-Rēᶜ's mother was a commoner named Yem, and it is probable that, in spite of his name, he himself was not of the royal line. A jubilee festival which he celebrated in the second year of his reign doubtless harked back to the one held in the thirty-ninth year of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ, exactly thirty years before, and indicates that at this time such festivals were observed every thirty years, regardless of the length of the reign in which they occurred.

The expedition to el Ḥammāmāt, sent thither to procure the hard stone blocks for the king's huge sarcophagus and its ponderous lid, was a large one. It is claimed that ten thousand men were dispatched to bring back the sarcophagus and that when, following a series of wonderful omens, both it and its lid had been quarried three thousand men were assigned to transport the latter to Thebes. The man in command of this considerable army was the Vizier and Gov-

ernor of the whole South Amun-em-ḥēt; and it is probable that he used this force not only to deliver the sarcophagus to Thebes but also to deliver the whole of Egypt into his own hands, overthrowing his royal master and setting himself up as King Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ Amun-em-ḥēt I, the founder of a vigorous new line of kings which we call the Twelfth Dynasty.

XI. THE MIDDLE KINGDOM:

II. The Twelfth Dynasty

Kings of the Middle Kingdom: II

DYNASTY XII (1991-1778 B.C.)

Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ Amun-em-ḥēt I	1991-1962 B.C.
Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ Se'n-Wosret I	1972-1928 B.C.*
Nub-kū-Rēᶜ Amun-em-ḥēt II	1930-1895 B.C.*
Khaᶜ-kheper-Rēᶜ Se'n-Wosret II	1898-1879 B.C.*
Khaᶜ-kū-Rēᶜ Se'n-Wosret III	1879-1841 B.C.
Ny-maᶜet-Rēᶜ Amun-em-ḥēt III	1841-1792 B.C.
Maᶜ-khrou-Rēᶜ Amun-em-ḥēt IV	1792-1782 B.C.
Sobk-ku-Rēᶜ Sobk-nefru	1782-1778 B.C.

* Including years of coregency with his predecessor.

Other rulers of the Middle Kingdom are listed in the tables on pages 150 and 340.

XI. The Middle Kingdom:

II. THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

1. King Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ Amun-em-ḥēt I

"A KING SHALL come from the south, called Amūny,[1] the son of a woman of Nubia, and born in Upper Egypt. . . . The Asiatics shall fall before his carnage, and the Libyans shall fall before his flame. . . . There shall be built the 'Wall of the Prince,' and the Asiatics shall not (again) be suffered to go down into Egypt."[2]

Upon seizing the throne Amun-em-ḥēt's first concern was to consolidate his own position and that of his government by eliminating or winning over the many hostile factions inside the country. With fleets of warships he cruised the Nile, crushing his Egyptian adversaries and their Nubian and Asiatic auxiliaries. Those of the provincial governors who were willing to accept the new king as their liege lord, to govern their provinces under royal supervision, and, upon demand, to furnish supplies and levies of troops, were retained in their offices and treated with honor. Those who were uncoöperative were replaced—in so far as that was practicable—by the pharaoh's own loyal appointees. To prevent rivalry among the nomarchs and dangerous territorial expansion by any one governor the boundaries of the nomes themselves were rigorously established.

A fresh outbreak of raids by the Libyans of the western desert and the Asiatic nomads of Sinai and southern Palestine was checked by punitive expeditions against both of these peoples, and the latter were effectively shut out of Lower Egypt by a system of fortifications, called the "Wall of the Prince," on the eastern boundary of the Delta. On the south the reconquest and colonization of Nubia inaugurated by Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe was extended as far as Korosko, more than halfway between the First and Second Cataracts, and perhaps much farther; for Amun-em-ḥēt I is believed by some scholars to have been the founder of a border fort at Semneh, near the Second Cataract, and of a fortified trading post at Kermeh, in the Sūdān.

A commoner by birth, the lot of the founder of the new dynasty was not an easy one, and it was only by his keen intelligence, great vigor, and indomitable strength of character that he overcame the manifold obstacles in his way and inaugurated an era of sound government, national prosperity, and high achievement unknown in Egypt since the great days of the Old Kingdom. In the twentieth year of his reign (1971 B.C.) the aging king, worn out by his struggles and foreseeing the dangers which at his

[1] A common short form of the name Amun-em-ḥēt.

[2] A prophesy attributed to the sage Nefer-reḥu of the time of King Snefru, but evidently composed during the reign of Amun-em-ḥēt I and preserved in a papyrus of the Twelfth Dynasty, now in Leningrad.



FIGURE 103. King Amun-em-ḥēt I flanked by divinities. Painted limestone lintel from the king's pyramid temple at el Lisht. L. 75 in.

death might beset both the dynasty and the nation, made his eldest son, Se'n-Wosret, his coregent on the throne and turned over to the younger man many of the more active duties of the pharaonic office. For a decade more the two kings ruled Egypt together and dated events according to the years of their respective reigns, "Year 5" of Se'n-Wosret corresponding, for example, with "Year 25" of his father. The practice —an extremely sound one—was followed by most of Amun-em-ḥēt's successors, and throughout the dynasty we find the succession assured by a series of coregencies between fathers and sons of the royal line.

Like his predecessors of the Eleventh Dynasty, Amun-em-ḥēt was a Theban, and his devotion to the city of Thebes and, above all, to its god, Amūn, who was honored in the king's own name, is readily apparent. He saw, however, the fallacy of trying to rule the land from the city of his birth and early in his reign moved his residence to a spot eighteen miles south of Memphis, where, on the boundary line between Upper and Lower Egypt, he built the fortified city of It-towy, "Seizer-of-the-Two-Lands." Near by, west of the modern village of el Lisht, he and his successor, S'en-Wosret I, erected their pyramids, surrounded by the maṣṭabehs and pit tombs of their adherents, in conformity with the practice established centuries earlier by the Memphite pharaohs of the Old Kingdom.

The royal cemetery of King Amun-em-ḥēt I, excavated by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition from 1906 to 1922, occupies a desert hill several hundred yards due west of the village of el Lisht. By cutting and grading the crest of the hill a level platform had been provided for the king's pyramid, a structure measuring ninety-two yards (160 cubits) on a side and composed of a core of small, rough blocks of local limestone once covered by a casing of fine white limestone from the quarries at Tureh.[3] A sloping passage, lined and plugged with massive blocks of granite, led from the entrance at the center of the north side of the pyramid to a small room in the middle of the core, whence a vertical shaft, now flooded with seepage water from the Nile, descended to the burial chamber deep underground. Before the entrance stood a gigantic stela of red granite in the form of a false door, and around this there was probably built a small chapel.

[3] The limestone of Tureh (the ancient Ta-Ro-an), on the east side of the Nile, ten miles south of Cairo, is of the finest quality, and the quarries, much used by the dynastic Egyptians, are still being worked.

FIGURE 104. Names and titles of Amun-em-ḥēt I and Se'n-Wosret I. Limestone relief from the pyramid temple of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht. L. 34-35 in.



In the construction of the pyramid, the pavement surrounding it, and some of the adjacent buildings extensive use was made of blocks of stone ruthlessly plundered from structures of the Old Kingdom in the Memphite area (pp. 63, 127). The inscriptions and reliefs on these reused blocks show that many of them were brought from as far away as Abu Sīr and probably even from Gīzeh.

Amun-em-ḥēt's mortuary temple, which occupied a rectangular cutting in the hill slope on the east side of the pyramid, appears to have been originally constructed of brick with limestone trim, but later, probably during the early years of the independent reign of Se'n-Wosret I, it was torn down and rebuilt throughout of limestone. The site of the temple has been almost completely denuded by subsequent generations in search of ready-cut blocks of building stone; nevertheless a number of pieces of fine relief from both the earlier and later structures were recovered by the Museum's Expedition.

The sculptured ★blocks from the original temple are characterized by their delicately carved low relief, rich in detail and preserving, in many cases, much of the original color. In style they are transitional between the Theban reliefs of the Eleventh Dynasty (figs. 94, 99) and the works of the "Memphite" school developed in northern Egypt under Amun-em-ḥēt's successors. The upper part of a carved and painted lintel (fig. 103) shows Amun-em-ḥēt I celebrating his jubilee festival, attended by the gods Anubis and Horus and by the goddesses Udōt of Lower Egypt and Nekhābet of Upper Egypt. Like Nekhābet, Udōt wears the vulture headdress with, however, the head of her cobra replacing the head of the bird. On another block the falcon-headed god of Beḥdet (p. 26) presents "life" to the royal falcon atop the king's Horus name. On a long piece from the top of a wall appear the falcon of Beḥdet and the vulture of Nekhāb, hovering with protective wings over a figure of the king or of a god. A pair of inscribed jambs from a doorway of the temple preserve the names and titles of the king: "The Horus Wehem-meswet ('Repeating-Births'), He-of-the-Two-Goddesses Wehem-meswet, Lord of Rites, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ, Son of Rēᶜ, Amun-em-ḥēt, given life, like Rēᶜ, forever." A fragment of the jamb of a much larger doorway also carries part of the king's titulary, carved in enormous hieroglyphs—the lower edge of the panel for his Horus name, the epithet "Son of Rēᶜ," and the top of the cartouche with his personal name. On a colored fragment, evidently part of a lintel block, carved in very low relief the king's name and titles are surmounted by a winged sun disk and accompanied by the cobra of Lower Egypt, raised high upon a clump of the Northland's heraldic plant, the papyrus. From a row of notables, seated perhaps at the king's funerary banquet, is preserved the figure and name of Prince Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe. A small and much faded fragment with a figure dedicating the tribute of conquered foreign nations suggests that the temple or causeway walls carried scenes of Amun-em-ḥēt's conquests. In a carved dado, above which appear the feet of a figure of the king and a cartouche with his throne name, we see the hieroglyphs for "life, stability, well-being" used in a handsome and effective decorative pattern.





Three ★blocks from the second temple structure (fig. 104) show the bolder relief, the more plastic treatment, and the gemlike rendering of detail introduced during the reign of Se'n-Wosret I and characteristic of the developed sculptural style of the Twelfth Dynasty. The blocks, which bear the kingly names of both Amun-em-ḥēt I and Se'n-Wosret I, come evidently from the upper parts of scenes showing the young king making offerings to his father. The expression "the king himself," "the actual king," which in every case precedes the names of Se'n-Wosret, suggests that at the time these reliefs were carved he was the sole reigning pharaoh and that the temple was rebuilt and redecorated by him in memory of his deceased father. Se'n-Wosret's name and titles occur also on reliefs and other monuments from private tombs surrounding his father's pyramid, and it is clear that the cemetery continued to be used extensively during his reign (p. 195).

A fragment of a limestone ★column from the ruins of the temple preserves the rectangular abacus block at the top and part of the polygonal shaft with thirty-two channeled sides. A broad panel down the front bore the names and titles of Amun-em-ḥēt I. This type of column, found in the rock tombs of the nomarchs at Beni Ḥasan and elsewhere, has been misleadingly called "proto-Doric." The earliest true Doric column, developed in Greece some fifteen hundred years later, cannot conceivably have been derived from this common Twelfth Dynasty form, to which, in point of fact, it bears only the most superficial resemblance.

FIGURE 105. Red granite altar from the pyramid temple of King Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht. H. 49 in.



The massive red granite ★altar of the temple (fig. 105) stood at the inner, or western, end of the building, immediately in front of a large false-door stela of limestone, now in the Cairo Museum. The rough-cut lower part of the altar block, sunk below floor level, was concealed by the surrounding pavement, and the undecorated rear surface was evidently backed against the stela. On the front of the altar, which originally faced east, is the personal name of King Amun-em-ḥēt I, and approaching the cartouche from either side, that is, from the south and the north, are the personified nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt—lines of male and female figures led by the fat gods of the Southland and the Northland. Each figure carries an offering mat surmounted by a loaf of bread (), to which have been added a pair of libation vases () and, vertically through the middle, a *was*-scepter of "well-being" (). Each addresses a speech to the king, saying, for example, "I bring to thee all food and all things which are in Lower Egypt," "I give to thee the fresh green products of the nome of Abydos," "I bring to thee all nourishment and all good things forever." The figures are identified by the nome standards above their heads. On the right-hand (south) side of the altar are the nomes called by classical writers Apollinopolis Magna, Eileithyiapolis, Thebes, Aphroditopolis, Abydos, Hierakon, and Hibiu; and, on the left (north), the nomes of Memphis, Apis, Saïs, Hermopolis, Tanis, Xoïs, and Heliopolis. The top of the altar is provided with a rectangular basin for libations and is carved with a large  -sign surmounted by circular loaves and tall libation vases. Here also are inscribed the Horus name and throne name of the king.

★Foundation deposits were found by the Museum's Expedition under the southwest corner of the pyramid and under the northeast corner and east-west axis line of the temple. The pyramid deposit consisted of an oblong hole, covered by a rough slab of limestone and filled with clean, white sand, in which lay an ox skull, vases and saucers of pottery, and six bricks containing inscribed ★plaques of copper, alabaster, and faience. It is probable that a seventh brick, found empty, once enclosed a plaque of wood which had completely rotted away. The name of the pyramid or its capstone, as preserved on the plaques, is "The-abodes-of-Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ-are-shining." On other monuments the name given is "Lofty-is-the-goodness" [-of-Amun-em-ḥēt I], which may have been the name of the pyramid temple or the pyramid district, rather than the structure itself. The temple deposits contained bricks, sandstone paint-grinders, and model vases of alabaster and pottery.

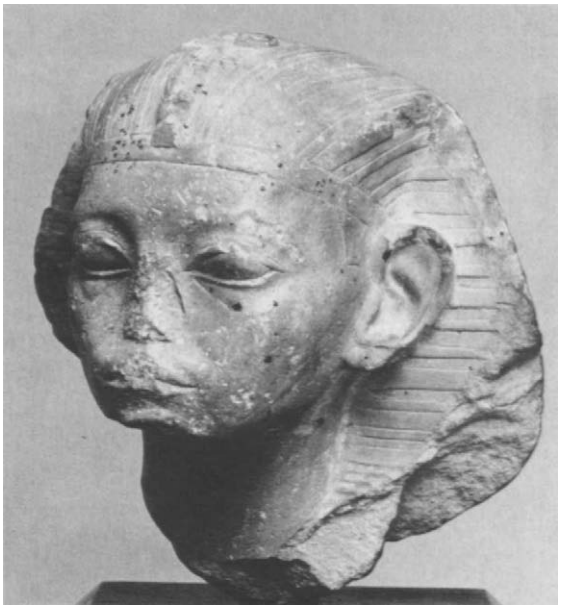


FIGURE 106. King Amun-em-ḥēt I. Head of a limestone statuette from el Lisht. H. 5½ in.

The temple ruins produced no figure sculpture in the round, but in clearing the causeway which led down to the cultivated land the ★head of a limestone statuette of a king (fig. 106), wearing the royal *nemes* and uraeus, was found in an adjacent tomb shaft. The king represented is in all probability Amun-em-ḥēt I, whose long, slightly tilted eyes and wide, sullen mouth are familiar to us from his other extant portraits and are even suggested in the formal relief of the painted lime-



FIGURE 107. King Amun-em-ḥēt I (?). Head of a quartzite statue of unknown provenience. H. 7¼ in.

stone lintel illustrated in figure 103. The face in general is that of the family of kings which Amun-em-ḥēt founded—strong and rugged, but lined with care, the eyes a little pouchy above the prominent cheekbones, the expression grim and forbidding. It was a facial type which inspired the sculptors of the Twelfth Dynasty to the creation of a series of royal portraits executed with a power and realism rarely equaled in the history of the world's art.

A powerfully modeled royal ★head in quartzite which came as a gift to the Museum in 1912 (fig. 107) also may be a portrait of the founder of the dynasty. The provenience of this head is not known, and there is no inscription to establish its identity, but its resemblance to the extant portraits of Amun-em-ḥēt I is very striking. Attention is drawn particularly to the peculiarly "oriental" quality of the eyes, the enigmatic expression of the mouth, and the great breadth of the face in proportion to its height. The fullness of the mouth and the almost total absence of lines in the face suggest that this is a somewhat earlier portrait than the limestone head from el Lisht. In view of the marked facial characteristics seen here it seems unnecessary to doubt the statement (p. 171) that the king's mother was a Nubian.

Other monuments from the pyramid site associated directly with Amun-em-ḥēt I include a crude little clay ★figure of the king wearing the tall crown of Upper Egypt and several fragments of blue faience ★tiles with inscriptions in relief, possibly from foundation deposits. With the latter was found a fragment of faience ★inlay bearing part of the cartouche of a King Montu-ḥotpe, probably Neb-towy-Rēᶜ, Amun-em-ḥēt's immediate predecessor. Like the bit of slate bowl referred to on page 167, this indicates that the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty thought of himself as a legitimate successor of the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, whose memory both he and his heirs took pride in honoring on their own monuments (see pp. 148, 181).

Two ★scarabs of blue faience found near the pyramid bear the throne name of Amun-em-ḥēt I, and a third of glazed steatite, similarly inscribed, has on its back the incised figure of a bull. Somewhat later in date is a large ★scarab which belonged to a mortuary priest of the deified king, named Sau. The king's name is also commemorated on ★plaques of the New Kingdom and the Late Dynastic period.

Amun-em-ḥēt's pyramid was surrounded by an inner enclosure wall of limestone and an outer wall of mud brick; and in the area between the two walls, on three sides of the king's tomb, were buried members of the royal family and some of the officials of the court. Twenty-two pits, covered by the pavement on the west side of the pyramid and leading below ground to a series of multiple burial chambers, were evidently the tombs of the ladies of the pharaoh's ḥarīm and other members of his immediate household. In one of these shafts was found a fragment of ★stone with the name of the King's Daughter Nefru, who, we know from other sources, was the wife and principal queen of his successor, Se'n-Wosret I. Another pit yielded a granite ★weight

inscribed for the "King's Daughter Nefru-shēry." Near by the Museum's excavations turned up a limestone ★offering table of the King's Mother, Nefret, its top intricately channeled and bearing, as usual, articles of food depicted in low relief. It is interesting to note that this lady, who was probably the "woman of Nubia" mentioned in the Leningrad Papyrus (p.171), bears no title indicative of a royal origin and was therefore, as has been generally supposed, a commoner. The same appears to have been true of the King's Wife, Nefry-To-tenen, the mother of Se'n-Wosret I; the King's Sister, Dedyet, who was also his wife; and the latter's mother, Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor. A fragment of tomb or temple relief whereon the name and titles of one of the king's wives have been altered in favor of a woman named Nefru-Sobk indicates either a usurpation of the monument by a later queen or an upheaval of some sort in the royal ḥarīm.

Of six small maṣṭabeh tombs within the pyramid enclosure four have yielded the names of their owners, all officials of the reign of Amun-em-ḥēt I. The tomb of the Chief Steward Nakhte, son of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-ʿankhe-i, occupies a place of honor beside the southeast corner of the pyramid. Next to this lies the smaller maṣṭabeh of the Vizier and Governor of the Pyramid City In-yōtef-oḳre and his wife, Senet. Senet apparently survived the death of Amun-em-ḥēt I and in the reign of Se'n-Wosret I was buried at Thebes in a large rock-cut tomb famous for its interesting painted decoration. Another vizier, Khenty-bau, who served under Amun-em-ḥēt I, is known only from a stela in Paris, but he may have been the owner of one of the two unidentified maṣṭabeh tombs northeast of the pyramid. A small tomb west of the maṣṭabeh of Nakhte belonged to the Treasurer Sony-mery and still contains his red granite sarcophagus, inscribed with his name and titles.

The largest of the six maṣṭabehs, that of the Chancellor Reḥu-er-djēr-sen, occupies the southwest corner of the enclosure. The superstructure of this tomb is cut to shape from the bedrock of the hill and faced with blocks of white limestone. The chapel is a small, rock-cut chamber in the superstructure, once lined with slabs of limestone ★relief. Two large fragments of these reliefs show in their subject matter and their style a close adherence to the Memphite traditions of the Old Kingdom. One (fig. 108) preserves part of an aquatic scene, with Reḥu-er-djēr-sen and his son, Nefry, in their papyrus skiff, gliding through waterways rich in birds, fish, and plant life. On the other we see brothers of the deceased heading the line of offering bearers at his funerary banquet and bringing up forelegs of beef, live geese, crates of ducks, and a rearing calf. The names of Reḥu-er-djēr-sen and twenty-three members of his family appear on a limestone ★stela found at Abydos and purchased by the Museum in 1912 (p. 333).

Between the tombs of In-yōtef-oḳre and Nakhte, and probably associated in some way with the latter, lay a small tomb chapel built for a man named Seḥetep-yeb-Rēʿ-sonbe, whose official title is not known. Included among the architectural elements from this little building is a limestone ★doorjamb bearing, in three columns of incised hieroglyphs, an excerpt from the Pyramid Texts

FIGURE 108. The Chancellor Reḥu-er-djēr-sen and his son boating on the Nile. Limestone relief from a maṣṭabeh tomb at el Lisht. Reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt I. L. 42 in.





FIGURE 109. Limestone relief from the maṣṭabeh tomb of the Chief Steward Sobk-nakhte at el Lisht. Reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt I. H. 49 in.

vehemently proclaiming the glorious immortality of the deceased official.

Outside the brick enclosure wall of the pyramid, on the plateau to the west and southwest, lies a cemetery of the Twelfth Dynasty, composed of a few large maṣṭabehs and several hundred pit tombs ranging in depth from ten to seventy feet. Like the tombs inside the enclosure, most of these had been extensively plundered in antiquity and yielded only a few pieces of funerary equipment and funerary jewelry. In 1906-1907, however, the Museum's Expedition, while clearing a maṣṭabeh southwest of the pyramid enclosure, opened a subsidiary pit tomb containing the fine and almost completely intact burial of the House Mistress Senebtīsy, a well-to-do lady of the reign of Amun-em-ḥēt I (see pp. 305 ff.).

Of the maṣṭabehs little remained except their foundations and a few fragments of fine limestone relief from their chapels. A ★block from the tomb of the Chief Steward Sobk-nakhte (fig. 109), carved in very low and extremely sensitive relief, rivals the best works of the Old Kingdom, on which it is clearly modeled. On the upper half of the block three columns of exquisitely executed hieroglyphs tell us of the owner of the tomb, "the Great Chief of the Royal Companions, the truly beloved of his lord, who does what he (the King) praises in the course of every day, the Chief Steward Sobk-nakhte, possessor of honor." Below we see, wholly or partially preserved, figures of some of Sobk-nakhte's family. These include a brother, also named Sobk-nakhte, two sisters, Tjetĕ and Ḥapy, and his mother, whose name is lost.

The pyramid and funerary complex of Amun-em-ḥēt I reflects perfectly the circumstances under which it was created. It is modest in size and not comparable in grandeur either with the great royal tombs of the Old Kingdom or with the magnificent funerary monuments of Amun-em-ḥēt's successors. The dynasty was new, and the king, a Theban, was a newcomer to the region of Memphis. Thus it is not surprising that, while in its general form and arrangement the royal tomb follows the ancient Memphite tradition, there is still much about it that is Theban. This is seen, for example, in the style of the original temple reliefs and in the way in which the pyramid is raised, as upon a terrace, above the level of its temple—a feature highly reminiscent of the tomb of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe at Thebes. Neither the king nor his officials had as yet lost their provincialism, and, if their funerary monuments lack somewhat in sumptuousness and sophistication, it was because they were, for the time being, engrossed in matters of more immediate concern.

Quarries, mines, and trade routes were reopened under the energetic regime of the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, and in Egypt itself building activities were resumed in the temples of the gods from el Khatāᶜneh and Bubastis, in the Delta, to Thebes, in the south. At Memphis the king provided the temple of Ptaḥ with a red granite altar and with a statue of himself in black granite, which was later usurped and transported to Tanis by the pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dy-

nasty. He adorned the temple of Ḥat-Ḥor at Dendereh and the temple of Mīn at Koptos with fine reliefs and dedicated a granite altar to Osiris at Abydos. At Karnak the temple of the new state god, Amun Rēᶜ, was honored by Amun-em-ḥēt I with a group of statues and with a granite altar and shrine, and the adjacent temple of the goddess Mūt, Amūn's wife, was perhaps founded in his reign.

An alabaster ★plaque which came as a gift to the Museum in 1930 indicates that the king also made additions to a temple of Montu, probably at Thebes or in its general vicinity. The plaque, which is evidently from a foundation deposit, bears the inscription: "The Horus Wehem-meswet, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amun-em-ḥēt, given life for ever, beloved of Montu, Lord of Thebes."

King Amun-em-ḥēt I met his end on the seventh day of the third month of Akhet in the thirtieth year of his reign, or, according to our calendar, on February 15, 1961 B.C. There now seems to be little doubt that he was assassinated, conspirators within the palace taking advantage of the absence of his son on a campaign in Libya to dispose of the old man in a treacherous assault launched in the dead of night. The attack, in which the king characteristically went down fighting, is described in the "Instruction of Amun-em-ḥēt I," a much admired literary work composed in the Twelfth Dynasty by a scribe named Achtoy and purporting to be the words spoken by the dead king in a dream or revelation to his son Se'n-Wosret. The embittered and cynical advice with which the slain pharaoh prepares his successor to meet the problems of kingship is preserved in numerous later copies, including several ★ostraka found at el Lisht and Thebes by the Museum's Expedition.

Another account of the king's death and its aftermath is given in one of the masterpieces of Middle Kingdom literature, the "Story of Si-nuhet."[4] Si-nuhet, an official of the royal household, was with Se'n-Wosret in Libya when messengers from It-towy arrived with the startling news. In his own words he describes how the young king, without a word to his army, "flew" posthaste to the capital—presumably to deal with the conspirators and to crush at its outset any attempt to usurp the throne. Si-nuhet's own conscience appears to have been none too clear, for he fled the country in a panic and passed many adventurous years in Syria before being pardoned by Se'n-Wosret and allowed to return in honor to Egypt.

2. King Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ Se'n-Wosret I

Building upon the foundation of national unity laid down by his father, Se'n-Wosret I was able through his own very great energy, ability, and breadth of vision to inaugurate and bring to fruition plans for the enrichment and expansion of Egypt more grandiose than any heretofore conceived. The lands to the south offered rich revenues in slaves, ivory, fine stones, precious woods, and—best of all—gold in quantity; and it was toward them that the king, like his forebears and successors of the Middle Kingdom, directed the greater part of his activities outside his own boundaries.

A series of expeditions led by Se'n-Wosret himself or by his able lieutenants not only tightened Egyptian control over Lower Nubia but extended this control beyond the Second Cataract into the land of Kush, which is now mentioned with increasing frequency in the inscriptions. Trade routes to the remote south were fully protected by Egyptian garrisons along the way, and a fortified trading settlement, under the supervision of a high-ranking Egyptian official, was maintained at Kermeh, above the Third Cataract. The gold mines in the desert to the east of Wādy Ḥalfa were vigorously exploited by Se'n-Wosret's engineers, and the ancient diorite quarries of Khuf-wy to the west of Tūshkeh again

[4] Preserved in three papyri of the Twelfth Dynasty, a papyrus of the New Kingdom, and many ★ostraka—among the last, several in the Metropolitan Museum.

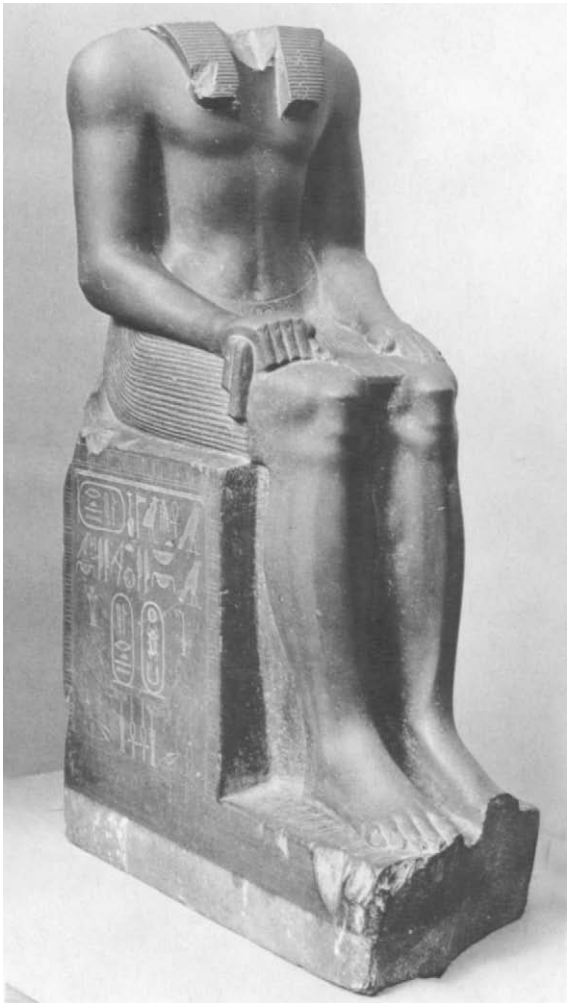


FIGURE 110. King Se'n-Wosret I. Basalt statue, probably from the temple at Krokodilopolis in the Fayyūm. H. 40½ in.

swarmed with Egyptian working parties. "Copper of the land of Nubia" was dragged on sledges from the mines of the Wādy el Hudy, seventeen miles southeast of Aswān, and block after block of red granite was extracted from the quarries at the First Cataract.

Gold was brought also from mines east of Koptos, in Upper Egypt, and hard stone from the Wādy el Ḥammāmāt near by. Alabaster was quarried as before, as witnessed by an inscription of Se'n-Wosret's thirty-first regnal year in the ancient quarries at Ḥat-nūb.

On the west the king's activities seem to have been confined to punitive and plundering expeditions against the Temeḥu and Teḥenu Libyans and the maintenance of communications with the oases, whither the royal messengers traveled over the caravan route between Abydos and the Great Oasis of el Khārgeh.

It is stated by Si-nuhet, and it appears to have been true, that Se'n-Wosret I had no designs on the countries north of Egypt apart from the defense of his own boundary and the continuation of the lively trade in lumber and other commodities which western Asia had to offer. Garrisons were maintained on the "Wall of the Prince," and armed working parties toiled in the copper mines at Serābīṭ, on the Sinai peninsula. Settlements of Egyptians were to be found throughout Palestine and Syria, and merchants and royal couriers passed freely north and south from Ittowy to Byblos and other points on the Mediterranean coast. We hear more and more in Egyptian texts of the Ḥau-nebwet, the island peoples of the Aegean area, and Egyptian objects of the Middle Kingdom occur with some frequency on the island of Crete.

In Egypt itself at least thirty-five sites, from Alexandria on the Mediterranean coast to Aswān at the First Cataract, have yielded buildings or other monuments of King Se'n-Wosret I, and there was hardly a temple of any importance in Upper or Lower Egypt that was not enlarged or embellished by this great pharaoh. The ancient temple of Rēᶜ Atūm at Heliopolis was apparently rebuilt from the ground up in Se'n-Wosret's third regnal year (1968 B.C.), the king himself witnessing the "stretching of the cord" and the "driving of the stake" at the foundation ceremony. Twenty-seven years later, on the occasion of the *sed*, or jubilee, festival, a pair of towering granite obelisks was erected before the pylon of this temple, and one of them is still standing. A gigantic granite pillar set up at Abgīg, in the Fayyūm, indicates a growing interest in this fertile region, which was soon to be developed on a grand scale by Se'n-Wosret's successors.

The capital of the Fayyūm, the modern Medīnet el Fayyūm, was called Shedet by the ancient Egyptians and Krokodilopolis by the Greeks. The city in antiquity was a center for the worship of the crocodile god Sobk and of his son, Horus the Elder (Ḥor-wēr, the Greek Haroēris), one of the many forms of the well-known falcon god. Both gods were either transplanted to the Fayyūm from Ombos, in Upper Egypt, or were divinities local to the Fayyūm who assumed the names and rituals of the ancient Ombite gods. Their temple at Krokodilopolis appears to have been extensively rebuilt and redecorated by the pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty, beginning with Amun-em-ḥēt I, who added a granite colonnade to some portion of the structure.

It was almost certainly in this temple that Se'n-Wosret I set up a fine basalt ★statue of himself (fig. 110), acquired by the Museum in 1925 and known to have come from the Fayyūm. The statue, which is about two-thirds life size, represents the king seated on his throne, wearing a short, goffered kilt and holding in his clenched right hand a folded handkerchief or fly-whisk. The head, carved separately and attached by means of a tenon,[5] is missing, but the tabs and queue of the royal *nemes* preserved on the breast and back of the figure leave no doubt as to the type of headdress worn. In its style and general conception the work clearly harks back to the best royal statues of the Old Kingdom, but in the bearing and superb modeling of the muscular body there is a quality of vigor and tenseness not found in the serene works of the Old Kingdom ateliers.

The cartouches of Se'n-Wosret I on the sides of the throne are supported by kneeling figures of the corpulent gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, carved lightly so as not to compete in importance with the royal names. At the top of each side we read: "The Horus Life-of-Births, the Good God, Se'n-Wosret (or Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ), beloved of Horus, Lord of Ombos, the Horus of Gold Life-of-Births." In the king's patron, "Horus, Lord of Ombos," we may recognize the elder Horus, who was worshiped, as we have seen, at Krokodilopolis as well as in the city of his origin. The design on the back of the throne, surmounted by the words "May all [life, stability, and well-being] be around him, like Rēᶜ," shows the heraldic plants of the north and the south twined together about the hieroglyph  , symbol of "unity." The "Nine Bows" beneath the king's feet are the emblems of the nine nations traditionally chosen to represent the foreign enemies of Egypt. We shall find these two ancient devices, symbolic of the unity of the Egyptians and the supremacy of their kings, appearing with great frequency on all kinds of royal monuments.

At Karnak, the home of the great god Amun Rēᶜ, there are many remains of structures erected or decorated by Se'n-Wosret I. The most interesting of these is a freestanding, peripteral building of limestone, designed as a resting place for the sacred barque of Amūn and adorned throughout with reliefs and monumental inscriptions of extraordinary delicacy and fineness. Recovered piecemeal from the fill of an Eighteenth Dynasty pylon, the structure has been completely restored and, though small, is one of the most perfect examples of Middle Kingdom architecture now known.

The king's throne name, Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ, appears on a fragment of fine limestone ★relief from Karnak acquired by the Museum in 1908.

An exceptionally interesting small object (fig. 111), probably also from Thebes, is a ceremonial instrument called a ★*posesh-kef,* made of hornblende granite and dedicated by one of the Se'n-Wosrets (I or III) to his revered "ancestor" Montu-ḥotpe II of the Eleventh Dynasty. The inscription neatly carved on the handle of the forked instrument tells us that "The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Se'n-Wosret made (it) as his monument to his forefather, Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ, deceased."

The ★lid of a green schist perfume vase bears an inscription in which Se'n-Wosret is named as "beloved of Ptaḥ, South-of-his-wall," a fact which

[5] Or perhaps broken off and repaired in antiquity.



FIGURE 111. Ceremonial instrument of hornblende granite dedicated by King Se'n-Wosret (I or III) to his ancestor, King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe. H. 8¼ in.

suggests that this was one of the many fine objects contributed by the king to the great temple of Ptaḥ at Memphis.

Fragments of relief from a limestone gateway found at Memphis in the ruins of the palace of King Ḥaᶜaᶜ-yeb-Rēᶜ (Apries) of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty have been dated by Petrie to the reign of Se'n-Wosret I. The work, however, appears to be more consistent with the archaizing style of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, and it is probable that the reliefs are contemporary with the building in which they were found.

The temple of Osiris at Abydos received its share of the king's bounty, and it was here, in the seventeenth year of his reign (1955 B.C.), that Se'n-Wosret I caused to be set up near the "tomb" of the god a painted limestone ★stela, presented in behalf of a favored official, the Steward Montu-wosre (fig. 195). This stela, one of the finest in the Museum's collection, is notable not only for the perfection of its style and state of preservation but also for the long and very interesting autobiographical text which it bears (p. 299 ff.).

3. The Pyramid and Funerary Enclosure of Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht

Like his father before him, Se'n-Wosret I built his tomb at el Lisht, selecting as its site a broad spur of the desert plateau one mile south of that chosen by Amun-em-ḥēt I. In size and magnificence the new funerary complex far surpassed the relatively modest tomb of the founder of the dynasty, and its plan and style show a much more wholehearted return to the ancient Memphite tradition exemplified in the near-by royal tombs of the Old Kingdom.

An inscription of the Treasurer Mery tells us of the construction of the king's "seat of eternity," presumably his mortuary temple, in the ninth year of his reign (1963 B.C.); but transport inscriptions on blocks in the foundations of the pyramid show that work was not actually begun until late in the tenth year, some seven months after the death of Amun-em-ḥēt I. A long series of similar inscriptions on blocks of limestone, both those quarried locally and those brought across the river from Tureh, further indicates that the work continued throughout the king's eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth regnal years (1961-1958 B.C.).

Se'n-Wosret's pyramid, an even two hundred cubits (343 feet) on a side and with a slope of 49° from the horizontal, was of unusual and labor-saving construction. In place of solid masonry, the core was composed of sixteen cells formed by cross walls of coarse limestone blocks filled in with rubble and sand, the whole revetted on the outside by heavy backing blocks of cut limestone and covered by a smooth casing of the white limestone of Tureh. The entrance way is a long, sloping passage, lined and plugged with huge blocks of granite, which descends from under the paving of the court at the center of the north side of the pyramid to a burial chamber below the center of the structure (both the chamber and the lower part of the passage are now inaccessible owing to flooding by seepage water from the Nile). Over the entrance at the north side of

the pyramid was a small but massive chapel containing a large false-door stela of alabaster and decorated with offering scenes in painted relief. A great wall of limestone, adorned with elaborately carved panels bearing the names of the king, girdled the pyramid all around, and outside this, surrounding a more extensive outer enclosure, was a second wall, of brick covered with white stucco.

The mortuary temple on the east side of the pyramid, facing the river, followed very closely in its plan and decoration the temple of King Pepy II of the Sixth Dynasty at South Saḳḳāreh. It consisted of an entrance vestibule; an open altar court, surrounded by twenty-four rectangular piers and containing a great altar of granite; a transverse corridor, separating the public and restricted portions of the temple; a fivefold sirdāb, or statue chamber; a second vestibule; an antechamber, its roof supported by a single column; and, finally, the vaulted sanctuary, flanked by subsidiary chambers and storerooms. From the front of the mortuary temple a covered causeway of limestone led down to a Valley Temple and landing stage, and from here a great artificial lake or canal provided a waterway to the Nile.

Beside the temple, at the southeast corner of the king's tomb, a small pyramid was erected for ritual purposes, in accordance with a custom established at least as early as the Fifth Dynasty.

In the outer enclosure, spaced evenly on three sides of the central tomb monument, were at least nine small, sharp-angled pyramids for members of the royal family. Each of these was surrounded by its own enclosure wall and provided with a little temple on the east side and an entrance chapel on the north. One, slightly larger than the rest and occupying the place of honor off the southeast corner of the king's pyramid, was probably the tomb of Se'n-Wosret's principal wife, Queen Nefru.[6] Of the others only one, due south of the center of the king's pyramid, yielded enough inscribed material to identify its owner, the King's Own Beloved Daughter Itĕ-kuyet. A pyramid just to the west of Itĕ-kuyet's, however, belonged to another princess of the royal line, and two of the remaining tombs were probably those of the King's Daughter Nefru-Sobk, and the King's Daughter Nefru-Ptaḥ, scraps of whose funerary furnishings were found in the vicinity of the mortuary temple. A row of shallow deposit pits along the south side of the inner enclosure wall contained equipment and supplies associated with the king's burial.

Round about the royal enclosure were the tombs of Se'n-Wosret's many courtiers, officials, and priests, including ten maṣṭabehs of brick or limestone. At the edge of the plateau, on the east, lay the great maṣṭabeh of the Overseer of the Audience Chamber Nakhte, that of the High Priest of Heliopolis I-em-ḥotep, and the smaller tomb of the Chief Lector Priest Seseneb-nef. Well to the north of these was the magnificent maṣṭabeh tomb of the High Priest of Ptaḥ in Memphis, Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe, containing a burial chamber with over five hundred columns of Pyramid Texts. West of this tomb lay a smaller maṣṭabeh belonging to a steward who, like the king, bore the name Se'n-Wosret. A huge maṣṭabeh north of the pyramid enclosure was built by a high-ranking official who served under four kings, including Amun-em-ḥēt I, and who may have been the old vizier In-yōtef-oḳre (p. 177). Two maṣṭabehs on the south side of the royal enclosure belonged, respectively, to the Captain of the Gate Ipy and to the Chamberlain Ṯḥōty. Farther to the west was the tomb of the Steward Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ-ᶜankhe, who, in spite of his name—a name compounded with that of Amun-em-ḥēt I—seems to have lived and died in the reign of King Se'n-Wosret III. A brick maṣṭabeh in a gully southeast of the pyramid plateau contained the intact burial of the Estate Manager Achtoy. A vaulted tomb of unusual type on the west side of the pyramid yielded no name. A fragmentary statue of one of the several viziers

[6] Not to be confused with the "ritual pyramid," in the inner enclosure, referred to above.

who held office under Se'n-Wosret I, probably either Amūny or Montu-ḥotpe, was found at the southeast corner of the pyramid enclosure.

The pyramid site was excavated in 1894-1895 by the French archaeological institute of Cairo and for ten seasons, between 1908 and 1934, by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition. ★Foundation deposits were found under the northwest, southwest, and southeast corners of the pyramid. Each of these deposits, laid in a circular pit six and a half feet in diameter, contained the head and other portions of a slaughtered ox, two ducks or geese, numerous rough pottery jars and saucers of archaic type, and five flat mud bricks molded around inscribed tablets of wood, alabaster, faience, copper, and silver alloy. In the pavement a short distance out from each corner of the pyramid there was a secondary deposit, which consisted of a small square pit containing the head of an ox laid in a mixture of mud and sand. The inscriptions on the tablets from the main deposits tell us, as usual, the name of the pyramid, which was called "Se'n-Wosret-surveys-the-Two-Lands." On other monuments from el Lisht and elsewhere the name invariably given is "United-are-the-places (-of-Se'n-Wosret I)," but this may have referred to the pyramid temple or the whole district, rather than to the pyramid itself. An alternative suggestion is that the latter name was that of the pyramid and the expression "Se'n-Wosret-surveys-the-Two-Lands" was a title appropriately applied to its lofty capstone.

The names of Se'n-Wosret I occur throughout the masonry of the structure and in that of surrounding walls and buildings on builders' ★cramps, sturdy, double-ended dovetails of wood used to key together adjacent blocks of stone. The cartouche containing either the throne name, Kheper-ku-Rēʿ, or the personal name, Se'n-Wosret, is carved with varying degrees of care and skill on the upper surface of the cramp,



FIGURE 112. Panel with the names of Se'n-Wosret I from the limestone enclosure wall of the king's pyramid at el Lisht. H. 14 ft.

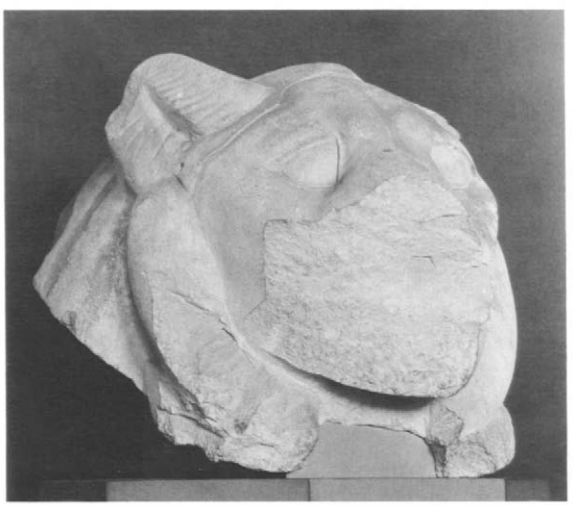
which we may suppose was regarded as a magical, as well as a practical, means of strengthening and identifying the royal buildings.

Colossal ★name panels of the king were carved in relief on both sides of the inner limestone enclosure wall of the pyramid at intervals of sixteen feet around the whole circuit of the wall. The arrangement is illustrated in a model of a section of the wall exhibited in front of some of the actual panels assembled from fragments found in the Museum's excavations. These we see to be huge versions of the familiar rectangle framing the king's Horus name, topped by the falcon of the god Horus wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and surmounting a conventionalized representation of the ancient royal palace (fig. 112). Each panel rested upon the head of a fat Nile or nome god carved in bold relief at the base of the wall, the large, potbellied figure in each instance bearing on his extended hands a mat laden with offerings for the king. Under the falcon is inscribed Se'n-Wosret I's Horus name, "Life-of-Births," accompanied either by his throne name, Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ, or by his personal name, Se'n-Wosret. Considering the fact that the wall was adorned with over a hundred and fifty of these great panels, one cannot help but be astounded at the wealth of fine detail in the treatment of the palace façade and in the plumage of the birds. The way in which the head and crown of the falcon are made to stand out in very high relief from the curved surface of the coping is extremely effective—as, indeed, is the whole monumental conception. Unfortunately, centuries of exposure to the hot Egyptian sun have darkened the once clean white stone to a dingy brown, and much of the originally brilliant effect has been lost.

As the ancient visitor climbed the covered causeway to the mortuary temple he found himself flanked on either side, at intervals of thirty-three feet, by life-size "Osiride" ★statues of Se'n-Wosret I carved in limestone and set up in niches in the inner wall surfaces of the passage. The battered remains of several of the statues were recovered by the Museum's Expedition in the ruins of the causeway and have been restored and placed on exhibition. In each instance the mummiform figure, with arms crossed over the breast, is provided with a broad base and supported up the back by a heavy pilaster. The statues from the south side of the causeway wear the white crown of Upper Egypt; those from the north side, the red crown of Lower Egypt. The faces, hands, and crowns were undoubtedly at one time painted in bright, naturalistic colors. Like many Egyptian statues of the same class, these figures were used as oft-repeated decorative elements in an extensive architectural scheme. The modeling, therefore, is broad and simple, and the faces, though unquestionably inspired by the royal physiognomy, lay no claim to being realistic portraits of the king.

Architectural sculpture in the round is also represented by the limestone ★head of a lion from one of the waterspouts, or "gargoyles," which drained the broad roofs of the temple (fig. 113). The spout, which projected from the cornice of the building, was made in the form of the fore part of a lion ( ). Rain water ran out

FIGURE 113. Head of a lion from the pyramid temple of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht. Limestone. H. 22 in.



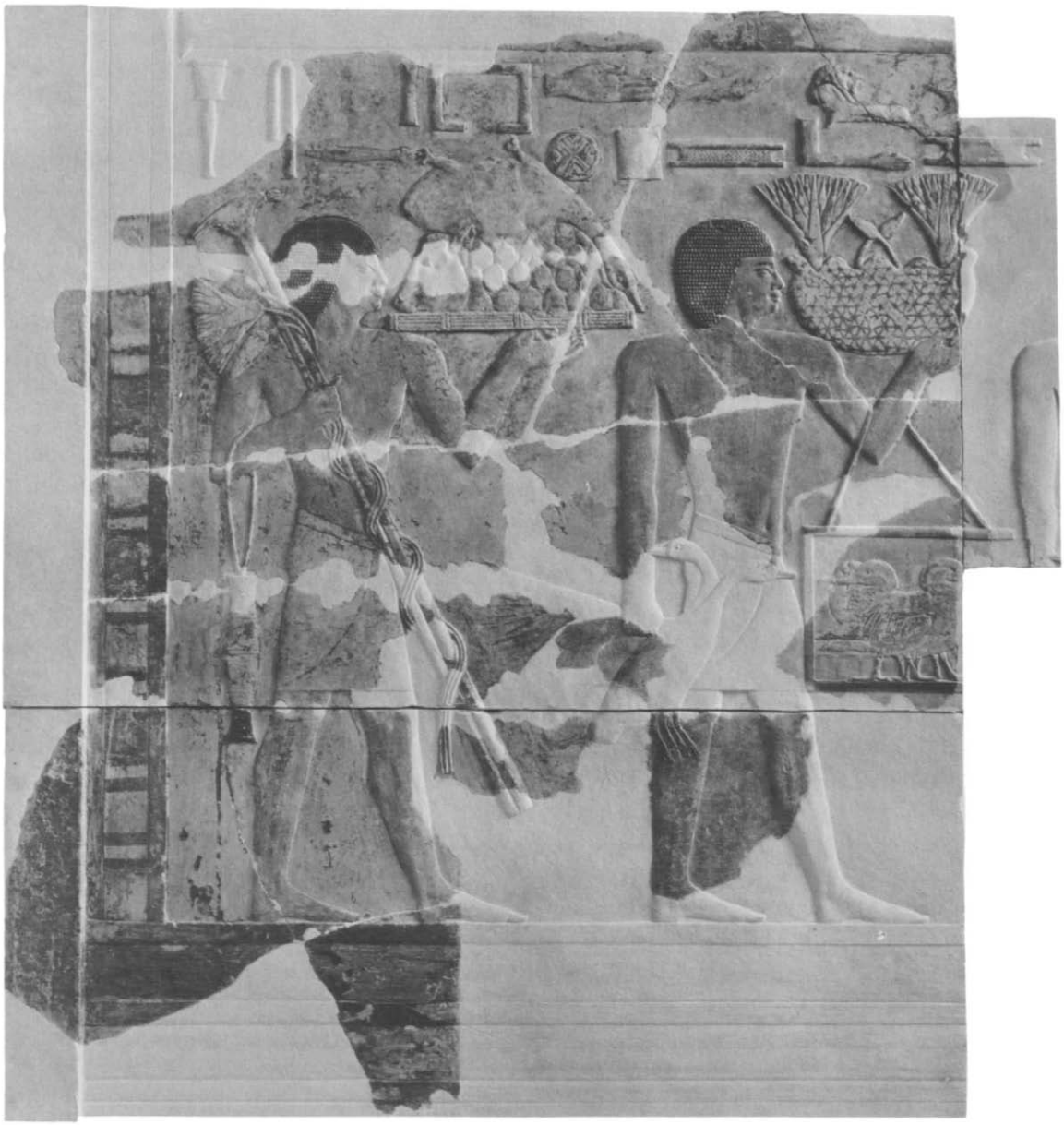


FIGURE 114. Courtiers bringing offerings to King Se'n-Wosret I. Painted limestone relief from the king's mortuary temple at el Lisht. H. 55 in.

---

through an opening under the head of the animal and was carried clear of the outside wall of the temple by an open channel between the projecting legs. Even in its battered state the head is a superb example of conventionalized animal sculpture—far finer in the details of the modeling and the surface finish than we should expect to find in an exterior architectural element.

The fragmentary ★base block of a seated statue of Se'n-Wosret I, executed in limestone for his mortuary temple, preserves on its top the king's names and titles, the broken areas once occupied by the king's feet, and, projecting from these on either side, the "Nine Bows," carved in delicate sunk relief. In the inscription

Se'n-Wosret is spoken of as "beloved of Ptaḥ Sokar," the Memphite god of the dead. The size of the block and the style of the work are similar to those of ten fine seated statues of the king, also of limestone, found by the expedition of the French archaeological institute and believed to have stood originally between or before the piers in the open altar court of the temple. It should be noted, however, that the upper surfaces of the bases of these statues, though adorned with the "Nine Bows," are not inscribed.

The significance of the numerous pieces of painted limestone ★relief recovered by the Museum's Expedition from the ruins of the mortuary temple can best be appreciated if we study them, not as individual fragments of stone, but as parts of scenes used to adorn specific portions of the ritual building. In this we are aided by the Expedition's record of the positions in which the fragments were found, the several different sculptural techniques displayed by the pieces themselves, and a knowledge of the content and distribution of the scenes as preserved in similar temples of the late Old Kingdom.

In his mortuary temple the king himself was the principal god, and all the scenes are devoted directly or indirectly to his service, worship, and glorification. We see him receiving the benedictions and protection of the other gods of Egypt, with whom he consorts on a basis of complete equality, symbolically establishing his supremacy over Egypt and over all foreign nations, taking part in ceremonies devised to restore his own vitality and that of the land he ruled, and accepting the manifold offerings and services proffered by the priests and other participants in the royal funerary cult.

A large percentage of the fragments of relief are from the walls of the sanctuary, a long, vaulted chamber situated at the extreme inner end of the temple and having the greater part of its own western wall taken up by the king's gigantic false-door stela. The curve of the vaulted roof appears on a large fragment inscribed with the *name and titles of the king,* who is referred to as "beloved of Nekhābet," the vulture goddess of the south—a fact which indicates that the piece is from the south side of the east wall of the chamber, at the top. As was usual in the decoration of such lunettes, the inscriptions are incised. The other sanctuary reliefs are easily identified by the large scale of the figures and objects depicted, by the relatively bold relief, and by the subject matter. This consists entirely of parts of two huge scenes representing the king's funerary banquet, from the north and south walls of the chamber, and of rows of offerings and butchers slaughtering oxen, from the east wall.

The banquet scenes are similar in most respects to those which we have studied in the tomb chapels of the Old Kingdom; but they are more extensive and more detailed and contain elements not present in versions of the scenes prepared for private individuals. In the bottom register of each scene, below the throne of the king, the well-fed nature gods of Upper and Lower Egypt bind together the heraldic plants of the Two Lands, and on either side of these similar fat deities of vegetation, among them the *grain god Neper,* bring mats surmounted by generalized symbols for "offerings." In front of the king, beside the tabulated list of offerings, the *mortuary priests* prepare the table and recite the offering ritual. In the lower registers lines of *offering bearers* (fig. 114), extending the whole length of both walls, bring to the king an endless variety of cuts of meat, live cattle and antelopes, live geese and ducks, widgeons and other small birds in crates, ornate bowls of lotus flowers, trays of fruits and vegetables, and long bouquets of papyrus plants twined about with the supple stems of the lotus. Their noble bearing, their stylish wigs, garments, and jewelry, and the titles inscribed over their heads show that these were no ordinary servants, but the great officials of the realm, proudly performing the functions of butlers to the deified monarch. Three of the men appearing on the extant fragments are administrators of provinces of Egypt, two are chief officials

of the pyramid district, one is a count, and two are "Companions of the Palace."

An incredible array of *food and floral offerings* filled the upper registers of both side walls and the shorter east wall of the sanctuary. Here we see, stacked in dense profusion, dressed and unplucked fowls, joints of beef, trays of figs, bunches of grapes, bundles of leeks, heads of lettuce, cucumbers, conical and circular loaves of bread, flowers of both the blue and the white lotus, and tall pottery and metal jars on stands. The lower half of the east wall was devoted to the king's *butchers* slaughtering and dressing oxen, one fragment from these groups showing the characteristic severing of the right foreleg of the animal. Wide, polychrome *block borders* bounded the ends of the walls, elaborate ḥekeru-*ornaments* formed friezes along their tops, and overhead the vault was painted blue with yellow *stars.*

To enter the sanctuary one passed through the antechamber, a small, square room, its roof supported by a granite architrave resting upon a single column. The walls of this little chamber were adorned with four very similar scenes in which the king, depicted at colossal scale, is presented to the gods and goddesses of the Egyptian pantheon and takes the salute of his courtiers, who bow before him in the lowest registers. On the side walls of the narrow vestibule leading from the antechamber toward the front of the temple the king, attended by gods and goddesses, was represented smiting the foreign enemies of Egypt and slaying an enormous antelope, a symbol of evil. The long, transverse corridor between the private and public parts of the temple was taken up with scenes associated with the celebration of the jubilee festival, including panels wherein the pharaoh is shown running the four ceremonial courses symbolizing his revivification and his power over the basic elements, earth, water, and air. The reliefs in these spaces were lower, flatter, and more delicately carved than those in the sanctuary.

A few of the fragments are difficult to assign to particular rooms or passages, but it is probable that a piece with the legs and ceremonial bull's tail of a *figure of a god* and a piece with part of *Se'n-Wosret's Horus name* are from the antechamber and that a small fragment with the heads of *two donkeys* is from a scene in the vestibule wherein the herds of the smitten foreigners are taken as booty by the victorious pharaoh. Part of a *large standing figure of the king,* wearing a short kilt and an elaborate apron of colored beads, is probably from one of the ritual scenes in the transverse corridor.

Because it was less subject to erosion than true relief and because it was especially effective in a strong light, sunk relief, or as it is often called, *relief en creux,* was normally reserved by the ancient Egyptian for the decoration of exterior wall surfaces. Thus it is probable that the fragments from the temple which are executed in this medium once formed parts of the decoration of the walls, doorways, and piers of the open altar court. Here there were apparently repetitions of some of the subjects already encountered in the antechamber and vestibule.

A great scene showed Se'n-Wosret grasping by their topknots nine groveling foreigners—*the chiefs of the "Nine Bows"*—and smiting them with a mace gripped in his *upraised right hand.* Rows of *bound captives,* labeled "Bringing the prisoners of war," include a man of Pwēnet, a Syrian, a Libyan, and two unidentified foreigners. The king's victory and the spoils of war were recorded by *Seshat, the goddess of writing,* "She who is before the House of the Divine Books" (fig. 115). In a panel, surrounded by kneeling and squatting captives, the goddess sits with her roll of papyrus and writing brush, setting down the "million" and some odd "thousands" of prisoners, cattle, and other booty taken by the king.

In adjoining scenes the *king is embraced by the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt,* identified by their elaborate headdresses, adorned, respectively, with the vulture head and the uraeus serpent. The pharaoh wears the double crown of the north and the south, the long ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and a short garment with

a strap over one shoulder and an apron in front. Another large fragment with the upper part of a *figure of Se'n Wosret,* wearing on his head the royal *nemes,* bears part of an inscription granting him "millions of years," the notched reed for "many years" clearly visible at the right of the figure. In spite of their conventionalization and battered condition, the heads preserved on these two pieces have the undeniable quality of portraits; and we have no difficulty in recognizing the bony, rugged face depicted on both as typical of the line of kings sired by Amun-em-ḥēt I (figs. 103, 106). Inseparable from the king in many of the temple reliefs is a smaller figure representing his *ku,* or *spirit,* its head surmounted by the Horus name of Se'n-Wosret I between the upraised arms of the *ku*-sign (𓂓). This figure is usually accompanied by the words "May he be foremost of the living *kus* . . . in the House of the Morning."

A fragment preserving the upper *portion of the king's face* and, in front of it, part of a ceremonial "flail" is probably from a scene in which the pharaoh was shown running one of the ritual courses associated with the celebration of his jubilee festival, as is also a *head of the king* wearing the elaborate *atef*-crown of Osiris. The *wolf standard* of the god Up-wawet of Si'ūt, who "opens the ways" for the king in battle, is from an accompanying panel wherein Se'n-Wosret was depicted clubbing to death a foreign chieftain. To the right of the standard appears the name of the goddess "Nekhābet the White," and above is the lower part of the *ḫeker*-frieze at the top of the wall.

On the end walls of the court, above and beside the great doorways, rows of the *gods and goddesses* of Upper and Lower Egypt were shown approaching the gigantic *figure of the king.* In one of these scenes the pharaoh wears an *elaborate kilt,* a triangular apron, and over them, suspended from a belt, an ornamental panel, or "sporran," of polychrome beads with representations of the royal cobra, probably of metal, along the sides; on the belt clasp is inscribed the king's name, Se'n-Wosret. The *falcon of Beḥdet,* "the

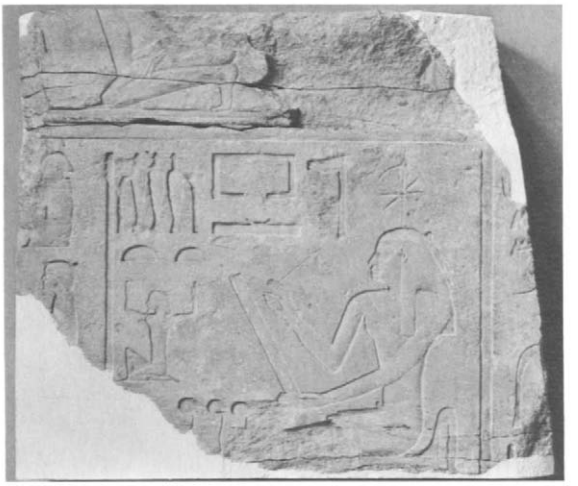


FIGURE 115. Seshat, goddess of records. Limestone relief from the mortuary temple of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht. L. 24½ in.

Lord of Heaven, the Great God, variegated of plumage," or the *vulture of the goddess Nekhābet* of el Kāb hovers over the king's head in these scenes. Among the other divinities preserved on the extant fragments we recognize the god *Mīn of Koptos,* wearing on his head a pair of tall plumes and holding across his upraised arm his emblematic "flail" (p. 286), and the goddess *Renen-ūtet,* called "She who is before [the Castle of Food]." A dog-headed figure kneeling with an arm raised high in a dramatic gesture is one of the *"Souls of Nekhen,"* the spirit of one of the primaeval kings of Upper Egypt. Part of an enormous figure of one of the corresponding *"Souls of Buto,"* falcon-headed representations of the prehistoric kings of Lower Egypt, is preserved from another portion of the court walls. Beside the divinities are small, conventionalized representations of their shrines (𓉐). Setem-*priests,* in the leopard skins of their office, make offerings to the shrines of the gods and goddesses and present the king to the divine assembly, which he is about to join. In the lower registers of some of these scenes butchers were present, dressing *slaughtered oxen.*

Part of a *lintel* from one of the two doorways

of the court is adorned with the winged sun disk of the falcon god of Beḥdet, and on blocks from the great *doorjambs* we may read the names and titles of Se'n-Wosret I carved in monumental hieroglyphs.

On the surfaces of the *rectangular piers* around the court the king was represented embraced by a god or goddess, the two figures in every case surmounted by their *names, titles, and epithets* and, at the top, by either the falcon of Beḥdet or the *vulture of Nekhāb* hovering protectively over their heads. The reliefs on these surfaces—once the most brilliantly lighted in the whole temple—are deeply cut and display an extraordinary interest in fine, intricate detail.

A dozen small fragments of sunk relief and incised inscription from the altar court are difficult to assign to particular scenes. These include several small *portions of figures of the king,* among them the upper part of a life-size head wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt. A small but interesting *head of the goddess Nekhābet* shows her characteristic vulture headdress in great detail. On another piece we see the coiled *cobra of Lower Egypt* extending the scepter of "well-being" to the falcon above the king's Horus name. Several fragments preserve parts of the falcon and panel of the *Horus name* and one bears the *Golden Horus name,* "Life-of-Births." Mention of a *"King's Daughter,"* with a name compounded with that of Amun-em-ḥēt I, and of a *"Setem-*priest" occurs on a small, brightly painted fragment of inscription.

Two fragments of very low, delicately carved relief from the walls of the entrance vestibule or the covered causeway of the temple show that these surfaces were adorned with registers of male and female figures personifying the *royal estates and the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt* bringing offerings to the deified pharaoh. On the larger fragment appear the falcon-headed figure of the nome god of Edfu, a female figure personifying an estate called "Se'n-Wosret-shines," and a dog-headed god representing one of the other nomes or districts of the south. In the register above are the figures of two more local divinities, male and female, and a live goat straining at a leash at the left-hand edge of the block. On the smaller fragment we see the head of a female "estate," surmounted by the name "Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ-thrives(?)."

Farther down the causeway were lively scenes showing the king hunting in the uplands and seeking diversion on the Nile and its backwaters. A relief *head of one of the royal boatmen* participating in the aquatic fête is adorned, as was usual, with a beribboned garland of marsh flowers, the small fragment showing clearly the exquisite carving and gay colors of these admirable scenes, the almost total destruction of which is greatly to be lamented.

Even more to be deplored is the loss of vivid scenes and colorful texts from the causeway walls, portraying and describing in detail the pharaoh's *foreign campaigns* and showing long lines of Nubian and Libyan tribesmen with their often exotic tribute. Two fragments of exceedingly low relief, much rubbed and worn by the shoulders of passing multitudes, give us tantalizing glimpses of the subjects treated. On one we see the forward leg of a *running figure* and, to the right, part of an inscription describing Se'n-Wosret's prowess as a warrior. Below appears the kinky head of a *Nubian vassal* and behind him the head and neck of a *giraffe,* drawn and carved with extraordinary accuracy and zoological knowledge. The other fragment, part of a *paean of victory,* speaks of the wisdom of the king's plans and mentions "overthrowing the land and crushing the defiant ones," "smiting Upper Wawat," and "exterminating their seed."

Two blocks of painted limestone ★relief from the entrance chapel on the north side of the pyramid show that the decoration of its single small chamber was practically a replica, at a reduced scale, of that of the sanctuary of the mortuary temple. One block, from the east wall of the chapel, bears Se'n-Wosret's Horus name attended, as it frequently is, by the vulture of Upper Egypt raised upon the heraldic plant of the



FIGURE 116. Food offerings for King Se'n-Wosret I. Painted limestone lintel from the entrance chapel of the king's pyramid at el Lisht. L. 75 in.

Southland and, immediately beside this group, a section of the tabulated list of offerings set before the face of the king at his funerary banquet. The second piece (fig. 116) is part of the interior surface of the lintel from over the doorway at the north end of the little building. Here we see a crowded register of all kinds of food offerings surmounted by a block border and a frieze of *ḥekeru* ornaments. Close inspection reveals at the top edge of the block a small hole for one of the pegs from which was suspended a curtain covering the doorway or, perhaps, a hanging covering all the walls.

An ancient rubbish heap outside the north gateway leading to the temple precinct contained the sealings, packaging, and other débris of offerings contributed by generations of pious Egyptians to the funerary foundation of King Se'n-Wosret I. Hundreds of the mud ★sealings from jars, boxes, baskets, and bundles bear the impressions of seals and scarabs dating from the reign of the founder of the temple to a time late in the Thirteenth Dynasty, almost two centuries after his death.

On royal sealings of the Twelfth Dynasty are the names of Se'n-Wosret I, of his wife, Queen Nefru, of his son, King Amun-em-ḥēt II, and of his grandson, King Se'n-Wosret II. Several sealings carry the clear imprints of a large scarab with the names of King Sekhem-Rēᶜ Sewadj-towy, Sobk-ḥotpe III, of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and of the latter's mother, Yuḥet-yebu. Others were stamped with the "Seal of the Treasury," the "Seal of the God," the seal of the "Office of the Vizier and Governor of the Pyramid City," the name of the pyramid precinct, "Chenmet-eswet," and the name of the funerary enclosure of Amun-em-ḥēt I, "Ka-nefer," accompanied in one case by the standard of the local nome of Aphroditopolis.

Among the private sealings occurs the name of Djefay-Ḥaᶜpy, perhaps the well-known governor of the trading post at Kermeh and the owner of a great tomb at Asyūt, famous for the funerary contracts inscribed on its walls. Other private seal impressions bear the names of the Chief Steward Djuḥ, the Chancellor Ḥery-shy, the Chief *Wēᶜb-* and *Setem*-priest of Se'n-Wosret, Kuy-nofre-waḥ, the Chief Embalmer Khaᶜ-kheper-(Rēᶜ)-sonbe, the *Wēᶜb-* and *Setem*-priest Ku, the Familiar of the King Sony-Bebu, the Real Familiar of the King Meskhenty, the King's Architect Sobk-seᶜankhu, the Scribe Khenty-echtay, the House Mistress Inwet, the Overseer of the Audience Chamber of the Northland Soneb, the Commander of Soldiers Khenty-sonbe, the Magnate of the Southern Ten Kem, the Steward Seḥetep-yeb-(Rēᶜ), and many others.

Mixed with the sealings thrown out by the temple priests after the presentation of the offerings were a number of broken ★seals of limestone,

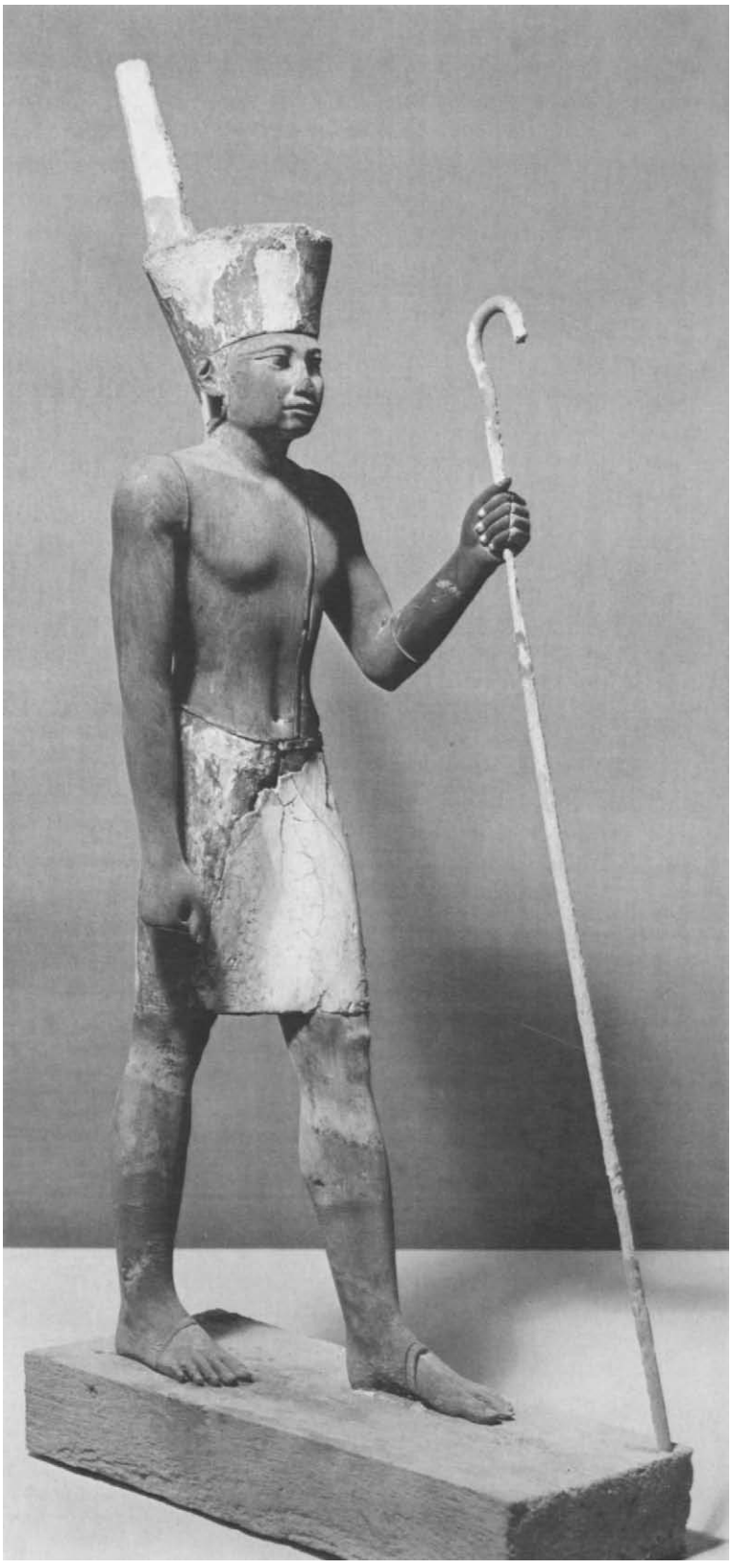


FIGURE 117. King Se'n-Wosret I wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt. Wooden statuette from el Lisht. H. 23 in.

hundreds of model offering vases and dishes, a bone knob from a box, slate ★spatulae for smoothing the sealings, small flint knives, pieces of wooden boxes and other objects of wood, little pendent ornaments of mica, a copper staple, inscribed fragments of pottery and bone, beads, and shells. A broken ★amulet of blue faience bears the cartouches of King Nub-kū-Rēᶜ Amun-emḥēt II, and a fragment of a faience dish once belonged to the "King's Daughter Nen-sed-djebet." A small tablet of limestone bore a much faded drawing of the king wearing the *atef*-crown of Osiris and an offering formula written in hieratic characters. Among these broken odds and ends was also found a small calf's ★head modeled in Nile mud with the greatest care and naturalism —a superb example of animal sculpture on a small scale.

Near by were found two miniature coffins and *shawabty*-figures of Prince Waḥ-Nefer-ḥotep and the Chamberlain Bener, both of the Thirteenth Dynasty (pp. 349, 350). These objects, which may have been associated with tombs in the vicinity of the temple, indicate that the cemetery continued in use long after the time of Se'n-Wosret I and agree perfectly with the sealings of King Sobk-ḥotpe III found by the temple gateway.

Objects used at the funeral of Se'n-Wosret I and drink offerings in bulk were buried in a row of shallow deposit pits along the south side of the pyramid, just outside the "hawk wall." Most of these pits had been plundered in antiquity, but several contained scores of huge, sealed ★pottery storage jars once filled with a liquid, perhaps milk. Over the jars lay the rope slings and carrying poles by means of which the massive vessels had been brought to the pyramid.

In one of the pits had been buried a heavy wooden ★sledge (fig. 118), undoubtedly employed to drag one of the bulkier items of the pharaoh's funerary equipment to his tomb. Sledges of this type, with broad, low runners and roller guards protecting the crossbeams, were used in dynastic Egypt from the earliest to the latest times for overland transport, which, thanks to the river

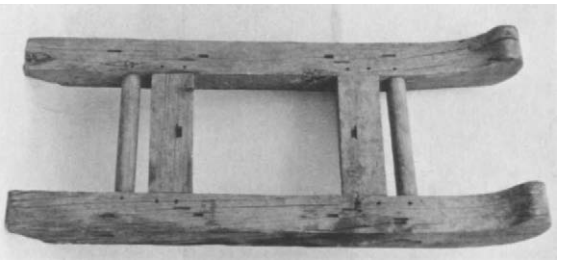


FIGURE 118. Wooden sledge used at the funeral of King Se'n-Wosret I. Found near the king's pyramid at el Lisht. L. 70½ in.

and the narrowness of the land, never involved distances of more than a few miles. Easily loaded and practicable over all types of terrain, the sledge was retained as a work vehicle long after the introduction of the wheel in the Hyksos period. It was hauled by men or oxen, or both, frequently, as we have seen, over a track slicked with water or oil (p. 96). The present example, to judge from the mortises in its top, once carried an object about two feet square, enclosed within a double shrine or a shrine surrounded on the outside by an open canopy with four light wooden supports at the corners. This object was very likely the king's canopic chest, a cubical box of stone (see p. 320), usually enclosed within a canopied shrine of the size and type indicated by the position of the mortises on the sledge.

A fine wooden ★statuette of King Se'n-Wosret I wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt (fig. 117) is one of a pair found, together with a small wooden ★shrine, in a brick chamber, or sirdāb, to the east of the pyramid. The chamber, lined with plaster and roofed with wooden planks, had been constructed in the thickness of the massive brick enclosure wall of the tomb of one of the king's favored officials, the High Priest of Heliopolis I-em-ḥotep (p. 183). The mate to our figure, wearing the tall white crown of Upper Egypt, but otherwise altogether similar, is now in the Cairo Museum.

The king, clad in a short, tight-fitting kilt with double overfold, is represented striding forward, holding in his left hand the long *ḥeḳat*-scepter

(), a symbol of kingly authority derived from the crook of the shepherd chieftains of primaeval times. The statuette is made of sixteen pieces of wood skillfully joined together. The surfaces of the kilt and the crown were built up with white stucco before the application of the paint. Traces of a pinkish flesh color, applied directly to the fine, dark cedar wood, appear on the body. Though it is less than two feet in height, there is a world of dignity and majesty in the beautifully modeled figure and a happy combination of the virile stylistic tradition of the Old Kingdom with the lively naturalism of the Middle Kingdom. The muscles of the torso and such small details as the eyes, ears, and hands are rendered with an exquisite and subtle attention to detail rarely found even in far larger statues. The face, though treated in an idealistic and rather conventional manner, gives us a reasonably good portrait of Se'n-Wosret I, which may be compared with the profile portraits preserved in the pyramid temple reliefs.

The wooden shrine reproduces in its form the little Upper Egyptian chapel of primitive times with the characteristic slightly vaulted, single-pitched roof (). Double doors, strengthened by multiple battens and locked by a sliding bolt (), swing open on vertical pivots to reveal the sacred objects within: the headless skin of an animal, stuffed, bandaged, and suspended on a pole set upright in a jar of ointment. This fetish—and how very primitive it seems amidst the luxury and sophistication of the Twelfth Dynasty—is the ancient emblem of the dog god Anubis, divine embalmer and guardian of the tombs of kings and common mortals alike.

In the battered wreckage of the nine small pyramids grouped about that of the pharaoh the Museum's excavations recovered fragments of many fine monuments executed for members of the royal family, chiefly the wives and daughters of the king. Most of these pyramids were constructed of blocks of grayish limestone, obtained locally from a quarry north of the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I. Two had cores of sun-dried mud brick. All were cased with white limestone from Tureh, and each was capped with a pyramidion of granite. The slope of the sides of the pyramid appears in every case to have been "2 on 1," or about 63°. A ★foundation deposit at each of the four corners consisted of the head and other parts of an ox, model bricks, model vases and dishes of pottery, and lozenge-shaped beads of blue faience. Deep vertical shafts led below ground to the stone-lined burial chambers, in one of which was found a fine sarcophagus and canopic chest of quartzite. A stela of granite enclosed within a tiny chapel of limestone was erected on the north side of the pyramid. A slightly larger chapel on the east side also contained a stela and was adorned with painted reliefs comparable in excellence to those of the king's mortuary temple. Each chapel appears to have been provided with a splendid altar of black or gray granite and with a life-size seated statue, also of granite, of the owner of the tomb.

Near the pyramid of the queen, in the southeast corner of the outer enclosure, was found a fragmentary ★basin of black granite, broken away from a pedestal of some sort. Enough remains of this important historical monument to restore its inscriptions in full: "Long live the Horus Life-of-Births, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ; the pyramid of the King's Wife in 'United-are-the-Places,' Nefru, possessor of honor," and "Long live the Horus Life-of-Births, the Son of Rēᶜ, Se'n-Wosret; the pyramid of the King's Chief Wife, Mistress of All the Wives, Nefru, possessor of honor." Inscribed fragments from the throne of a black granite statue of the queen further identify her as the "Real Daughter of the King" (Amun-em-ḥēt I) and the "Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt" (Amun-em-ḥēt II).

The rubbish in the same general area yielded part of a black granite ★bowl inscribed for the "King's Daughter, Nefru-Sobk," and not far away the expedition of the French archaeological institute found an ivory wand bearing the name of the "King's Daughter, Nefru-Ptaḥ."

Fragments of the stela and the chapel reliefs from the next pyramid to the west of that of Queen Nefru show that it belonged to the "Hereditary Princess and Countess, Great of Grace and Great of Favor, She-who-beholds-the-Horus-Sēth, the King's Own Beloved Daughter, Itĕ-kuyet, possessor of honor." None of the other pyramids produced enough inscribed material to identify their owners, but small bits of inscription from several preserve titles proper to women of the royal ḥarīm.

We have had occasion to remark (p. 174) that the cemetery surrounding the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I continued in use during the reign of his son. Evidence for this is provided not only by temple and tomb ★reliefs with the name of Se'n-Wosret I but also by a number of interesting small monuments from the site of the "North Pyramid" at el Lisht.

Three stone ★weights, two from the general rubbish and one from a burial pit, are inscribed with the names and titles of King Se'n-Wosret. The finest of these is a weight of "70 gold *deben,*" made of rhyolite and once used for the weighing of gold. Its actual weight is 954 grams, or 13.6 grams per *deben,* a value which corresponds exactly with that established for the *deben* weights of the Old Kingdom (p. 72). A slightly larger weight of red quartzite, marked with the numeral "23" followed by the sign ×, evidently follows a different standard, perhaps one involving a quadruple *deben.* Still more puzzling is a much smaller weight carved of alabaster and bearing the fractional designation "1/8."

A large ★oyster shell cut to a circular shape, burnished down to the mother-of-pearl, and pierced at the top with holes for suspension appears to have been a badge worn by the members of a military organization established by Se'n-Wosret I, whose cartouche is engraved at the center of the shell. A second example, from Gebelein, in Upper Egypt, is altogether similar. The organization, perhaps a regiment of archers, seems to have survived the death of Se'n-Wosret I, for the names of two of his successors, Amun-em-ḥēt II and Se'n-Wosret III, appear on badges of exactly the same type.

A scarab-shaped ★seal of blue faience and a ★scarab, ★cylinder seal, and rectangular ★seal of glazed steatite from the area around the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I all bear the names of Se'n-Wosret I. In the first three cases, the king is referred to by his throne name, Kheper-ku-Rēʿ. On the rectangular seal he is designated as "The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Se'n-Wosret, given life."

Among a number of inscribed small objects of unknown provenience is a little ★figure of a lion couchant carved of amethyst and with the name of Se'n-Wosret I engraved on its side. Such figures, mounted or strung together in pairs, were worn as amulets on the wrist or arm and probably represented the two lion divinities Shu and Tefēnet. The present example is pierced with a hole for stringing or mounting. Two ★scarabs, two ★cylinder seals, and a barrel ★bead of glazed steatite are inscribed with the king's name. One of the cylinder seals, clearly of foreign manufacture, bears almost illegible versions of Se'n-Wosret's Horus and throne names, surrounded by crude human figures, lizards, and other designs of a barbaric nature.

The inscription on a little limestone ★statuette of an official found at el Lisht (p. 214) indicates that even in his own day Se'n-Wosret I was regarded and invoked as a god. The persistence of his cult for centuries after his death is attested by two stelae of the Eighteenth Dynasty in the Museum's collection, on which are mentioned three men who served as priests of the deified pharaoh. A glazed steatite ★seal in the form of a cat, inscribed with Se'n-Wosret's throne name, also dates from the Eighteenth Dynasty. The name of the king in its Greek form, "Sesostris," is preserved in a legend of the Graeco-Roman period recounting the fabulous deeds of an imaginary pharaoh whose heroic figure seems to have been inspired not only by the kings Se'n-Wosret I and III of the Twelfth Dynasty but also by King Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

4. The Successors of Se'n-Wosret I

When Se'n-Wosret I died in the forty-fifth year of his reign, his son, Nub-kū-Rēᶜ Amun-em-ḥēt II, had shared the throne with him for at least two years. Previously, as young Prince Amūny, he had been sent by his father on a campaign into Nubia, accompanied by his namesake, the governor of the Oryx Nome. In spite of his early training, however, neither the new king nor his successor, Se'n-Wosret II, seems to have been interested in the consolidation and expansion of Egypt's foreign conquests. Each was content to continue the exploitation of the mines and quarries and to occupy himself with agricultural and economic improvements at home. It was, apparently, Se'n-Wosret II who inaugurated the great project of land reclamation and control of the Nile flood waters in the Fayyūm basin, an undertaking carried out with energy by his successors, especially by his grandson, King Amun-em-ḥēt III.

Se'n-Wosret III is remembered by posterity chiefly for his complete reconquest and subjugation of Nubia, which he reduced to the status of a province of Egypt. Of the many buildings erected in his reign the most interesting are perhaps the series of forts built at strategic points along the river rapids in the boundary region of the Second Cataract. It was Se'n-Wosret III who broke completely the power of the landed nobility, reducing the nomarchs to the status of servants of the crown and doing away with their feudal states and their great tombs at Beni Ḥasan, Deir el Bersheh, and elsewhere in the provinces. With Se'n-Wosret I he shares the right to be called the greatest of all the great pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty and one of the most renowned kings in Egypt's dynastic history. If in this survey he seems to be dealt with in unduly brief fashion, it is only because his few monuments in the Museum's collection do not require an extensive historical background to be understood and appreciated.

The long and prosperous reign of his successor, Amun-em-ḥēt III, was characterized, as has been noted, by an ambitious program of hydraulic engineering leading to vast agricultural and economic expansion in the Fayyūm. This wide basin, thanks to the reduction in size of Lake Moëris and the control of the annual flood water through the Hauwāreh Channel, now became—and remains to this day—the most fertile area in all Egypt.

With Amun-em-ḥēt IV the vigorous blood stream of the royal family was evidently beginning to run a little thin. His brief and undistinguished reign, followed by the even briefer reign of a woman,[7] Queen Sobk-nefru, marks the end of the dynasty and the decline of the Middle Kingdom. There probably was never a period when the prosperity of the country depended so directly and so completely on the ability and tireless energy of its rulers. While these were maintained at the high standard present throughout most of the Twelfth Dynasty a glorious chapter in Egyptian history was written. When they failed, the land relapsed gradually into a state as chaotic as that of the First Intermediate period and marked by even greater national calamities.

The pyramids of the successors of Se'n-Wosret I are found at Dahshūr, el Lāhūn, and Hauwāreh—all on the west side of the Nile between Memphis and the Fayyūm and none very far removed from el Lisht and the old residence city of Ittowy. Two smaller tombs at Mazghūneh, once believed to be those of Amun-em-ḥēt IV and Sobknefru, are now generally assigned to the Thirteenth Dynasty. The pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt II, on the edge of the desert east of the ancient tombs of Snefru at Dahshūr, was built and cased with limestone, the construction resembling closely that of the pyramid of Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht. All the others were of mud brick with limestone casings, but they display considerable variation in their construction and in the ar-

[7] A circumstance (attributable to the lack of a male heir to the throne) which frequently in Egyptian history attended the end of a dynasty.

rangement of their passages and chambers. All measure close to two hundred cubits (343 feet) on a side.

El Lāhūn overlooks the mouth of the channel leading from the Nile Valley into the Fayyūm, and it was here, in keeping with his interest in the region, that Se'n-Wosret II founded his pyramid and, near by, an extensive and apparently densely populated town. Se'n-Wosret III returned to Dahshūr and built his tomb north of that of Amun-em-ḥēt II. One of Amun-em-ḥēt III's two pyramids also is at Dahshūr, south of those of his predecessors, and beside it was found the tomb of a king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Au-yeb-Rēᶜ Ḥor. The second pyramid is at Hauwāreh, at the entrance of the Fayyūm, four and a half miles northwest of the tomb and city of Se'n-Wosret II. It was probably here that the last great pharaoh of the Middle Kingdom was buried, in an amazing monolithic chamber of quartzite ingeniously concealed in the heart of the pyramid.

In the enclosure surrounding each pyramid were maṣṭabehs and pit tombs of the royal families, among which those of women, especially the king's wives and daughters, predominated. The tombs of the princesses yielded many splendid monuments, none surpassing in value and interest eight groups of jewelry lavished by the pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty upon their female relations. Beside the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt II at Dahshūr were buried the princesses

FIGURE 119. King Se'n-Wosret III portrayed as a sphinx. Diorite. L. 29 in.



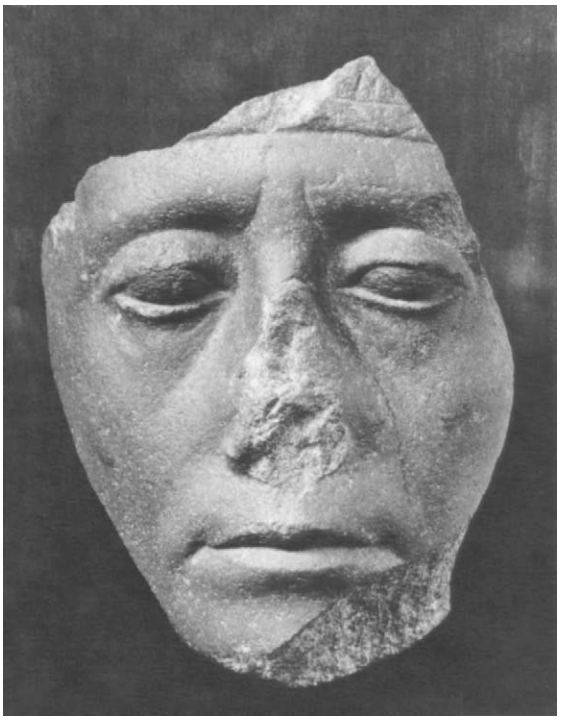


FIGURE 120. King Se'n-Wosret III. Fragment of the head of a quartzite statue. H. 6½ in.

Itĕ, Itĕ-weret, Chenmet, and Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-meryet, each with an enviable parure. Sets of jewelry belonging to the King's Daughter Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor and the King's Wife Mereryet were found in their tombs by the pyramid of Se'n-Wosret III, also at Dahshūr. The latest of the richly endowed princesses of Dahshūr was Nūb-ḥetepty-chrod, the wife or daughter of Amun-em-ḥēt III, near whose pyramid she was buried. The bulk of this jewelry, found by De Morgan in 1894-1895, is in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, but the Metropolitan Museum possesses a few ★elements from necklaces, bracelets, and rings of Chenmet, Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor, and Mereryet, including a gold-mounted amethyst scarab with the throne name of Se'n-Wosret III (pp. 235 f.).

Most fortunate of all the royal women was the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, daughter of King Se'n-Wosret II, sister of King Se'n-Wosret III, and aunt of King Amun-em-ḥēt III, who lived during the reigns of all three of these great rulers and who received from at least two of them a treasure of personal ★jewelry and other objects the beauty and technical perfection of which have rarely been equaled. Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet was buried at el Lāhūn close beside the pyramid of her father. Her tomb was discovered in 1914 by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt under the direction of Flinders Petrie, and the recess containing her jewel caskets was cleared by Guy Brunton, Petrie's assistant. The whole of the treasure, with the exception of four pieces in Cairo, is now in the Metropolitan Museum (see below, p. 233).

The throne name of Se'n-Wosret II forms the central motif of an inlaid gold pectoral of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, and the names of Amun-em-ḥēt III occur on a second pectoral, a pair of bracelets, a lapis-lazuli scarab, an alabaster vase, and the larger of two decorated jewel caskets.

The names of the same two pharaohs appear, respectively, on an inlaid gold shell ★pendant, purchased in Upper Egypt and on a similar ★pendant of glazed steatite formerly in the Murch collection (p. 233).

Outstanding among the artistic productions of the latter half of the Twelfth Dynasty are the forceful and intensely realistic portrait statues of the kings. The Museum is fortunate in possessing three splendid sculptured portraits of Se'n-Wosret III and two heads which probably represent his successor, Amun-em-ḥēt III.

The magnificent ★sphinx of Se'n-Wosret III (fig. 119) is carved with great power and incomparable skill from a block of beautifully grained diorite gneiss from the ancient quarries of Khufwy in Nubia. The massive headdress conceals what might otherwise be an awkward transition between the human head and the lion's body. The sculptor's attention, as usual, has been chiefly focused on the grim, deeply lined face of the pharaoh, a masterpiece of realistic portraiture; but the subtle modeling and superb finish of the heavily muscled animal body is scarcely less admirable. On his head the pharaoh wears the royal *nemes,* with triple stripe and long

queue, and from his chin depends the great artificial beard appropriate to his exalted rank. The head of the uraeus serpent surmounting the brow was probably lost in the same accident—or act of moronic vandalism—which battered away the king's nose. The mane of the lion is conventionally rendered, and the tail, as almost always, is curled over the right flank. On the breast of the beast are inscribed Se'n-Wosret's Horus name, "Divine-of-forms," and his throne name, "Shining-are-the-*kus*-of-Rēᶜ," both written together in the *Serekh*-panel, surmounted by the crowned falcon.

The face of a royal ★head in quartzite (fig. 120), formerly in the Carnarvon collection, is of course without inscription, but it portrays in unmistakable fashion the well-known features of Se'n-Wosret III. Here we see again the thoughtful, melancholy countenance of the great pharaoh—the furrowed brow, the heavy-lidded eyes, and the grim, disdainful mouth. The modeling is subtler and more restrained than in most other portraits of the king, but the happy selection of the dull-surfaced, gritty brown stone as the medium has produced an admirable effect of strength and ruggedness.

A third portrait of Se'n-Wosret III is preserved in the ★head and shoulders of a black granite statuette, less than one-third life size but of excellent workmanship. The face, unfortunately badly battered, is modeled with a minute attention to plastic detail more often seen in far larger works of sculpture. Here the king wears, as he frequently does, the *nemes* with coiled uraeus and a broad collar, visible on the breast between the lappets of the headdress.

The face of King Amun-em-ḥēt III, the last great pharaoh of the Middle Kingdom, appears in two portrait heads which differ widely from one another not only in the age of the man represented but also in the degree of realism attempted by the sculptors. Both, however, are paralleled by well-documented portraits of the king in the Cairo Museum and elsewhere, and in neither case is there serious reason to doubt the attribution. The small royal ★head from the Havemeyer collection (fig. 121), exquisitely carved in mottled gray marble, is clearly a somewhat idealized portrait of the pharaoh as a young man. The mouth and eyes are treated in the old, conventional Memphite fashion, but the arched nose, the prominent bony structure of the face, and the faint suggestion of loose flesh around the mouth and chin mark the head as a portrait not only of a specific individual but of an individual closely related by blood to the other kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. The black granite ★head wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt was evidently executed many years later, and portrays with utter and unrelenting realism the sagging, wrinkled face of the aged pharaoh. Deep, closely spaced lines descend along the sides of the nose from below the tired eyes to the cor-

FIGURE 121. King Amun-em-ḥēt III. Fragmentary head of a statuette in gray marble. H. 3½ in.



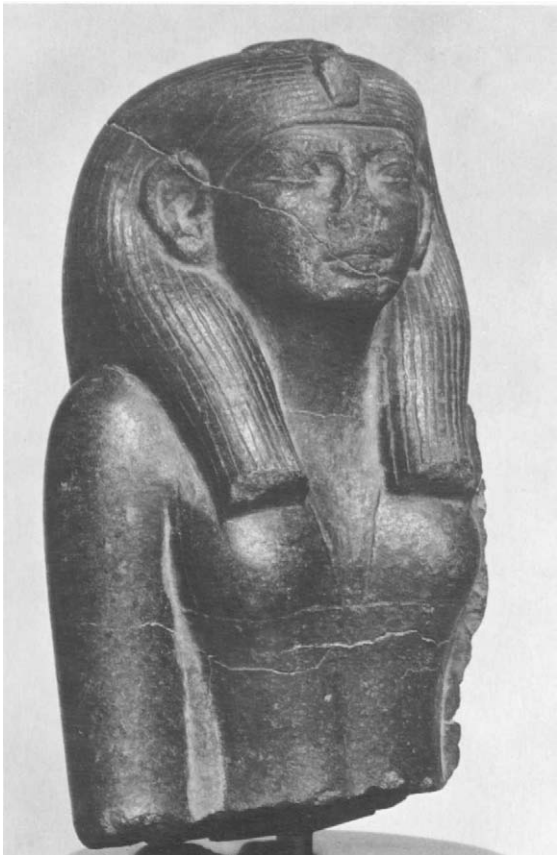


FIGURE 122. A queen of the Twelfth Dynasty. Statuette in gabbro from Upper Egypt. H. 8 in.

ners of the thick mouth, with its characteristically long, heavy upper lip.

Although sculptured figures of the royal ladies of the Middle Kingdom appear to have been produced in some quantity, few have survived to the present day. Especial interest, therefore, attaches to the upper part of a graceful seated ★statuette carved in black gabbro and portraying a queen or princess of the Twelfth Dynasty (fig. 122). This figure, purchased in Upper Egypt, was formerly dated to the early New Kingdom on the basis of its resemblance to a statue of Queen Mutnefret of the Eighteenth Dynasty. There is, however, a much closer agreement in style, facial type, and significant minor details with several well-known female portraits of the Middle Kingdom, among which may be cited a painted limestone statue from the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe, a limestone head and torso from Abydos, and two fine statues of Queen Nefret, wife of Se'n-Wosret II. The broad face with its prominent cheekbones and wide, thick-lipped mouth, the rather melancholy expression, and the prodigious ears are more than a little reminiscent of the male heads which we have just been studying. The treatment of the massive wig, especially the mounting and coiling of the royal uraeus, is far more characteristic of the Twelfth Dynasty than of the New Kingdom, when the headdress overlaid with vulture wings became the popular form for women of royal rank. Less alluring, according to our standards, than the Lady Senenuy, immortalized in a beautiful granite statue of the Twelfth Dynasty in Boston, the woman of the portrait before us is an altogether typical example of the female descendants of King Amūny the Theban.

Two fragments of painted limestone ★relief from the pyramid temple of Se'n-Wosret II at el Lāhūn preserve part of a procession of the gods of Lower Egypt, probably from the north wall of the antechamber of the temple. From left to right we may recognize the bull-headed god Apis of Memphis, the east Delta god Sopdu, represented like an Asiastic with yellow skin, and a ram-headed divinity, perhaps the god of Mendes.

From near the north pyramid at el Lisht comes part of a limestone door ★lintel inscribed with the names and titles of King Amun-em-ḥēt IV. The block is adorned at its center with the vulture of the goddess "Nekhābet, the White One of Nekhen, Mistress of Heaven," the wings of the bird spreading out heraldically to either side. Below, in well-carved, monumental hieroglyphs, we read: "Long live the Good God, Maᶜ-khrou-Rēᶜ (Amun-em-ḥēt IV), given life forever."

A fragment of an alabaster ★vase from el Lisht bears the throne name of King Amun-em-ḥēt II, and the Horus and throne names of the same pharaoh occur on the ornate ebony ★palette slip, or cover of a scribe's pen case, once the property of a devoted official, Prince Khenty-echtay (p.

295). A massive piece of green-glazed ★faience, perhaps the base of an offering stand, is inscribed with the throne name of Amun-em-ḥēt III, and the figure and names of Amun-em-ḥēt IV appear on an inlaid ★casket belonging to the king's butler Kemu-ny, found in a tomb at Thebes (p. 246).

Amun-em-ḥēt II, Se'n-Wosret II, Se'n-Wosret III, and Amun-em-ḥēt III are represented in the Museum's collection by approximately a hundred ★seals, cylinders, scarabs, plaques, and inscribed beads, chiefly of the Twelfth Dynasty, but including a number made centuries later during the New Kingdom and the Late Dynastic period. The favorite material is steatite—sometimes called "soapstone," a white or greenish gray talc admirably suited to fine carving—enhanced by the application of a vitreous glaze, usually bluish green in color. Glazed frit, or "Egyptian faience," is likewise common, as are also a number of hard, semiprecious stones, such as amethyst, carnelian, haematite, feldspar, turquoise, jasper, lapis lazuli, and rock crystal. The backs of some of the seals are adorned with tiny sculptured figures, a prone calf, a woman nursing a child, and the like. The cylinders tend to be small and slender, the scarabs for the most part of simple form without the details of the legs and wing cases seen in later examples. Most of the plaques are oval or cartouche-shaped and are normally inscribed on both sides. Several large spherical beads bear relatively long inscriptions, written horizontally around the circumference of the sphere. The throne names of the kings naturally predominate in the legends, but there are many instances of a noncommittal "Amun-em-ḥēt" or "Se'n-Wosret." Frequently the king is designated as "one beloved" of a divinity, usually the crocodile god Sobk, whose widespread popularity during the late Middle Kingdom is attested by the number of towns throughout Egypt named as centers of his cult. The latter include Ḥes, Ḥenet, Seya, and Busiris, in the Delta, Shedet (Krokodilopolis), in the Fayyūm, and Ombos, Sekhet, and Sumenu, in Upper Egypt. The names of a king and his successor or coregent occasionally appear together on the same seal, and a cylinder of Amun-em-ḥēt II carries, in addition to the throne name of the pharaoh, the name of the "King's Daughter, She-who-is-united-to-the-White-Crown, Nyet-nēb."

5. Thebes during the Twelfth Dynasty

With the removal of the residence and the royal cemetery to the north, it was only natural that Thebes should have lost much of the importance which it had enjoyed during the Eleventh Dynasty. In view, however, of subsequent events in the history of Egypt, it is important to remember that the "Southern City" continued to flourish throughout the Twelfth Dynasty, not only as the capital of one of the most important nomes of Upper Egypt but also as the cult center of the state god Amun Rēᶜ and the ancestral home of the rulers and a large percentage of the court. We have had occasion to refer to the enlargement and embellishment of the temples at Karnak by Amun-em-ḥēt I and his successors, and we may now add to these the extensive works undertaken by the kings of the dynasty in the other religious centers of the Theban nome, Medamūd, Erment, and Ṭōd.

On the west bank at Thebes itself the major activity continued to center around the temple tombs of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ and Sēᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe at Deir el Baḥri. All through the Twelfth Dynasty large bodies of priests were maintained in these ancestral shrines, and near by has been found one of the cemeteries in which they were buried. A crag high up in the cliffs between the two temples bears a great quantity of inscriptions left by the priests of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ and Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ who, on the day of the "Feast of the Valley," climbed to this lofty spot to watch the sacred barque of Amūn being ferried across the river from Karnak for its yearly visit to the western temples. A splendid series of granite statues of Se'n-Wosret III set up in the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ is one of the many

evidences of royal concern for the maintenance and adornment of the building itself.

Scattered groups of private tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty in the neighborhood of Deir el Baḥri reflect a community of well-to-do citizens: soldiers, priests, treasury officials, palace attendants, and the like. There are instances of Thebans who had accompanied the court northward to It-towy returning to be buried in the cemetery of their native town; but more often the tombs are those of men who held office locally. Many of the tombs cleared by the Museum's Expedition and by the Earl of Carnarvon have contributed stelae, coffins, jewelry, and other objects of beauty and interest to the Museum's collection.

Eastward of the great tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty in the cliff north of Deir el Baḥri is a row of smaller sepulchers, evidently of slightly later date. One of these, belonging to Neferḥotep, "the Bowman," yielded statues of alabaster and gritstone, now in Cairo, a quiver of arrows, and a faience figure of a tattooed dancing girl. Another group of tombs, of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, which occupied a lower spur of the same cliff was destroyed when the spur was cut away in the Eighteenth Dynasty to make room for the causeway of Queen Ḥetshepswet; but over forty coffins and many other objects removed from the tombs at that time and cached in the valley below were found by the Museum's Expedition (p. 347). A small cemetery on a hillside overlooking the southwest corner of Montu-ḥotpe's temple courtyard contained some twenty tombs of the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties. Here were found the brick chapel of the Chief Priest of Amūn Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe, the painted statue niches of Amun-em-ḥēt and his wife, and stelae of Soneb-ḥenaᶜef, son of the Vizier Yaᶜ-yeby, and others (p. 345). Eastward, near the edge of the cultivation, in the vicinity of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's Valley Temple, are several large, rock-cut portico tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty. In one of these was found a complete set of jewelry in silver, amethyst, lapis lazuli, and carnelian and, near by, part of a small statue in back granite of King Amun-em-ḥēt III. The inlaid casket of Kemu-ny, butler of Amun-em-ḥēt IV, and a magnificent gameboard of ivory came from tombs in the same neighborhood excavated by Carnarvon and Carter (pp. 246, 250).

Here, at the foot of the ᶜAsāsīf valley, in an area known nowadays as el Birāby, and northeastward along the rocky spur of the Dirāᶜ Abu'n Naga lies a mixed cemetery of tombs of nearly every date from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman period; and it is here, more clearly than elsewhere, that we may follow the changing fortunes of Thebes through the stormy and obscure years during and following the collapse of the Twelfth Dynasty. Among the great tombs of the Middle Kingdom are those of undoubted Thirteenth Dynasty date, with the characteristic high-vaulted coffins of the period. On the Dirāᶜ Abu'n Naga lie the ruined pyramids of the Theban rulers of the succeeding Sixteenth Dynasty and somewhere in the same vicinity the tombs of the warrior kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty. Small chambers cut in the courtyard walls of the older tombs contained an unbroken series of private burials of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties. These bring us down to the time of the New Kingdom, when Thebes, having again weathered centuries of national disunity and foreign overlordship, rose to a position of unchallenged supremacy, not only in Egypt itself but throughout the whole of the eastern Mediterranean world.

XII. THE PEOPLE OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM AND THEIR PERSONAL POSSESSIONS

XII. The People of the Middle Kingdom and Their Personal Possessions

1. The Nature of the Material

NEARLY ALL THE material presented in the next three chapters comes from the tombs of the dead and is therefore to some extent "funerary" in its purpose and use. The statues and statuettes, as we have already learned, were placed in the tombs to serve as enduring replicas of the dead and to provide permanent dwelling places for the spirit in the event of the destruction of the body. The funerary models were made expressly for the use of the dead, for whom alone they could become actual full-size houses, boats, and servants. Weapons, tools, furniture, clothing, and jewelry placed in the tombs were, of course, expected to be used or worn by the dead. The account of a man's life, with emphasis on his virtues and accomplishments, inscribed on his stela was placed there not only as a record but also to aid him in the attainment of a blessed immortality.

While, therefore, none of this material can, or should, be disassociated entirely from its funerary setting, much of it can be employed to advantage to reconstruct the appearance and the earthly existence of the people of Egypt—especially the many objects which were actually used in this existence before they were placed in the tombs. This of course can be done because, as we have seen, the Egyptian always believed that his existence after death would conform in most of its details to his life on earth.

There is, on the other hand, a class of tomb objects—coffins, canopic jars, *shawabty*-figures, mortuary inscriptions—which, having no association with the daily life of the people, is of interest only to a study of their funerary practices and is therefore more advantageously considered under a separate heading (Chapter XV).

2. Men and Women of the Middle Kingdom: Statues and Statuettes

Unlike those of the Old Kingdom, private tomb statues and statuettes of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties are rarely of outstanding artistic merit. Few complete life-size statues have survived, and the smaller figures tend, for the most part, to conform to stock types, which were produced in quantity to satisfy an enormously increased popular demand. The types, however, are numerous, and the variations in style, proportions, and technical ability displayed are infinite. Though often lacking in vitality and individuality, and sometimes harsh in style, if not actually crude, these figures nevertheless pro-



FIGURE 123. The "Overseer of the Hundred" Montu-ḥotpe. Black granite statuette from el Lisht. Reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt I. H. 18 in.

vide us with an extensive and interesting fund of information concerning the different kinds and classes of people who lived during the Middle Kingdom and throw considerable light on their appearance, general physical characteristics, and tastes in dress, coiffure, jewelry, and other forms of personal adornment.

In the Museum's collection there are 120 statues and statuettes or parts thereof from private tombs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Thebes, el Lisht, Mīr, Asyūt, and other known sites, and approximately thirty more of unknown provenience, acquired as gifts or purchases. One hundred and four examples are of stone, and forty-seven are of wood. The least repetitious and most satisfactory method of studying the figures is by type and pose, rather than by material, exact dating, and place of origin.

With a few exceptions, all the larger statues and statuettes of Middle Kingdom date are seated figures of men, carved in stone. The most common type is the seminude figure, wearing the close-cropped, caplike wig and the short, full-goffered kilt with a double overfold and pendent tab in front, seated in a rigid frontal pose upon a plain block throne, with the hands on the knees, the right hand more often than not clenched and holding a folded handkerchief or fly-whisk.

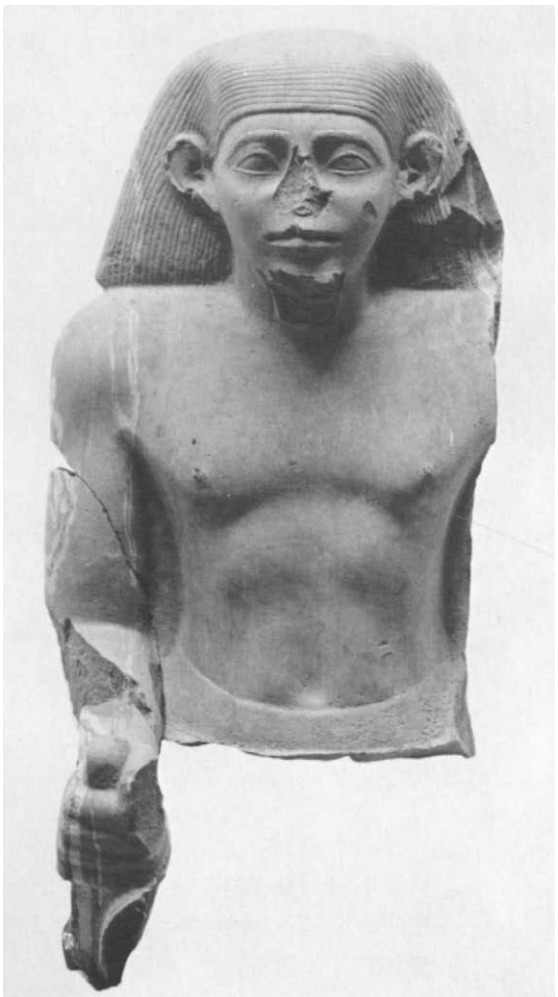
Of this type is the lower half of an over life-size ★statue of gray granite found in the debris near the southeast corner of the enclosure wall of the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht. The statue, which in both size and quality closely resembles those of the king himself, represents the highest official in the land, "the Hereditary Prince and Count, the Governor of the Pyramid City, the Vizier. . . ." The name of the great man has been destroyed in both the offering formulae inscribed on the front of the throne, but we may be reasonably certain that it was either Amūny or Montu-ḥotpe, and the few remaining traces suggest that it was the former—a man well known from other monuments of the reign.

It would not be difficult to restore the statue of the vizier, for we have several complete statuettes of identical type, similar material, and comparable date. The largest of these is a seated ★figure in black granite from a pit tomb near the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht (fig. 123). The owner, Montu-ḥotpe, son of Sit-Ny-yotef-Atūm, was "Overseer of the Hundred," an important official in the judicial branch of the government. A slightly smaller ★statuette of diorite, found at Deir Rīfeh, portrays a Twelfth Dynasty notable named Chnūm, "brother of Ḥenwet-ḥotpe, the deceased," according to the hieratic inscription written in black ink on the front of the base. The type appears again in a crude little ★figure of limestone from el ʿAmreh, in Upper Egypt, near Abydos.

The upper part of a seated limestone ★statue of Se'n-Wosret-ʿankhe (fig. 124), Chief Priest of Ptaḥ in the days of Se'n-Wosret I, comes from a great maṣṭabeh northeast of the pyramid of the king at el Lisht. In most respects this figure con-

forms to the type under discussion, the chief differences being the broad, full wig, reaching to the shoulders, and the short chin beard affected by many Egyptian nobles. The modeling of the torso is admirable, and the pleasant, thoughtful face has in it something of the quality of a portrait. The unusual position of the right hand holding the folded handkerchief is also worth noting. A pair of small female ★figures in quartzite is from the front of the throne of another seated statue of Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe, and a powerfully modeled ★arm of red granite was evidently part of a life-size standing statue. Portions of a black granite statue were also found. None of these fragments of statues are inscribed, but two ★blocks of red granite bear seated figures of Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe carved in sunk relief, accompanied by long lists of his titles. Prominent among the many offices here recorded are those of "Priest of Ptaḥ," "Chief of the Artisans of the Two Houses," and "Dean of the College of Scribes." These are the traditional titles of the Chief Priest of Ptaḥ at Memphis, the highest office in the Egyptian hierarchy at this time. In view of the magnificence and unusual design of the tomb of Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe, another title—that of "Royal Sculptor and Builder"—is of more than passing interest.

FIGURE 124. The Chief Priest of Ptaḥ, Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe. Life-size limestone statue from el Lisht. Reign of King Se'n-Wosret I. H. 24½ in.



Among the officials who served under Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe and were buried in pit tombs near his maṣṭabeh was the Steward Oᶜu, whose limestone ★statue is almost an exact replica of the seated figure of his master; though smaller and of inferior quality, it might well serve as a model for the restoration of the latter. The Steward Kuy, another of Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe's henchmen, is portrayed in a small but rather pleasing ★statuette of black granite. The kilt in this case is the long, sheathlike skirt reaching to the wearer's shins. A very crude and ill-proportioned little seated ★figure, carved in limestone and garishly painted, belonged to one of the chief priest's less prosperous servants, whose name was never inserted in the stock inscription scrawled across the left side of the throne.

The series of seated statuettes from this part of the cemetery is completed by a well-modeled ★torso in painted limestone found near a maṣṭabeh to the west of that of Se'n-Wosret-ᶜanke. The Steward Se'n-Wosret, who is portrayed on a fragment of limestone ★relief also from this maṣṭabeh, may have been the owner of both the tomb and the statuette.

In 1924 a brick maṣṭabeh southwest of the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I yielded the fine



limestone ★statue of the Steward Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ-ᶜankhe (fig. 125), who claims in his inscriptions to have been a "Real Familiar of the King, beloved by him." A gold shell pendant of Se'n-Wosret III was found in the same tomb, and the statue also probably dates from the reign of this king or later. The name "Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ-lives" does not necessarily indicate, as it was once believed to do, that the owner of the statue was born in the reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt I. Indeed, it is quite possible that he was a contemporary of King Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ II of the Thirteenth Dynasty, in which case the pendant of Se'n-Wosret III found with the statue would have been an heirloom, placed in the tomb many years after it was made. The kilt worn by Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ-ᶜankhe is of the traditional form, but his wavy, shawl-shaped wig, its lower edge slanting to points in the front, is of a type developed in the Twelfth Dynasty and especially characteristic of this period.

The same kind of wig appears on two seated ★statuettes, both preserved only from the waist up. The larger of these, of painted sandstone, is from a tomb at el Lisht near the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I. The other, from Thebes, five hundred miles upriver, is small and executed in a coarse, provincial style. The material is limestone, once painted in conventional colors.

The upper half of a seated ★statuette in red quartzite purchased by the Museum in 1919 portrays a young man wearing a long wig parted in the middle and falling in coarse locks over his back and chest. Individuality is clearly marked in the handsome face, and a sense of strength and virility has been achieved in the hard, simple planes of the torso—a treatment typical of the best sculptural style of the Middle Kingdom.

The lower part of a large seated ★figure of the Scribe of the King's Archives In-yotef-oḳre, carved in granodiorite, shows a long, tight-fitting

FIGURE 125. The Steward Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ-ᶜankhe. Limestone statue from el Lisht. Reign of King Se'n-Wosret III (?). H. 37½ in.



skirt similar to that worn by the Steward Kuy. This statuette, found in the cemetery of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht, bears on the throne two long offering formulae invoking the gods Osiris and Ptaḥ Sokar. In one of these inscriptions our royal archivist refers to himself—more grandiloquently than accurately—as "Chief of the Entire Land." The son of a woman named Neb-yotef, this man is not to be confused with the Vizier In-yotef-oḳre (p. 177), whose mother's name was Senet.

The same long skirt is worn by the Fisherman Sony-pu, whose seated ★figure, small and fragmentary, was also found near the North Pyramid at el Lisht.

In a handsome and perfectly preserved limestone ★statuette from the Theodore M. Davis collection (fig. 126) we see a type of garment exceedingly common in the Twelfth Dynasty. This is a long, fringed cloak, probably of wool, in which the whole figure is draped, with only the hands projecting from the folds of the garment over the breast. The statuette is of unknown provenience and without inscription, but in type, style, pose, and costume it is wholly characteristic of the latter part of the Middle Kingdom. Two fragmentary ★statuettes of limestone from the northern cemetery at el Lisht wear the same type of cloak, in one case combined with the characteristic Twelfth Dynasty wig, in the other, swathed about the feet and ankles as well as the rest of the figure.

The upper part of an interesting ★statuette delicately carved in painted limestone (fig. 127) was found by the Earl of Carnarvon in a large tomb of the late Eleventh Dynasty at Deir el Baḥri. The owner, an official named Oḳer, is shown in an unusual pose, with the arms crossed over the breast. The immobile face, thick-lipped and strangely "oriental," is a characteristic Theban type and is somewhat reminiscent of the portraits of King Amun-em-ḥēt I (fig. 106).

FIGURE 126. An official of the Twelfth Dynasty. Limestone statuette of unknown provenience. H. 12¼ in.

Large standing figures, though fairly common in the Middle Kingdom, are not well represented in the Museum's collection. The battered head, with close-cropped wig and eye sockets carved for inlay, and the right arm, which once held a scepter, are all that remain of a large wooden ★statuette of the Chancellor Achtoy, found in his tomb at Thebes together with fragments of six other wooden ★figures of this great official of the Eleventh Dynasty. The left ★arm of a life-size statue in fine, dark hardwood, from another Eleventh Dynasty tomb at Thebes, is bent at the elbow and at one time held the long staff carried by men of rank (𓉐).

Eight small standing ★statuettes in various stones, from tombs surrounding the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht, are more or less of one type. All wear the long skirt with high waistline, folded about the body from back to front, the underfold prevented from sagging by a tab which projects upward under the tightly tucked overfold. In one instance, a fragmentary figure in yellow limestone, the skirt is adorned with horizontal stripes or creases. The favorite headdress is the full, shoulder-length wig, worn free or enclosed within a soft cloth cover called a *khat*. The shawl wig with pointed tabs appears on a fragmentary figure in diabase of the Steward Soneb. An official named Rery is portrayed in a well-preserved statuette of serpentine, and a fragmentary figure in diabase bears the names and titles of the Priest Sedjed. A battered and broken little ★figure of limestone from a tomb near the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I shows a man, also named Se'n-Wosret, standing with his hands resting on the flaring triangular apron of his short kilt. Two limestone ★statuettes from Twelfth Dynasty tombs at er Riḳḳeh are of unusual types. One represents a dwarf named Ny-Ḥor, with a stunted body and disproportionately long arms, dressed in the conventional shawl wig and long skirt. The other portrays a figure swathed in a long mantle, standing before a broad slab of stone on which are traces of ink inscriptions. The best-preserved and finest of all

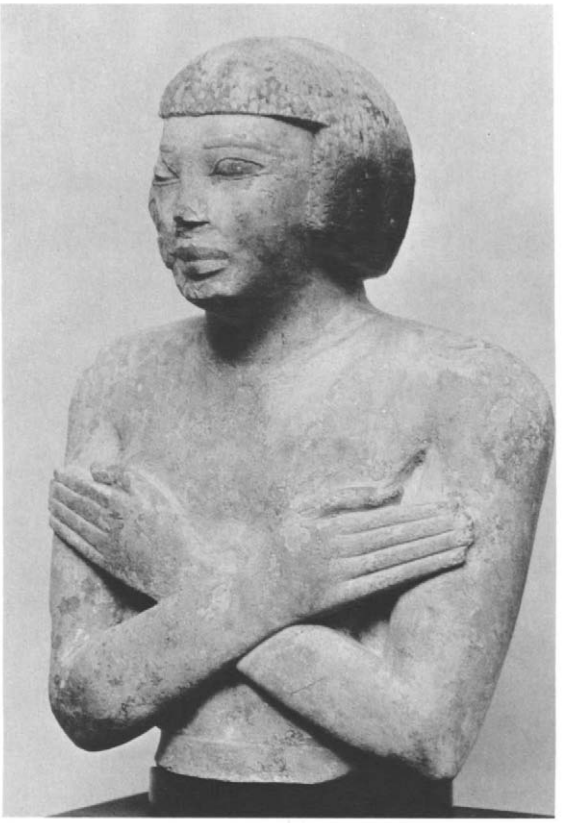


FIGURE 127. Oḳer, a Theban official of the late Eleventh Dynasty. Painted limestone. H. 8¼ in.

the Museum's standing figures in stone is an uninscribed ★statuette of diabase purchased in Paris in 1907 (fig. 128).

Twenty wooden statuettes from tombs at Thebes, el Lisht, Mīr, and Asyūṭ likewise represent standing figures. Most are of fine coniferous wood—cedar, cypress, or pine—the heads, bodies, and legs shaped in one piece, the arms almost always carved separately and attached to the shoulders by tenons or dowels. Frequently the wood-carver found it easier to make the projecting forward parts of the feet also of separate pieces. The tenons under the soles of the feet are driven firmly into the rectangular wooden bases, which are often inscribed with the names and titles of the owners. Nearly all the figures are painted in two or three conventional colors:

the wigs black, the eyes black and white, the kilts white, and the flesh red or tan yellow. In some cases the paint is applied over a coating of fine white gesso, and in four instances gesso is used to build up the forms of the kilts. The heads of the men are either shaven, cropped close, or covered with one of the several types of wig fashionable during the Middle Kingdom—the close, shingled "cap," the long, full wig, or the shawl type with pendent tabs. The only garment is the kilt or skirt of linen, and this may be either short or long, plain or with a prominent overfold, tab, or triangular apron. The well-to-do Egyptian often had several of these funerary statuettes in or beside his coffin, and in the present series there are groups of three or four figures of the same persons.

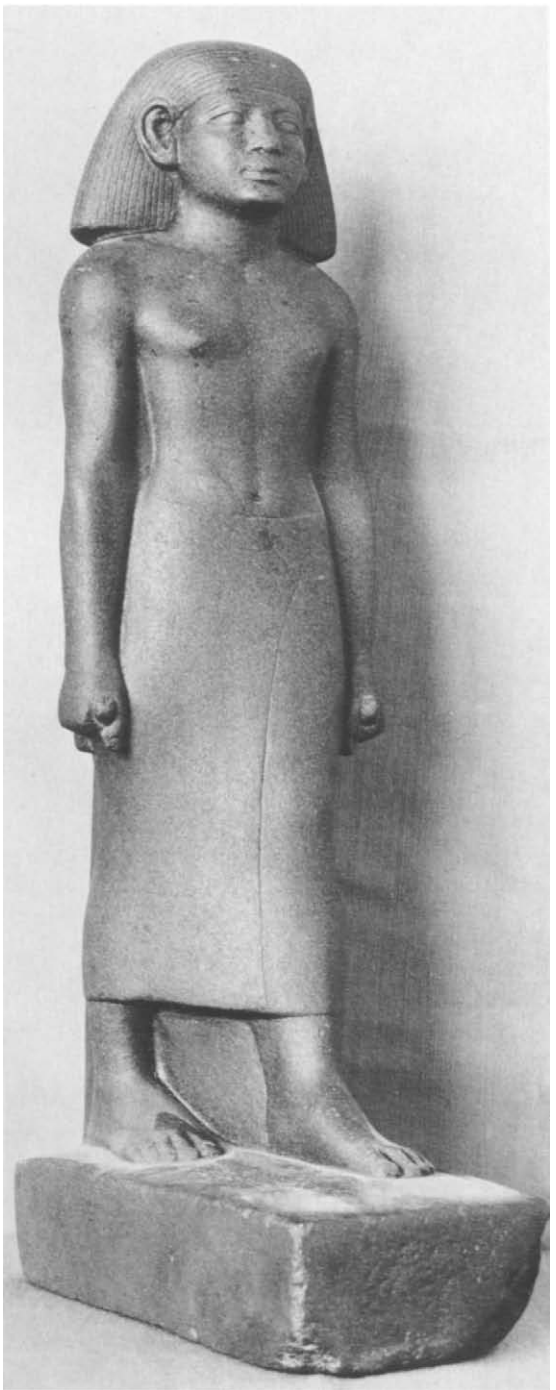


FIGURE 128. An official of the Twelfth Dynasty. Diabase statuette of unknown provenience. H. 9½ in.

The Scribe of the Divine Offerings Merer, who lived at Asyūt during the early years of the Middle Kingdom—perhaps in the time of the Herakleopolitan pharaohs of the Tenth Dynasty—is represented by four large ★statuettes remarkable for the ink inscriptions written in cursive hieroglyphs on their kilts, belts, and bases (fig. 129). The inscriptions on the kilts are excerpts from the Coffin Texts; the same passages are found, in whole or in part, in coffins of this period from Asyūt. The phrases inscribed on the kilts of the two middle-size figures are typical: "O Osiris Merer, come with me and I will open for thee thine eyes that they may lead thee on the ways of darkness and that they may put fear of thee into the Imperishable Ones, as did Horus for his father Osiris." An uninscribed ★figure of the same type, but in the more sophisticated style of the early Twelfth Dynasty, was found in a tomb near the pyramid of Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht. An even greater refinement of the type appears in the ★statuette of a man named Nakhte, notable for the unusual form of the short, pleated kilt and the inlaid eyes, set in copper sockets.

The perfectly preserved funerary ★statuette of the Estate Manager Waḥ, of the late Eleventh



FIGURE 129. The Scribe of the Divine Offerings Merer. Painted and inscribed statuettes of wood from Asyūt. Early Middle Kingdom. H. 9-14 in.

Dynasty, was found by the Museum's Expedition in an intact tomb at Thebes adjacent to that of the Chancellor Meket-Rēʿ, under whom its owner served (p. 304). The figure, draped in a piece of fringed linen sheet, lay beside the feet of Waḥ's heavily bandaged mummy inside the coffin. In its style and finish it closely resembles the figures in Meket-Rēʿ's funerary models, and was probably made by the same group of craftsmen. Under the scrap of linen Waḥ wears a short, close-fitting kilt, carved in one piece with the figure and painted white. From the careless way in which the ancient varnish was applied to the meticulously painted surfaces of the statuette it is evident that this protective coating was originally transparent.

Two delicately carved wooden ★figures of the Twelfth Dynasty show us the Steward Soneby of Mīr, with hair close cropped and wearing a long kilt with a stiff triangular apron. In the larger figure the eyes are of inlaid rock crystal and paste, set in copper rims. From a tomb near the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht comes a set of three small standing ★statuettes of the Estate Manager Achtoy, one of which shows him wearing a broad collar of gold foil overlaid upon the dark wood of the figure. Also from the Museum's excavations at el Lisht are three ★figures of men wearing the long, full wig more commonly associated with women. In two examples the kilt is short and tight but in the third it is long, with an interesting treatment of

the overfold. A rare example of the shawl wig on a wooden figure occurs on the fine ★statuette of a Twelfth Dynasty official from Mīr, formerly in the Carnarvon collection. In his extended left hand this dignitary once held a staff and in his right hand a scepter (𓊪). ★Figures of three men with shaven heads and interesting long kilts, one of which has paneled decoration, are of the type at one time invariably labeled "a priest." One is from a tomb near the North Pyramid at el Lisht, one from near the maṣṭabeh of Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe (p. 206), and the third, a bequest of Theodore M. Davis, is of unknown provenience.

A type of funerary statuette particularly characteristic of the Twelfth Dynasty represents a figure seated or squatting on the ground with the legs folded back under the body (𓎛)—a posture which the ancient Egyptian, like his modern descendant, apparently regarded as comfortable. Most such figures wear a heavy wig, usually of the shawl type, and, more often than not, the long woolen mantle described on page 209. This garment adds considerable dignity to what otherwise might be a somewhat ignoble pose, and from the sculptor's point of view it had the advantage of hiding the legs and feet, the articulation of which would have been difficult to render.

In a limestone ★statuette of this type from Thebes Amun-em-ḥēt, son of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor, drapes his cloak over his left shoulder only, leaving the right shoulder and arm free. The inscription on the front of the base tells us that the statuette was dedicated to its deceased owner by his half brother Se'n-Wosret, son of Sit-Ḥapy. The identical pose, with the right hand resting on the right thigh and the left hand on the breast, is seen in a small marble ★figure from the Theodore M. Davis collection and in a fragmentary ★statuette of limestone from near the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht. It appears again in a fine little basalt ★portrait of Chnum-ḥotpe, formerly in the Havemeyer collection (fig. 130). Here, however, the legs are not tucked under the body, but crossed in front of it in the posture characteristic of the seated scribe (see fig. 61). In another limestone ★statuette from el Lisht, that of the Admiral Chnum-nofre, the mantle is drawn over both shoulders and held in front by the clenched right hand, the left hand, as before, projecting across the breast from under the edge of the garment. This pose is followed with almost no variation in the limestone ★figure of Weḥaᶜ-Ḥor and in a second uninscribed marble ★statuette from the Davis collection.

A squatting ★figure in soapstone, of an elderly official named Amun-em-ḥēt, has the qualities of a portrait in miniature. The flabby flesh above the high waistline of the kilt is a common enough convention, but the good-natured,

FIGURE 130. Chnum-ḥotpe, son of Maᶜety. Basalt statuette of unknown provenience. Twelfth Dynasty. H. 7½ in.





FIGURE 131. Statuette in limonite from the Inyōtef Cemetery at Thebes. Eleventh Dynasty. H. 5¼ in.

wrinkled face, with its somewhat quizzical smile, is surely that of an individual. Of the same type is a tiny basalt ★figure from el Lisht, made for an official of the Twelfth Dynasty named Seḥeteptēwy and mounted on a small limestone offering table. The squatting ★figure of a boy in serpentine, except for the shaven head and braided side lock indicative of youth, shows none of the characteristics of childhood but is simply a replica at small scale of the figures of his elders. The pose seen in these figures, with both hands on the thighs, is repeated in a fragmentary ★statuette of diorite, also from el Lisht. Likewise from el Lisht comes the lower part of a serpentine ★statuette of the Scribe Neny, seated cross-legged in the familiar "scribal" posture.

In two little ★figures, one of limonite, the other of limestone, this pose is varied by drawing up one knee so that the lower part of the leg is at right angles to the ground. The statuette illustrated (fig. 131) is from the royal cemetery of the early Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes. Here the difficult posture is reasonably well handled by the ancient sculptor, but in a later version from el Lisht the leg below the raised knee is ridiculously short in proportion to the rest of the figure. The second of these statuettes represents an official of the Twelfth Dynasty named Se'n-Wosret and is interesting for the offering formula inscribed on the lap of the kilt, wherein King Se'n-Wosret I is invoked as a god. Of this same type, with the left knee raised, was a fine limestone ★statuette of In-yōtef, son of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ, of which only a charred and battered fragment was recovered from the chancellor's much plundered tomb at Thebes.

A final development of the squatting posture is one in which the figure, swathed from neck to ankles in a long cloak, has both knees drawn up in front of the body, with the hands, projecting from under the folds of the robe, crossed over them. This type, often called the "block" figure, is exceedingly common in the New Kingdom and later, but is already well known in the Middle Kingdom and may be seen in the small granodiorite ★statuette of Min-ḥotpe from el Lisht.

The figure of the tomb owner kneeling on both knees and holding before him an offering is represented by two fragmentary ★statuettes of diorite from the debris around the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht. In one instance the figure, dressed in a kilt with a fringed top, held in each hand a small object, probably a ⊖-jar. In the other, he grasps with both hands a large bowl. We shall see this type repeated frequently

in the New Kingdom, notably in the colossal granite statues of Queen Ḥet-shepswet of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Nineteen ★heads broken from statues and statuettes of men of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties range in dimensions from life size down to a little face less than an inch and a half high. None could be called a masterpiece, but there are interesting variations in the facial types and headdresses. Nine of the men have their heads either shaven or close cropped; eight wear the broad, shoulder-length wig, in two cases protected by linen covers; and one wears the graceful shawl wig. In only three examples is there evidence of a small chin beard, or goatee. The materials include limestone (eight examples), sandstone, red and gray granite, diorite, gabbro, and obsidian. All the heads of known provenience are from the Museum's excavations at either Thebes or el Lisht.

Since Egyptian women of nonroyal rank were usually represented in the company of their husbands or fathers, statues and statuettes in which they are portrayed alone are relatively rare. The Museum possesses not more than a dozen examples of Middle Kingdom date, all of which are small and half of which are represented by fragments only.

The largest and most interesting of the female statuettes is a diorite ★figure of the Nurse Sit-Snefru found many years ago at Adana, in southeastern Asia Minor (fig. 132). Sit-Snefru, we may suppose, was attached to the household of an Egyptian official assigned to this remote station and, before leaving home, had the statuette made to be placed in her tomb—a not unusual practice for Egyptians faced with the necessity of ending their days on foreign soil. In style and facial type the figure is wholly characteristic of the best sculptural tradition of the Twelfth Dynasty (see fig. 122). The pose, with the legs crossed under the right side of the body, is a feminine variation of the squatting posture so popular at this time and lacks the balanced frontality common to most Egyptian figures in the round. The long mantle with a selvage fringe at the top is worn, as on many of the male statuettes, draped over the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder and arm bare. On the lap of the figure we read: "An offering which the King gives, that there may go forth at the voice bread and beer, beef and fowl, alabaster and linen, and all things good for the spirit of the Nurse Sit-Snefru, possessor of honor."

All the other women portrayed wear the long, tight-fitting dress of Old Kingdom type, descending to the shins from just above or just below the breasts and supported by straps passing over the shoulders. The lady Dedyet-Amūn, as represented in a charming little wooden ★statuette from Thebes, wears a long, black wig falling far

FIGURE 132. The Nurse Sit-Snefru. Statuette in diorite from Adana, in Asia Minor. Twelfth Dynasty. H. 15 in.



down over the shoulders and bound about with ribbons of silver foil, bands of which are also used for her necklaces, bracelets, and anklets. In two other standing ★statuettes of slender young girls, one of wood and one of painted limestone, the heavy wigs, flaring broadly toward the bottom, are bobbed off square just below the shoulders. Another type of feminine coiffure popular during the Twelfth Dynasty appears on the small wooden ★figure of a woman named Kemtet from el Harageh (fig. 133). Here the wig is parted over the nape of the neck and the two thick side locks, bound with ribbons, are carried forward over the breast, where their tapered ends are spiraled around disk-shaped onaments, usually colored red and probably made of carnelian (see fig. 202 and p. 240). The same sort of headdress, with multiple bindings about the wavy side locks, may be seen on the upper part of a granite ★statuette from el Lisht. Also from el Lisht are the head and shoulders of a female ★figure and the lower parts of two seated ★statuettes of women, all carved in limestone and painted in conventional colors.

FIGURE 133. The lady Kemtet. Wooden statuette from el Harageh. Twelfth Dynasty. H. 7½ in. Detail.



Multiple statuettes — two or more figures carved together from a single block of stone or wood—are somewhat less common in the Middle Kingdom than in the Old Kingdom. They are, for the most part, merely single figures juxtaposed side by side, not "groups" in the sense of articulated compositions of figures. For example, a fragmentary diorite ★pair representing two brothers, the Priest Ḥuy and the Herald Amūny, consists of two practically identical squatting figures of men placed side by side on the same base and joined at the back by a wide pilaster. Each figure gazes straight ahead, hands on thighs, and each is complete in itself and unrelated to the other except by proximity and by the joint inscription across the top of the base. Two ★triads crudely carved in wood show, respectively, three nearly identical standing figures of men and three similar figures of women and may well be what have been called "false groups," that is, multiple representations of the same person. In a battered little ★group in yellow limestone we see a mother and son standing side by side, the boy nude and posed with his left finger to his mouth, a childish gesture frequently used as a convention by the Egyptian sculptor to indicate youth. By far the most common group is, naturally, that representing a man and woman, usually husband and wife. In one of two such ★pairs carved in gabbro the couple stand together, holding hands, but in the other they are posed a sedate distance apart at the ends of a wide back panel. A rather crude little ★pair in red breccia, which, like many of the others, comes from near the North Pyramid at el Lisht, shows a short, bald-headed man in a long, paneled kilt, accompanied by his somewhat larger wife, who, as usual, stands on her husband's left. Fragments of three other ★couples, all from el Lisht, are of ser-

FIGURE 134. Painted limestone shrine with statues of the treasury official Amun-em-ḥēt and his family. From a tomb of the late Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes. H. 53 in.



pentine and diorite. Of the diorite group there remains part of a squatting female figure, inscribed for "the House Mistress Mūt, daughter of Mēnet ('the Swallow')." Two fragmentary ★groups in limestone were composed, respectively, of three and five figures: a man flanked by his wife and another woman, possibly his mother, and a man standing in the midst of a row of four of his female relations. The broad panel at the back of the latter group is inscribed, and we have the names of two of the women, "the House Mistress Ḥor-em-ḥab" and "the House Mistress Sontyeby."

The painted limestone ★group of the treasury official Amun-em-ḥēt, his wife, Nefru, and his youngest son, Yunef, is enclosed within a small shrine of limestone, once built into a wall of Amun-em-ḥēt's brick tomb chapel at Thebes (fig. 134). In what remains of the statues, which were smashed to pieces by ancient vandals, we see this Theban dignitary of the late Twelfth Dynasty seated with his wife on a plain block throne, with the tiny figure of their child standing against the front of the throne between his parents. The sides and back of the shrine, once hidden by the brickwork of the chapel, are roughdressed, the marks of a half-inch chisel showing clearly all over their surfaces. The front of the little structure is inscribed with offering formulae, in which Osiris, Lord of Abydos, and the earth god Gēb, "Prince of the Gods," are invoked in behalf of the deceased Theban. Inside are painted reliefs showing, on the left wall, Amun-em-ḥēt and Nefru served by their son, the Elder of the Portal Montu-ᶜo, and on the right wall, Amun-em-ḥēt seated alone, attended by "his beloved daughter, Senebes-ᶜankhes," while, below, two more sons, Montu-ᶜo the Younger and another, whose name is destroyed, stand face to face, each holding a lotus flower in his upraised hand. The pair of magical eyes carved on the back wall of the shrine permitted the spirits of the deceased couple to gaze forth over the heads of their statues into the world outside the tomb and are, as we shall see, a regular feature of the coffins of this period. In the rather coarse execution of the statues and the decidedly bad drawing which appears in the reliefs we see not only the work of provincial craftsmen but the beginning of the breakdown of the fine artistic traditions of the Middle Kingdom—a breakdown exemplified, not many years after this small monument was made, in the styleless crudities of the Second Intermediate period.

Among the numerous ★fragments of Middle Kingdom statues and statuettes, of both wood and stone, available in the Museum's study collection may be noted a number of inscribed bases preserving the feet of the figures which stood upon them and in many instances the names and titles of their owners. Among these are included the Overseer of Cattle Amūny, born of ᶜAmet, the Inspector Shemsu-Amūn, and an official named Dy-Sobk, son of Ḥenwet.

Finally, there is a little seated ★figure of limestone which, being still in a preliminary stage of carving, is an excellent illustration of the methods used by the Middle Kingdom sculptors in shaping the finished statuettes which we have been studying.

3. Concubines, Dwarfs, Peasants, Servants, and Animals: Small Figures of Wood, Faience, Ivory, Stone, and Other Materials

In addition to the *ku*-statues and statuettes of the tomb owner and his family, the tombs of the Middle Kingdom have yielded innumerable little figures of the heterogeneous minor personnel of an Egyptian household and of the various animals cherished as pets or hunted as game by the people of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. These figures were unquestionably made for a variety of purposes. Some are "funerary models," some magical figures, some amulets, and some representations of divinities, while others are merely ornaments or parts of toys. They form, however, a series of minor works related by size and subject matter and pervaded by a gaiety and informality not seen in the larger and more seri-

ous monuments of the period. Above all, they give us a fine cross section of the lighter side of Egyptian life.

Although essentially monogamous and devoted to his wife, who, as the head of the family, occupied a position of great dignity and respect, the ancient Egyptian, especially the king or the wealthy noble, maintained for his amusement a more or less extensive ḥarīm of secondary wives and concubines. Nor were such luxuries the privilege only of the rich and mighty; the letters of a humble mortuary priest of the Eleventh Dynasty are full of injunctions regarding the kindly treatment and consideration to be extended to such a girl. "Behold," says the writer of the letters, the *ku*-servant Ḥiḳ-nakhte, "this is my concubine, and it is well known that a man's concubine ought to be treated well. . . . How can I ever live with you in one establishment if you will not respect a concubine for my sake?"

It is only natural that the men of Egypt should have wished to take with them into the afterworld these attractive companions of their leisure hours. Thus, from early prehistoric times, there are found in the tombs of the male inhabitants of the Nile Valley little figures of women, which from their forms and the emphasis placed on their more alluring physical characteristics leave no doubt as to their principal purpose. It has been customary to call such figures "dolls" or "dancing girls"; but it is very unlikely, except in rare instances, that they were intended as playthings for children, and, since most of them are without feet, it is difficult to see how they can be supposed to be primarily dancers. Be it said, however, that the figures are very doll-like in appearance and that the ability to dance gracefully was certainly one of the many talents which were expected of an Egyptian ḥarīm girl, who, like the Japanese geisha, was always well turned out, well mannered, and adept in music, games, and polite conversation.

Such graces, to be sure, are not apparent in the barbarously crude "paddle ★dolls" found in tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes and elsewhere in Upper Egypt (fig. 135). In these painted wooden figures the female form is reduced to the shape of a flat paddle, with rudimentary arms and a tiny neck and head, topped by a great mop of hair made of strings of little beads of black mud ending in elongated blobs. The faces, modeled in the same black mud at the tops of the long wooden necks, are rarely preserved. The method of dressing the hair is still prevalent on the Upper Nile, above the First Cataract, and may be seen not only on the present-day women of Nubia but also on the rather similar wooden dolls which are made and sold in the Nubian bazaars. Tattoo designs appear on many of the figures, which frequently are shown wearing short garments of gaudily patterned cloth, bead girdles, and bead necklaces, the two

FIGURE 135. Female figure in painted wood from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty in western Thebes. H. 9 in.





FIGURE 136. Negro slave girls. Painted wooden statuettes from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes. H. 5¾-7 in.

last usually drawn on the wood, but occasionally represented by loops of braided straw. All thirty-three "paddle dolls" in the Museum are from tombs in the neighborhood of Deir el Baḥri and are datable to the second half of the Eleventh Dynasty (about 2050-2000 B.C.).

The Nubian characteristics seen in the "paddle dolls" are also shown in three remarkable little wooden ★statuettes of the Eleventh Dynasty found sadly broken in a great tomb overlooking the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe at Thebes (fig. 136). "These figures," says Winlock,[1] "obviously represent negro slave girls from far up the Nile, jet black and wearing strange skirts covered with barbarous designs in gaudy colors, and many colored beads around their foreheads and necks." It had been "noticed that the features of the tattooed dancing girls buried in the Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ temple showed marked Nubian traits and that Nubian blood had probably flowed through the veins even of such ladies of the king's ḥarīm as ᶜAshayet and Henhenit. Furthermore, the pictures of ᶜAshayet on her sarcophagus gave her a rich chocolate Nubian complexion, and her companion Kemsit was painted on hers an actual ebony black, just like these little figures. It is evident that from above Aswān must have come many a girl in Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's palace and their dusky sisters have been beguiling Oriental potentates ever since." In this connection we may recall the "woman of Nubia" who was the mother of King Amun-em-ḥēt I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty.

It was apparently in the reign of this king—certainly early in the Twelfth Dynasty—that the "paddle doll" was replaced by a more naturalistic and much more attractive type of female ★figure (fig. 137). Molded in blue faience, carved in wood, ivory, or stone, or shaped of pottery or unbaked clay, the fifty or so examples of this class of figure in the Museum's collection are nearly all consistent in the lack of lower legs and feet and in the nudity and exaggerated femininity of the form. Some of the girls, all of whom are obviously very young, are tattooed and wear bead necklaces and girdles of cowrie shells, and a few are clad in short dresses adorned with scale patterns and other designs. The general simplicity of their apparel is more than offset by the almost infinite variety of their often elaborate and always carefully represented coiffures. These range from natural hair cropped close like a man's to long, full wigs with heavy, flaring locks cascading gracefully down over the shoulders of their wearers, and include all the types of headdresses seen on the portrait statuettes as well as others not hitherto encountered. Two of the limestone figures, for example, wear braided wigs, bobbed just below the ears but with extra rows of braids attached to the sides and descending like streamers to the shoulders. Several heads are shaven except for the single braided lock betokening the ex-

[1] *Excavations at Deir el Baḥri*, pp. 129-130.



FIGURE 137. Female figures in faience, wood, ivory, stone, and pottery. From tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht, Thebes, and Gebelein. H. 4½-6¾ in.

treme youth of its wearer. In a number of statuettes the crowns of the heads are drilled with holes for the insertion of tufts of real hair, and the eyes are socketed for inlay. Four of the fifty figures have legs and feet, and one of these may actually have been a child's doll or a household ornament, for it shows considerable wear and had been broken and mended before being placed in the tomb. One of the statuettes, a girl in most respects exactly like the others, holds a child in her arms, and several others were found in the tombs of women, where they must have been placed to function in the capacity of maidservants. The great majority of the figures are from the Twelfth Dynasty cemeteries at el Lisht, but nine were found at Thebes, one at Gebelein, and four are of unknown provenience.

Small genre ★figures of the women of Egyptian households with their infant children occur in tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht and elsewhere. A charming example is a little limestone statuette, formerly in the Morgan collection, representing a young mother seated on the ground and holding her sleeping child on her lap. In three squat little figures of faience the child is held against the woman's left side in characteristic African fashion, in one case swathed under the folds of her long mantle. In another the woman carries her child on her left shoulder, and in a fragmentary statuette a small boy rides high on his mother's shoulders while she grasps his ankles to steady him. Typical of the life in an Egyptian ḥarīm is a small ★group in painted limestone wherein a woman squats on the ground nursing a somewhat oversize child, while her maid sits behind her on a stool dressing her long and elaborately braided hair (fig. 138). Another limestone ★group, showing two apes engaged in a similar but not identical operation, we probably owe to the ungallant sense of humor of a Theban craftsman of the Eleventh Dynasty.

Prominent among the personnel attached to the great households of ancient Egypt were the dwarfs, who functioned both as clowns and as personal attendants of their masters or mistresses and who were apparently regarded with a curious mixture of derision and affection. Oddly enough, they were also on occasion employed as craftsmen, particularly as goldsmiths. Since the little creatures were both rare and fashionable, they were highly prized, and they are frequently represented in works of sculpture and painting. The ordinary household dwarf of the Old and Middle Kingdoms was apparently not an importation from abroad, but simply an Egyptian whose growth had been stunted and whose body had been deformed by one of several different diseases or prenatal malformations of bone or cartilage. They are represented in Egyptian art as squat, bandy-legged little men and women, usually sway-backed, with corpulent bodies, protrud-





FIGURE 138. A woman nursing her child while her maid dresses her hair, and two monkeys carved in a similar pose. Painted limestone statuettes of the Middle Kingdom. From el Lisht and Thebes, respectively. H. 2¼-3 in.

ing paunches, abnormally short and thick limbs, and often curiously flat heads, large out of all proportion to the rest of the figure. Nine small faience and wooden ★statuettes from tombs near the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht show seven male and two female dwarfs, either standing comically on their short, bowed legs or busily engaged in their household duties, carrying and fetching bowls or small jars. One particularly fat little figure thrusts one hand into his mouth and with the other pats his ample stomach, and another kneels in a grotesque caricature of the ritual offering posture, thrusting forward a large bowl.

To a somewhat different category belonged the so-called "dwarfs of the divine dances" from "the Land of the Spirits." These were not really dwarfs, but pygmies of Central Africa, brought back as presents to the kings and great ones of Egypt by trading expeditions to the remote south and valued chiefly as dancers. The best known of these dancing pygmies was the one which Prince Ḥor-khuf obtained for King Pepy II of the Sixth Dynasty and which forms the subject of a famous letter written by the pharaoh, then eight years of age, to his returning emissary (p. 129).

The extraordinary ivory ★statuette shown full size in figure 139 unquestionably portrays just such a pygmy. It was found at el Lisht in the tomb of a girl named Ḥapy, who lived during the reign of King Se'n-Wosret I of the Twelfth Dynasty, and was one of four similar figures which made up an ingeniously contrived and exquisitely executed mechanical toy.[2] Our little dancer, who was the leader of this Lilliputian ballet, is evidently caught in the act of clapping his hands to give the beat to his troupe, at the same time flexing his knees in a movement of the undoubtedly ludicrous dance. The features, contorted in a violent grimace, provide us with a very rare instance of the treatment of facial expression in the art of the Middle Kingdom, and the meticulously realistic modeling of the body—indeed, the whole spirit and appearance of the work—is anything but what we have come to expect of Egyptian sculpture in one of its most classic periods. This miniature monument is an outstanding example of the imaginativeness and capability of the Egyptian artist when he was not restrained by the rules and conventions imposed upon him

[2] The other figures and the base of the toy are in the Cairo Museum. They are described by Lansing in *The Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* for November, 1934, Section II, pp. 30-36.

in the production of the large and solemn works of funerary art.

Except for a much-broken grotesque male ★figure in blue faience and a bronze ★statuette of a resting peasant, the latter probably of the Late Dynastic or Ptolemaic period rather than the Middle Kingdom, informal statuettes of men are not represented in the Museum's collection. There are, however, two little ★figures of boys which merit notice. One, the top of a boxwood seal inscribed for the "Prince and Count, Montuḥotpe, justified" (fig. 193), is carved in the form of a nude child squatting on the ground and touching his mouth with the thumb and forefinger of his left hand in the gesture which, as we have seen, characterizes the very young (𓂝). The other shows a small boy squatting on the ground with his hands held before him, playing with a fat, woolly puppy which is about to dash at him from the opposite end of the base on which both figures are mounted. This small group, in faded blue faience, is from a pit tomb near the southeast corner of the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht.

In ancient Egypt, as everywhere else in the world, the dog was clearly man's oldest and best friend. Representations of hunting dogs, especially the rangy Salūki hounds (𓃥), are common from the earliest times (p. 18), and one of these, with long legs and a tightly curled tail, appears in a fragmentary limestone ★statuette of the Middle Kingdom from el Lisht. In seven small faience and stone ★figures of the Twelfth Dynasty, chiefly from tombs at el Lisht, we meet the common household or village dog—a small, short-haired, short-legged animal of no very definite conformation or breed, but rather like a beagle with a generous admixture of terrier and other strains (fig. 140, left). The tail is stubby and curly, the muzzle short and thick, and the ears rounded and usually drooping. The coloring appears to have been white or tan with large, irregular black splotches. All seven dogs are shown either crouching or lying down, and one is quite evidently asleep. Athough none would take a prize either at a dog show or an art exhibit, they are an engaging group of mongrel pups, deftly, accurately, and sympathetically portrayed.

The other cherished household pet, the cat (𓃠), appears in two fine ★statuettes of blue faience from el Lisht and Heliopolis, the first well dated to the reign of Se'n-Wosret I, the other

FIGURE 139. Dancing pygmy in ivory. Part of a mechanical toy found in a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. H. 2½ in.

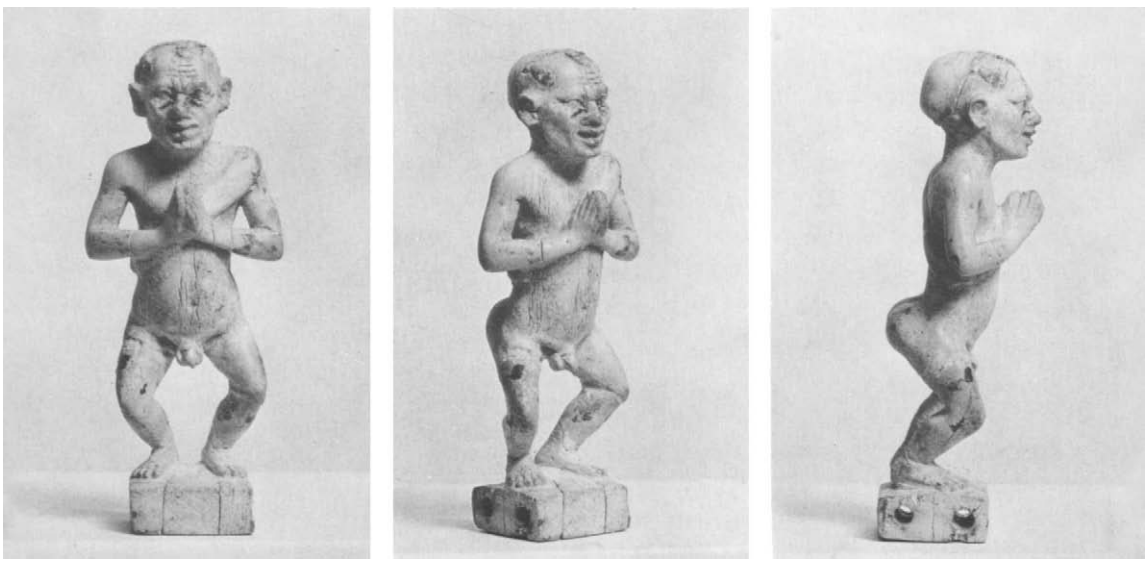




FIGURE 140. Small faience figures of animals, including two dogs, two cats, three jerboa mice, a calf, and two cynocephalus apes. Chiefly from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. H. ¾-3 in.

evidently closely contemporary (fig. 140, right). The form and the fine dark markings of both animals show that, as usual in Egyptian art, the ordinary brindled tabby is represented. The cat from el Lisht crouches with its head on its forepaws, but the one from Heliopolis strides stealthily forward in a stalking pose.

Also from el Lisht and Heliopolis are five charming little faience ★figures of mice—specifically jerboa mice, small mottled rodents with kangaroolike hind legs (fig. 140). These tiny creatures inhabit Egypt's desert fringe, where on moonlight nights they can be seen "dancing" in groups. In the trio of statuettes from Heliopolis they are naturalistically colored white with brown markings.

A piebald calf in blue faience with prominent black splotches (fig. 140) is one of six ★figures of farm animals from the Twelfth Dynasty cemeteries at el Lisht. The animal, perhaps newly born, lies supinely on its side with upraised head. A crude mud figure apparently represents a short-horned cow, and there are four statuettes of sheep, in blue faience, blue paste, and gray stone. One of the last, a crouching lamb in faience, is shown being transported on a stubby little papyriform boat. The others are rams, with the heavy, recurved horns characteristic of the male of one of the two principal Egyptian breeds of sheep (*Ovis platyra aegyptiaca*).

Faience ★figures of the cynocephalus ape, or dog-faced baboon ( ), popular from the earliest historic times (p. 45), are well represented from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. Most of these are executed in the same informal, naturalistic style which characterizes the dog and cat figures and were probably intended as representations of actual animals rather than as symbols of the ancient ape god of Hermopolis, who came to be identified with Thōt. Such apes, in any case, were imported into Egypt in considerable numbers from the lands to the south, whence they were brought by the Egyptian trading expeditions or, as tribute, by the conquered tribesmen of Nubia. In six of our figures the animal, distinguished by its long canine muzzle and bushy mane, squats upright on its haunches, sometimes with one or both forepaws held to its

snout (fig. 140), and in two cases it stands uncertainly on its ridiculously short hind legs. One of the apes carries two little monkeys in its arms, two more on its shoulders, and a fifth on its back. There are, in addition, two cynocephali carved in limestone and a faience figure of a smaller monkey ( ) with both hands pressed to its mouth in the pose made famous in more recent times by our friend "Speak-no-evil" of the well-known simian trio.

The part played by the lion ( ) in the life and art of ancient Egypt was many-sided. We find the lion as the visible manifestation of several gods and goddesses of the Egyptian pantheon, as a quarry for huntsmen, as a model for the playing pieces of a table game, as a symbol of the majesty of the king, as a royal pet, and in later times as a hunting animal and a companion of the king on the field of battle. Four small faience and paste ★figures of the Twelfth Dynasty show the lion in the familiar, and altogether formal, crouched position, with head erect and tail curled around the right flank ( ). In four other ★statuettes, however, the animal stands upright on its hind legs, with its forepaws extended in front, and in one case it holds between its paws the head of a kneeling Nubian captive (fig. 141). This last statuette, delicately carved in wood and probably from a tomb at Thebes, came as a gift to the Museum in 1931 and is without conclusive evidence of date. The three other standing figures of lions, one of faience, one of ivory, and one of wood, are from a cemetery of the early Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. The ivory and wooden lions are fragmentary and may well have grasped kneeling captives, like the statuette from Thebes which in other respects they closely resemble. It has been suggested that these standing figures, which are similar to those engraved on amuletic knives of ivory (fig. 159), portray a lion daemon or divinity; but it seems more likely that, as in Old Kingdom temple reliefs and numerous monuments of the New Kingdom, the lion mauling or biting a fallen enemy either symbolizes the king or represents the actual lion which fought beside him in battle.

The crocodile (,), now rarely seen north of the Second Cataract, was in ancient Egypt, as in the river valleys of modern India, an important element in the lives of the people, who evidently regarded the wily and ruthless creature with mingled feelings of fear and respect. We have seen how, in the late Middle Kingdom, the worship of the crocodile god Sobk ( ) achieved universal popularity throughout Upper and Lower Egypt and in the marshy regions of the Fayyūm basin. It is unlikely that the faience, stone, and wooden ★figures of crocodiles found in tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty actually represent the god; they are, rather, naturalistic portrayals of an element in the familiar scene of daily life along the river and of an animal which was



FIGURE 141. Heraldic lion grasping the head of a kneeling Negro captive. Wooden statuette, probably from Thebes. Twelfth Dynasty (?). H. 3¼ in.

hunted not only for sport but from necessity to ensure the safety of the people, their children, and their herds. The figures seem, on the other hand, to have had some definite amuletic significance, based on the belief that the dreaded power of the great saurian, once propitiated and directed in the proper channels, would ward off from the owners of the statuettes evils which, unaided, they might not hope to escape. This notion is borne out by the fact that a faience crocodile in the Museum's collection, from a tomb near the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht, was found in a small basket together with a baby's feeding cup, adorned with figures and devices of a purely amuletic nature. Six other statuettes of crocodiles from tombs in the same cemetery are of faience, limestone, basalt, wood, and pottery and range in style from wonderfully lifelike portrayals of the animal to crude little figures in which the form is hardly more than suggested.

By far the largest and most formidable animal of ancient Egypt was the hippopotamus.[3] To us this herbivorous and relatively placid creature, which we know only from a few isolated examples in our zoos, seems a pleasant and somewhat ludicrous beast; but to the earliest settlers in the Nile Valley, inadequately armed and forced to seek a livelihood in or near waters infested by vast herds of the enormous and, on occasion, highly dangerous animal, the hippo was a source of keen apprehension, even of terror. Indeed, we may suppose that by the peasantry of prehistoric Egypt it was visualized as a huge and all-devouring monster, like the Leviathan of biblical legend or the dragon of later eras. With time and the gradual thinning out or withdrawal southward of the animals, this primaeval viewpoint changed, and the hunting of the hippopotamus became a sport indulged in with zest by servants of the kings and nobles of the Old Kingdom, who are frequently represented harpooning the great beasts from light skiffs of papyrus. It is also probable that, like the crocodile, the hippopotamus was believed to have been diverted by a propitiatory process from actions perilous to man to those benevolent towards him and that the crude figures of the animal prevalent during the archaic period of Egypt's development may well have been amulets.

Some such belief may account for the fact that, in tombs of the Middle Kingdom, little ★statuettes of hippopotami far outnumber representations of any other type of animal. The thirty-three examples in the Metropolitan Museum are, for the most part, from well-dated burials of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Thebes, Mīr, and el Lisht. Of these, sixteen figures in fine greenish blue faience (see fig. 142)[4] show the hippopotamus standing on its stumpy legs and gazing solemnly straight ahead (). Aquatic plants drawn in black outline on the bodies and heads of the figures are undoubtedly intended to suggest the natural, marshland setting in which the animals are normally seen. Among the plants, the flowers (), buds (), and pads () of the blue lotus (*Nymphaea caerulia*) and the white lotus (*Nymphaea Lotus*) predominate, but the pondweed (*Potamogeton lucens*) also occurs—in one instance as a pattern in curious wide bands of decoration—crossed over the backs of several of the figures. A fragmentary statuette preserves on its surface a panel of wavy lines () representing a body of water. In five additional faience figures the hippopotamus crouches with its head turned sharply to the side, and in one case it rears up upon its forelegs, with its mouth wide open, roaring mightily, as if at bay. Stone statuettes of the hippopotamus include a fine example in alabaster, with unusually detailed modeling of the snout and head, a second and infinitely cruder figure of painted limestone, and a fragmentary limestone group showing two of the animals to-

---

[3] By historic times the elephant was probably not found in Egypt proper, but had already retired far to the south.

[4] The hippopotamus illustrated is the imperturbable "William," a name bestowed on him by visitors to the Museum. Since his acquisition in 1917 William has achieved widespread renown, and in 1931 was the subject of a delightful article in the English periodical *Punch*.

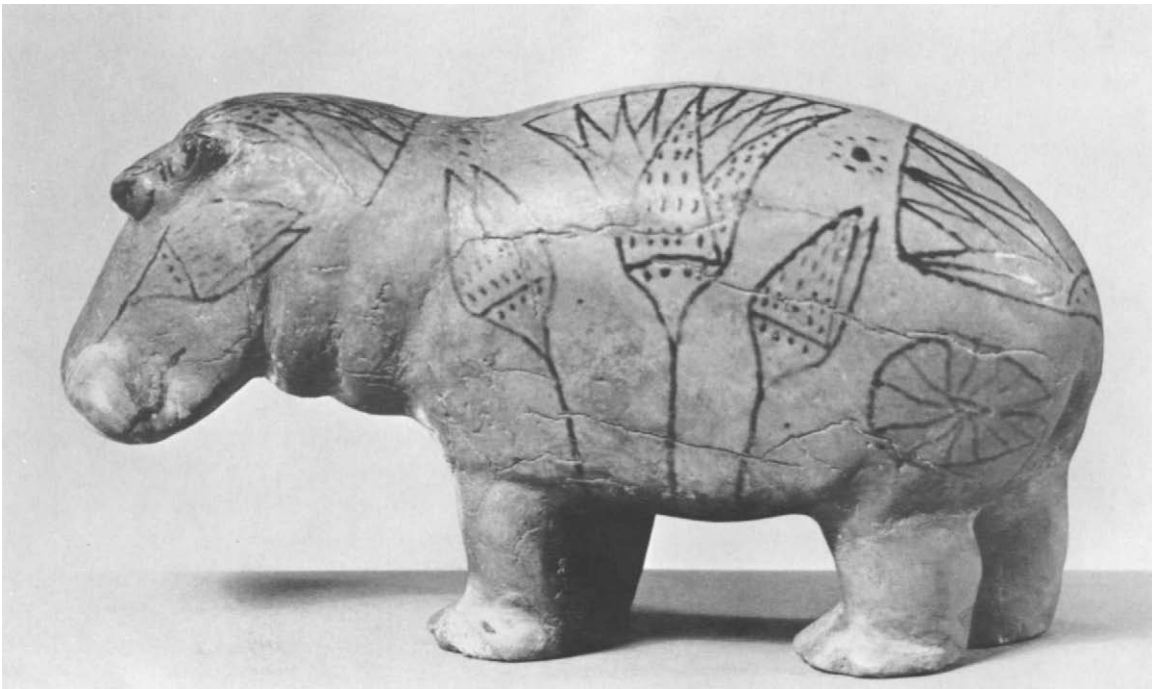


FIGURE 142. Blue faience hippopotamus from the tomb of the Steward Soneb at Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty. H. 4½ in.

gether on a single pedestal. Finally, there are two sadly rotted figures of wood once covered with gesso and painted.

To a different category belong three ★figures in faience and one in limestone of the hippopotamus goddess Ta-Weret (the Greek "Thoueris"), a household divinity popular during the New Kingdom and later as the protectress of the home and the special patroness of women in pregnancy and childbirth. These early representations of the goddess, all from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht, show a female hippopotamus, with distended body and pendulous human breasts, standing upright on its hind legs. Two are carved with a crocodile's back, and one has the arms of a human being, the jaws of a crocodile, and the mane and feet of a lion. At least one is holding before it a large papyrus plant. The limestone figure, though still in the first stage of blocking-out, already shows the unmistakable profile of the grotesque but kindly deity. Ta-Weret appears again in a little zoomorphic ★vase of glazed steatite, the figure hollowed out and fitted with a small circular lid. The underside of the base on which the goddess stands is inscribed with a scroll pattern of the type seen on contemporary seals and scarabs.

Our Middle Kingdom zoo is augmented by the crude wooden ★figure of an antelope, a cobra, or ★uraeus serpent (), in quartzite, and two fragments of ★  -snakes of faience and stuccoed wood. There are, in addition, a score of fragments of unidentified animals in faience, stone, and wood.

Here also may be mentioned a curious ★rod-like object of green-glazed steatite, made in three sections and adorned with magic symbols and with figures of animals in relief and in the round (fig. 143). This strange amulet, formerly in the Carnarvon collection, was found near Heliopolis in the same vaulted brick tomb whence came several of the animal figures described above. On the sides of the rod are represented the *Wedjat*-eye of Horus () and the protective flames, ris-

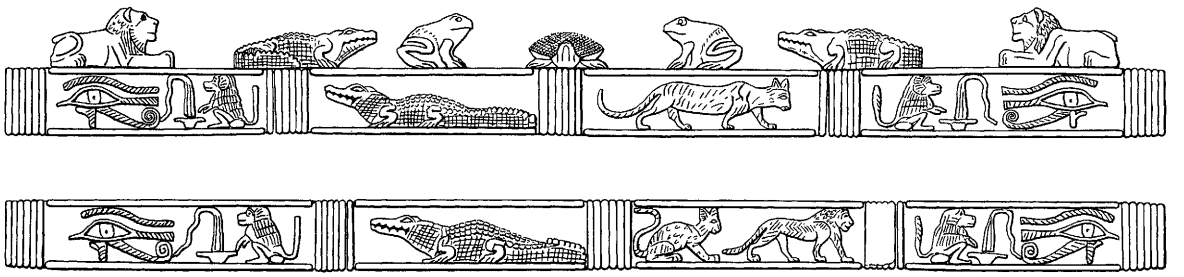


FIGURE 143. Carved rod of glazed steatite from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty near Heliopolis. L. 11 in.

ing from braziers ( ) tended by squatting apes, and, between these amuletic designs, figures of a crocodile ( ), a lion ( ), and recumbent and stalking cats. On the top are little figures of a tortoise ( ), two frogs ( ), two crocodiles, and two crouching lions ( ), carved from separate pieces of steatite and originally fastened in place by pegs. In spite of the savage or unpleasant character of most of these creatures, it is probable that their function here was to protect the owner of the rod from other and more dreaded evils. Numerous fragments of other ★rods of the same type show that the present example is by no means unique.

4. Jewelry

The art of the jeweler, practiced in Egypt since the Neolithic period, reached in the Middle Kingdom a degree of excellence never surpassed throughout the remainder of the country's dynastic history. An extraordinary sense of effective design, coupled with faultless taste and a complete mastery of the techniques involved in working and combining precious metals and semiprecious stones, was furthered by the existence of an almost unlimited supply of the valuable materials required and by a wealthy and discriminating clientele, far more extensive than any found in our modern world. "Not only were women then quite as fond of personal adornment as they are at the present time and not only were men more accustomed to wear jewels than they are today, but the ancient Egyptian jeweler had other patronage. He must exercise his very greatest skill in the service of the gods and he must prepare jewels of all degrees from the cheapest to the best for burial with the dead."[5]

The jewelry found in the tombs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties is of two distinct classes: personal jewelry of various fashionable designs, which had been owned and worn by the men and women of the Middle Kingdom during their earthly existence, and highly conventionalized jewelry of archaic type and magical significance, which was made solely to be placed upon the bodies of the dead. The second class is conveniently called "funerary jewelry," and, since it does not contribute to our knowledge of the life and tastes of the people of the Middle Kingdom, it is more advantageously discussed later, in Chapter XV.

The individual items of personal jewelry affected by the women of the Middle Kingdom included a light circlet, or tiara, worn over the wig, hair rings and other small ornaments fastened to the individual locks of hair, necklaces, with or without pectoral ornaments, bracelets of many types, finger rings, usually mounting a scarab or similar bezel, and narrow girdles of beads encircling the hips. Earrings were as yet unknown, and anklets and broad collars were somewhat less common than in the Old Kingdom. Amulets, or "charms," and grouped hieroglyphic symbols forming ornamental mottoes were frequently worn on the wrists or arms or suspended from the neck. Barbaric ornaments, such as nose rings,

[5] C. R. Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry*, p. 1.

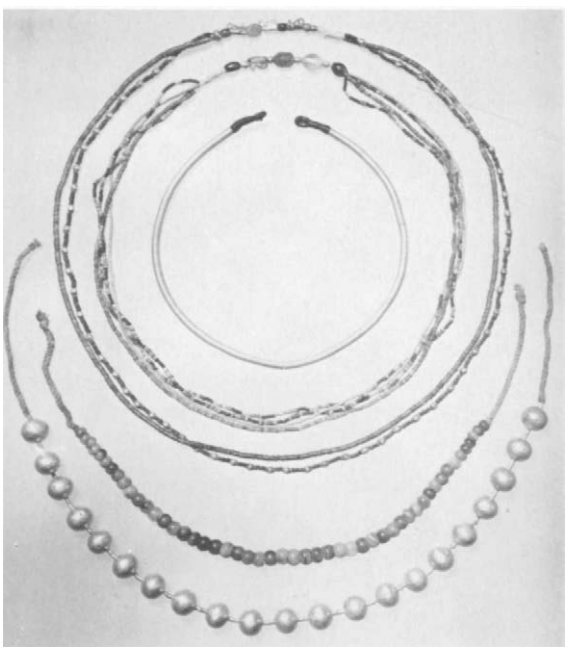
were never popular with the ancient Egyptians.

Gold and silver of high quality, but rarely "pure," were almost the only metals used in the manufacture of Middle Kingdom jewelry. Natural alloys of these metals and of either with a small amount of copper are not infrequent. The favorite stones are carnelian, amethyst, turquoise, lapis lazuli, feldspar, beryl, garnet, jasper, haematite, and rock crystal. Glazed steatite is a common material, especially for scarabs, and blue or green faience is frequently employed for beads and the like, usually as a substitute for the more costly blue or green stones such as turquoise, beryl, or feldspar. Colored glass, though rare, is also known, and a fine-grained, soft blue paste we find variously used, notably to imitate lapis lazuli. The effectiveness of ancient Egyptian jewelry depended, not upon the luster of individual gems, but like our modern "costume" jewelry, upon the beauty of the forms and designs and, above all, upon the bright and pleasing combinations of color.[6] The latter feature, unfortunately, is not apparent in the black and white of our illustrations.

The earliest well-dated piece of jewelry of the Middle Kingdom in the Museum's collection is a ★necklace from the tomb at Thebes of Queen Nefru, sister and wife of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty (see p. 160). Found tied up in a rag in the rubbish near the tomb, where it had apparently been dropped by an ancient thief, the necklace is still on its original linen thread, and the order in which the beads were strung is therefore certain. The necklace, probably worn looped several times about the neck, is about a yard in length and is made up chiefly of hundreds of tiny disk-shaped beads of bright blue faience with, at the center, a series of twenty-seven larger and more ornate beads of various shapes and materials. Here we find rhomboid beads of amethyst and tubes of amethyst, carnelian, lapis lazuli, and green jasper, separated by little gold and haematite ball beads and barrel-shaped beads of carnelian, amethyst, and haematite.

Five ★necklaces of the little Princess Muyet (fig. 144) are described by Winlock, who found them, in 1921, in position on her mummy (see p. 162): "There was a string of great ball beads of hollow gold; another of carnelian beads; two necklaces of minute beads of silver, carnelian, green feldspar, and rich blue glass; and a necklace of gold disks so fine that strung on leather bands they look like a supple tube of unbroken gold. Removing each necklace carefully we were able to preserve the exact arrangement of every bead. In fact, the carnelian necklace still remains on its original string; the end cords of the gold ball beads could be saved; and the leather of the gold disk beads, while hard, had only to be softened a little to be bent into shape."[7] The big metal ball beads, especially popular in the Eleventh Dy-

FIGURE 144. Necklaces found at Thebes on the mummy of the Princess Muyet. Reign of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty



[6] Care was used in making these combinations. For example, amethyst, the color of which combines badly with those of most of the other stones, was never used in inlay patterns.

[7] *Excavations at Deir el Baḥri*, p. 46.

nasty, are molded hollow in two halves and soldered together, with two small tubes soldered on around the threading holes. In the two necklaces at the top of the illustration may be seen three small beads of silver and one of green jasper in the form of the amuletic *Wedjat*-eye (𓂀).

An ★amulet in the form of the hieroglyph 𓋴, *sa,* "protection," is from the tomb of a Theban dancing girl who was an inmate of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's ḥarīm. The symbol represents a herdsman's shelter of papyrus matting; here it is composed of gold and silver wires bound together with bands of pale gold and provided at the top with a ring whereby it might be suspended from a necklace or the like. Three similar ★amulets from the Theodore M. Davis collection are of unknown provenience. All three are of gold wire with gold cross bands.

From the tomb of another of Montu-ḥotpe's ḥarīm girls come three silver ★"spacers" belonging to a wide bracelet composed of ten rows of beads. The flat bars of metal, with surfaces embossed to imitate the adjacent beadwork, are pierced edgewise with holes through which ran the cords of the bracelet. Besides having ornamental value they served to keep the beadwork of the bracelet from spreading, bunching up, or becoming twisted. A tomb near by yielded a ★girdle of small bivalve and snail shells strung on thongs of leather and not unlike those seen on the little female figures discussed above (p. 220).

Fine sets of personal and funerary jewelry were found on the intact and heavily bandaged mummy of the Estate Manager Waḥ, a minor official of the late Eleventh Dynasty who lived during the reign of Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe III and served under the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ. Of five ★necklaces worn by Waḥ during his lifetime the most striking is a string of eleven huge, hollow silver ball beads of the type owned by the Princess Muyet, but much larger. The others include a string of twenty-eight smaller spheres of gold, two necklaces of blue faience ball beads, and a string of twenty-eight tubular and barrel beads of carnelian, moss agate, milky quartz, black and white porphyry, and green-glazed steatite. The larger of two magnificent ★scarabs of solid silver bears on its back the titles and names of Waḥ and Meket-Rēᶜ inlaid in pale gold (fig. 145) and on its underside an incised scroll pattern in the interstices of which appear two uraei (𓆓) and the hieroglyphs 𓋴 and 𓊵. A similar scroll design appears on the



FIGURE 146. Gold circlet and hair ornaments of the lady Senebtīsy from her tomb at el Lisht. Early Twelfth Dynasty

FIGURE 145. Silver scarab of the Estate Manager Waḥ from his tomb at Thebes. Late Eleventh Dynasty. H. 1½ in.

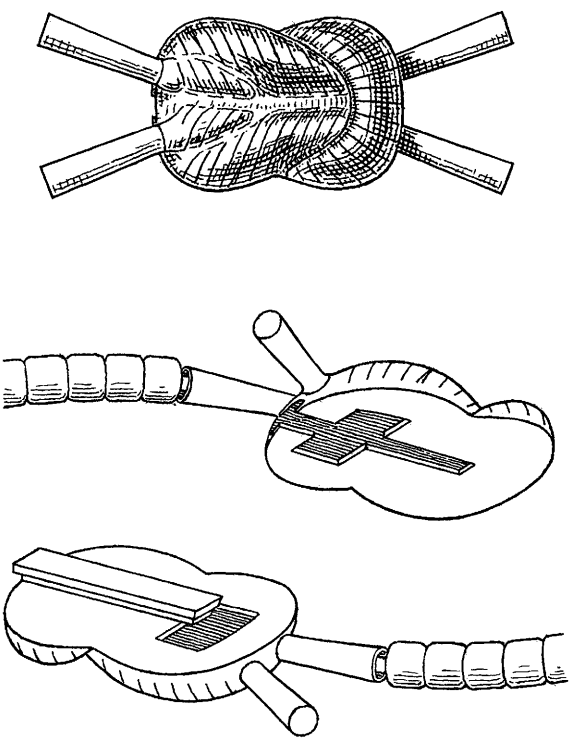


underside of the smaller scarab, framing the signs ☥, 𓊪, and 𓋴. Each of the two scarabs was made up of several parts—head and back plate, legs, and base—soldered together, and each has a gold tube running longitudinally through the base for the suspension cord. Both scarabs were dented and scratched from long use, and before being placed on the mummy their mouths and eyes had been obliterated by hammering to render them harmless to their dead owner. The silver scarabs and a large ★scarab of lapis lazuli found with them had then been strung on separate cords, each with one large tubular bead and one large barrel bead, to form amuletic bracelets of known type but of uncertain significance. A fourth ★scarab of dark blue faience had been strung simply on a hank of linen threads.

With the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty in 1991 B.C., the jewelry becomes more elaborate, more diversified as to types and designs, and more meticulous and detailed in its execution.

The delicate and charming parure of the House Mistress Senebtīsy dates from the early years of the Twelfth Dynasty and probably to the reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt I, near whose pyramid at el Lisht the lady was buried. The head of Senebtīsy's mummy was adorned with a ★circlet of fine, twisted gold wire (fig. 146), and her long tresses sparkled with ninety-eight little ★rosettes of beaten gold bound at regular intervals to the separate locks (the hair on which they are exhibited is modern). One of three ★necklaces is composed of three strands of tiny ball beads of carnelian, green feldspar, and blue frit divided into sections by sets of multiple gold beads and supporting twenty-five pendants of beaten gold in the form of small bivalve shells. Another consists of two strings of little green feldspar beads enclosing twenty-one 𓋹-amulets of electrum, carnelian, silver, green feldspar, and ivory. In the third necklace the beads are in the shape of small 𓏛-vases of carnelian, green feldspar, blue frit, and gilded paste, with a pendant in the form of a gold Ω-symbol (see p. 64) inlaid with carnelian and blue paste. The back of this pendant is a plate of gold cut to the desired shape, to which were soldered narrow strips of gold, set on edge, to form the outlines of the inlaid designs. The chief difference between this technique and the "cloisonné" work of more recent times is that, in Egyptian jewelry, the inlay usually consists of bits of colored stone ground to shape and held in place in the cloisons by cement. The ★girdle which Senebtīsy wore during her lifetime is a light, openwork belt made up of six strands of small ovoid beads in the shape of acacia seeds, separated by groups of minute disks of gold, carnelian, green feldspar, and lapis lazuli, the same materials, in addition to a yellowish composition imitating ivory, being used also for the acacia beads. A ★bracelet of faience tubular beads is fitted with a gold ★clasp in the form of a corded square knot. The clasp (fig. 147) is composed of two overlapping halves, a keyed tongue on the upper surface of one half of the knot sliding horizontally into a slot in the

FIGURE 147. Gold clasp in the form of a square knot. L. ½ in.



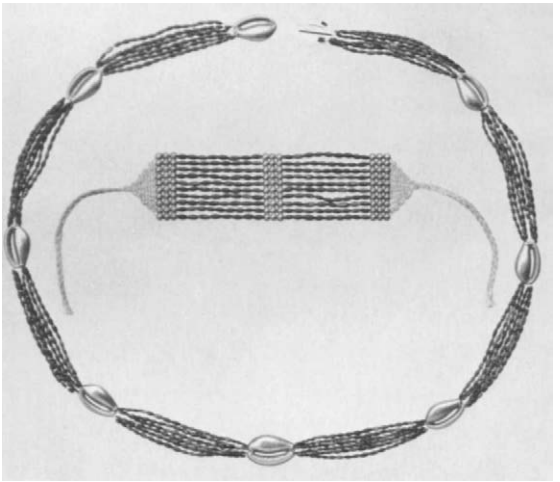


FIGURE 148. Girdle and bracelet of a girl named Ḥapy from a tomb near the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht. Gold and lapis lazuli

underside of the other half. This is the type of clasp used on most of the bracelets and girdles of the Twelfth Dynasty, and we shall see it not only in the form of a knot but also in the form of cowrie shells of gold and in other types of metal locking elements.

The jewelry of a girl named Ḥapy, who lived during the reign of Se'n-Wosret I and was buried in a maṣṭabeh tomb near the pyramid of the king at el Lisht, comprises an interesting assortment of elements apparently acquired secondhand and more or less at random by their owner. Around the hips of the girl's skeleton were found parts of a ★girdle, including eight hollow gold beads imitating in their form the cowrie shells which the Egyptians from the earliest times used strung together as necklace or girdle ornaments (fig. 148). A great quantity of small, slender barrel beads of lapis lazuli found among the cowries apparently made up the rest of the girdle, and these have been arranged in six strands between the cowrie beads. One of the latter is split and grooved to form a clasp whereby the girdle was fastened. Three spacer bars, composed of ten triple rows of small gold beads soldered together, lay beside one of Ḥapy's wrists; these, with ten strands of the lapis barrel beads, have been made up as a ★bracelet (fig. 148) with plaited cord ties modeled on those of other bracelets of the same date found near by.[8] Two ★necklaces recovered from the much disturbed remains in the coffin are composed, respectively, of sixty-two large barrel beads of lapis lazuli, graduated in size, and seventy-six highly polished spherical beads of carnelian, the latter strung together with eight slightly smaller beads of gold. Over a thousand miscellaneous ★beads of various sizes, shapes, and materials were found scattered under the brick wall blocking the doorway of Ḥapy's burial chamber and in the wreck of a wooden jewel box, inlaid with panels of ivory, which lay just outside this wall. There are little ring beads of blue paste, faience, steatite, carnelian, and garnet; ball beads of faience, carnelian, amethyst, gold, and copper; barrel beads of black and green faience and blue paste; tubular beads of faience; drop-shaped beads of carnelian, lapis lazuli, and green faience; a melon-shaped bead of gold; and an amethyst amulet in the form of the *Wedjat*-eye of Horus. A number of these have been assembled in plausible arrangements to form four rather attractive ★necklaces. Two ★strings of real shells, probably from the Red Sea coast, comprise six cowries with the backs cut off and sixty-nine little periwinkle shells pierced longitudinally for stringing.

[8] An anklet of the same type, but with gold clasp bars, and a handsome necklace of gold acacia-seed beads found on the body are in the Cairo Museum, as are also four little gold necklace or bracelet ornaments shaped like baskets.

FIGURE 149. Inlaid gold shell pendant of King Se'n-Wosret II, probably from Thebes or its vicinity. H. 1 in.



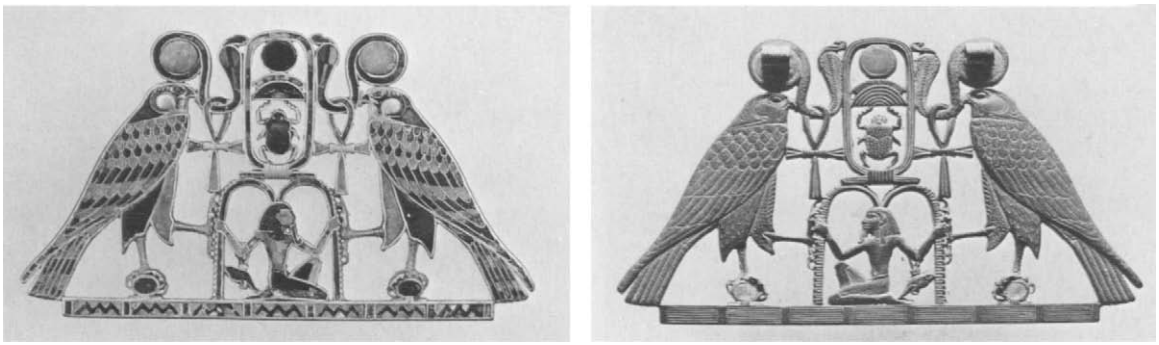


FIGURE 150. Pectoral of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet with the name of her father, King Se'n-Wosret II. Gold inlaid with semiprecious stones. H. 1¾ in.

A ★pendent ornament with the name of Se'n-Wosret II, mentioned on page 198, is in the form of a bivalve shell of gold adorned with an inlaid design which comprises the praenomen cartouche of the king flanked by uraeus serpents and, at the top, an inverted lotus flower, both motifs outlined in narrow strips of gold (fig. 149). Around the edge of the shell is a border of granular work—a row of tiny gold balls soldered or fused to the surface of the gold plate. Of the inlay there now remains only a piece of carnelian in the 𓈖-sign of the king's name. The pendant, purchased from a dealer in Luxor, is probably from Thebes or some near-by Upper Egyptian site. The same is true of another necklace pendant of fine gold filigree in the form of a uraeus. Of unknown provenience is a glazed steatite shell ★pendant engraved on the back with the praenomen of King Amun-em-ḥēt III enclosed in a cartouche and flanked by the signs for "life" and "stability."

The personal jewelry and other splendid possessions of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, daughter of King Se'n-Wosret II, sister or half sister of King Se'n-Wosret III, and aunt of King Amun-em-ḥēt III, are known in modern times as "the treasure of el Lāhūn," having been found in the tomb of the princess near the pyramid of her father at el Lāhūn (see p. 198). Of this treasure the Metropolitan Museum possesses all except a gold crown, an inlaid scarab, some gold tubing, a silver mirror, and one of two inlaid pectorals retained by the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.[9]

Our ★pectoral (fig. 150), a magnificent example of the taste and skill of the royal jewelers of the Twelfth Dynasty, was made for Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet at the command of her father, Se'n-Wosret II, and bears his praenomen, Khaᶜ-kheper-Rēᶜ, in a cartouche at the center of its design. The cartouche, flanked on either side by a solar falcon, wearing the sun disk and uraeus with pendent ☥-sign, and the figure of the god of "years," kneeling below the royal name and having suspended from his right arm the symbol 𓆐, "hundred thousand," form a rebus which may be taken to mean: "The Sun God gives hundreds of thousands of years of life to Se'n-Wosret II." The front of the jewel, inlaid with some three hundred and seventy pieces of stone—lapis lazuli, turquoise, carnelian, and garnet—is scarcely more remarkable than the gold back plate, whereon the details of the design are engraved in lines of almost microscopic fineness. Both this and the Cairo pectoral were apparently worn suspended from ★necklaces of large dropshaped beads of gold, carnelian, green feldspar, and lapis lazuli, separated by small spherical beads of gold and turquoise.

A ★girdle which the princess wore about her hips is composed of eight large cowrie shells of

[9] Reproductions of these objects are exhibited with the rest of the jewelry in New York. Most of the gold ★hair rings mounted with the crown are the originals.

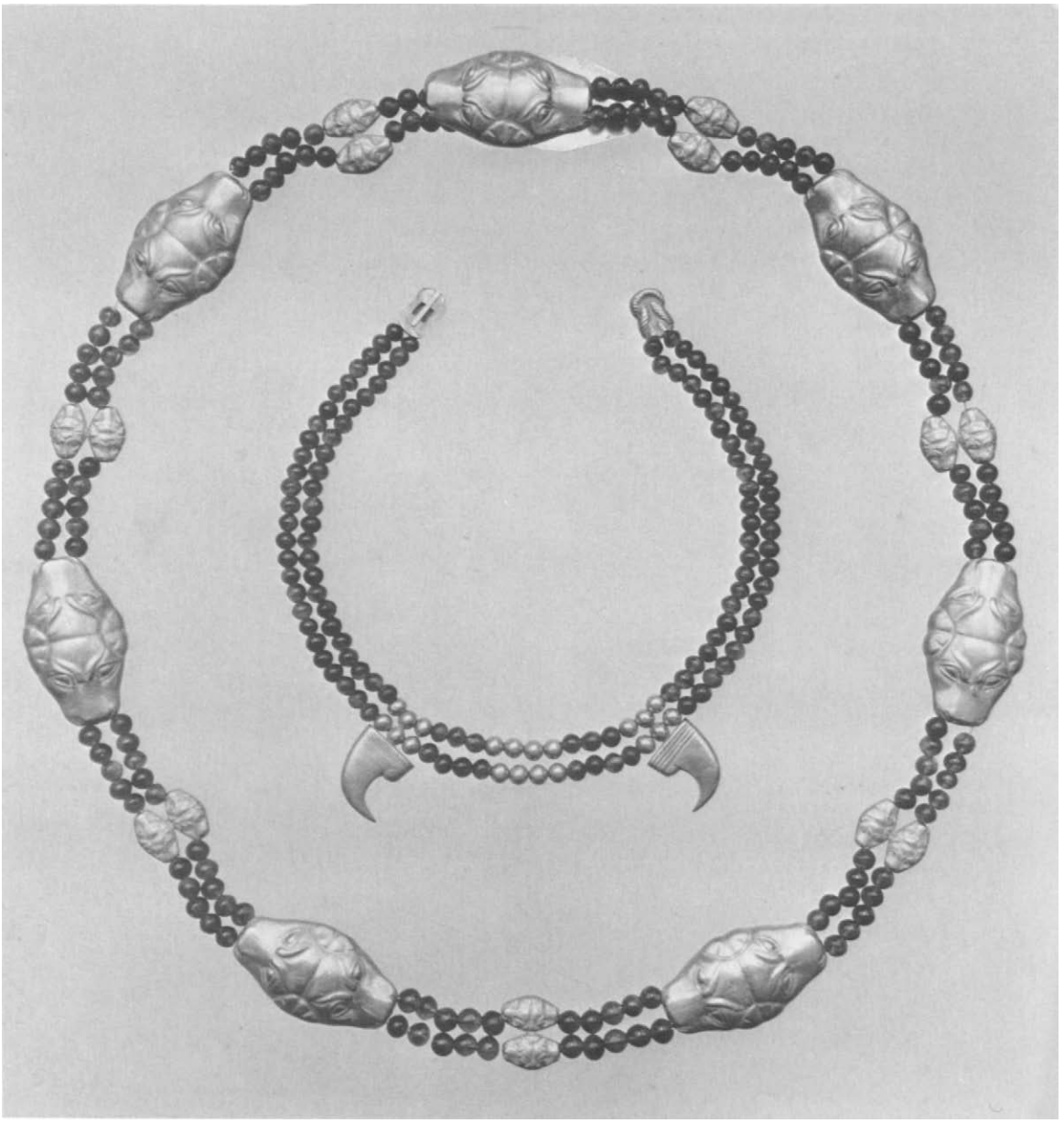


FIGURE 151. Girdle and necklace of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet. Gold and amethyst

hollow gold, spaced evenly around a double strand of small acacia-seed beads of gold, carnelian, and turquoise. Each cowrie contains four or five little pellets of copper-silver alloy loose inside the shell, so that the girdle tinkled softly as the royal lady walked or danced; and one of the shells is split to form a sliding clasp like the knot clasp of Senebtīsy described above. A second ★girdle is of spherical beads of dark amethyst with large and small double leopard heads of gold strung between; and to go with this there is a short, double-stranded ★necklace of amethyst beads adorned with two gold claws[10]

[10] The claws are perhaps from a pair of anklets, rather than from a necklace. See the article by Eaton listed in the Bibliography under Art and Architecture.

and fitted with a clasp in the form of a gold knot (fig. 151). As in the cowrie girdle, one of the large leopard heads of the amethyst girdle is a clasp, and all the others contain little rattling pellets, in this case of hard stone.

From her nephew, King Amun-em-ḥēt III, Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet received a set of wide ★bracelets and anklets made up of little tubular beads of gold, carnelian, and turquoise, with spacers and clasps of gold. The anklets are fastened with two-part sliding clasps of the ordinary type; but the bracelets are too wide to permit of such an arrangement, and each is clasped by means of a flat bar with tongued edges that slides into place between the slotted end bars of the bracelet and so locks them together. The clasp bars are of gold with the titles and throne name of Amun-em-ḥēt III inlaid on their outer surfaces in carnelian and blue and green paste.

A pair of gold lions couchant, probably representing the twin lion divinities Shu and Tefēnet, are mounted face to face on each of four little ★bracelets or armlets of gold, turquoise, and carnelian disk beads. Such amuletic ornaments for the arms, in this case fitted with gold knot clasps, are well known from both the Middle and New Kingdoms. Also to be worn on the arms, evidently on loops of cord, are five inlaid gold ★clasps made up of one or more hieroglyphic signs forming mottoes or good wishes (fig. 152). From left to right in the illustration we see two *shenu*-symbols of "universal power," and three groups, or monograms, meaning, respectively, "Joy," "All life and protection," and "The heart of the Two Gods is content."

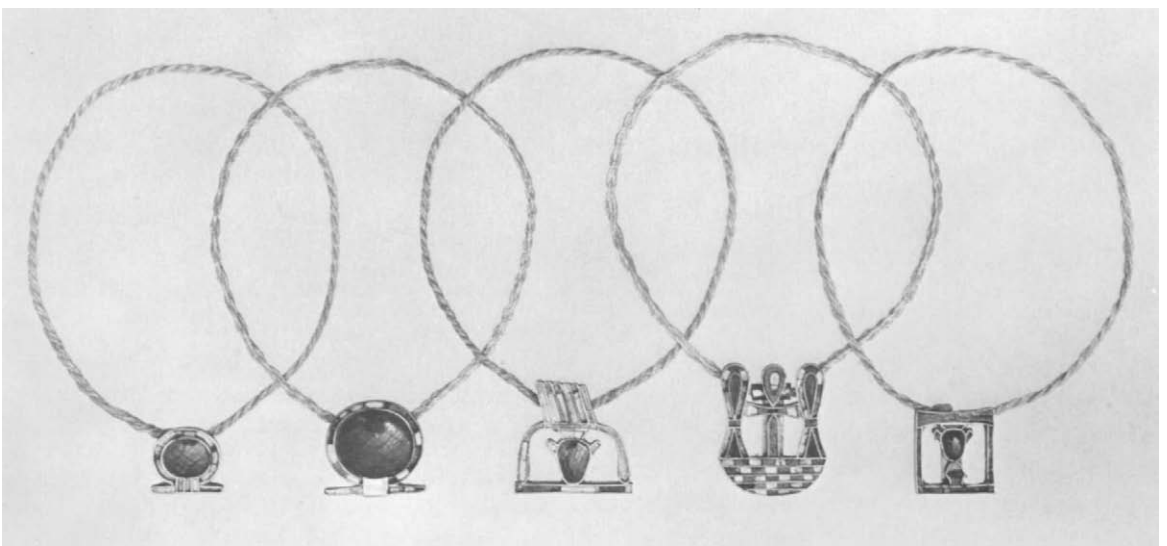
A finger ★ring of slender gold wire mounts a scarab with a plain gold base plate, but with the back and sides of the beetle elaborately inlaid with green feldspar, carnelian, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and dark blue and green paste. One of two fine ★scarabs of lapis lazuli bears on its underside the throne name of Amun-em-ḥēt III surmounting a kneeling figure of the god of "years" and framed on either side by a threefold scroll.

Finally, there are two complete gold knot ★clasps and four odd halves of similar clasps unassociated with any of the other elements. "Clearly," says Winlock,[11] "Sit Ḥat-Ḥor Yūnet's jewel caskets had long been in use, and in a perfectly natural way odd bits of broken jewelry had found their way into them."

The bulk of the jewelry of the queens and princesses of the Twelfth Dynasty found at Dah-

[11] *The Treasure of el Lāhūn*, p. 54.

FIGURE 152. Motto clasps of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet. Gold and semiprecious stones



shūr is in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo; but twenty-three small and more or less isolated elements of this ★jewelry came to the Metropolitan Museum in 1926 with the Carnarvon collection. There is throughout a very close similarity between the treasures of el Lāhūn and Dahshūr, and many of the pieces were almost certainly designed and executed by the same craftsmen who made the jewels of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet. To the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor, perhaps an older sister of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, belonged a gold cowrie shell from a girdle, one carnelian and two gold acacia seeds from another girdle, two gold lions couchant from a bracelet, an amethyst scarab of King Se'n-Wosret III, mounted in gold, two uninscribed scarabs of lapis lazuli and one of obsidian adorned with gold base plates and mounted on rings of gold wire. Queen Mereryet, who may have been another daughter of Se'n-Wosret II, was the owner of a gold necklace, of which the Museum possesses ten units of multiple tubular beads, four with bivalve shells pendent from them. Three pendants of gold inlaid with carnelian and lapis lazuli are from a second necklace which was also the property of Mereryet. Two inlaid gold necklace pendants, one reproducing the hieroglyph 𓏏, are recognized as having belonged to the Princess Chenmet, who lived a generation before the time of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, in the reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt II. Of the same type and workmanship is an elaborate, small unit from a necklace in the form of two lotus flowers side by side, executed in gold cloisonné inlaid with lapis lazuli and turquoise and engraved on the back. Elements from unidentified tombs at Dahshūr include three gold hair tubes, a gold knot clasp, a cylindrical pendant of gold, turquoise, and lapis lazuli, and a necklace unit of gold inlaid with carnelian and having the shape of an animal's horn (𓆣).

Sets of personal jewelry from private tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at Mīr, Abydos, and Thebes, though lacking the refinement and technical perfection of the royal jewels, are of diverse and frequently elaborate designs.

A favorite type of ★necklace is composed of large spherical beads of stone or faience adorned with metal caps and spaced by tubes of metal, in most cases soldered to the caps. An example in polished obsidian with caps and tubes of silver was found at Mīr on the mummy of the Steward Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify, whose coffins and other funerary equipment are also in the Museum's collection (pp. 308, 312, 314). An altogether similar necklace, but with gold caps and tubes, is from the tomb of Reny-sonbe, a "Magnate of the Southern Tens" buried at Thebes during the last years of the Twelfth Dynasty. Big faience ball beads with caps of gold were found by the Egyptian Expedition at el Lisht, and since they are from a tomb near the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I they are probably to be dated early in the dynasty. This dating is borne out by the discovery of four similar faience beads, capped with silver, in a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes. It is interesting to note that both of the known owners of such necklaces were men.

In 1904 the Museum received as a gift from the Egypt Exploration Fund an extensive and interesting group of ★jewelry from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Abydos. Unfortunately, the chamber containing the jewelry had been much disturbed by falls of rock, and the elements were recovered one by one from the débris with little information on their original arrangement. Of the forty-four pieces comprising the set, one of the most striking is a three-stranded necklace of amethyst barrel beads adorned with six big silver claws.[12] An attractive wide bracelet is made up of twelve rows of barrel beads of carnelian, green feldspar, and blue paste strung with exact reproductions of a set of silver spacers found in the tomb. Four other bracelets consist of double strands of silver wire bent to form circular loops with the ends joined together in ornamental square knots. Five delicately made little amulets

[12] Restrung in the Museum. The association of the amethyst beads with the claws was suggested by the similar claw necklace from el Lāhūn (fig. 151). See, however, p. 234, note 10.

of silver show us the god of Eternity kneeling and holding in each of his outstretched hands the symbol 𓍢, for "years." Two others depict the wolf god of Si'ūṭ, Up-wawet, "Opener of the Ways," and an eighth represents the dog god Anubis couchant upon his shrine. There are a tiny silver figure of the god Mīn of Koptos, a group composed of two birds upon a 𓋴-sign, and a small silver lion—evidently one of a pair from a bracelet or armlet. Fourteen stone amulets of lapis lazuli and beryl include figures of Horus the Child (Harpokrates), the funerary god Ptaḥ Sokar of Memphis, human-headed birds representing the *ba*, or soul, of the deceased Egyptian, the falcon of the god Horus, the frog of the goddess Ḥeḳet, and several insects, among which we recognize the slender green beetle and the common fly. On a string of rather coarse beads of faience are two *Wedjat*-eye amulets of carnelian and a scarab of green feldspar. Two scarabs of lapis lazuli are fitted with loops of cord to form finger rings. A small disk of sheet silver pierced with a hole for stringing is a fairly common amuletic device found in tombs of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes and elsewhere. Two large tubular beads are of silver, and a third is of electrum. The set is completed by two strings of amethyst ball beads, a string of barrel beads, also of amethyst, and fifteen rhomboid beads of carnelian.

The kneeling god of "Millions of Years" occurs, exactly as in the Abydos tomb, in a small gold ★amulet from the northern cemetery at el Lisht. The ibis of the god Thōt, mounted upon a perch (𓅞), forms the subject of an ★amulet of gold and ★another of silver, both formerly in the Murch collection. In the silver amulet the feather of "rightness," "exactitude" (𓆄), stands before the figure of the sacred bird. From the same collection comes a little ★group in gold showing a vulture and a falcon posed heraldically, beak to beak. It is probable that such little amuletic ornaments were worn strung together, like our modern "charms," on bracelets or necklaces.

A set of ★jewelry (fig. 153) which bears marked similarities to the group from Abydos was found in 1913 by the Egyptian Expedition in a portico tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty near the foot of the causeway of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe at Thebes. In addition to bracelets of silver wire, there are parts of a slender circlet of the same material and a pair of wide bracelets of carnelian, lapis, and turquoise barrel beads with silver spacers and clasps. Eighteen additional spacers from bracelets or anklets are of sheet electrum shaped around plastic cores, and with these were found a few matching beads of carnelian, lapis lazuli, and faience. A girdle of twelve silver cowries and one silver acacia seed has been strung with a double strand of carnelian and amethyst ball beads. A large pendent ornament in the form of the royal falcon wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt is of electrum beaten to shape over a core of some plastic material. Nine very much smaller amulets of silver and one of lapis lazuli represent the hippopotamus goddess Ta-Weret. A miscellaneous assortment of twelve small amulets of carnelian, lapis lazuli, amethyst, turquoise, and faience have been strung together with various small beads of the same materials, and here we find couchant lions, a lion's head, *Wedjat*-eyes, and tiny figures of falcons. In contrast to such arbitrarily assembled "strings" of ancient elements, there are sixty amethyst ball beads, evenly graduated in size, which, since they were found and have been restrung in their original order, may properly be referred to as a "necklace." A shell pendant of silver has not been assigned to any of the groups discussed above, and there are some thirty barrel beads of lapis lazuli and carnelian left over from the stringing of the wide bracelets. Three scarabs made, respectively, of amethyst, lapis lazuli, and glazed steatite are of the plain, undetailed type common in the Middle Kingdom; of the three, only the steatite example bears a design on its underside.

The modest parure of a peasant girl of the Twelfth Dynasty, buried in a simple grave at Abadīyeh, in Upper Egypt, comprises four ★strings of rather coarse beads varying little ex-

cept in length but found on the skeleton of their youthful owner in positions which indicated that one was a girdle, one an armlet, and two were bracelets. Each string is composed of a mixed series of ball and barrel beads of carnelian, haematite, amethyst, garnet, and rock crystal. The girdle has a plain carnelian scarab as its central element, and the armlet, found at the girl's right elbow, has a large rhomboid bead of carnelian used in the same way.

A group of burials of the late Middle Kingdom, discovered at Thebes by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition (p. 202), yielded a quantity of ★necklaces, girdles, bracelets, and amulets which are of interest not only because most of them were found strung in their original order on the bodies of their owners but also because among them there are several types not hitherto discussed. A little necklace of mixed beads of amethyst, carnelian, garnet, faience, and glazed steatite was strung with the beads spaced half an inch apart and separated from one another by series of knots in the cord. A girdle found in position around the hips of a mummy is composed of two strands of haematite barrel beads joined together at three places, where the strings pass through a tiny shell and two beadlike ornaments made of folded palm leaves. In a necklace of shell and carnelian disk beads from the body of a child the disks are strung edge to edge, with the cords woven in and out of the beads to keep them in a flat line. Two disk amulets similar to the one from the tomb at Abydos were found suspended on twisted cords from the necks of their respective owners. One of these is of silver, the other of ivory. A scarab of green jasper, a girdle of black and green faience ball beads strung in alternating color groups of nine or ten beads each, and a necklace of barrel beads of carnelian and faience increasing gradually in size from the ends of the necklace to its center are among the many other items of this Theban jewelry of the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty.

Over and above the well-recorded and more or less accurately dated sets of jewelry discussed above, the Museum's collection includes scores of ★strings of beads of manifold types and materials and hundreds of individual ★beads and other elements produced by the jewelers of the Middle Kingdom. Many of these, though lacking in "pedigree," are of great interest and—better still—of great beauty and will well repay study by the visitor who has the necessary time at his disposal.

By the Middle Kingdom the scarab, primarily an amulet adapted for use as a seal, had already come to be employed chiefly as an ornament—and especially as an ornament to be worn on the hand, either mounted on a metal ring or tied to the finger of its owner with a loop of cord. This ancient custom is of interest to us, for in it lies the origin of our modern finger ring, now designed and worn almost exclusively as an ornament, but still retaining, in signet rings, engagement rings, and wedding rings, something of its old significance as a seal and as a symbol of a contract entered into by its owner.

Except for a generally higher standard of quality and for the legends inscribed on their undersides, there is no essential difference between the royal scarabs described on page 201 and scarabs made for private individuals. Indeed, it is certain that many of the former belonged, not to the kings whose names they bear, but to members of their families and to other Egyptians who wore the royal seals either as badges of office or merely as symbols of devotion to their sovereigns. All Middle Kingdom scarabs, royal or private, conform to a few, for the most part simple, types, which imitate more or less accurately the form of the beetle *Scarabaeus sacer*. The same materials—stone, faience, metal—are used for all classes of scarabs, though, certainly by the Twelfth Dynasty, glazed steatite was by far the most common. The chief interest in these small monuments lies, not in their forms or materials, but in the infinite variety of the "legends" with which their undersides are adorned. These include the names and titles of their owners, mottoes, good wishes, figures of gods, animals and birds, heraldic devices, and decorative designs,

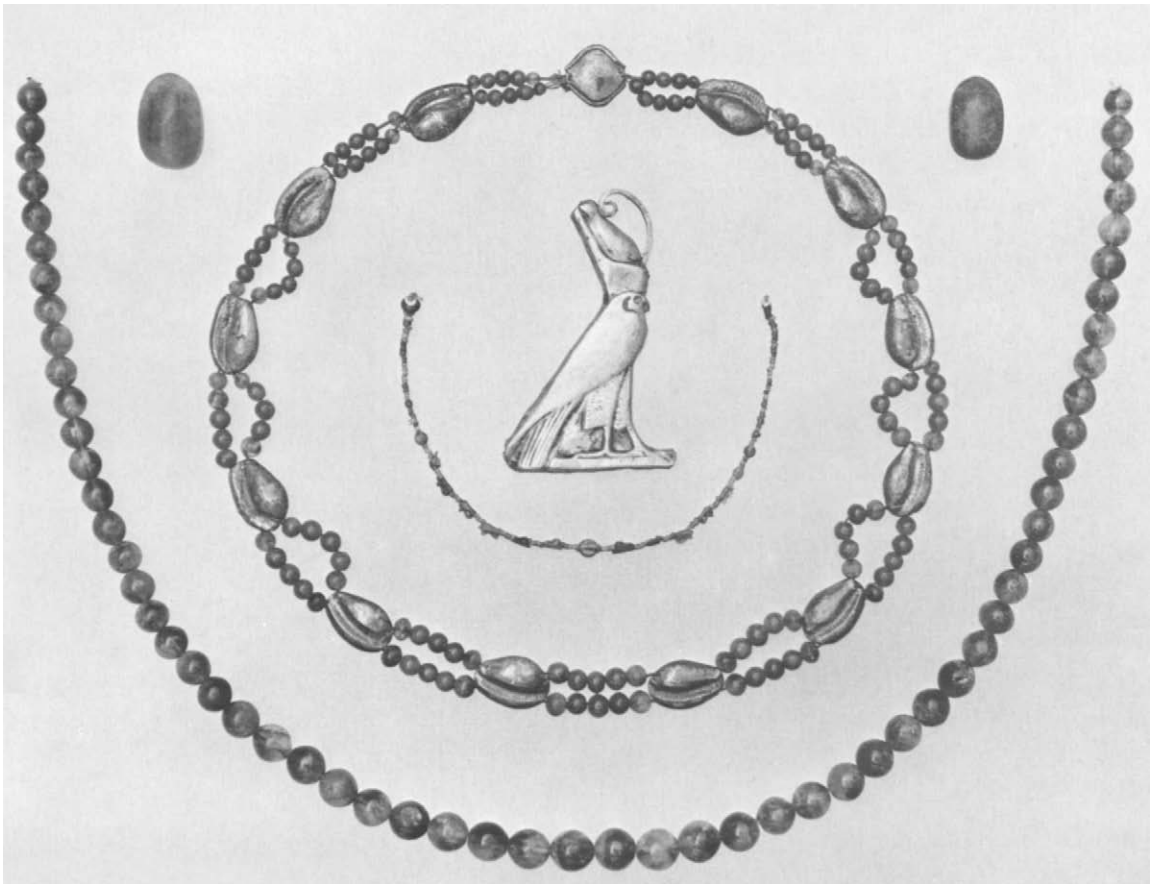


FIGURE 153. Set of jewelry from a private tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes

the last composed of spirals, interlaces, floral motifs, geometric patterns, and all kinds of combinations of these elements.

To discuss or even catalogue the six hundred scarabs and scaraboids of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties in the Metropolitan Museum is beyond the scope of this survey; but we may pause long enough to inspect a few examples, which, because of their quality, materials, mountings, or legends, are of outstanding interest.

Prominent among these is an extraordinary ★scarab of blue-glazed steatite with the back exquisitely carved in an openwork design showing the cartouche of King Amun-em-ḥēt III above a figure of the dwarf god Bēs, flanked on either side by figures of the hippopotamus goddess Ta-Weret. The underside is engraved with a scene in which the king in a papyrus skiff is seen harpooning a hippopotamus. From a tomb near the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht comes an unusually fine ★scarab of polished green jasper, fitted with an inscribed gold base plate and mounted on a ring of gold wire. The name inscribed on the gold plate and framed by a continuous spiral pattern is that of the "Chamberlain Amūny." Another chamberlain, Yem, was the owner of a beryl ★scarab mounted in a gold frame, or funda, and swiveled on a gold finger ring. An amethyst ★scarab on a ring of copper bears the name Mery-Rēᶜ, perhaps the throne name of King Pepy I of the Sixth Dynasty. Two fine ★scarabs of blue-glazed steatite from tombs of the late Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes have rings of silver. One of these is inscribed for a man named Nakhte, and the other bears on its under-

side an elaborate design showing plants knotted about interlocking 𓋹-signs. A ring ★bezel of rock crystal with incised scroll decoration is of interest as having come from Byblos on the Syrian coast. It may be noted that all the scarabs mounted on rings are swiveled, so that they could be rotated with their undersides outward and used as seals.

5. Dress, Coiffure, and Make-Up

Turning now from the jewelry to the costume of the people of the Middle Kingdom, we find that few items of actual wearing apparel have survived the ravages of time. The great majority of the cloth preserved to us is in the form of long, fringed sheets or bolts, such as were kept in household linen stores for use as bed sheets and the like or were employed in the wrappings of the dead, either whole or torn into long, narrow bandages. On the mummy of the Estate Manager Waḥ, however, were found several fringed ★shawls, or kilt cloths, of woven linen, in one case dyed red, and the fragments of pleated ★linen from the tomb of Queen Nefru of the Eleventh Dynasty were almost certainly parts of garments. A sleeveless ★shirt from the tomb of Meket-Rēʿ consists of a rectangle of fine linen cloth, fifty-six inches long and thirty-one inches wide, folded once lengthwise and sewn together up the sides, with holes left for the arms and another hole cut out of the top for the neck. The edges of the neck-hole and the bottom edges of the garment are rolled and whipped with thread. Another tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes yielded three unfinished ★aprons of soft leather, dyed, respectively, reddish brown, black, and green.

Three pairs of rawhide ★sandals, which had evidently seen prolonged wear, are simple affairs. For each sandal a sole of thick hide was cut to the approximate size and shape of the foot, right or left, with a loop of hide left projecting upward on either side of the ankle. A third looped tie of rawhide was passed upward through the sole between the positions of the great and second toes, and through the loops was run a strap of leather, passing behind the heel and over the instep of the wearer. Two of the pairs of sandals, found wrapped together in a scrap of linen, are of small size and evidently belonged to children. One of the third pair was so worn that it was not worth saving. Far more common than real sandals in the tombs of the Middle Kingdom are funerary reproductions of ★sandals in painted wood, usually placed in the coffins beside the feet of the mummies. Especially good examples are the wooden sandals of Waḥ, fitted with pegs in place of the rawhide loops and with straps of bark. A sandal from the coffin of the Steward Wekh-ḥotpe of Mīr is similar; but one from a cemetery of the late Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes is without a heel strap, having only a long toe loop and two wide bands joining it over the instep, the three pieces forming a 𓌙-shaped harness, into which the foot could be thrust as into a heelless slipper. A wooden ★amulet in the form of the hieroglyph 𓋴 was found near the feet of the mummy in a burial of the Twelfth Dynasty at Mīr, and perhaps represents a sandal strap.

In addition to complete wigs, the women of Egypt used long braids of human ★hair to augment their own, frequently sparse, locks and to fill out their massive coiffures. Several sets of such braids have been found in tombs at el Lisht, in one case bundled together in a wrapping of linen cloth. ★Combs are rarely preserved, but a good example in wood, also from el Lisht, shows the narrow, fine-toothed type popular in the Twelfth Dynasty. ★Hairpins, on the other hand, are numerous, and there are in the Museum twelve examples from el Lisht, Thebes, and distant Byblos. These are long, straight pins of wood or ivory, adorned with incised line decoration and topped with a simple knob, a small human hand, or a little carved figure of the uraeus serpent or the hippopotamus goddess Ta-Weret. A small limestone ★disk, grooved around the edge and painted red to imitate carnelian, is probably an ornament about which were wound the long

spiraled locks of a wig of the type worn by the lady Kemtet (p. 216; fig. 133). A curious object called a *bat*, represented by three wooden ★amulets from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at Mīr and el Lisht, has been variously identified as a girdle tie, a wig stand, and a paving beetle, or tamper.

A most important accessory to the arrangement of jewelry, coiffure, and costume, and especially to the application of cosmetics, is the mirror, and nearly every fashionable Egyptian, man or woman, possessed a hand mirror of polished metal, which he graphically referred to as a "see-face." The mirror disk, of copper, bronze, or silver, is never truly circular, but takes the slightly flattened form of the solar disk as represented in Egyptian art, and was apparently regarded as a symbol or reproduction of the sun itself. A tang, projecting downward from the lower edge of the disk, either served as a handle or was inserted into a handle of wood, ivory, or stone, almost invariably in this period carved in the shape of a papyrus column ( ). The handle of a bronze ★mirror from a tomb of the late Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes (figs. 154, 157) is of ebony partially overlaid with gold foil and inscribed with the name of its owner, "the Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt, Reny-sonbe, repeating life." It was found on the breast of Reny-sonbe's mummy under the linen wrappings. A similar ★mirror from a tomb at el Lisht, near the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I, has a handle of ivory, made, as was frequently the case, in two parts—the umbel and stalk of the papyrus plant—joined together by a tenon. A third ★mirror, of unknown provenience, is fitted with a handle of "blue marble" tipped with a piece of glossy black stone. From two separate tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes come a ★disk of bronze and a ★papyrus umbel of ivory, which have been combined with a restored wooden handle to form a complete mirror. With the mummy of Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify of Mīr were found two little funerary models of ★mirrors made entirely of wood, one painted green, the other overlaid with gold foil. The



FIGURE 154. Mirror of Reny-sonbe, a "Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt," buried at Thebes in the reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt IV. The disk is of bronze, the handle of ebony overlaid with gold foil. H. 8½ in.

burial of Waḥ included a ★mirror of bronze without a handle, and there are five other bronze ★disks from Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes and el Lisht. Six ★mirror handles of hardwood, ivory, slate, alabaster, and faience are of the usual papyriform type; but the top of a ★handle from Thebes is in the form of a two-faced panther head of wood, excellently carved and with the eyes once inlaid.

The only razors of this period in the Museum's Egyptian collection belonged to two women of the Twelfth Dynasty—the King's Daughter Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet of el Lāhūn and the girl Ḥapy of

el Lisht. The blades are of hammered bronze[13] with curved cutting edges, and the knoblike handles attached to the narrower ends of the blades are of much the same type. In Ḥapy's ★razor the cutting edge is across the broad end of the blade, and the bronze handle is only a finger's breadth between the knob and the base, indicating that the instrument must have been held vertically in the hand, with the handle gripped between the thumb and index finger. One pair of ★razors owned by the princess, on the other hand, has the cutting edge on one side of the blade and is fitted with handles somewhat longer than that of Ḥapy's razor, each made up of five thin pieces of gold skillfully soldered together (fig. 155). These razors were probably held sideways in the hand, with two or three fingers curled around the handle, and used with a sweeping motion, to which their curved edges and comparatively heavy weight are admirably suited. As now exhibited, the blades of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet's razors are accurate restorations of the much corroded original blades; the handle of Ḥapy's razor, also, has been restored from the remains of the original. Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet's second pair of ★razors, entirely of bronze, are hopelessly corroded, but were evidently shaped like chisels, with the narrow cutting edges across the ends of the blades. Since the bronze edges dulled quickly and had to be frequently honed, little ★whetstones—or, more properly, slipstones—of quartzite always accompanied sets of razors and other edged tools. In addition to two such stones found with the el Lāhūn razors (fig. 155), we have two others from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht, which had been tied up together in a piece of linen cloth.

Although, as we have seen, cosmetics were used extensively by the men and women of ancient Egypt from the earliest times, they were always confined to a few, perhaps traditional, types. The red juice of the henna plant was employed, as it is now, for staining the finger and toe nails and for coloring the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet. Lip rouge was apparently used in the form of a paste, made up of red ocher mixed with vegetable or tallow grease and probably containing some gum resin. The brows and corners of the eyes were accented by the application of a green eye paint of powdered malachite, called *wadju,* "the green"; and black eye paint (*mesdemet*) was applied to the rims and lashes of the eyes for both antiseptic and decorative reasons. This black cosmetic, which corresponds to the Arabic *koḥl,* a vegetable soot used today throughout the Near East, was in antiquity usually composed of pulverized galena, a dark gray ore of lead, mixed with water or gum. During the Middle Kingdom *koḥl* was almost invariably kept in a small jar of special design and was applied to the eyes by means of a little stick with a slightly bulbous end.

The typical *koḥl*-pot is a squat little jar with a flat bottom, wide, flat rim, and tiny mouth. It is usually fitted with a flat, disk-shaped lid and is sometimes mounted on a small, four-legged stand, either made separately or carved in one piece with the jar. Almost every Egyptian of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties seems to have owned one. In the Museum's collection alone there are more than a hundred complete ★*koḥl*-pots from tombs at Thebes, Abydos, and el Lisht. Most of these are of stone—alabaster, blue or white "marble," diorite, diabase, serpentine, breccia, obsidian, slate, or limestone—but there are also a few of blue-glazed faience and white pottery (*ḳulleh*-ware) and one of wood. Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet's *koḥl*-jar, of polished obsidian mounted in gold, formed part of a set which included three ★unguent jars (𓏛) of the same materials and a small silver ★rouge dish in the form of a ☊-sign (fig. 155). An interesting *koḥl*-pot of "blue marble" has the figures of two monkeys carved in high relief on its side (fig. 157), and an example in glazed steatite, fitted with two little handles, is inscribed for "the Chancellor Kemes." ★*Koḥl*-sticks, usually found with the jars, sometimes tied to the necks, are of ebony, cedar, bronze, haematite, and obsidian. Many of

[13] A ten per cent copper-tin alloy.



FIGURE 155. Inlaid ebony casket, gold-mounted obsidian cosmetic jars, silver rouge dish, razors, and whetstones of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet. The mirror is a reproduction of the original in Cairo. H. of casket 14¾ in.

the jars still contain ★*koḥl,* reduced by time to a fine black powder.

To counteract the effect on the skin and hair of the dry, dusty climate and of the natron, or soda, employed in bathing as a cleansing agent, copious use was made of ointments of various kinds, chiefly vegetable oils and fats, applied either as salves or in liquid form. Some of these, as, for example, juniper oil, are naturally aromatic, but pomades were produced by mixing with the oily base fragrant gums and resins and even small slivers of sweet-smelling wood. The aromatic substances, prominent among which were myrrh and olibanum, were also used in pure form as perfumes and incense, either burned, as the terms imply, in censers, or placed on the hair or the clothing or in the boxes and baskets in which wigs and other items of apparel and personal adornment were kept. At an early period, as we have seen (p. 117), the number of essential ointments, pomades, and perfumes was established as seven, and thereafter this set of the so-called "Seven Sacred Oils" became a traditional item of equipment for the well-groomed Egyptian, living or dead.[14]

As depicted on the interiors of the coffins of the Middle Kingdom and in the chapel reliefs, the stone vessels containing the Seven Oils are of

[14] Sets of jars for the Seven Oils occur frequently during the Middle Kingdom among the personal effects actually used by the tomb owners during their lifetimes and were therefore not of a purely funerary nature.



FIGURE 156. Flower vase of blue faience. Twelfth Dynasty. H. 3½ in.

several different shapes and materials, varying with the nature of their contents; but actually the sets of ★jars are nearly always of alabaster and conform to one type only, the beaker with flat lid, 𓏛, a form originated in the Late Predynastic period. By the Middle Kingdom an eighth jar, containing "sweet oil," "salve," or "myrrh," was often added to the original seven to fill out two rows of four jars each, the usual arrangement of the vessels in the rectangular chests or compartments in which they were kept. Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet's beautiful set of eight alabaster oil jars, found in her second casket, is the outstanding example in the Museum's collection; but there is a similar group of seven small jars from the maṣṭabeh of the Steward Se'n-Wosret at el Ḷisht, as well as four of the original set of eight beakers contained in the ebony and ivory casket of the King's Butler Kemu-ny (fig. 157). Among the numerous single jars of identical type may be mentioned a fine example in blue faience from the tomb of the girl Ḥapy at el Lisht.

A hundred other ★unguent and cosmetic vessels of miscellaneous types—dishes, palettes, bowls, jars, bottles, and pitchers—are of a great variety of materials, including practically every fine, ornate stone available to the craftsmen of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. Next to alabaster, always the prime favorite, the most popular material is anhydrite, a beautiful white or pale gray blue stone, commonly, though erroneously, called "marble." Basalt (diabase), breccia, serpentine, porphyry, diorite, slate, green schist, and limestone are also represented, and there are a few little vessels of faience, blue paste, pottery, and ivory.

A group of fancifully conceived ★vases of "blue marble" from a cemetery of the Twelfth Dynasty at Girgeh, near Abydos, includes a number of animal, bird, and fish forms amusingly adapted for use as containers of cosmetics. Trussed ducks, either singly or in pairs, form the bodies of four of the jars, the necks of the birds in one case curving back to serve as the handles of the vase (fig. 157). The squatting figure of a monkey holding a small jar is itself hollowed out as a vase, the removable head of the animal serving as the lid (fig. 157). A double container is composed of two similar monkeys grouped face to face, and there is another pair clasping a large jar between them. A vase in the shape of a fish reproduces with considerable accuracy the *inet*-fish (𓆛), familiar to ichthyologists as *Tilapia nilotica* and to modern Arabs as the *bolti*—one of the commonest of all Nile fishes.

Ointments and pastes were normally scooped out of their containers with the fingers, but there are fragments of two alabaster ★scoops made for this purpose, one, naturally enough, in the form of a finger, the other more like a small trowel. Seven plain ★spatulae, of bone, ivory, wood, and slate, are long flat implements with rounded ends.

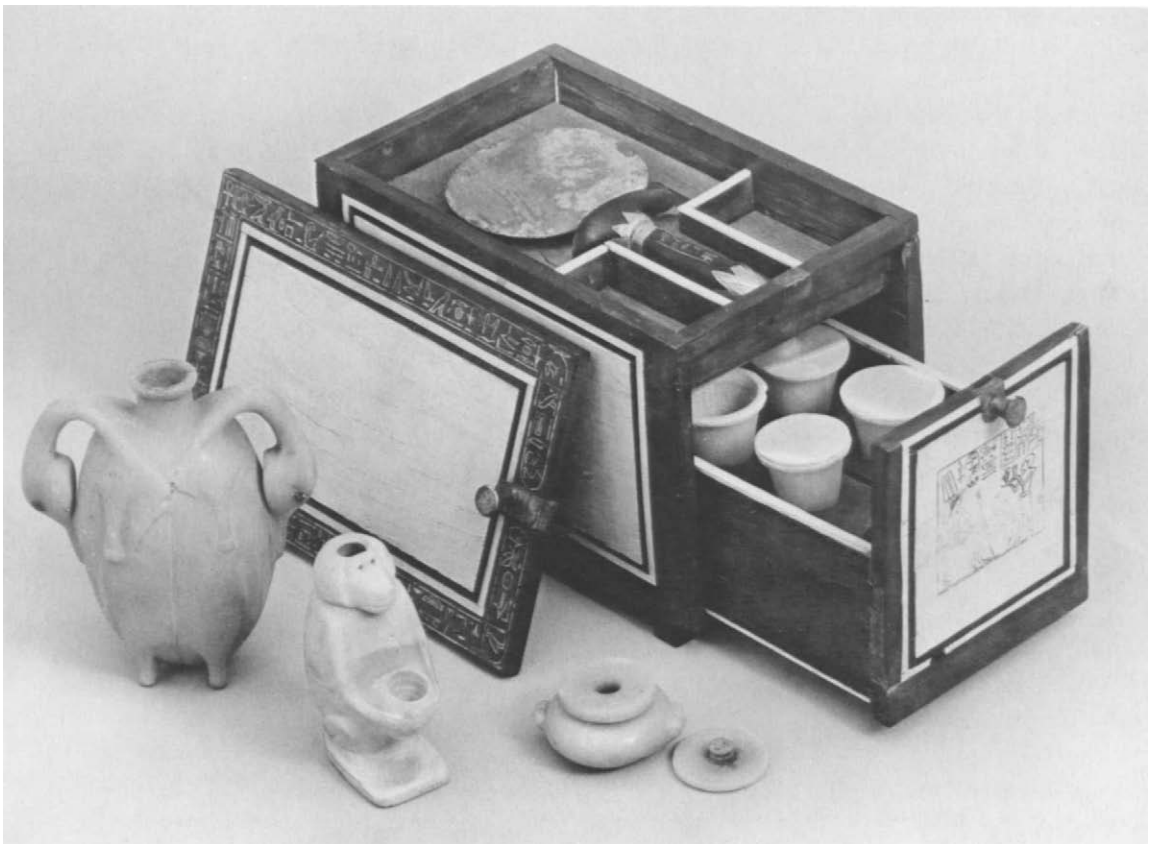
Linen ★towels from tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes had been given a rough surface and additional absorbency by pulling the weft threads out as loops at closely spaced intervals, producing an over-all dotted pattern like that of our modern dotted Swiss.

Small, bottle-shaped ★vases of bright blue faience with lotus designs in black outline were apparently intended to hold flowers. One of these (fig. 156), somewhat larger and broader than the others, has five long necks for supporting the supple stems of the marsh flowers with which it was once adorned.

Jewelry, mirrors, razors, cosmetic jars, and the other more intimate personal possessions of the ancient Egyptian were kept, when not in use, in small caskets specially designed for the purpose and frequently fitted with drawers, compartments, and racks to accommodate the various classes of objects placed in them. Such caskets are nearly always of wood, usually a fine grade of cedar, and are often overlaid with decorative veneers of ebony, boxwood, bone, ivory, faience, and other materials. A few of the finer examples are bound or mounted in gold, silver, or electrum and equipped with knobs, locking bolts, and staples of silver or copper.

The greater part of the jewelry of Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, her mirror, her silver rouge dish, and her two sets of razors and whetstones were contained in a magnificent shrine-shaped ★casket of Sudanese ebony, adorned with elaborate paneling of ivory, gold, faience, and carnelian and mounted in gold and silver (fig. 155). On the sides and ends of the box slender 𓊪-signs of gold, set in ivory frames, alternate with "false doors" of ivory, faience, and carnelian, and on the vaulted lid there are four heads of the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor, delicately outlined in gold and inlaid with fai-

FIGURE 157. Wood and ivory cosmetic box of the butler Kemu-ny, from Thebes, and cosmetic jars of "blue marble" (anhydrite) from Girgeh. Twelfth Dynasty. H. of box 8 in.



ence and colored stones. In the spaces between these heads should go three ivory panels with the names and titles of King Amun-em-ḥēt III, which, owing to a mistake in restoration, now appear on the lid of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet's second ★casket. The latter, of the same type as the first casket, though somewhat smaller, is decorated with false doors of ivory and wood alternating with plain, broad panels of ivory. Although not made for the purpose, this casket contained the princess's set of eight alabaster oil jars. The gold-mounted obsidian jars were apparently in a third and still smaller box, to which belonged the gold beading now used for the torus molding of the second casket. A fourth chest contained the crown and the wig, adorned with gold tubes, which went with it, as well as the pectoral with the name of Amun-em-ḥēt III (in Cairo) and several of the small armlets. There was also a fifth and much larger box, in which was kept another of the massive wigs worn by the princess. The wood of all the boxes had been reduced to powder by long exposure to dampness, and the restorations of the two decorated caskets we owe chiefly to the skill and patience of Arthur C. Mace, of the Museum's Egyptian Expedition.

No restoration, on the other hand, was required in the perfectly preserved ★casket of the Butler Kemu-ny (fig. 157), a trusted member of the household of King Maᶜ-khrou-Rēᶜ Amun-em-ḥēt IV. This handsome and elaborate case, found in 1910 by the Earl of Carnarvon in the tomb of Reny-sonbe at Thebes, is constructed of numerous pieces of cedarwood skillfully joined together and overlaid with panels of ivory and ebony. The upper section of the box is fitted to hold a mirror, and below there is a drawer divided into eight compartments for Kemu-ny's set of alabaster oil jars. The lid bears the cartouches of Amun-em-ḥēt IV and a long offering formula invoking the crocodile god Sobk, Lord of Ḥenet, in behalf of "the Real Familiar of the King, whom he loved, Royal Confident in the Holy Place, giver of offerings to the Lord of the Two Lands, the Chamberlain and Butler Kemu-ny, repeating life, born of Yeny, justified." In the little scene on the front of the box, Kemu-ny presents two jars of ointment to the deified king, who sits holding a staff and wearing the tall headdress with double plumes indicative of his divinity. The casket could be locked by means of a bolt that slides into a silver staple inside the front of the drawer and sealed by lashing together the silver knobs on the lid and the end of the drawer.

Six undecorated ★boxes from middle-class tombs of the Eleventh to Thirteenth Dynasties at Thebes are nicely made of good coniferous woods, sometimes covered on the outside with a coating of fine stucco. One of these was the property of a tattooed dancing girl attached to the ḥarīm of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe. It is divided into two compartments—the smaller presumably for jewelry, the larger for cosmetics —each fitted with a sliding lid so contrived that, when both lids were closed, the knobs on their tops came opposite one another and could be lashed together and sealed in one operation. A similar box, without compartments, from a nearby tomb preserves its original contents: a small jewel case of wood, containing a tiny alabaster vase tied up in a scrap of linen, and four alabaster jars, including two beakers for ointments, each wrapped or sealed with linen cloth. Two of three boxes from burials of the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty also have their contents intact—*koḥl* pots, lichen, leaves, nuts, flint flakes, acacia thorns, scarabs, amulets, clay sealings, loose beads, shells, bits of resin, wax, pitch, and pieces of aromatic wood. A small wooden case of the same general date and provenience is unusual in being semicircular in plan. In addition to these there is an interesting ★casket for oil jars which came as a gift to the Museum in 1932. It is of two kinds of wood, light and dark, and is fitted on the inside with a rack for six jars and on the outside with two knobs for securing the lid. A fine piece of ivory ★inlay carved in relief with the figures of a cow and her calf, the latter stained red, is probably from an elaborate jewel casket; and there are other ★inlays, of bone,

adorned with incised lines and concentric circles, as well as ivory ★knobs from boxes and ★panels of boxwood and rosewood.

Those who could not afford jewel or cosmetic boxes kept their personal treasures in little covered ★baskets, made of coils of Ḥalfa grass, sewn together with strips of rush or palm leaf and frequently decorated with patches of color, chiefly brown and black, arranged in simple block or checker designs. Loops of cord from the sides of a basket were folded over the lid and tied together at its center to hold it securely in place. An inventory of the contents of three little baskets of the Eleventh Dynasty from Thebes is similar to those of the boxes described above: pieces of aromatic wood, roots, lichen, vegetable fiber, grapes, wax, and bits of malachite for eye cosmetic wrapped in a piece of pink-dyed linen cloth. A fourth basket, also from Thebes but datable to the last years of the Middle Kingdom, contained a wooden *koḥl*-jar, some powdered *koḥl* wrapped in a cloth package, a lump of malachite, a piece of rock salt, two bits of aromatic wood, a string of amulets, a carnelian scarab, a string of beads, hanks of linen thread, string made of papyrus pith, a few nuts, tubers, leaves, and sticks, and a small bouquet of cornflowers tied with linen. A similar basket, with a design in brown and black, had been emptied by ancient thieves; but a little palm-leaf basket from el Lisht, found in a burial near the maṣṭabeh of Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe, was packed with eight pretty strings of beads and amulets, an obsidian scarab, *koḥl*-pots of alabaster and anhydrite, and a small oil jar of alabaster.

The nature of the contents of some of the the baskets suggests that they belonged to children, and the presence in a basket from el Lisht of a small faience vessel, which can hardly be anything but an infant's feeding ★cup, tends to strengthen this notion. The cup, which is little more than three inches in diameter, has a narrow spout, pierced with a small hole, rather like the nipple of a modern nursing bottle. Around the outside runs a band of animals and fantastic beings, which, like the faience crocodile found in the same basket, must have been intended to protect the child from malignant spirits and other evils which beset the very young. These creatures, drawn in black outline, include lions, walking () and reared up on their hind legs devouring serpents; tortoises (); snakes (); long-necked beasts of mythical origin; and, at the center, a figure of the dwarf god Bēs, the protector of all Egyptian households. Scattered among the figures are amuletic knives (). Two similar ★cups of pottery were actually found in the burials of infant children of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes and el Lisht.

6. Musical Instruments of the Middle Kingdom

Although it seems advisable to postpone a discussion of ancient Egyptian music until we reach the material from the tombs of the New Kingdom, three types of musical instruments of the Middle Kingdom in the Museum's collection, which will assist us in rounding out our picture of the life of this period, should be mentioned here.

★Castanets, or clappers, of ivory, bone, or wood, usually in pairs, are very common in tombs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Thebes and el Lisht. They may have been placed in the tombs as an amuletic or a purely mechanical means of exorcising evil spirits, which are notoriously averse to noise and noisemakers. Such clappers, however, were also used by living Egyptians to accompany and beat out the time for their dances, especially temple dances, and for related rites performed in honor of the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor and other deities. Having seen the same function performed by the hands of the dancers, clapped together in unison (p. 98, 222), we are not surprised to find that, with a few exceptions, the castanets reproduce pairs of human hands and forearms, frequently with bracelets and other ornaments engraved on the wrist.



FIGURE 158. Bow harp of the late Middle Kingdom from Thebes. H. 33 in.

There are two general types, the curved and the straight. The curved clappers were evidently held separately, one in each hand, and clacked one against the other. The curved shape may well have derived from the boomerangs of primitive bird-hunters, which they beat together to flush their game before making the cast. The straight clappers, provided with holes in their lower ends, were clearly tied together in pairs and operated with one hand, like the castanets of a Spanish dancer or the "bones" used in our minstrel shows.

Fragments of two ★sistrums — ceremonial rattles (𓉐) closely associated with the cult of Ḥat-Ḥor—are from tombs near the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht. One, of bone, had a closed soundbox, similar to that of the model sistrum of King Tety of the Sixth Dynasty (p. 125). The other, molded of blue faience, was of the open-frame type, well known in the New Kingdom.

The Museum is fortunate in possessing a bow ★harp (fig. 158), found by the Egyptian Expedition in a burial of the late Middle Kingdom at Thebes. The instrument is of the type which we have seen depicted in the tomb reliefs of Ny-kū-Ḥor of the Fifth Dynasty (p. 103) and which we shall meet again in miniature in the hands of a blind harper aboard a model traveling boat of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ (p. 269). The broad, spoon-shaped body of the harp, once covered by a drumhead of rawhide, and the thick, bowed neck are carved from a single piece of wood and were at one time painted red, with lashing, pegs, and bridge colored black. The bridge had split in antiquity and had been lashed with thread by the owner. Such an instrument, when played, was held in a vertical position against the knee of a kneeling harper and is therefore often classified as a "knee-harp"; but sometimes, as in the boat model of Meket-Rēᶜ, it was mounted on an elaborate stand of its own. Harps of this type were provided with from five to seven strings of twisted gut and were used primarily to accompany songs, either sung by the harper himself or by another vocalist.

7. Knife-Shaped Amulets of Ivory

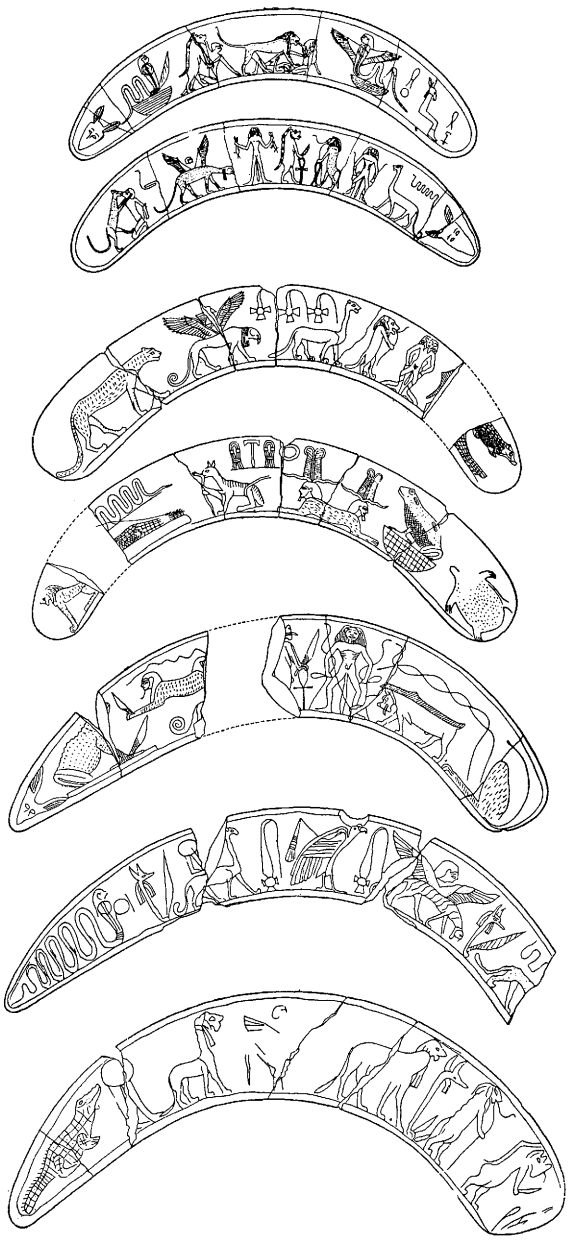
In the Museum's collection are some thirty examples, complete or fragmentary, of large curved ★amulets of ivory (fig. 159), often called "wands," but evidently intended as magical weapons, with forms derived from the broad, curved knives or, in some cases, from the throw-sticks, or boomerangs, of primitive times (see p. 284).[15] All are from tombs of the Middle Kingdom, but evidences of prolonged wear on many of them indicate that such amulets were owned and employed by the living as well as by the dead. Placed around or under the beds of their owners, these magic knives apparently served to ward off snakes, poisonous insects, and similar hidden

[15] The shape also conforms to the natural curve of the hippopotamus tusks from which most of these amulets appear to have been carved.

dangers. The fact that the points of the knives are often worn away on one side suggests that they were used repeatedly to draw magic circles around the living and sleeping places of their owners to render them safe.

One or both sides of the amulets are engraved or carved in relief with figures of protective divinities and real or fantastic animal forms. The point of the knife is sometimes adorned with the head of a fox and the rounded butt with the head or hindquarters of a leopard. Among the weird creatures between we recognize several deities whose functions as defenders of the home and its occupants are well known—the hippopotamus goddess Ta-Weret, the dwarf god Bēs, the frog goddess Ḥeḳet, and the vulture goddess Mūt. Real animals include the lion, upright on its hind legs, devouring a serpent; the cat, also biting a snake; the leopard; the crocodile; the tortoise; the uraeus serpent; and the snake, presumably a common, harmless variety. Favorite fantastic beasts are a quadruped with a very long neck and leopardlike head and a falcon-headed griffon with a winged human head or a pair of wings springing from its back. Here and there among the animals appear such familiar amuletic symbols as the *Wedjat*-eye of Horus (), the protective flame (), the knife (), and the sign for "power" ().

FIGURE 159. Knife-shaped amulets of ivory from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. L. 10½-13½ in.



Inscriptions written on several of the knives are the "words spoken by the many amuletic figures," who say, "We have come that we may afford protection to" the owner of the amulet, who in one case was the "Child Seneb-Min-ḥotpe," and in another, the "House Mistress Mery-sonbes." Three of the knives are inscribed with the words "Protection by day and protection by night."

The fact that at least one of these fantastically decorated blades was designed for the protection of a child and that mention of children occurs on several examples in other museums reminds us of the altogether similar magical designs on the infant's feeding cup from el Lisht discussed above (p. 247).

8. Games

Board games, popular in Egypt from the earliest times, continued to be a favorite pastime of the people of the Middle Kingdom. Foremost among



FIGURE 160. Game of "hounds and jackals," from the tomb of Reny-sonbe at Thebes. Wood overlaid with ivory and ebony. Reign of Amun-em-ḥēt IV. H. of board 21/2 in.

these was the ancient game of *senet* ( ), which we have watched being played in a tomb relief of the Fifth Dynasty (fig. 59). Although there are no *senet*-boards of the Eleventh or Twelfth Dynasty in the Museum, there are many of the characteristic spool-shaped and conical ★playing pieces for the game, carved in ivory and molded in blue, black, and white faience. They come from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht and were undoubtedly accompanied at one time by wooden playing boards, long since destroyed by dampness or termites or carried off by ancient tomb robbers.

The game of "hounds and jackals," as it has often been called by modern writers, appears to have been invented in the Middle Kingdom, when it enjoyed a widespread popularity, boards having been found not only in Egypt but also in Palestine and as far east as Persia. Resembling parchesi in its aim and method of play, the game may be readily understood by studying a complete and exceptionally fine ★board and playing pieces from the tomb of Reny-sonbe at Thebes (fig. 160), well dated to the reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt IV. The board, about six inches in length and shaped like an axe head, is of sycamore wood overlaid with ivory and ebony and mounted on four ivory legs carved in the form of the fore and hind legs of a bull. A drawer in one end, locked by an ivory bolt ( ) that slides in copper staples, was evidently intended to hold the long, pinlike playing pieces when they were not in use. These comprise two sets of five pieces each, one set carved with the heads of lop-eared hounds, resembling modern foxhounds, the other set having the heads of another large canine animal with upstanding, pointed ears ( ). This animal, once thought to be a jackal, is probably a dog of another type, frequently seen as the sacred animal of the god Anubis ( ).

On the playing surface of the board are two series of twenty-nine holes, commencing on either side of an engraved palm tree and leading by circuitous routes to a "goal," marked by a ○-sign, above the top of the tree. It is clear that the playing pins were set up in the first five holes on the sides of the palm tree and moved, one by one, around to the goal. The number of holes advanced in each move must have been determined by throwing knucklebones, an ancient equivalent of dice. Two holes in each series, the tenth and the twentieth, are penalty holes, and the lines which lead back from them to the eighth and sixth holes, respectively, leave no doubt as to the penalties involved. Two other holes, the fifteenth and twenty-fifth, on the other hand, are marked "good" ( ), and probably entitled the lucky player landing in them to another throw of the knucklebones and another move.

The existence of this game at least as early as the Eleventh Dynasty is attested by a small, well-worn ★board of wood found by the Egyptian Expedition in a tomb overlooking the temple of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ Montu-ḥotpe at Thebes. Two ivory ★pins with plain knobs at the top, but shorter and thicker than hairpins, are probably playing pieces from a game of this type.

Scenes in the tombs at Beni Ḥasan show a

number of ball games, all variants of the simple game of catch and usually played by young girls. Several ★balls from tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes are probably the kind used in these games. With covers of leather, made in two halves and sewn together around a stuffing of barley chaff, the balls bear a more than superficial resemblance to a baseball, but are lighter, softer, and somewhat smaller. To obtain maximum tightness the final packing was jammed in through the small apertures which remained when the sewing had been almost completed.

Anyone who has played tipcat will have no difficulty in recognizing some roughly whittled wooden objects, pointed at one or both ends, as the ★"cats" used in this game. All are from Theban tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty, and the fact that more than twenty-five examples were found by the Museum's Expedition indicates that the game was immensely popular with young Egyptians of the twenty-first century B.C. To those who have not been exposed to tipcat, the following entry from *Webster's New International Dictionary,* published in 1935 A.D., may be of interest: *"tip'cat'*(-kăt'), *n.* A game in which a small piece of wood pointed at both ends, called a *cat,* is tipped, or struck lightly, with a stick or bat, so as to fly into the air and while there is struck by the same player so as to drive it as far as possible; also, sometimes, the cat."

XIII. THE HOME, THE FARM, AND THE RIVER

XIII. The Home, the Farm, and the River

1. The House and Its Furnishings

BY THE MIDDLE KINGDOM it is possible to distinguish two types of ancient Egyptian dwellings, the compact and sometimes multistoried town house and the low, rambling country house surrounded by a walled courtyard or garden.

The urban house of the Twelfth Dynasty is copiously exemplified at el Lāhūn, where King Se'n-Wosret II caused to be built beside his pyramid an extensive walled town, called "Se'n-Wosret-is-content." The type may also be studied in the model of a three-storied dwelling from the tomb of the Mayor Amun-em-ḥēt at el Bersheh. At el Lāhūn the houses, both large and small, are hemmed in on all four sides either by adjoining buildings or by the narrow streets of the town, and courtyards, when they exist, are in the interiors of the houses themselves.

Houses of more rural type, built in the midst of walled courtyards, are represented, in various stages of development, in a series of pottery ★offering trays from shaft graves at Deir Rifeh and other Upper Egyptian sites. These trays, which appear at the end of the Old Kingdom, were in origin merely substitutes in coarse pottery for the more costly offering tables of stone. The simplest form is a plain rectangular or oval platter, fitted with a low rim and with a spout in the front. To this were added pottery models of food offerings applied in relief to the surface of the tray and at its center one or more shallow basins, for water or other liquids, usually connected with the spout by drainage channels. Since the walled courtyards of contemporary houses were regularly provided with stone tanks for water and were used as storage spaces for supplies of food and drink, the conception of the offering tray as the courtyard of a house was a natural one. The next step was to show the house itself at the rear of the courtyard—at first as a small and simple hut, but gradually as an ever larger and more elaborate structure, until it becomes the dominant feature and what was once a simple tray has turned into a pottery house model, or, as it is often called by modern writers, a "soul house."

Three ★offering trays from a tomb of the late Middle Kingdom at Hierakonpolis show the house as a small, cubical structure at the rear of an extensive courtyard (fig. 161). In all three examples a single doorway opens from the front of the little building, and in two of them a curved stairway on the exterior of the house leads to the flat roof with its low mud parapet. The inclusion of this detail in such simple models is not surprising, for the roofs of ancient Egyptian dwellings were used extensively as kitchens, as storage spaces, and as quiet retreats for the family in the cool of the evening. On the left side of the



FIGURE 161. Pottery offering tray from a tomb of the late Middle Kingdom at Hierakonpolis. L. 15 in.

courtyard is a row of four basins, each with a large water or beer jar against the wall beside it, and on the gound before the house lie various food offerings, chiefly cuts of beef. In a similar ★tray of unknown provenience the house, which occupies the right rear corner of the rectangular courtyard, is much larger in proportion to the space around it. The form of the building is that of the open booth,  , with slightly curved roof, supported in front by a single column. Along the right wall of the court, in front of the house, is a row of four wide-mouthed storage jars of a type well known in the Twelfth Dynasty, and elsewhere on the floor of the enclosure are the head, foreleg, and other parts of an ox modeled in pottery.

One of four pottery ★models from Deir Rifeh shows us a small, high-walled courtyard, with a rectangular tank in the center and, behind this and extending all the way across the back of the tray, the front portico of a house, its flat roof supported on two columns. A flight of steps on the left side of the court leads up to the roof of the portico, which, as usual, is surrounded by a low wall, or parapet. In a second and more elaborate "soul house" (fig. 162), the portico has three columns and behind are two adjoining rooms, the lofty, domed roofs of which project well above that of the porch and are enclosed within a high parapet. Big oval vents, in effect clerestory windows, are provided near the top of the front wall of the house, above the portico, and high up in each side wall is an arched window screened by slotted grills. A stairway on the right of the portico gives access to its roof, and on the floor of the court are laid out the usual meat offerings. The two other models, more or less fragmentary, are of the same type, but differ in details. In one of them, for example, the rooms of the house are provided with barrel-vaulted ventilators, projecting above the flat roof and open at their front ends to catch the passing breezes.

Elaborate as some of these models are, they represent little more than the façades of houses—the porches and the front offices or porters' rooms. Behind these in the dwellings of the wealthy there were nearly always a large, columned hall, used as a formal living and reception room, and, connected with this, the living quarters of the owner and his immediate family, as well as a suite of bedrooms and bathrooms for the male members of the household and another suite, carefully segregated, for the ḥarīm. Some of the larger houses at el Lāhūn contain as many as seventy compartments—rooms, halls, courts, and passages. The homes of the poor, on the

FIGURE 162. Pottery model of a house from a grave at Deir Rifeh. H. 13½ in.



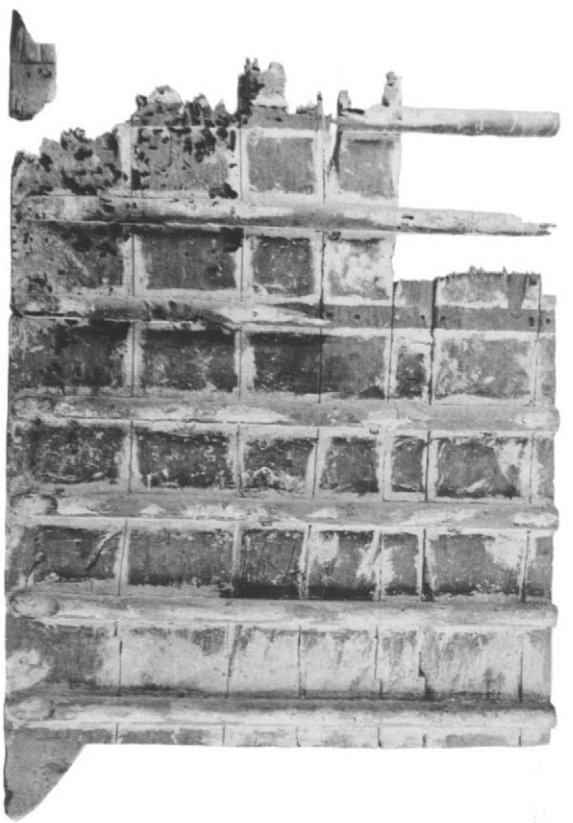
other hand, rarely ran to more than three or four rooms and from our point of view were at times unbelievably small and cramped. In the workmen's quarter at el Lāhūn, for example, between two and three hundred houses were crowded together in an area scarcely 250 yards long and little over 100 yards wide. A fragmentary sketch ★plan of several rooms and passages of a house, drawn in red ink on a flake of limestone, was found near the pyramid of Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht. The rock-cut porches and columned halls in the great tombs at Beni Ḥasan probably reproduce elements which were actually present in the houses of the provincial governors of Middle Egypt.

Houses, large and small, were usually constructed of sun-dried brick or rubble, faced with mud plaster. The flat, mud-covered roofs were built of stout reeds or small, closely spaced timbers resting on heavier crossbeams of wood and covered with matting to support the coating of mud. When the areas to be spanned were large, as in the broad halls, the beams were supported by slender columns of wood or stone. Door and window frames were of wood, as were also the doors themselves and the bars or grills of the windows.

A massive wooden ★door from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes (fig. 163), though fragmentary, is an excellent example of the type which we may assume was used in the dwelling houses of this period. Over five feet in width, it is composed of seven vertical planks of sycamore wood, two inches thick, doweled together edge to edge and reinforced on the back by numerous horizontal battens, spaced eight inches apart and securely fastened to the planking by means of stout wooden pegs. The battens are half round in section except at the ends over the pivot, where they are flattened to permit the door to swing fully back against its jamb. The pivot is merely a triangular extension of the lower, inside corner of the door. All the joints are filled and smeared over with white stucco, and the whole of the exterior of the door is whitewashed. From near-by tombs of the same date came wooden ★doorbolts of the usual ⌐ form, the backs flattened so as to fit snugly against the surfaces of the doors.

We know little concerning the decoration of houses of the Middle Kingdom. From the evidence remaining at el Lāhūn it is clear that the lower portions of room and corridor walls were often painted with high black dadoes, topped by narrow bands in two or three colors. In addition to such a dado, the funerary model of the house of the Chancellor Meket-Rēʿ shows yellow stars painted on the undersides of the roof beams, and the vaulted ceilings in the tomb of Amūny at Beni Ḥasan are adorned with over-all diaper and checker patterns. Numerous fragments of architectural ★tiles from el Lisht probably formed parts of the ornamental revetments of wall surfaces or of door and window frames. The tiles are of blue-glazed faience, and some have

FIGURE 163. Lower part of a wooden door from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes. H. 85 in.



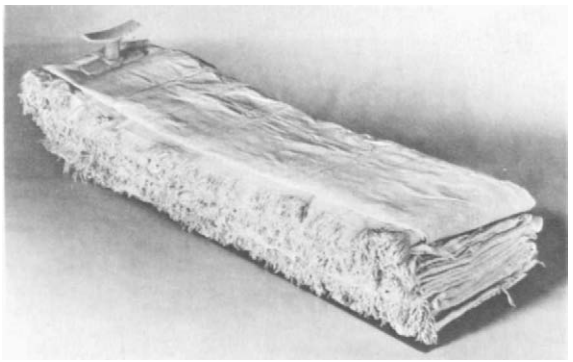


FIGURE 164. Bed linen and headrest of the Estate Manager Waḥ. Eleventh Dynasty. L. of pile of sheets 84 in.

parts of human figures or hieroglyphic signs molded in relief on their surfaces. Parts of two model ★columns from the same site, also molded in blue faience, show an octagonal shaft with slightly fluted sides and a shaft made up of six plant stalks (papyrus or lotus) bound together in a cluster. Both types of column, carved of wood and brilliantly painted, were used in the porticos and halls of the houses of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties.

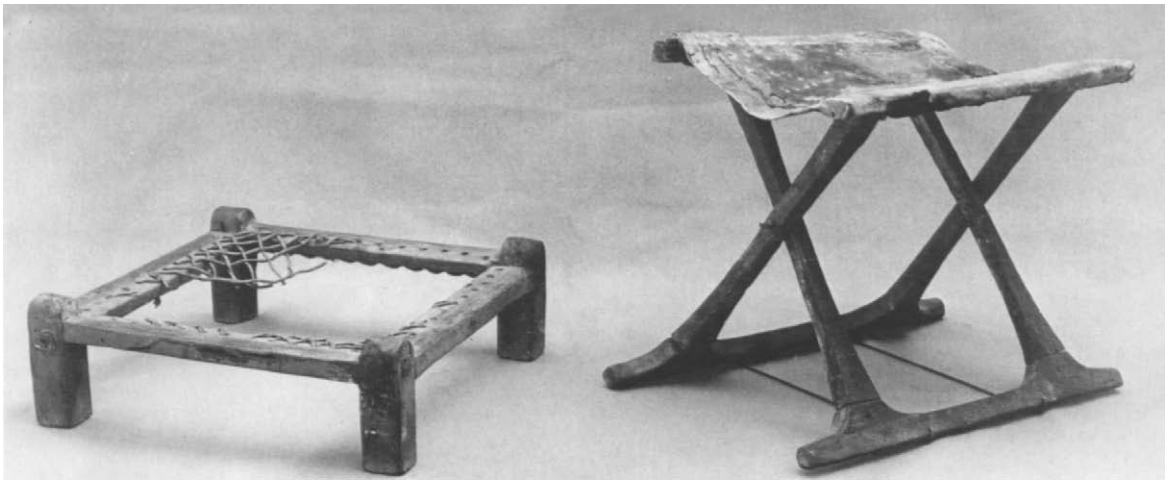
According to our standards, the homes of the Middle Kingdom were sparsely furnished. People of all classes were used to reclining, sitting, or squatting on the ground, and articles of furniture like beds, chairs, and even stools were regarded as luxuries rather than necessities. Beds especially were rare, and it is probable that the average Egyptian slept on the floor of his room. either on a mat or on a pile of folded linen sheets (fig. 164).

A headrest, on the other hand, was considered essential to a good night's sleep, and almost every Egyptian, living or dead, seems to have possessed one. Except for a funerary model in alabaster from the tomb of the Steward Soneb, of Mīr, the twenty-three ★headrests of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties in the Museum's collection are of wood, and most are of the columnar type (𓊪) already encountered in the Old Kingdom. Three, however, are solid blocks with curved tops and flaring bases, and in one rather elaborate example from Thebes (fig. 165) the curved wooden "pillow" is supported on a framework composed of six slender rods. The pillow of a columnar headrest found at el Lisht in the tomb of the Estate Manager Achtoy has a pair of supporting human hands carved on its underside. Although they occurred in tombs as items of funerary equipment and were often found under the heads of the mummies of their deceased owners, all these headrests are the kind used by living Egyptians, and a few show signs of considerable actual wear.

An exceptionally interesting article of furniture is a folding ★stool from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Mīr (fig. 166). One leg, one lower crossbar, and one of the bronze rivets which hold the legs together have had to be restored, but the rest of the stool is original, and the leather seat is not only complete but remarkably well preserved. Also from Mīr comes a low, four-legged ★stool with an openwork rush seat woven on a square wooden frame (fig. 166). In addition to a curved ★board from the back of a

FIGURE 165. Wooden headrest from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes. H. 8¾ in.





chair, there are several ★legs from stools, chairs, and beds and a bronze ★ring, perhaps also from a piece of furniture. These are from tombs at Thebes and el Lisht and are to be dated not earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty.

Lacking closets, cupboards, and chests of drawers, the Egyptians kept their clothing and household linen in boxes, hampers, or baskets, which could be tied shut and sealed with their personal seals. Five deep wooden ★boxes, ranging in length from sixteen to twenty-five inches, were probably linen chests, but during the Second Intermediate period they had been reused as coffins for small children buried in the North Cemetery at el Lisht. Each has a flat wooden lid, once fastened in place by a cord lashing that passed around two knobs, one on the lid and the other beneath it on the box itself. Most of these chests rest on two transverse battens on the underside of the bottom, but an exceptionally fine example in hardwood is fitted with four short legs braced with strips of veneer. In 1931 a tomb at Thebes yielded a rectangular ★chest with a flat lid made of brown pottery and whitewashed inside and out. The chest is sixteen inches long and apparently at one time contained linen. Deep baskets of Middle Kingdom date are lacking in the Museum's collection, but there are three shallow, circular ★baskets, or basketry trays, suitable for a variety of household uses.

FIGURE 166. Small stool with remains of a rush seat and a folding stool with a leather seat. Twelfth Dynasty. From Mīr. H. 5-14 in.

One is plaited of palm-leaf strip and differs in no way from modern baskets of the same type. The other two are composed of continuous spirals of grass sewn together with strips of the same material.

Large ★mats of reeds or grass were used as floor coverings, portières, and sleeping pallets and for baling and transporting foodstuffs and other goods. The reed mats are usually made of papyrus stalks, split, flattened, and lashed together at intervals with strands of grass cord or with narrow strips of papyrus "bark." Excellent woven mats, similar to those produced today, were made from the stems of a long, rather coarse rush usually called "Halfa grass." A flexible carrying mat, about two feet square, is woven entirely of double strands of twisted grass rope, the warp strands laid parallel, side by side, with the weft strands, spaced a few inches apart, looped over and under them.

The linen ★cloth with which every temple, treasury, palace, and well-to-do home of the Middle Kingdom was stocked, was manufactured and stored in the form of sheets or bolts one to two and a half yards wide and ranging in length from three to more than twenty-five yards. The

sheets (fig. 164), hemmed at one end, were usually finished at the other with a long warp fringe and at the sides with a short fringe and a plain selvage edge. Some examples are of extraordinary finenesss, but the majority are coarser and heavier than our modern sheeting. Although much of the cloth must have been bleached white, as in the garments represented in paintings, reliefs, and statues, nearly all of it is now pale brown, rather like the unbleached linen of the present day. The statement of Herodotos that Egyptian linen was "constantly fresh washed" is amply borne out by the sheets found in tombs at Thebes and elsewhere, which are usually scrupulously clean, neatly ironed, and, in the case of old and worn sheets, carefully darned. The same linen which the Egyptians used during their lifetimes was also employed in their burials, especially in the wrappings of their mummies, and this is where most of our examples of cloth of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties were found.

Nearly every sheet bears in one corner an identifying mark or short label, placed there by the weaver, the owner, or the scribe in charge of a temple or government linen store. The makers' ★trademarks, woven into the cloth, are usually simple geometric designs, as is, for example, an H-shaped mark common at Thebes in the late Eleventh Dynasty. The other ★marks are written on the fabric in black or, more rarely, red ink. Designations of quality occur frequently, and of these the single sign  , "good," is the most common. A bit of inscribed linen shroud from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht bears the words: "Best quality, for the *ku* of the scribe." Many of the sheets and shawls from the coffin and mummy of the Estate Manager Waḥ are inscribed with his name and title and, in some instances, with dates in the reign of King Seʿankh-ku-Rēʿ Montu-ḥotpe. The presence there of the names of several other men, among them Ḥenenu-ren and Meru-si-rensy, shows that the wrappings of Waḥ's mummy were not drawn entirely from his own linen store; as does, also, the expression "May the God live!" on a sheet that perhaps was once the property of the king. Linen marks on the wrappings of the princesses Muyet, Kemsiyet, and Henhenet give the names of officials in charge of the royal linen supplies, including the Chancellor Achtoy and the Steward Ḥenenu. A series of sheets from near-by tombs in the vicinity of the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ Montu-ḥotpe bear the cartouche of the king, a number of year dates in his reign, and the names of Queen Nefru, the Vizier Dagy, and other dignitaries of the period. An enigmatic mark which appears with great frequency on linen and other objects of the Eleventh Dynasty from the neighborhood of Deir el Baḥri is perhaps a symbolic representation of the temple. It is found on over half the inscribed sheets from the bodies of sixty of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ's soldiers buried together in a tomb in the cliffs overlooking the temple (p. 163). Many of the other linen marks from this group of burials are common masculine names of the Middle Kingdom—Amūny, In-yōtef, Montu-ḥotpe, Se'n-Wosret, and the like.

Since the farmer people of ancient Egypt normally rose with the sun and ended their day with the coming of darkness, the artificial illumination of their homes, offices, and temples was not a problem to which they ever devoted much attention. By the Middle Kingdom, however, they had developed several simple, but serviceable, types of lamps designed to burn such readily available vegetable fuels as castor oil and linseed oil and provided for this purpose with floating or fixed wicks of braided lint. An improvised ★lamp used by ancient plunderers in the tomb of Senebtīsy at el Lisht is nothing more than the rounded bottom of a broken pottery jar, its interior stained with oil, its jagged rim charred black from the smoky wick. Three ponderous ★lamps of limestone, shaped like a flat-bottomed bowl (), are from other tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht, and a fourth example of the same type was found in an underground passage of the pyramid of Se'n-Wosret II at el Lāhūn. Water, poured into a channel cut in the broad

rim of each lamp, saturated the porous stone and prevented the oil from seeping through, and a disk of pottery pierced with a hole provided a means of supporting the top of the wick clear of the surface of the oil. Reproduced in pottery, this type of lamp was gradually improved by narrowing the open top of the oil reservoir until the bowl became a closed vessel with a small, circular neck projecting from the center of its upper side. This neck served not only as a means of filling the lamp but also as an efficient device for supporting and fixing the position of the wick. A final improvement was the leading of the wick, not through the filling hole in the top, but through a separate hole of its own in the side of the vessel. So was produced in the early years of the second millennium B.C. a type of lamp which, with only a few minor changes, was adopted centuries later by the Greeks and Romans and which in the Near East has continued in use until relatively recent times. The development described may be followed in a series of seventeen pottery ★lamps from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht and in two others of the same date from el Lāhūn. Selected examples of these, together with two of their limestone prototypes, are illustrated in figure 167.

In ancient Egypt, as in most Eastern lands, meals were served on mats spread on the floor ( ), on small taborets ( ), or on serving trays mounted on stands of stone or pottery ( ). Few metal vases have survived from the days of the Middle Kingdom, but there are quantities of ★platters, dishes, saucers, bowls (,), ★cups ( ), ★pitchers ( ), and ★jugs (, ,) of polished stone, faience, and pottery, as well as miniature funerary reproductions of these vessels in unbaked clay and painted wood. The materials of the stone vessels include alabaster, limestone, anhydrite, diorite, obsidian, and glazed steatite. Some of the stone and faience vases are inscribed, and many of the latter are adorned with floral and other designs in black outline. One of the most interesting of the pottery vessels is a multiple serving ★dish from the tomb of Senebtīsy at el Lisht (fig. 168). Jars and bowls with round or pointed bottoms were frequently supported in ring-shaped ★stands, usually of pottery ( ). A small stand of this type in blue faience is inscribed with an offering formula in which the god Sobk, Lord of Sumenu, is invoked in behalf of the owner of the stand, the Butler Si-nēb.

The storerooms of every large establishment were lined with rows of big ★jars of pottery containing supplies of food and drink. The typical beer jar of the Middle Kingdom is a heavy, sphe-

FIGURE 167. Limestone and pottery lamps of the Twelfth Dynasty from el Lisht and el Lāhūn. Diam. of largest lamp 8¼ in.





FIGURE 168. Multiple serving dish of pottery from the tomb of Senebtīsy at el Lisht. Diam. 17¼ in.

roid or ovoid vessel of coarse brown ware covered on the exterior with a brick red slip of haematite and fequently showing about its middle the marks of a cord used to bind it before firing. Its narrow mouth was sealed with a conical or hemispherical stopper of Nile mud, put on when wet and usually plastered down over the shoulder of the jar. An air vent, pierced in the stopper, prevented the fermenting liquid from "blowing the cork" or bursting the jar. Another common type is a large carinated jar of the same material as the beer jar, but with a wider mouth, permitting the insertion of solid foods such as fruits and nuts. Most striking of all the storage vessels of the Middle Kingdom are wide, drop-shaped jars, of hard pink or gray pottery, common at el Lisht and elsewhere during the Twelfth Dynasty. With broad mouths and a capacity comparable to that of the modern barrel, these huge pots reach a height of over two and a half feet and a maximum diameter about equal to the height. Such ponderous vessels were transported, one at a time, in knotted ★slings of rope hung from stout carrying poles. Smaller storage jars are of many specialized types and wares. Among the latter may be noted the porous, greenish white pottery known nowadays as *ḳulleh*-ware (p. 147).

The foregoing does not pretend to be a complete discussion of the ancient Egyptian house and its contents, but merely a presentation of certain groups of objects in the Museum's collection which can be used as material for a study of Egyptian home life during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties (2134-1778 B.C.). A rich fund of additional information is preserved in the many objects of the period available in other collections, in the tomb paintings and reliefs of this and other periods of Egyptian history, and in a great corpus of material from the New Kingdom and later eras.

2. The Country Estate and Its Activities

The tomb reliefs of the Old Kingdom have already given us picturesque glimpses of life on the great farms of ancient Egypt. We have seen the wealthy landowner touring his fields, inspecting his vast herds, and witnessing the harvesting and threshing of his grain; we have watched his fowlers trapping birds in the marshes, his huntsmen coursing game on the desert hills, and his ships cruising the broad waters of the Nile. Now, in the painted wooden tomb models of the Middle Kingdom, we may gain more intimate views of the great man's house and garden, the stables, storehouses, kitchens, and shops of his estate—all filled with his servants and craftsmen, busy at their manifold tasks—and, boarding his Nile boats, we may inspect in detail their hulls, their equipment, and their crews.

Among the thirteen fine models from the tomb of the Chancellor Meket-Rēʿ now in the Museum's collection, the first which attracts our attention is the reproduction in miniature of the ★house and garden of this country gentleman of 2000 B.C. (fig. 169).[1] All that is represented of Meket-Rēʿ's great rambling dwelling is the deep front verandah with its gaily painted columns,

[1] Models from Meket-Rēʿ's tomb retained by the Egyptian Government and now in the Cairo Museum include a second garden, a cattle inspection, a weaver's shop, a carpenter's shop, and part of Meket-Rēʿ's fleet of boats.

reproducing in their forms clusters of lotus and papyrus plants lashed together. Drain spouts are provided above the eaves to carry off the water of the rare, but sometimes torrential, Upper Egyptian rains. Behind the colonnades we see the façade of the house itself, with the large double doorway of state, a smaller door for everyday use, and a tall latticed window—here crowded close together so that all might be represented. In the walled garden small sycamore fig trees of painted wood stand in formal rows around a miniature pool made of copper and undoubtedly once filled with water.

Leaving the owner's garden to explore his farm, we visit first the cattle ★stable, where the long-horned oxen, red, black, and piebald, are being fattened for the slaughter. In the stall four sleek beasts eat in normal fashion from a long manger; but in the outer room two animals, already gorged, are forcibly fed by hand. One has become so stuffed that he can no longer stand, but lies upon the floor while the herdsman crams food into his mouth. The fodder has been brought to the stable in a large pack basket and dumped in a heap on the floor between the cowherds. The door, swinging on vertical pivots at top and bottom, is attended by a seated overseer with his staff of office.

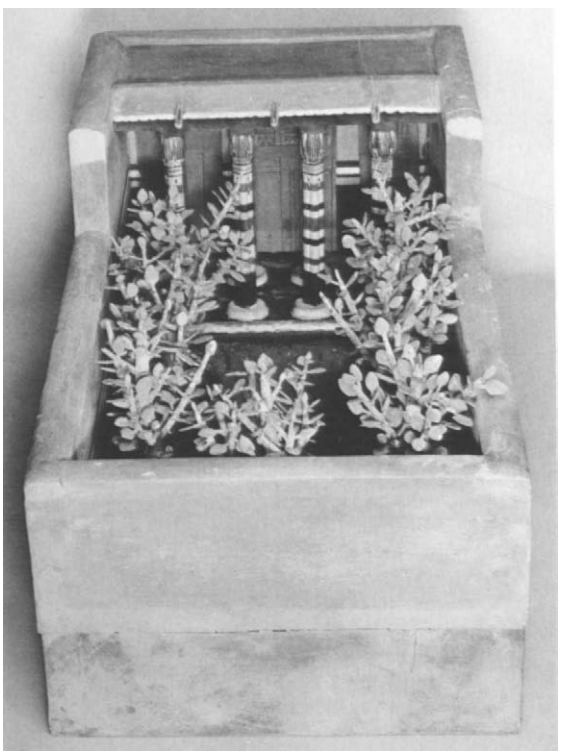


FIGURE 169. Garden and verandah of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ. Painted wooden funerary model of the Eleventh Dynasty from Thebes. H. 15½ in.

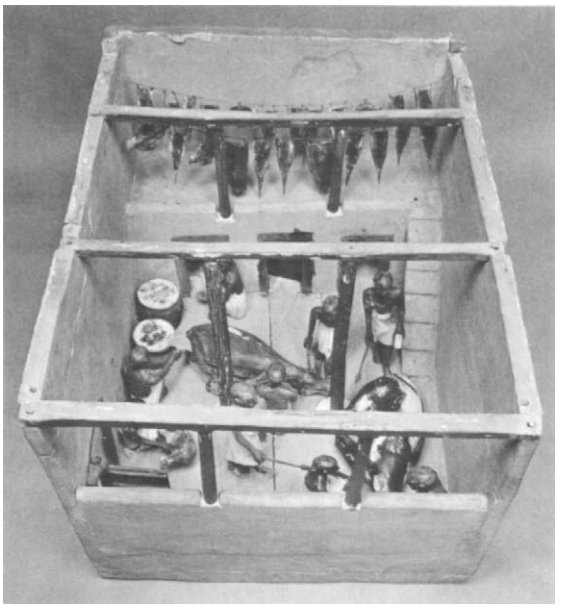


FIGURE 170. Butcher shop on the estate of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ. H. 20¼ in.

The ★butcher shop is a well-ventilated, columned hall, two stories high (fig. 170). Here the fattened oxen have been thrown and trussed for the slaughter in the manner so frequently shown in the tomb reliefs. Butchers cut the throats of the animals with great knives, and assistants sit by with basins to catch the blood. The operations are watched by the supervisors with their scepters of authority and recorded by a squatting scribe, equipped with a pen case and writing board. In one corner two men make blood puddings over braziers, and at the back of the hall, high up under the rafters, cuts of meat have been hung on lines to cure. That fowl as well

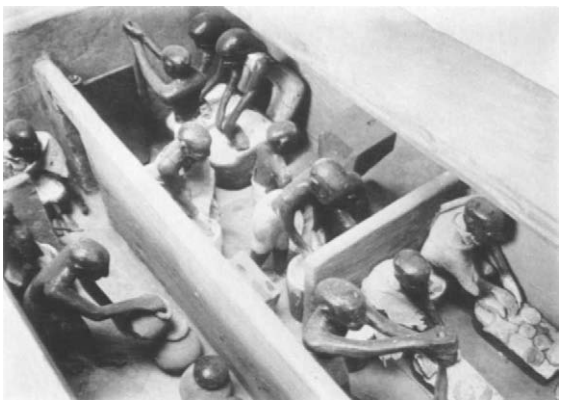


FIGURE 171. Part of Meket-Rēᶜ's bakery and brewery. H. 11½ in.

as beeves were killed and dressed in this shop is indicated by the man squatting in the midst of the butchers and holding a goose or duck by its wing.

At the ★granary the wheat or barley, brought on donkeyback from the threshing floor, is carefully measured in the presence of four accountants, who are checking what may be tax lists and making tallies; the grain is then carried in baskets up a flight of stairs and dumped into three large bins. Details of especial interest are the equipment of the scribes and the standard Egyptian grain measures (*ḥekats*) seen in the hands of the men scooping up the wheat. By the outer door is the familiar figure of the granary overseer, taking his ease but keeping a sharp eye on all who enter or leave the building.

Next comes the ★bakery (fig. 171), where the grain is first crushed in stone mortars let into the floor and then ground to flour on sloping mills, the latter task here, as nearly always, performed by women. The flour scooped from the catch basins of the mills is mixed with water to form dough, which is kneaded, patted into loaves of fancy shapes, and finally baked in the pottery ovens. Since baking and beer-making in Egypt were closely related processes, the ★brewery occupies the same building as the bakery. Here we see again the grinding of flour and the kneading of dough. To make beer, partly baked dough, leavened with yeast from previous batches, was crumbled in water, treaded to a frothy mash in the great vats, and then set aside in tall crocks to ferment. When ready, the new beer was strained through a sieve and decanted into spherical jars of *ḳulleh*-ware, capped with heavy mud stoppers. The beverage probably had a consistency like thin gruel and an alcoholic content of not more than seven per cent. A similar beer, called *booza,* is made today in Egypt. It is interesting to compare the detailed procedures shown in the models with the somewhat abridged representations of baking and brewing appearing in the tomb reliefs of the Old Kingdom (p. 97).

Models of the Twelfth Dynasty, from el Lisht, Asyūt, Mīr, and Girgeh, though not comparable in size, accuracy, and quality to those of Meket-Rēᶜ, show various aspects of the life of an estate and now and again introduce us to new activities.

A combined ★granary, bakery, and weaving shop, unfortunately much damaged by rot and termites, was found at el Lisht beside the maṣṭabeh tomb of the Chamberlain Ṭḥōty, an official of the court of King Se'n-Wosret I. Ṭḥōty's overseer, wrapped in a cloak, and his bookkeeper, with an open papyrus roll, sit side by side on a raised platform overlooking the granary. In the court below them the grain is measured out and then carried in baskets to the upper level, whence it is dumped into four bins arranged in a row along the left side of the model. At the rear is the bakery, where men and women crush grain, grind flour, and knead dough, using in the processes interesting and rather carefully made accessories—mortar and pestle, mills, and kneading table. In the weaver's shop women prepare flax, spin thread, and weave cloth, but all the equipment, save for a spinner's tension bowl with central ring, has been destroyed by wood ants.

We may, however, study the weaver's craft as practiced in the Middle Kingdom in a model of a ★weaver's shop from Girgeh, restored in the Museum for purposes of illustration (fig. 172),

and with its aid interpret the otherwise enigmatic actions of the women in the model from el Lisht. A rove of flax fibers, prepared by the woman squatting in the right front corner of the model, is wound into a ball and placed in a tension bucket, whence it is drawn out and spun into thread by a second woman, who stands and twirls her spindle against her thigh. The finished thread is stretched on a warping frame on the right-hand side of the shop or on pegs driven into the rear wall. The warp threads, lifted bodily from the frame, are spread out between the two beams of a horizontal loom. A shed is formed by setting up the heddle bar, seen resting on its jacks toward the rear of the loom; a countershed, by knocking down the heddle and turning the wide shed-stick on edge. The weft thread, shot back and forth on a wooden shuttle, is snugged in place by a beater-in—a flat wand, so long that its end sometimes projected through a slot provided in the side wall of the weaver's narrow shack. The linen cloth produced with this crude equipment was often of amazingly fine texture and, though evidently manufactured in some quantity, was, throughout the Old and Middle Kingdoms, a costly and highly prized commodity. In the New Kingdom this simple type of horizontal loom, used since prehistoric times and still found among primitive African peoples, was superseded by the mechanically superior vertical type.

A series of models from middle-class tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at Asyūt and Mīr includes two ★granaries, two ★butcher shops, and a ★farmyard. Though small, somewhat crude, and here and there incorrectly "restored" by the Arabs who found them, these little groups add many interesting details to our knowledge of the buildings and activities of an Egyptian farm. In the granaries, for example, we see how the stored grain could be taken out through doors provided in the sides of the bins. The equipment of the bakers and brewers, incongruously added to the second granary, shows us forms of mills, vats, and stoppered jars not hitherto encountered. Individual figures in the faultily rearranged butcher shops are worthy of notice, as, for example, the scribe with a writing board tucked under one arm and the peasant carrying a pair of jars slung from the ends of a yoke. The group described as a "farmyard" for want of a better title includes butchers slaughtering a spotted ox and cooking the blood; brewers working with mortar and pestle, grinding flour, and preparing the great jars; and, unattended, a small oven and a pair of mills.

A ★peasant plowing his master's fields is the subject of an interesting model which in 1936 came to the Museum as a gift (fig. 173). The plow, with its shallow wooden share, is of the type used in Egypt from the Old Kingdom to the present day ( ). Actually it is no more than a large hoe ( ) fitted with guiding handles and yoked to a team of long-horned, black and white oxen.

The livestock of the ancient Egyptian is further represented in three crude but amusing

FIGURE 172. Weaver's shop, Funerary model of the Middle Kingdom from Girgeh. Restored. H. 8¾ in.



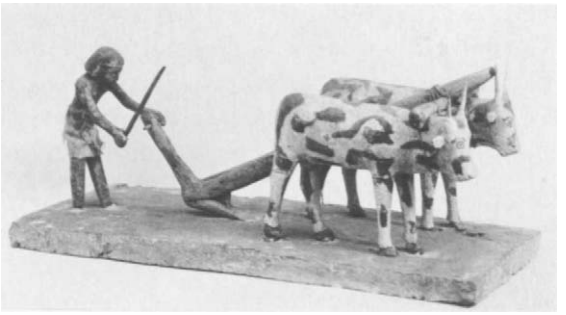


FIGURE 173. Man plowing with a yoke of oxen. Painted wooden model of the Middle Kingdom. H. 8 in.

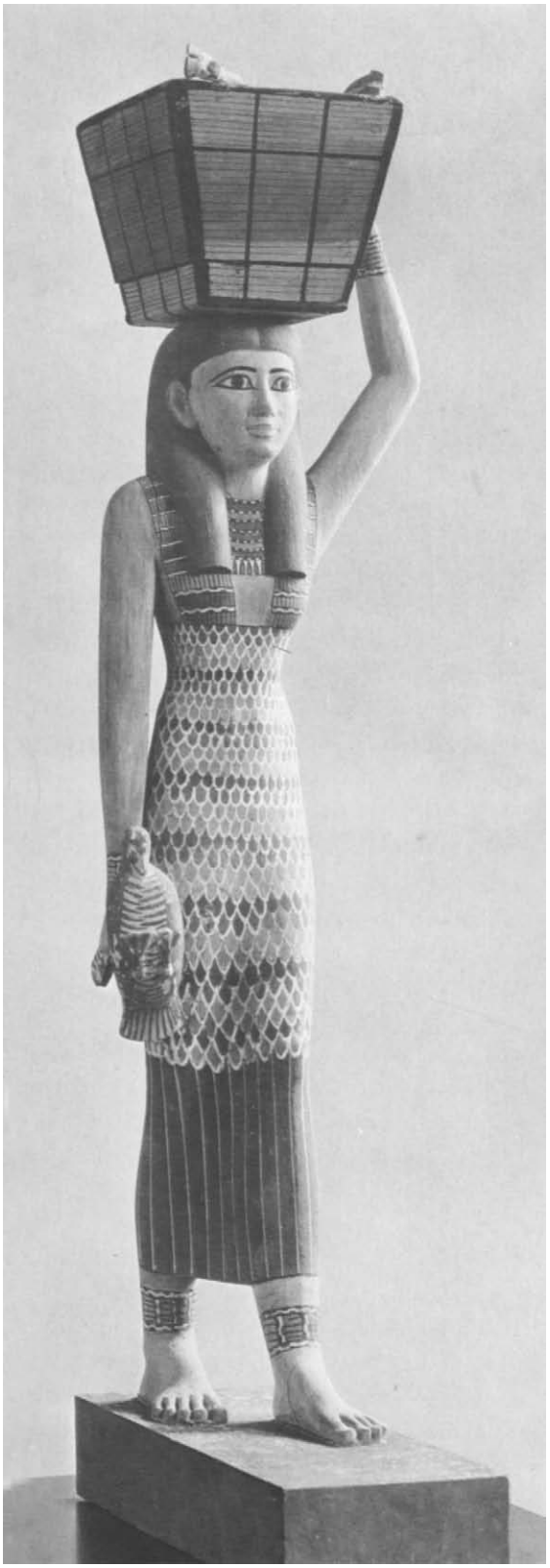
models from Mīr depicting a spotted ★cow and her calf and two pack trains of ★donkeys laden with saddle bags marked "For the Treasury." The bags probably contained wheat or barley sent as taxes to the provincial or national treasury, which, in a land where coinage was nonexistent, was a great government storehouse for grain, cattle, linen, and other produce and goods.

Individual figures of servants—among whom we may include those bringing offerings to their master's tomb—are found in the sirdābs, or statue chambers, of tombs of the Old Kingdom and continue to be featured, in company with the house and farm models, throughout the Middle Kingdom. One of the finest of such figures is the large and brightly painted ★statuette of a girl from the sirdāb of Meket-Rēᶜ (fig. 174), bearing on her head a basket of meat and holding in her right hand a live duck. With admirable simplicity, and yet with a world of subtlety, the woodcarver has caught to perfection the lithe figure and stately carriage of this peasant woman of the Eleventh Dynasty; and with infinite care the painter has shown every detail of her gaily patterned dress, with its shoulder straps of colored beadwork, and her broad collar, bracelets, and anklets of polychrome beads. As perfect as the day it was made, the figure still bears on its surfaces the fingerprints of those who placed it in Meket-Rēᶜ's tomb four thousand years ago.

With this statuette and its companion piece, now in the Cairo Museum, were found four smaller ★figures of Meket-Rēᶜ's servants, mounted on a single wooden base. The procession is led by a priest, with shaven head, carrying over his shoulder a huge libation vase and in his right hand a rodlike censer with a small cup at the end for the burning incense. Next comes a man balancing on his head a stack of folded linen sheets, and then two women with baskets of food and drink and, in their free hands, live geese, held, as usual, by the wings. The tall objects projecting from the first basket are wine jars with gaily colored, conical stoppers.

One of two additional model ★figures from the tomb of Meket-Rēᶜ, not associated with any of the farm groups or boats, evidently belonged to a scene of bird-netting which had been broken up and lost before the models were placed in the sirdāb. The figure is that of a man with his arms spread wide in the pose assumed by the lookout who gives the signal to close the net. The other figure, with one knee drawn up and the hands extended as if hauling on a rope, may well be from a model boat belonging to Meket-Rēᶜ's son, In-yōtef.

Six painted wooden ★figures of women bearing food offerings, similar to the girl from the tomb of Meket-Rēᶜ, but smaller and inferior in quality, come from private tombs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Thebes and el Lisht. The temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe and the Eleventh Dynasty cemetery surrounding it yielded a dozen little wooden ★statuettes of male servants, for the most part standing figures with the arms missing. One of these, however, represents a man kneeling, as before a mill, with his arms stretched out in front of him. A well-carved ★statuette of a foreman, with a shaven head and a kilt with a triangular apron, was found in the king's granite-lined burial chamber. Servant figures in materials other than wood include a ★man carrying two jars, executed in blue faience, and a ★miller in painted limestone, both from tombs near the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht.



In addition to the complete farm and shop groups and the large individual statuettes of servants, the Museum possesses scores of parts from such ★models—small wooden figures of butchers, brewers, cooks, and the like and miniature reproductions in wood of trussed oxen, birds, vegetables, baskets, fans, jars, millstones, and flights of steps. Unimportant as these fragments may seem, they contain a great deal of valuable information on the activities of an ancient Egyptian estate and on the daily life and crafts of the Middle Kingdom.

3. Boating on the Nile and on the Rivers of the Hereafter

In the life of a river dweller no single item of his possessions is more important than his boat, as a method of travel and transport, a means of livelihood, and a source of pleasure and relaxation. This was particularly true in Egypt, where the narrow land is split in half by the Nile and crossings by boat were as frequent and natural occurrences to the average inhabitant as crossing a street is to the people of other countries. Each peasant owned or shared the ownership of a small river craft—perhaps no more than a skiff ( ) or float ( ) of reeds—or, failing this, paid his way on the public ferries or begged a place in the vessels of his more fortunate contemporaries. When he died, the spirit of the ancient Egyptian journeyed in a ship upon the waters of the "Goodly West" or made the voyage to Abydos "to be in the following of the Great God" (Osiris). The gods themselves traveled by boat, and Rē^{c}, the sun, made his daily circuit of the earth in a barque, sailing alike upon the river of the sky and upon the dark stream which flowed through the Underworld. A man "without a boat" is listed in the writings of ancient Egypt among the unfortunates of the earth—the

FIGURE 174. Offering bearer from the tomb of Meket-Rē^{c} at Thebes. Eleventh Dynasty. Painted wood. H. 44 in.

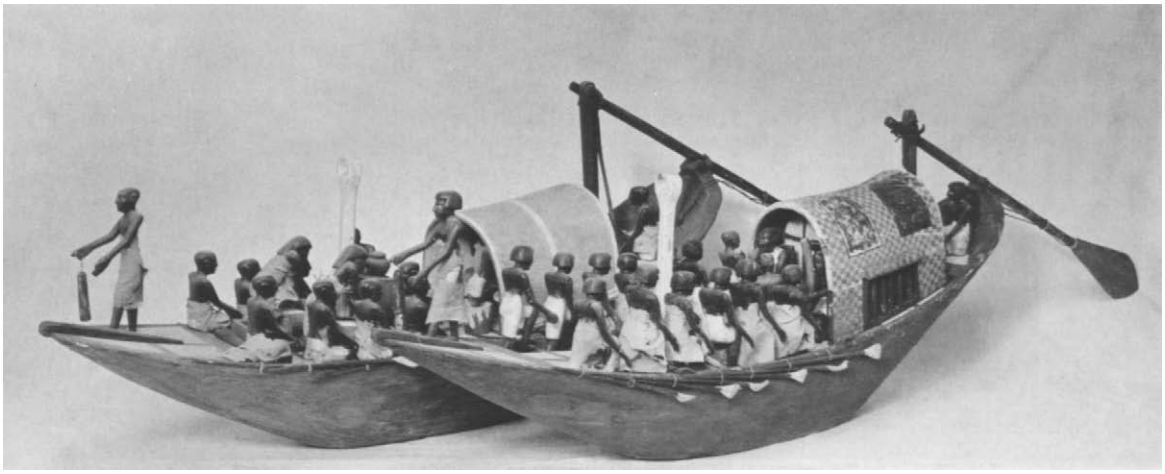


FIGURE 175. Traveling and kitchen boats of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ. Painted wooden models of the Eleventh Dynasty. L. 49-50 in.

hungry, the naked, the orphan (p. 139)—and to "be without a boat for the Great Crossing" was a catastrophe which barred the way to a blessed immortality.

A rich and powerful official like Meket-Rēᶜ whose affairs took him on frequent journeys up and down the Nile, naturally had his own fleet of river boats—handsome, well-found craft, designed for a variety of special purposes and manned with smart, well-trained crews. Four-foot reproductions of twelve of Meket-Rēᶜ's boats, executed in great detail and in almost perfect condition, were found with the farm models described above, and of these ancient model craft six may be studied at first hand in the Metropolitan Museum.[2]

There are two traveling ★boats for long journeys—the originals probably thirty to forty feet in length. One is a twelve-oared craft with its commodious cabin placed well aft and extending athwartships from gunwale to gunwale (fig. 175, right). The other is clearly a faster type, propelled by eighteen oars, and has a smaller cabin placed amidships. Both boats are shown being rowed downriver with the current ( ), but each was equipped with a mast, spars, and a square sail, which was rigged when it was desired to sail upstream before the prevailing northerly wind ( ). In the first boat the rigging is missing, but in the second we see the mast unstepped and lowered with the two spars into the tall crotch, clear of the cabin and the rowers, while the linen sail is stowed on deck. The steering oar, or rudder, is of the improved type introduced in the Sixth Dynasty, operating against a steering post and fitted with a tiller and preventer lines ( ). The operating principle is the same as with our modern vertical rudder, a movement of the tiller to one side or the other turning the great oar blade in the water and causing the stern to veer as desired. The boats were decked over between the thwarts with movable planking, which along the sides has been taken out to make room for the oarsmen. These start their long stroke standing, with one foot on the thwart in front, and end it sitting on the thwart behind. The cabin was a hooped wooden framework, covered with leather and often containing a bunk, the owner's traveling trunks, and, in one instance, his cabin steward. Great shields of bull's hide carried on the overhead of the cabin were probably held ready for use in case of "sniping" from the banks or possibly as a protection against river pirates and are quite in

[2] In addition to the models in the Metropolitan Museum, Meket-Rēᶜ's fleet included two traveling boats under sail, a kitchen boat, a funerary barque, and a pair of fishing canoes, all now in the Cairo Museum.

keeping with the warlike spirit of the Eleventh Dynasty. On one boat the owner, Meket-Rēᶜ, sits before his cabin, receiving a report from the captain of the vessel and listening to a blind harper and a singer, who pats his mouth with his hand to give his voice a warbling sound. On the other boat Meket-Rēᶜ sits in the bow, upwind from the sweating oarsmen, daintily smelling a lotus flower and again listening to the music of his singer. In the extreme bow stands the lookout, a leather-covered fender in one hand, searching out the stream ahead for sandbars and other menaces to navigation.

An eight-oared kitchen ★boat (fig. 175, left), which followed one of the traveling boats on long trips and probably moored alongside at mealtimes, is similar in design, but broader and less luxuriously appointed. Amidships, between the rowers, women grind flour and men mix dough and tend a baking oven, while in the cabin other men roll loaves of bread and one stands in a vat kneading dough with his feet. Beer and wine jars are stowed in the cabin, and joints of meat are hung up to cure. As in the traveling boats, the crotch to support the lowered mast above the deck while the boat is being rowed stands in the stepping of the mast itself.

A shallow-draft sporting ★boat (fig. 176) is specially designed and equipped for spearing fish and netting wildfowl in the marshes and backwaters of the Nile. The cabin, in front of which Meket-Rēᶜ and his son sit vicariously enjoying the sport, is hardly more than an awning. Lashed to its sides are the spreaders and anchor posts for a bird net, and lying on the deck near by are the stakes with which the edges of the net were pegged down (see fig. 55). The boat, without a mast and obviously small, is propelled by six paddlers and manoeuvred by a short steering oar, riding in a crotch on the starboard quarter. Each of the two harpooners who stand in the bow beside the lookout holds in his right hand a fish-spear, poised for the cast, and in his left hand a reel from which the line will pay out when the fish is struck. An enormous fish being hauled aboard over the starboard rail has the head of a harpoon still fixed in its side. The captain of the boat stands as usual facing the owner, to whom a boy and a girl are bringing strings of ducks which they have just caught.

A pair of ★barques with high, curling prows and sterns are modeled after a very ancient type of Nile boat, made originally of long bundles

FIGURE 176. Fishing and fowling skiff of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ. L. 45 in.





FIGURE 177. Funerary barque of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ. L. 56 in.

of papyrus reeds lashed together (𓊹). This form of ship, with a double steering oar and an open canopy amidships, was traditionally used in the funerary voyages to and from the sanctuary of Osiris at Abydos, and it is probable that it is these voyages which are represented in the two models. One barque, driven by sixteen paddles, is evidently "faring downstream" against the wind. The other (fig. 177), in the act of leaving its mooring, is just as clearly preparing to set sail for the return voyage upriver. On deck lie two mooring stakes (𓏛) and the mallet for driving them, the gangplank, and the mast rest. Up forward a man poles the bow away from the bank, while at the foot of the mast a group of sailors hoist the great square sail under the supervision of the ship's officers. The two helmsmen stand alert at their tillers, and at the rails on either side crewman set up the backstays and trim the sheets. Meket-Rēᶜ—or his statue—sits beneath the shrine-shaped canopy, attended by his son, and before him stand three mortuary priests burning incense, offering the foreleg of an ox, and reading the funerary ritual from an open roll of papyrus.

A set of three model ★boats belonging to a Theban noble of the reign of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe was found just inside the doorway of a tomb high up in the cliff overlooking the mortuary temple of the king. The boats had been overturned and their crews and equipment scattered and broken, but they have been reassembled, so far as possible, and make an interesting trio of models. A six-oared traveling boat, though smaller and less elaborate than those of Meket-Rēᶜ, is similar in its hull type and steering rig. The crew, as preserved, consists of four of

the six oarsmen, seated on their thwarts; two bowsmen, one holding a bull's-hide fender with clearly defined piebald markings; two officers standing and one seated forward of the steering post; and a standing helmsman. A sporting skiff, modeled after a papyrus barque with high, lashed bow and stern, has its mast stepped and is evidently proceeding under sail. The deceased owner, wearing a green wig and with his ample flesh colored yellow above his white shroud, sits forward of the mast, facing the stern. The girl who stands before him probably once carried several ducks, like the girl in the model from the tomb of Meket-Rēᶜ. The other remaining members of the crew, all wearing white circlets about their bushy hair, are scattered around in positions suggesting fishing and fowling activities, and some of the pegs in the deck were perhaps for fish and birds which had been caught. A funerary boat bearing the body of the dead noble stretched out upon his coffin has a long, narrow hull form, clearly derived from a canoe of bound papyrus reeds. Like other funerary and divine barques, it is equipped with twin steering oars, here supported on a transverse beam across the narrow stern. Eight oarsmen row their deceased master over the waters of the West or speed him on his last journey downriver to Abydos, while an officer and a lookout gaze ahead —perhaps into eternity.

In the Twelfth Dynasty, especially in the region of Memphis, there was a tendency to reduce the models of contemporary Nile boats to a few stock types and to place more emphasis on craft of a strictly funerary nature, such as solar barques, in which the deceased Egyptian might follow the course of the sun god; ships bearing the dead, in the guise of Osiris, to and from Abydos; and funeral boats laden with coffins. Five boats from maṣṭabeh tombs near the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht are characteristic:

In the rowing ★boat the ten oarsmen sit on raised benches above the deck planking, and both the bow lookout and the helmsman, wrapped in long mantles, or boat cloaks, squat on deck at their respective stations. Mast, spars, and furled sail, as usual, are lowered into the crotched mast rest, and when the model was placed in the tomb the oars were stowed in the cordage loops, which served as rowlocks, lengthwise along the sides of the hull—probably to save them from loss or breakage. The boat is lighter, with more pronounced sheer and a shorter waterline, than the models of Meket-Rēᶜ, and the slender bow is reinforced on deck by a fore-and-aft member, corresponding to a bowsprit, evidently intended to take the strain of the headstay when the mast is stepped. The single rudder, tiller, and steering post are similar to those on boats of the Eleventh Dynasty.

Abydos is south of el Lisht, and the funerary ★barque is therefore shown sailing southward, up the river, with its mast stepped and its spars braced before the wind. This ship is broader than the rowing boat, but the profile of the hull, the steering gear, and the bowsprit are practically the same. The helmsman, the man tending the port sheet, the forward lookout, and the sailors clustered about the mast are the normal complement of an Egyptian river vessel. The owner, however, an official of King Se'n-Wosret I, named Tḥōty, is represented as a mummy, laid out on a bier beneath a shrine-shaped canopy and attended by a mortuary priest, a pair of mourning women, and four male mourners seated before the mast. The words "Ho, Osiris 'So-and-so'," written on the priest's scroll, tell us two things. First, the boat is a stock model, not made specially for Tḥōty, whose name otherwise would have been written in place of the anonymous expression "So-and-so." Second, the dead man is identified here with the god Osiris, the divine prototype in immortality, mourned by his wife and sister, the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, and by four of his fellow gods—perhaps the so-called "Four Genii of the Dead" (see pp. 81, 321).

Three model ★boats found at el Lisht beside the maṣṭabeh of I-em-ḥotep, High Priest of Rēᶜ at Heliopolis, are mystic craft in which the dead

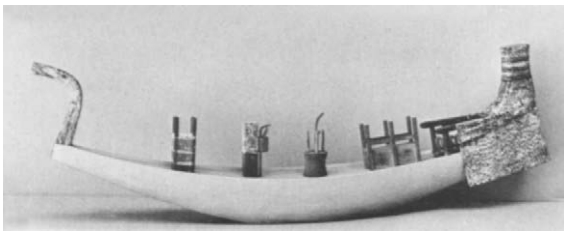


FIGURE 178. Solar barque from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. L. 42½ in. The hull has been restored.

Egyptian, like the gods, might traverse the waters of heaven and travel upon the river of the Underworld. These ships, of ancient types, developed in the days before the first historic dynasty, are without visible crews and sails, oars, or rudders; for they were thought of as peopled with divine spirits and drawn along by the gods of the hereafter.

The large boat, over eight feet in length, is a plain wooden hull with the long slender lines and high prow and stern of the primaeval papyrus skiff. Except for the rails and the bow and stern pieces, which are attached by tenons and dowels, the boat is carved in one piece from a sycamore log, with here and there patches to cover knotholes and other flaws in the wood.

The two smaller models are reproductions of a pair of solar ships (fig. 178), the "Barque of the Morning" (*meʿandjet*) and the "Barque of the Evening" (*mesektet*). In these the sun god Horus (later Rēʿ) made his daily circuit of the earth, sailing by day across the sky in the *meʿandjet*-barque and by night through the Underworld in the *mesektet*-barque. The hulls of both models were damaged beyond repair by rot and have been restored from drawings and photographs, but all the elements in the superstructures are original. In each case the high prow, ending in a small platform once fenced about by pickets, is draped with a heavy mesh of colored beadwork, here reproduced in painted wood. Between the bulwarks is a row of nine ostrich plumes (𓆑), commonly worn by solar divinities. Next come the coffin of the sun god and then the symbols 𓋴 and 𓊽, mounted on appropriate supports. These signs, a throw-stick and a crook with a packaged knife, were primaeval emblems of Horus as worshiped, respectively, in Lower Egypt and in Upper Egypt. Last we see another box, similar to the coffin, but smaller, which may be the canopic chest of the god. Ships of this type were constructed at enormous scale in the desert beside the sun temples of the Fifth Dynasty at Abu Ṣīr, the hulls of brick, the superstructures and divine emblems of wood.

Two rowing ★boats, one of twelve oars and one originally of twenty-two, and a traveling ★boat under sail are from rock tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at Mīr. In one of the rowing boats the oarsmen are finishing their stroke in a seated position. In the other they are standing, leaning forward, at the beginning of the long sweep. The crew of this boat are soldiers—or, more properly, marines—whose bull's-hide shields are seen stacked against the mast rest. A fender of bull's hide, a mooring stake, and a mallet lie ready on the forecastle. The traveling boat, fitted with a hooped cabin hung with shields, is a smaller and cruder version of those of Meket-Rēʿ. Several figures from the bow are missing, and most of the others are carved at a scale large out of all proportion to the size of the boat. A touch of realism has been added by supplementing the painted garments of the figures with scraps of coarse linen cloth.

The Museum's fleet of model ships of the Middle Kingdom is enhanced by two exceptionally interesting funerary ★barques from the tomb of the Chancellor Wekh-ḥotpe of Mīr (see p. 316). One of these is an ordinary river boat of Twelfth Dynasty form, surmounted by a canopy under which the mummy of Wekh-ḥotpe is seen lying on a funerary couch, or bier, carved, as was the practice, with the head and legs of a lion. Clasping the head and feet of the dead noble are the mourning women who personify the goddesses Nephthys and Isis in this re-enactment of the legend of Osiris. *Setem*-priests, wearing the

leopard skin of their office, flank the goddess Nephthys at the head of the bier, one reading from an open scroll, the other holding an incense burner. The leopard skin painted on the roof of the canopy probably indicates that Wekh-ḥotpe himself, in addition to his office as chancellor, was also a priest. The boat's mast, oars, and rigging have been omitted to leave room for the canopy, and all that remains of its crew are the helmsman and the lookout, both considerably smaller in scale than the members of the funerary group.

Even more curious is the other barque, a ship of the traditional funerary type, but equipped with mast, spars, and well-preserved linen sail and rigging (fig. 179). With the exception of the tiny helmsman, all the figures are representations of Wekh-ḥotpe himself. In the stern he appears as a statue, clothed in a long mantle and seated on a paneled throne inscribed with prayers for offerings addressed to the gods Anubis and Osiris. The mummiform figures flanking the canopied chair amidships probably represent the dead man and his *ku*, or spirit. Not content with portraying his client three times and providing a chair to accommodate his spirit, the ancient model-maker arbitrarily added, forward of the sail, one of Wekh-ḥotpe's funerary statuettes, not intended for a boat model and ridiculously out of scale. Such inconsistencies, however, need not detract from our enjoyment of the many remarkable details of this fine model—the painted eyes on the bows and rudder blades, the little falcon heads on the rudders and rudder bars, the decoration of the mast, columns, chair, and statue

FIGURE 179. Funerary barque of the Chancellor Wekh-ḥotpe from Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty. L. 48¾ in.



throne, and the carefully represented clothing and accessories of the figures.

The Cemetery of the Priests at Deir el Baḥri yielded two very crude model boats of the Twelfth Dynasty. One is a slender ★skiff carrying a rectangular coffin of characteristic Middle Kingdom type, the whole whittled from a single piece of wood. The other is a funerary ★ship in painted limestone, grossly executed and much battered and broken. From tombs near the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht come two curious little ★boats of limestone, each surmounted by the figure of a hippopotamus.

Numerous parts of model ★boats are available to the student of Middle Kingdom ship construction, rigging, and personnel. These include figures of officers and men in wood, painted limestone, and alabaster; masthead fittings and withes of copper; fragments of boat hulls; oars, rudders, rudder mounts, steering posts, mooring stakes, and mallets; and canopies, biers, mummies, and mourners from funerary ships.

XIV. PROFESSIONS AND CRAFTS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

XIV. Professions and Crafts of the Middle Kingdom

1. The Soldier and His Weapons

BY MODERN STANDARDS the wars of the Middle Kingdom were small-scale affairs. The total population of the country probably did not exceed two million persons, and of those only a minute percentage was actively involved in the civil strife of the Eleventh Dynasty and the raiding expeditions of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montuḥotpe and his successors. According to the accounts which this king has left us, his military exploits were nothing short of earth rocking. Actually, it would appear that in one of the decisive battles of the Herakleopolitan war—an assault against an important enemy stronghold—his total loss was sixty men and that of the defenders of the fortress perhaps even less (p. 163). The ten thousand men who are said to have followed the Vizier Amun-em-ḥēt to the Wady el Hammāmāt was an exceptionally large army, and the troops supplied later by the governor of the Oryx Nome for expeditions to Nubia and the mines near Koptos numbered only four hundred and six hundred men, respectively.

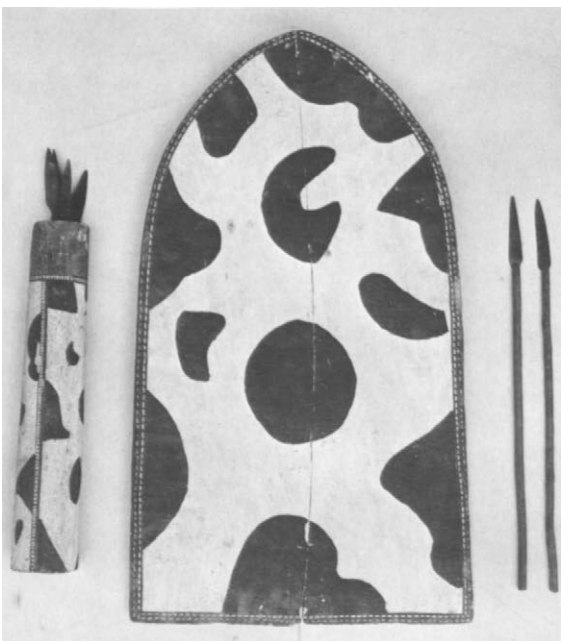
During the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties the armed forces of Egypt were composed largely of freeborn citizens, who were either professional soldiers in the service of the crown or troops of militia levied and maintained by the provincial governors. "The Followers of His Majesty," as the nucleus of the standing army was called, were organized in companies of a hundred men, and these in normal times were used to garrison the royal palace and the numerous forts established by the central government up and down the Nile from Nubia to the Asiatic frontier. The local militiamen were drafted as the need arose from among the young men of the individual nomes, who were registered for this purpose by generations. Levies were also raised among the foreign vassals of Egypt, especially among the Nubians and Libyans, both of whom made excellent and highly valued soldiers. Fighting was only one of the functions of the Egyptian army, which was drawn upon extensively to provide personnel for trading, quarrying, and mining expeditions and for all kinds of public enterprises requiring bodies of trained men. "Commanders of Soldiers" were members of the educated, official class, and scribes played an important part in the administration of the army in both war and peace (p. 69). Certain regiments, as we have seen (p. 195), wore distinguishing badges, and a feather stuck in the hair, perhaps as an emblem of victory, became such a common item on military attire that it appears in the hieroglyphic sign for "soldier,"  .

All branches of the army—archers, slingers, spearmen, and axemen—were light-armed infantry. Defensive body armor was not generally

worn, the average soldier of the Middle Kingdom going into battle unclad except for a short loincloth and, occasionally, bands of webbing crossed over the chest. In place of helmets the men grew great shocks of bushy hair, like our football players of fifty years ago.

For protection the spearmen and others whose weapons could be wielded with one hand carried trapezoidal shields of bull's hide, tapering slightly from bottom to top and pointed or rounded at the top, so as not to obscure the vision of their bearers. Although always of the same general shape, these shields were made in two sizes—a light buckler, about a yard in height, and a great, full-length shield, protecting the whole body from head to feet. The type is admirably illustrated in a funerary model of a ★shield from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Asyūt (fig. 180). Carefully reproduced in the painted wood of the model is the black and white piebald hide, bound with a stitched edging of red leather and backed, about two thirds of the way up, with a transverse brace of wood, in the center of which is carved the grip of the shield. Three similar ★braces (fig. 181, top), pierced with holes for attachment to the hides, are from real shields, two of which were buried with their owners in tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes. The third brace, purchased in 1912, is over five feet in length, a dimension representing the breadth of the huge shield to which it once belonged. Other fragments of actual shields found by the Museum's Expedition show that, except for an extra band of rawhide around the edge and the single wooden crossbar, there was no frame or wooden backing. The hide was probably very hard and stiff and, with the hair left on, would doubtless stop a Middle Kingdom arrow. Moreover, if it were so handled that the crossbar received the blow, it would be an excellent protection against an axe or club. Even when of great size, such shields would always be comparatively light.

FIGURE 180. Painted wooden models of a shield and a javelin case from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Asyūt. H. 28 in.



From the same tomb as the model shield comes a painted wooden model of a ★javelin case containing six small ★javelins of wood with long, narrow points of copper hafted into the ends of the shafts (fig. 180). Real cases of this type, much larger than the model, were clearly of spotted bull's hide bound in red leather, like the shields, and stitched together up the sides and around the ends. No strap or other means of suspension was provided with these cases, and in the battle scenes at Beni Ḥasan they are represented carried on one shoulder by members of the "ammunition parties." It is an interesting commentary on the warlike spirit of the Middle Kingdom that the tomb at Asyūt in which both the model shield and the javelin case were found belonged, not to a professional soldier, but to a priest named Pepy-ʿankhe-ḥery-yeb.

A famous model in Cairo from the tomb of Meseḥty at Asyūt shows a company of soldiers carrying in their right hands spears about the height of a man, with long, flat heads of metal. Two full-size copper ★spear heads from Tūneh el Gebel in the old Fifteenth Nome of Upper

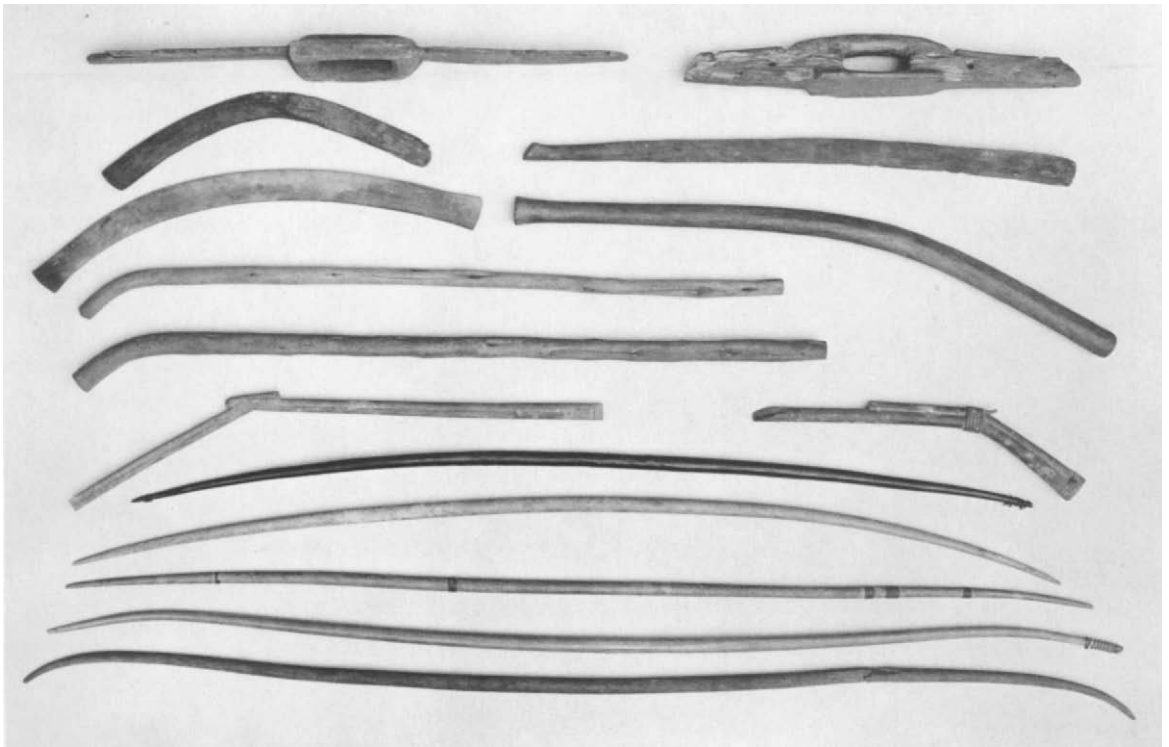


FIGURE 181. Weapons of the Middle Kingdom, including bows, "bent staves," clubs, boomerangs, and shield braces. L. of longest bow 67 in.

Egypt (the Hare Nome) are of the same type. One is inscribed with the titles and name of its owner, the nomarch and Governor of the South Idoḳre. Like the model, these spears probably date from the period of the war between Herakleopolis and Thebes. A third copper ★spear head from el Lisht is a later type, with a more rounded point, but shows the flat tang, for insertion into the end of the wooden shaft, characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. Such spears were probably not used as lances or pikes, but were thrown from close range, like the assagais of the modern South African tribes.

The principal military and hunting weapon of the Egyptians, as of all the peoples of the ancient Near East, was the bow. The bows of the Middle Kingdom show little advance over those of earlier times. Though of several shapes, all are long self bows, made of single pieces of wood, circular in section and tapered toward the ends. Seventeen complete ★bows and four ★bow tips in the Museum (figs. 181, 182) are from burials at Thebes, el Lisht, and Gebelein and, with three exceptions, are dated to the Eleventh Dynasty. They range in length from four to five and three-quarters feet and are of three types. The smaller bows have a slight, continuous curve from end to end and are somwhat heavier in proportion

FIGURE 182. Theban bows and arrows of the Eleventh Dynasty

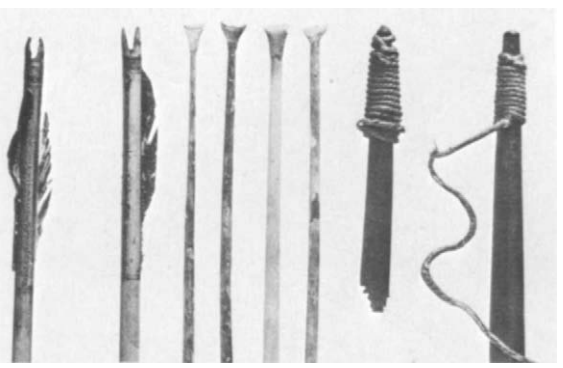




FIGURE 183. Min-oḳre the Theban with his bow and arrows. Limestone tomb stela of the Eleventh Dynasty. H. 16¼ in.

to their lengths than the larger examples. The latter are either straight staves with the tapered ends curving slightly inwards toward the string or of the common African recurved type represented in somewhat exaggerated form by the hieroglyph 𓐍. One example is bound at intervals with gut or rawhide, and a pair of ceremonial bows from the tomb of Senebtīsy at el Lisht are tipped with gold ferrules. The strings, preserved in a number of cases, are of twisted gut and are usually lashed with many turns at both ends of the bow (fig. 182). Despite its simple construction, the long Egyptian war bow was a powerful weapon, capable at moderate range of driving an arrow tipped only with hardwood clean through the body of a man. This is no mere conjecture, for one of the slain soldiers of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe, found by the Museum's Expedition at Thebes, "had been hit in the back just under the shoulder blade by an arrow which had transfixed his heart and projected some eight inches straight out in front of his chest."[1]

Nearly every Theban of the Eleventh Dynasty was buried with his bow beside him, the great nobles with hundreds piled up in the crypts of their tombs, the ordinary citizen with a single bow and set of arrows in his coffin. On his small limestone tomb ★stela Min-oḳre of Thebes appears holding his bow in his left hand and a sheaf of arrows in his right (fig. 183), and a fellow townsman, Montu-ḥotpe, son of Montu-ḥotpe-ᶜankhe, is represented in similar fashion on one of a series of painted wooden stelae made from writing boards (p. 330). For fear lest the bows might turn on their deceased owners and injure them, many examples were "killed" by being broken or chopped to pieces before being placed in the tombs. This was the case with the two bows found among the ceremonial staves and other weapons in the coffin of the House Mistress Senebtīsy (p. 305).

Some sixty ★arrows (⟝) of the Middle Kingdom, usually found with the bows in sets of five to eighteen, range from twenty-nine inches to just over a yard in length. All are of reed, nocked, fletched with three rounded feathers, and footed with tapered tips, or "piles," of ebony or some other hardwood, eight or nine inches long (fig. 182). Over twenty examples from Thebes have small, chisel-edged flakes of flint cemented to the ends of the wooden piles (fig. 182), and on one arrow head there are lateral barbs of flint behind the chisel edge. Several tips from el Lisht, on the other hand, are plain ebony points of the type found in the bodies of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's soldiers and believed to have come from the bows of the defenders of Herakleopolis or some other Herakleopolitan stronghold in Middle Egypt. A blunt wooden tip, bound with thread, is probably from a hunting arrow used to knock down and stun small animals and birds without killing

[1] Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Baḥri*, p. 126.

them or damaging their skins. A copper ★point from a tomb at el Lisht, once thought to be an arrow head, is more likely to have come from a light javelin.

During the Middle Kingdom arrows were usually carried, ready for use, in the archer's right hand (fig. 183). Quivers, however, were known and used from the earliest times. A fragment of elaborately patterned leather from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes may be part of a ★quiver, and a cylinder of coiled basketwork from a cemetery of the late Middle Kingdom at Deir el Baḥri is almost certainly one. The basketry ★quiver, four and a half inches in diameter and preserved to a length of over twenty-five inches, was found in close association with a set of model arrows. It is paralleled by a more complete example in the Rijksmuseum in Leiden.

On the inside of his left wrist the Middle Kingdom archer wore a protective ★tab, cut, with its narrow wrist strap, from a single piece of heavy leather (fig. 184). Like the modern archer's bracer, the purpose of this tab was to protect the wrist from the whip of the bowstring as the arrow was released. The example shown is from the body of one of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's soldiers, buried at Thebes, and there are two others from the same group of burials, a fourth found in an archer's ★kitbag in another Theban tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty, and a fifth from Gebelein.

The bag, ten by fourteen inches, is of linen cloth, sewed down the sides and fitted with a cord handle. In addition to the leather wrist guard, it contains three coils of new gut bowstring, two pieces of old bowstring, a hank of linen thread, a small flask of grease (?), strips of linen, a rag tied up in thread, a conical grinder (?), three burnishing pebbles, and some black granular material, perhaps ground-up galena. With the bag were found ten broken arrow tips, more pieces of bowstring, a plaited leather cord, which may have been a belt, and several pieces of leather bundled together.

A curious bent staff, , called the *pedj-ᶜaḥaᶜ*, appears in the Pyramid Texts in close association with the bow and with the ancient war god Up-wawet. It was evidently either part of the bowman's equipment or a primitive weapon comparable in importance to the bow. It has been variously identified – never with much conviction—as a bow-stringer, a bow stand, a

FIGURE 184. Leather bracer in position on the wrist of one of the archers of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe



bow case, a form of catapult, part of an archer's shelter, and as one of the corner supports of a primitive structure (e.g., ). In addition to these suggestions, we might also consider the possibility of its having been a form of throw-stick or club (cf. ) or one of a pair of racks, or "formers," to which the recurved bow was lashed either during its shaping or to maintain its shape when not in use. Full-size wooden models of the ★bent staff are frequently found in coffins of the Middle Kingdom, placed to the right (i.e., behind the back) of the mummy, apart from the other staves and the bows, which are usually laid in front of the body. A text of the New Kingdom speaks of "placing the bow in his hand and the  behind him." Such an implement may be seen among the ceremonial staves from the tomb of Senebtīsy (fig. 187, 1), and there are two others from burials of the Twelfth Dynasty at Mīr and el Lisht, respectively (fig. 181, above the bows). Considerable variation in size and details of construction will be noted in the three examples; but all are clearly intended to represent a bent implement composed of two or four slender rods or reeds lashed together at the bend and sometimes also at the ends. Senebtīsy's bent staff is topped with a capping of gold foil, and the other example from el Lisht is painted red.

For hand-to-hand fighting and for dispatching the wounded enemy brought down by his arrows, javelins, and slingstones the soldier of the Middle Kingdom was equipped with a club or light axe and frequently with a dagger stuck in the front of his belt.

The mace () was apparently less common than in the earlier periods of Egyptian history, but survived as a ceremonial weapon and was still represented in temple and tomb reliefs, on the interiors of decorated coffins, and among the funerary models of weapons buried with the dead. A ★mace from the burial of Senebtīsy, with a pear-shaped head of alabaster and a gold-



FIGURE 185. Battle axes of the Middle Kingdom. L. of longest axe 41¾ in.

mounted shaft of wood, could have been used as an actual weapon; but an example from the tomb of Wekh-ḥotpe of Mīr is entirely of wood and is useless except as a funerary symbol. The conical head of a second ★mace from the tomb of Senebtīsy is of rock crystal, and there are nine other ★mace heads in red granite, alabaster, rock crystal, limestone, and faience, all from cemeteries of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. Most of these are either pear-shaped or truncated cones, but one example, in alabaster, has the claws of a lion carved upon its surface in high relief.

★Clubs, of which the Museum possesses a dozen examples from tombs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Thebes, Gebelein, Mīr, and el Lisht, are either short, thick staves of hardwood, straight except for the curved striking end, or heavy, curved batons of the type represented by the hieroglyph 𓋴 (fig. 181, near the top). A wooden ★"saber" from the tomb at Thebes of Nefer-ḥotep the Bowman (p. 202), resembles a slender baseball bat, but is diamond-shaped in cross section, with sharp striking edges along two sides. Like the clubs, it is about a yard in length, is of some heavy, very hard wood, and against an unarmored opponent must have been a formidable weapon.

Several types of ★battle axes are preserved from the period comprised by the Ninth to Thirteenth Dynasties (fig. 185). An early form, carried over from the Old Kingdom, is the *mibt-* or *minb*-axe with a semicircular copper head (𓌙), which was used both as a weapon and as a carpenter's tool, In a complete axe of this type from Tūneh el Gebel, the light, rounded blade is fitted into a slot in the wooden haft and was once held in place by a lashing passed through the two holes near its straight upper edge and around the small triangular lugs projecting from its sides. The same shape is seen in two copper axe heads from graves at Hu, in Upper Egypt, and appears again in the models of carpenters' axes discussed below (p. 288). An improved form of the short axe head developed in the Twelfth Dynasty has a much heavier and deeper blade with a rounded cutting edge and concave sides—more like our modern axe head in shape. This type, which persists throughout the New Kingdom, is represented by three copper blades from Hu and el Lisht and by a funerary model in limestone from the latter site. The so-called "long axe," or "fighting baton," has a long, narrow blade, with a straight or rounded cutting edge, usually attached to its haft by means of three tangs, pierced with holes for the lashings. The resulting weapon is more like an edged club or quarterstaff than what we usually think of as an axe. Several of the hafted examples shown in figure 185 are fitted with tubular copper mountings. Blades of this type may be seen on the quarterstaves carried by soldiers of the Old Kingdom on a block of relief from el Lisht (fig. 45), and the weapon is frequently represented in tomb and coffin paintings of the Middle Kingdom. With the Egyptian axes are shown three of the contemporary Syrian type with tubular hafting made in one piece with the blade. One of the two bronze (?) examples is from Byblos. The third is a purely ceremonial weapon, molded in blue faience.

The ★daggers (𓌛) of the Middle Kingdom are handsome weapons with tapered blades of copper, frequently adorned with longitudinal striations, and elaborate handles built up of gold, silver, bone, ivory, and other materials (fig. 186). The handle is usually short and wide and is characterized by a broad, crescent-shaped pommel at the upper end, designed to fit comfortably into the palm of the hand. The pommel is either left as an open crescent at the end of the handle stock or is set in the frame of the handle in such a way as to form, with the top of the frame, a flat, openwork disk. The handle is riveted together and fastened to the broad top of the blade with two or three additional rivets of copper or silver. Many daggers were probably carried free in the belts of their owners, but examples from the burials of Senebtīsy and Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify have wooden sheaths, partially overlaid with gold foil.

We may study the varying forms of the weapon in ten actual examples or parts thereof and in a series of painted wooden funerary models from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at Mīr and el Lisht. The largest dagger shown in fig. 186 is twelve inches in length with a blade over seven inches long.

The ★boomerang, one of the most ancient weapons of the Egyptians, was used almost exclusively for hunting birds. Two examples from tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes are of the so-called "return type"—wooden blades, flat on one side and slightly convex on the other, curved to an angle of about 140°, with a rounded handle end and a blunt hitting end slightly broader than the rest of the blade (fig. 181, near the top). An exact reproduction of one of these weapons was found, when cast, to fly out a long distance, make a sharp turn, and come back to the thrower. The boomerang so tested was made to be thrown with the right hand, and this of course was usually the case, although similar weapons for left-handed hunters are also known. ★Throw-sticks from the north cemetery at el Lisht are like boomerangs in purpose and in general appearance, but are rounded in section and had to be retrieved after each cast. The hardwood of which one of the throw-sticks is made has been identified by the late Dean Record of Yale as "a kind of locust, possibly acacia."



FIGURE 186. Middle Kingdom daggers, including actual weapons and funerary models in painted wood. L. of longest dagger 12 in.

2. Staves and Scepters

Although many of the staves and scepters of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties which have been preserved to us are ceremonial objects or divine symbols, placed in the coffins of the dead chiefly for funerary purposes, most of them reproduce forms which were used in daily life by the people either of the Middle Kingdom itself or of some previous age. It is believed that they will be of more interest if dealt with from this point of view and in conjunction with the weapons just discussed, with which many of them, as we shall see, are closely associated.

★Straight staves (), similar to the quarterstaff of Robin Hood's day and the *nabbūt* of the modern Egyptian fellah, were carried by the men of ancient Egypt, soldiers and civilians alike, and were used, depending upon the nature of the occasion, either as weapons () or as walking sticks (). The dozen or so straight staves in the Museum's collection range in length from four to five feet and in style from the smoothed tree branch carried by the peasant to the tall, slender walking stick of the noble ( ) with its knob and ferrule of copper. Senebtīsy's straight staff

has a knob of plaster covered with gold foil (fig. 187, 6), and a staff from the burial of Wekh-ḥotpe of Mīr is bound at intervals with cord, exactly like the modern *nabbūt*.

A variation of the straight walking stick, found among the staves and scepters in the coffin of Senebtīsy, has a forked lower end for use against snakes and to prevent the staff from sinking into boggy ground (fig. 187, 3). This ★forked staff, called the *ʿabyet,* appears frequently in the painted coffin friezes and is seen in one of the hieroglyphic symbols for "old man" (𓀀).

A tomb near the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I yielded two ★straight staves, each with a small crossbar near the bottom and, about two thirds of the way up, a rest for the hand, shaped in one case like an inverted cone and in the other like a papyrus umbel. This type of walking stick, sometimes called a scepter, was known in antiquity as the *mekes.* It is frequently represented in the hand of the king (𓀀) and was clearly one of the attributes of Egyptian royalty.

A pair of staves or long ★scepters, with forked lower ends and hooklike tops reproducing the head of the animal of the god Sēṯ, had by the Middle Kingdom become purely mystic and symbolic objects, associated with the gods, in whose hands they are represented from very early times (fig. 103). The scepter called the *was* (𓌀) has a straight shaft, while that of the *djaʿm* (𓍿) is usually wavy, but the distinction is not consistent, and the names seem to have been interchangeable. The *was*-scepter was believed to endow its owner with "well-being" or "prosperity," and the *djaʿms* are referred to in the Pyramid Texts as the "scepters of heaven" and as the supports of the Four Guardians "who sit on their scepters on the east side of heaven." In nearly all periods of Egyptian art the 𓌀-scepter, supporting the symbol of heaven (𓇼), is used as a frame for scenes and inscriptions (e.g., fig. 103). Because of its hooked top and forked lower end, it has been supposed, plausibly enough, that this type of scepter was in origin a combination shepherd's staff and walking stick. Two pairs of complete

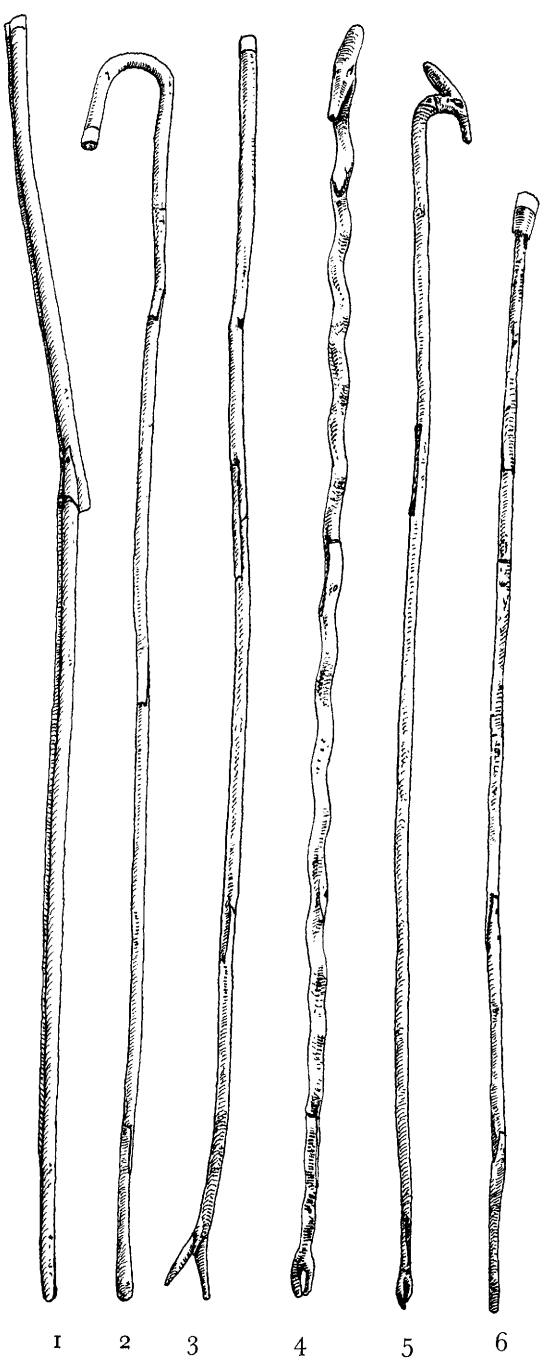


FIGURE 187. Ceremonial staves and scepters from the burial of the House Mistress Senebtīsy of el Lisht. Early Twelfth Dynasty. L. 54½-61¾ in.

scepters of painted wood, over five feet in length, were found at el Lisht in the coffin of the House

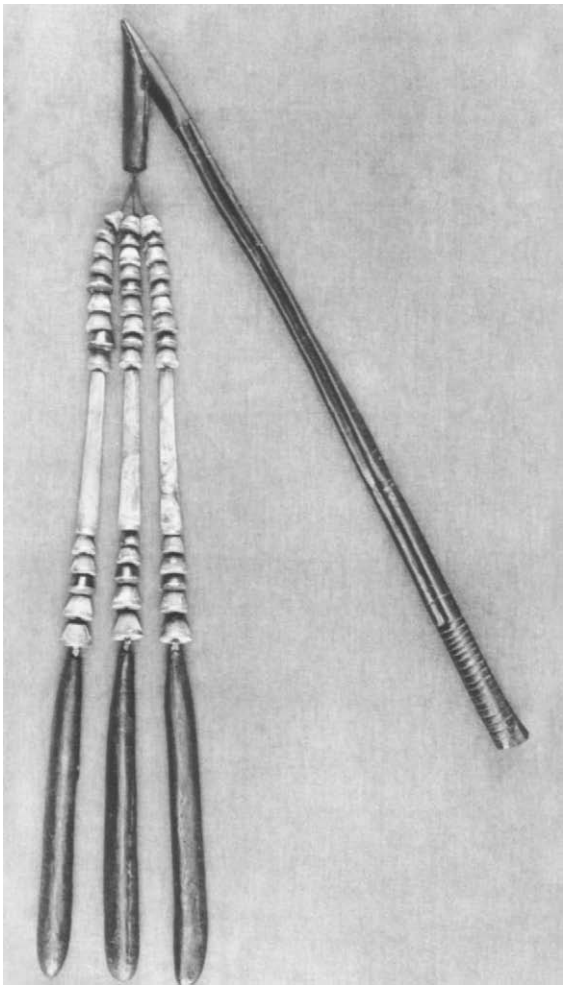


FIGURE 188. *Ladanisterion* of the House Mistress Senebtīsy. Wood, faience, carnelian, and gold foil. L. 21 in.

Mistress Senebtīsy (fig. 187, 4, 5), and at Mīr in the burial of the Chancellor Wekh-ḥotpe. Senebtīsy's scepters are interesting for the painted details of the animal heads—the eyes of the beasts and the broad collars around their throats. There are, in addition, fragments of five other *was*-scepters from tombs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Thebes and el Lisht.

The adoption of the shepherd's ★crook as a divine and royal scepter and as a general symbol of authority goes back far into Egypt's prehistory, when it was an emblem of ᶜAndjety, the god of a primitive shepherd people inhabiting the district of Busiris in the eastern Delta. Acquired from ᶜAndjety by his successor, the god Osiris, the crook soon became one of the principal attributes of this great divinity, and from the Late Predynastic period on, it is carried also by the chiefs of districts (fig. 21), by the king (fig. 117), and, more rarely, by the vizier and the viceroy of Nubia. From the earliest times the crook occurs in two forms. The simple *ᶜawet*-crook, 𓌙, is represented among the Senebtīsy staves by an example three cubits (about five feet) in length, of painted wood, with a ferrule of gold foil at the end of the hook (fig. 187, 2). The recurved *ḥeḳat*, 𓎛, with the name of which is associated the verb *ḥeḳa*, "rule," and the title "ruler," "chieftain,' may be seen in a tiny copper crook from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht and in a much larger model in wood from Mīr.

Inseparable from the crook as an emblem of Osiris and of his prototype, the shepherd god ᶜAndjety, is the so-called ★"flail" (𓌻), an implement composed of three long, tapered streamers suspended from the end of a short, whiplike handle (fig. 188). In the example shown, a funerary model from the tomb of Senebtīsy at el Lisht, the streamers are made up of tubes of blue faience and truncated cones of faience and carnelian strung together on cords and supporting long, drop-shaped pendants, which, like the fluted handle, are carved of soft wood, once painted yellow. The sharp, downward angle at the end of the handle makes it evident that the object could never have been employed as a whip; and Professor Newberry[2] has very reasonably suggested that it is an implement still used by shepherds in the Near East for gathering ladanum, a valuable aromatic gum used extensively in the manufacture of unguents, perfumes, and medicines. Ladanum occurs, as an exudation, on the leaves and shoots of the gum cistus, a shrub common in pasture country, and is collected by trailing through the foliage of the shrub a three-stranded

[2] See Bibliography.

implement with streamers of goatskin very similar in type to the "flail" of Osiris. Although its presence in the burials of the Middle Kingdom was due chiefly to its association with this great god of the dead, the implement appears also in conjunction with other divinities and in the hand of the king at the *sed*-festival (fig. 103 and p. 189). Senebtīsy's ladanum-collector, or *ladanisterion,* and another from the tomb of the Steward Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify, at Mīr, are among the few complete examples found; but our collection includes hundreds of units in faience and carnelian from the streamers of similar implements buried with men and women of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht.

The ★scepter of authority, 𓌙, is one of the most common of all the ceremonial objects of the ancient Egyptians. We have seen it, for example, in statues and reliefs of the Old Kingdom (figs. 64, 65), on stelae of the First Intermediate period (figs. 81-83), and in tomb reliefs of the Eleventh Dynasty (fig. 95). Now we meet it again in a full-size wooden funerary model from a burial of the Twelfth Dynasty at Mīr. In the painted coffins of the Middle Kingdom this scepter is usually labeled *ᶜaba,* a name undoubtedly related to the verb *ᶜaba,* "command"; but it had other names as well, including *sekhem,* "the powerful," and *kherep,* "the controller." A fourth name, *ḫu-ᶜa,* "the striker" (?), and the expression "He strikes with the *ᶜaba,*" preserved in the Pyramid Texts, indicate that the object was originally a weapon, a sort of club, wielded by the chieftains of primitive times. There can be no doubt that in the Old Kingdom and in subsequent periods of Egyptian history the *ᶜaba*-scepter was actually carried, partly as a symbol of command, partly as a sort of "conductor's baton," by men in charge of departments, offices, and working parties or simply by persons of administrative rank and status. Excellent examples are the scepters held by the overseers of Meket-Rēᶜ's model granary, cattle stable, slaughterhouse, and boats (p. 263). In the temple ritual and the mortuary service the *ᶜaba* was associated particularly with the presentation of offerings and is often held by officiant engaged in this act. Viewed in detail, the scepter is seen to consist of a slender, tapered handle topped by a carved lotus flower or papyrus umbel, from which springs a flat, rectagular blade.

Many of the real scepters were undoubtedly carefully made of costly materials and were kept, when not in use, in specially designed wooden cases. The Museum possesses part of such a ★scepter case, found in a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes. From the form of this case it is clear that it once contained, not the 𓌙, but a scepter called the *neḥbet,* similar in type and purpose to the *ᶜaba,* but with a rounded, instead of a square, top.

3. Tools of the Middle Kingdom Craftsmen

However we may evaluate the ancient Egyptian as an artist, no doubt is possible regarding his outstanding ability as a craftsman. The high standard of technical excellence maintained during the Old and Middle Kingdoms by the carpenters and cabinetmakers, the carvers of wood and ivory, the stonemasons and lapidaries, the metalsmiths and jewelers, the weavers and leatherworkers of Egypt is readily apparent in the finished products of their workshops—products to which we have already devoted many pages of discussion and study. This standard, as we have seen, was set by a highly discriminating clientele and achieved by infinite patience and care on the part of the craftsman and by an almost incredible skill, born of long years of apprenticeship and rigorous training. The materials, for the most part, were not comparable to those obtainable today, and the processes and tools employed were always simple and at times even primitive. Although it is not proposed in the present volume to discuss at length the numerous crafts of the dynastic Egyptians or to detail the technical methods used, a brief study of artisans' tools of the Eleventh and Twelfth

Dynasties in the Museum's collection will serve to introduce the subject and perhaps to throw light on some of the problems associated with it.

Since metal not only was costly but also could be melted down and reused by succeeding generations, few full-size metal implements of the Middle Kingdom have survived. This is especially true of carpenters' tools, which, however, are represented by numerous small, carefully made models from burials of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Thebes, Asyūt, and el Lisht (fig. 190). Like the contemporary tomb and coffin paintings, these show that the principal edged or pointed tools of the Middle Kingdom woodworker were the short-handled ★axe, or hatchet, with a rounded copper blade ( ); the ★adze ( ) and ★chisel ( ) of copper with hardwood handles; the ★reamer, generally similar to the chisel, but with a pointed blade ( ); the knife-shaped ★saw, used chiefly for ripping logs into planks ( ); and the bow ★drill with a bit of copper, a spindle of hardwood, and a cap of granite or some similar hard stone. One of each of these tools is included in a complete set from the sirdāb of the tomb of Meket-Rēᶜ,[3] and in the plundered burial chamber of the same tomb were found three wooden handles or shafts for each type of implement named. The sirdāb of Meket-Rēᶜ also yielded a little carpenter's ★square (fig. 190), similar to the modern try-square, but made entirely of wood. In the tomb of Queen Nefru, sister of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montuḥotpe, were found a model reamer, an adze blade, and an axe blade of copper, wrapped together in a piece of linen cloth. A third set of model tools, from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Asyūt, comprises not only seven axes, seven adzes, and five reamers but also a small carpenter's ★chest in which they were kept (fig. 189). The chest, a whitewashed wooden box with

FIGURE 189. Model tool chest from the tomb of ᶜAnkhef at Asyūt. Twelfth Dynasty. H. of chest 5 in.

[3] Found in a tool chest in the model carpenter's shop (see note 1, p. 262). The shop itself is in Cairo, but one of the sets of tools was ceded to the Metropolitan Museum by the Egyptian Government.



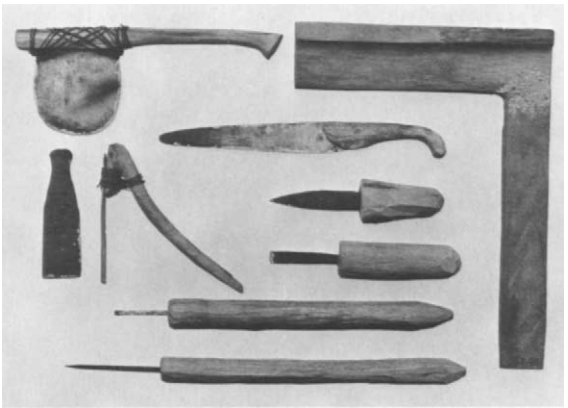


FIGURE 190. Model carpenters' tools of the Middle Kingdom: axe, adze, adze blade, chisel, reamer, drill shafts, saw, and square. L. of square 6 in.

a sliding lid, is inscribed on one side with the name of its owner, "The one in honor with Anubis, Lord of Ḳereret, ʿAnkhef," and with a list of the tools which it once contained or was intended to contain, namely, "6 axes, 6 adzes, 6 reamers, 6 saws (?)."

Worth noting is the manner in which the axe and adze blades are lashed to their wooden handles with cord (fig. 190) or rawhide strip (fig. 189). The latter, applied when green, shrank when dry and formed a very hard, tight binding. The heads of the carpenters' *minb*-axes tend to be more rounded than those of the battle axes, approaching at times three quarters of a circle in outline. A full-size ★adze blade, purchased in 1917, has a curved cutting edge two inches wide and the characteristic waisted neck at the top for lashing (cf. fig. 190). The ★chisels are usually narrow bladed and were evidently used chiefly for cutting mortises. The pointed ★reamer, although much used by cabinetmakers today, was in antiquity apparently local to Egypt. Full-scale examples of the New Kingdom have a narrow chisel edge at right angles to the plane of the blade and resemble superficially the modern cape chisel, used by plumbers and pipe-fitters.

A ★drill cap in black granite from the maṣṭabeh of Se'n-Wosret-ʿankhe at el Lisht is shaped like a squat barrel. The conical socket in its underside is worn smooth and shiny by the spinning of the pointed top of a wooden spindle (see fig. 190). For use with his chisels and for driving the tapered, hardwood pegs used as fastenings, the Egyptian carpenter had a mallet, carved from a single piece of hardwood, which was either piriform like the masons' mallets discussed below or shaped like the thick, bulbous club of the type used also by fullers and washers (𓌙). Edged tools were sharpened on ★hones of gritstone or slate. An oval lump of sandstone with a flattened underside probably served as a plane, and a smooth surface finish was obtained by the use of fine sand or other abrasive. The often elaborate joinery employed by the Egyptian cabinetmaker may be studied in the furniture and linen chests (pp. 258, 259) and will be discussed briefly in connection with the rectangular coffins of the Middle Kingdom (p. 313).

The tools and equipment used by the mason and builder in cutting, dressing, moving, and laying stone are represented by a variety of implements from the Eleventh Dynasty temple and cemetery at Deir el Baḥri and the pyramid sites of the early Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht (fig. 192). A stonecutter's ★chisel of hammered bronze (fig. 191) found in a tomb near the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ Montu-ḥotpe, bears the official mark of the royal necropolis—perhaps a symbolic representation of the temple itself (see p. 260). The tool, nearly eight inches long, is similar to a modern cold chisel, with a rectangular shank and a flared cutting edge. The heavy wooden ★mallets used in conjunction with such chisels are shaped like inverted pears with short handles projecting from the narrow ends of the heads. Roughly whittled



FIGURE 191. Stonecutter's chisel of the Eleventh Dynasty from Deir el Baḥri. Bronze. L. 7¾ in.



FIGURE 192. Mason's and builder's equipment of the Middle Kingdom: mallets, mauls, hand wedge, rollers, model brick mold, and mason's float, reel, and line. L. of longest roller 25½ in.

from single sections of log, many of the mallets are deeply gouged and splintered from use. For splitting and roughdressing blocks of stone, the Middle Kingdom mason used ★mauls, or sledge-hammers, with oblong heads of diorite or other hard stone, pointed or rounded at the ends and waisted or grooved around the middle for the lashing of the handle. A maul of later date, found by the Museum's Expedition, shows that the handle was made of two short rods twisted through the rawhide lashing in such a way as to increase enormously the tension of the binding and the rigidity of the union of head and handle (see fig. 192; the handle shown there is an accurate reproduction of the ancient example just referred to).

Stout wooden ★rollers, with rounded or tapered ends, played an essential part in the moving of heavy blocks of stone and are frequently found in the débris of tomb and temple structures. A heavy ★wedge of wood with a rounded grip at one end could be inserted rapidly where required, as, for example, under the runner of a stone-rocker.

Big, double-ended dovetails of wood, called ★"cramps," were used to key together adjacent blocks of heavy masonry walls and revetments. In addition to the inscribed examples from the pyramid and surrounding structures of King Se'n-Wosret I, there are many uninscribed cramps, varying in length from ten to fifteen inches, from buildings of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes and el Lisht.

★Mortar, made of gypsum (hydrous calcium sulphate), was used extensively in small stone masonry and to cushion the large, tight-fitting blocks of more massive construction. Bricks, on the other hand, were laid in a clay mortar consisting simply of Nile mud and sand mixed with water. A mason's ★trowel of wood is shaped like a large, slightly curved spatula. It was found, encrusted with clay mortar, in a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes, where it had evidently been used in laying the brick walls blocking the tomb chambers. A mason's ★float, used for evening a plastered wall surface, is carved from one piece of wood, with a handle like that of a suitcase and a slightly concave underside or wiping surface.

The sun-dried mud brick of the Middle Kingdom is larger and flatter than our own, an average example measuring twelve by six by three inches. Made of dark gray Nile alluvium, with or without a binder of sand or chopped straw, the bricks were shaped, or "struck," on a flat stretch of river or canal bank, with the aid of a wooden brick ★mold. This implement, represented in our collection by two models of Middle Kingdom date, is still used in Egypt today. It is nothing more than a rectangular wooden box, without top or bottom, but fitted with a short handle projecting longitudinally from the top

of one of the long sides. To make a brick, the mold is placed on a flat surface out of doors and is packed with wet mud. After the top has been leveled off with a wooden scraper the mold is lifted and the damp brick allowed to lie in the sun until dry and hard.

One of the most interesting pieces of ancient builders' equipment in the Museum is a mason's ★reel and cord from the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe at Deir el Baḥri. The reel consists of a length of thick reed revolving on a wooden shaft fitted at one end with a conical cap and at the other with a short wooden handle. The stout linen cord wound on the reel is soaked with red paint and was evidently used to snap guide lines on wall surfaces, probably as an aid in the preparatory laying-out of their decoration.

The work of the painter in ancient Egypt consisted chiefly in coloring drawings, reliefs, statues, articles of furniture, architectural details, and the like; except for the backgrounds and dadoes of decorated wall areas, it did not ordinarily involve the covering of large expanses of surface with single colors. The colors therefore were prepared in small quantities as required, either by the painter himself or by an assistant. The mineral pigments—blue azurite, green malachite, red, brown, and yellow ocher, white chalk or gypsum, and black soot or charcoal—were obtained in lumps, cakes, or bars and ground to powder shortly before being used. The ancient Egyptian painted almost exclusively in tempera, using water as a thinner and a binder composed of size, gum, albumin, or, in later periods, of beeswax. His brushes were rushes, palm sticks or sticks of some other soft, pulpy wood, with the ends frayed and trimmed, or bundles of fine grass lashed with cord.

A ★painter's outfit from a tomb of the early Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht consists of two deep bowls and four shallow dishes or mortars of pottery, fourteen oval grinders of sandstone, and three little pestles of sandstone and slate. Each of the deep bowls has a rounded notch in its rim and a circular hole well down in its side directly below the notch, perhaps to provide a grip for the thumb and finger of the painter, like the hole and notch in the modern artist's palette. On the other hand, the hole may have been intended as a drain and the notch as a rest for the brush. The pottery dishes, as suggested, probably served as mortars for grinding the soft pigments, and several of the sandstone grinders have smudges of red, yellow, and black pigment on their flat undersides. The interior of a small hemispherical ★bowl in brown pottery from another tomb at el Lisht is thickly encrusted with bright blue paint and had evidently been used by a painter. Small oval ★grinding or mixing slabs of quartzite and sandstone from near the North Pyramid at el Lisht are slightly hollowed out on top and are provided at one end with a short spout. Clear traces of red pigment remain on the quartzite slab, and the example in sandstone is smeared with green color. Three large bell-shaped ★burnishers of baked earthenware appear to have been used to polish a flat surface coated with black resin—perhaps the side of a coffin. The slightly convex undersides of the burnishers, in any case, are deeply stained by a dark resinous substance. Grass ★brushes found in the tomb of Meket-Réᶜ, although showing no traces of paint, illustrate one of the types of brushes used by the ancient painter.

Little of the equipment of the Middle Kingdom worker in metal has survived to the present day. Eight ★crucibles used for smelting copper are from a group found in the court of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ's temple at Deir el Baḥri. They are slender, hollow cones of brown pottery, seven to ten inches long. The outsides are roughly modeled by hand, but the interiors, coated with a lining of fine clay, are smooth and regular. A small limestone ★mold was probably used for metal-casting. The exact nature of the object to be cast—a slender, serrated rod—is difficult to determine.

Tools of the weaver's craft include part of a ★beater-in from a loom. This is a flat, wooden

bar, originally over six feet long, ovoid in section, with one rounded edge and one sharp edge. It was used, as we have seen (p. 265), to "beat in," or tamp home, the weft threads of the fabric after each pass of the shuttle. The ★shuttle itself, represented by twenty-five models from the sirdāb of Meket-Rēᶜ, is a short wooden rod, tapered slightly toward its rounded ends and having a longitudinal slot cut from each end halfway in to the center of the rod (cf. —). Twenty-six model ★reels of cedarwood, also from Meket-Rēᶜ's sirdāb, were probably used as the cores of balls of thread. They are simply flat, rectangular pieces of board with flanged and rounded projections at one end to serve as handles. We may study the ★spindle ( ) in two full-size examples from el Lisht and twenty-five models from the tomb of Meket-Rēᶜ. In the real spindles the slender shaft and the tapered whorl are carved from two separate pieces of wood. In the models the whole implement is carved in one piece. A copper sewing ★needle with a hole at one end for the thread was found near the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht, and a more primitive example, in bone, is from a cemetery of Middle Kingdom date in Nubia.

Objects of general utility not associated with any one craft, industry, or activity include coils and samples of grass, linen, papyrus, and palm-fiber ★rope, knotted rope pot ★slings, and woven grass pack ★baskets, or "donkey bags." Although well dated to the Eleventh or Twelfth Dynasty, none of these ancient specimens differs in any essential respect from the rope, slings, and baskets used by the Egyptian peasantry of the present day.

4. Writing Materials: The Equipment of the Egyptian Scribe

The hieroglyph , used in the words for "write," "writing," and "scribe," represents the essential equipment of a scribe of the Old Kingdom, a rectangular palette with two shallow basins for the black and red inks, a deep bowl for water, and a tubular case, with an ornamental top, for the writing brushes. A ★scribe's outfit found by the Museum's Expedition in a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes shows considerable change in the forms and details of the several items, but comprises basically the same equipment and reflects the same methods of writing. The palette, or pen case (fig. 193, right), is a narrow, rectangular board of some hard, reddish brown wood, half a cubit (10.4 inches) in length, with a long, half-open slot down its center line for the writing brushes and a mass of hard, black writing pigment caked on its upper end. The pigment, now bone dry, was composed of powdered carbon, probably mixed with a little gum. The surface of the cake still bears swipe marks left by the wet brush. A used writing brush found in the slot is a length of slender rush (*Juncus maritimus*) with one end cut diagonally to a point and carefully bruised to separate the fine, hairlike fibers. Three unused rushes and a hank of linen thread (fig. 193, left), for tying rolled or folded documents ( ), had been wrapped with two folded sheets of blank papyrus and the whole package lashed to the palette, which, in turn, had been wrapped up in several pieces of linen cloth. The two sheets of papyrus, both nine and a quarter inches wide, are eleven and thirty-six inches in length. The larger had been inscribed with a list or account written in hieratic, but this had been carefully sponged off to provide a clean sheet.

Writing paper of this kind was made of strips of pith cut from fresh, green papyrus reeds and spread out in two flat, superimposed layers, with the fibers of one layer running at right angles to those of the other. Prolonged pounding with a wooden mallet served to unite the two layers of sticky, green pith into a single sheet of strong, coarse-grained paper, the surfaces of which,

FIGURE 193. The scribe's equipment. Middle Kingdom, with the exception of the tall palette, which is later in date. L. of longest palette 13 in.



when dry, were smoothed by burnishing. The implement used in the last operation was a small block of ivory or hard wood, rounded at the top and usually provided with a short, rodlike handle. The Museum possesses four fragmentary ★burnishers of this type from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht and a complete example, probably of the same date, from Thebes (fig. 193, left foreground).

In the background of figure 193 is a sheet of papyrus bearing a letter addressed by the mortuary priest Ḥiḳ-nakhte to his son Mery-su, regarding the administration of an estate at Nebesyet, near Thebes. The document, written in a good hieratic hand of the late Eleventh Dynasty, is composed in vertical columns, which are to be read down from the top and from right to left by columns. Numerous fragments of Middle Kingdom ★papyri, chiefly from Thebes and el Lisht, preserve portions of letters, accounts, drafts of funerary texts and the like.

Wooden ★writing boards surfaced with gesso, which could be repeatedly wiped clean or repainted, were used extensively for notes and compositions of a less permanent nature than those consigned to the valuable papyri.[4] Six complete boards from tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes average about a cubit (21 to 23 inches) in length and less than two thirds of a cubit in width. Three others, represented by fragments only, were evidently about the same size. All are made of one or two sycamore planks, in some cases framed with strips of a harder wood, and coated with a thin layer of white gesso. Four had been pressed into service as funerary stelae by the owners of the tombs in which they were found and are discussed under that heading in the next chapter.

The most interesting of the lot are two boards which had been used by student scribes as their "slates" or composition books and which are covered with their written exercises. The larger board (fig. 194), inscribed in black ink in two different hieratic hands, bears parts of two model letters of the very formal and ultrapolite variety addressed to a superior official. The writers consistently refer to themselves as "this servant" and to their addressees as "the Master (may he live, prosper, and be well)." The longer letter was composed and written by a young man named Iny-su, son of Sekhsekh, who calls himself a "Servant of the Estate" and who, probably in jest, has used the name of his own brother, Peḥ-ny-su, as that of the distinguished addressee. Following a long-winded preamble, in which the gods of Thebes and adjacent towns are invoked in behalf of the recipient, we get down to the text of the letter and find that it concerns the delivery of various parts of a ship, probably a sacred barque. In spite of its formality and fine phraseology, the letter is riddled with misspellings and other mistakes which have been corrected in red ink, probably by the master scribe in charge of the class. A similar letter, written in a smaller hand by another pupil, named Imy-ro-beḥsu, had been almost entirely painted over to provide a surface for Iny-su's efforts. On the second board an apprentice scribe has practiced—none too successfully—the drawing up of a funerary inscription in monumental hieroglyphic characters. Evidently intended as an offering formula in behalf of an official named Ipy, the text is awkwardly composed and contains numerous incorrect signs and misspellings of common words.

For sketches, rough copies, preliminary drafts, notes, memoranda, and the like the Egyptian scribe drew and wrote on almost any surface that came readily to hand—his palette, pieces of wood, cloth, reed, leather, shell, and, above all, flakes of limestone and fragments of pottery jars. It is customary to refer to such an inscribed piece of stone or pottery as an "ostrakon," a Greek word used centuries later to describe the potsherds on which the people of Athens wrote their ballots.

Three hieratic★ ostraka of the late Eleventh Dynasty from Thebes are good examples of this

[4] The accountants in Meket-Rēʿ's model granary, for example, are jotting down their tallies on writing boards (p. 264).

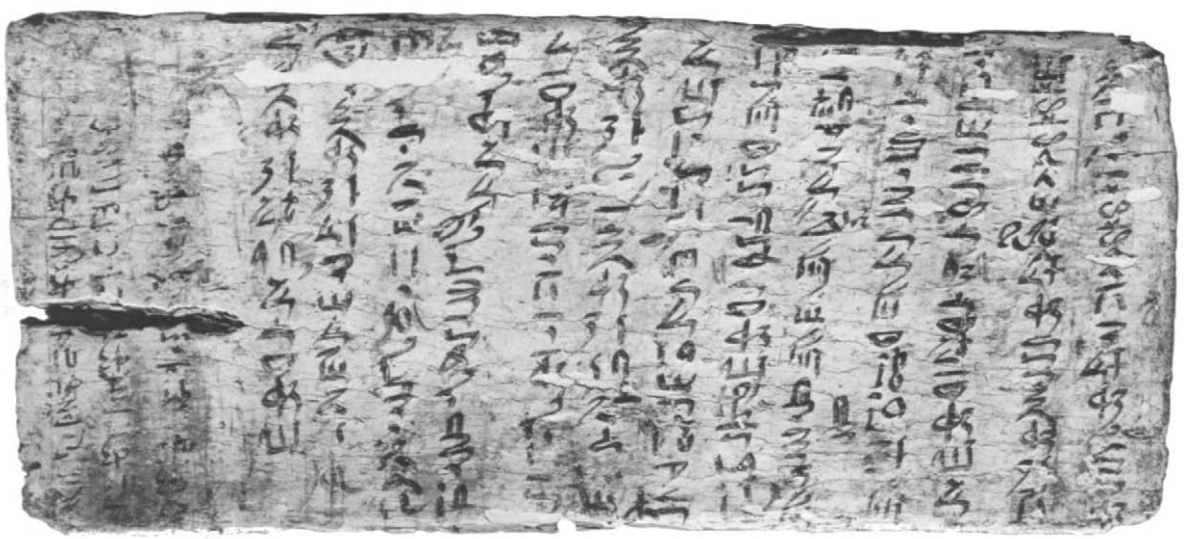
class of inscription. The first, a large flake of limestone found beside the causeway of the tomb of Meket-Rēᶜ, records the fact that ninety-six loaves of bread were distributed by a steward named In-yōtef to the various classes of craftsmen at work in the tomb—draughtsmen, sculptors, masons, and the like—and lists the number of loaves given to each group. Another gives the names of two towns in Upper Egypt and the names of three men, ᶜOnekh, Nakhty, and Ḥotpu, associated in some way with these places. The third ostrakon, a small limestone chip, lists the parts of a small structure, apparently delivered for assembly: "1 roof piece, 2 floor pieces, 7 columns," etc. Three hieratic labels, written in black ink on the shoulders of globular jars of *ḳullehware*, give the names of "the Henchman, Ibu's son, In-yōtef, justified," "the *Ku*-servant Semekh," and the "Chief Magician (?) Ḥotpe."

In addition to the example included in the scribe's outfit described above, there are two other writing ★palettes of the Twelfth Dynasty in the Museum's collection, one found at el Lisht by the Egyptian Expedition, the other purchased at Luxor in 1910. Each is provided, near the top, with two circular cavities for the cakes of black and red pigment and with a covered slot for the writing brushes. In both palettes the slot is not drilled out but formed by two strips of wood fastened to the sides of the palette and covered in front by a thin slip of wood inserted between the side pieces.

An ornate ebony ★slip from a palette of this type is inscribed at the top with the names of King Amun-em-ḥēt II and below with three columns of hieroglyphic text describing the owner of the palette: "The Hereditary Prince and Count, one beloved of his lord, one promoted because of his character and advanced because of his devotion to his office(?), one who instructed his heart in excellence, a son who pressed close in the footsteps of his father, one who set an example to his children, one to whom the Lord of the Two Lands gave his splendor, Khenty-echtay born of Nefre[t, justified]." A fragmentary palette ★slip of bone, from el Lisht, bears the name of the "King's Own Son, Achtoy Neb-kū."

It is evident that, in addition to their functions as pen cases and pigment holders, these palettes were useful as rulers, as measuring rods, as miniature writing boards, and as surfaces on which to mix colors, test brushes, and the like. Above all, they constituted compact and readily

FIGURE 194. Writing board of the early Middle Kingdom, probably from Thebes. L. 17 in. The hieratic text consists of parts of two model letters written for practice by student scribes.



portable writing sets, which the scribe could and did carry with him on his missions afield.

In his office he provided himself, in addition, with an inkstand, capable of holding a larger supply of writing pigment than the little hollows on his palette. These ★inkstands consist of square blocks of a native Egyptian wood, sycamore or tamarisk, usually overlaid with veneers of finer woods, light and dark, arranged in ornamental designs. Most were provided with sliding or swiveled lids and with corner posts which projected downards to form short legs. The circular inkwells, cut in the centers of the blocks, often contain cakes of black pigment, and the tops of the stands are frequently splattered with a black, inky crust. An exceptionally good example is a double stand which was found by the Museum's Expedition with a burial of the late Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes and which appears in the right foreground of fig. 193. One of the two compartments in this stand is an inkwell. The other was apparently a storage space for the smaller items of the scribe's equipment—his seal, his ball of thread, his sandstone eraser, his ink-grinder, and his lumps of spare pigment.

Another common type of inkwell was a large bivalve shell or a saucer of stone carved in the form of a shell. The ★ink shell shown in fig. 193 is of slate, and there is a second example carved of basalt. Both are from tombs near the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht. Five little lumps of sandstone of the size and type used by scribes as ★erasers were found wrapped up in a piece of linen in a tomb of the mid-Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht.

No clear distinction is made in inscriptions of the Old and Middle Kingdoms between the scribe, the draughtsman, and the painter, and it is evident that the same person frequently worked in all three capacities. Like the painter, in any event, the scribe prepared his own inks or pigments and had for this purpose a small and usually nicely made ★grinding slab of stone and a little, domed ★grinder, or pestle, to go with it. Among the numerous ink slabs of the Middle Kingdom in the Museum's collection the most common form is the low, rectangular block, with sides and ends sloping sharply inward toward the bottom and a shallow depression, or basin, in the upper surface. The basins are frequently oval in plan, like the royal cartouche (𓍯), and on one example the oval is actually framed by a cartouche carved in the surface of the slab. The materials of both slabs and grinders—nearly all of which are from el Lisht—include serpentine, granite, basalt, schist, slate, alabaster, sandstone, and limestone.

An indispensable piece of the scribe's equipment, rarely found by modern excavators, was the small knife which he used for trimming his brushes, cutting his papyrus, and for many other purposes. A ★knife from el Lisht, which must once have been the property of a scribe, measures only seven inches from end to end, including the handle. Both handle and blade are of bronze, riveted together, and the former has the hooked shape characteristic of knives which in the New Kingdom we know were owned by scribes.

A reminder of how extensively scarabs and other seals were used by the scribes and business men of ancient Egypt is a ★sealing preserved from one of the letters of the *Ku*-servant Ḥiḳ-nakhte. Several strands of papyrus pith once tied around the folded letter have their ends secured with a lump of Nile mud on which is the clear impression of a scarab-shaped seal of intricate and distinctive design. Multiply this single instance by the thousands of times every professional scribe was called upon similarly to safeguard documents which he had written and we see how essential an item of scribal equipment was the scarab or seal of the type shown in the right foreground of figure 193.

5. Weights and Measures

A knowledge of weights and measures was an essential requirement of the Egyptian scribe, and

the weighing, measuring, and recording of all commodities which were handled by the treasuries, warehouses, and granaries of ancient Egypt was one of his special functions. The close association of scribes with the acts of measuring and weighing is illustrated by the scene in the court of Meket-Rĕ^{c}'s model granary and epitomized by a vignette from later Books of the Dead, in which the divine scribe Thōt stands by with palette and writing brush while the heart of the deceased Egyptian is weighed in a balance against the feather of "right."

In Egypt, as throughout the ancient Near East, small stone weights were employed in conjunction with the balance ( ) chiefly to weigh metals, and especially the precious metals, gold and silver. During the Middle Kingdom the principal and most widely used unit of weight continued to be the *deben,* which, as in the Old Kingdom, has been found to equal between 13 and 14 grams, depending largely upon the condition of the weights examined.

Excluding the examples with royal names, which have already been discussed, there are in the Museum's collection forty-one stone ★weights of the Twelfth Dynasty, all from el Lisht and, with one exception, from the tombs or débris surrounding the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I. They conform more or less to one type—rectangular blocks of polished stone (▭) with rounded corners and rounded edges, graduated in size, but for the most part small. Many bear numerals engraved on their sides, indicating their value, as, for example, 𓏺𓏺𓏺, "3," 𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺, "5," 𓎆, "10."

Twenty-four have been identified as fractions or multiples of the *deben,* including ¼, ½, 1-8, 10, 18, 20, 70, and 120 units. An average value for the *deben,* derived from the twenty-three complete examples, is 13.8 grams. The favorite material is alabaster, with limestone the second choice, and haematite, diorite, serpentine, basalt, feldspar, and obsidian following in that order. The seventeen other weights are not only uninscribed but also fragmentary, so that an estimate of their value or even of the standard which they represent would be pure conjecture.

Mention should also be made of fifteen stone weights from the same general area at el Lisht, which are multiples of a unit other than the *deben* of the Old and Middle Kingdoms,[5] namely, the *ḳidet,* or *kitĕ,* of 8 to 10 grams. Since, however, this unit appears to have been rarely used before the Eighteenth Dynasty and since we have no evidence for the date of the *ḳidet*-weights, it seems best to study them later in association with others of the same standard, well dated to the New Kingdom.

In addition to the carved examples, there were found in a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes a dozen little weights which are nothing more than ★pebbles, selected for their symmetrical shapes and carefully graded in size. They were discovered neatly tied up in a linen bag together with a game piece and several small amulets, which may also have served the same purpose.

The unit of length used to measure objects and short distances was, as we have seen, the cubit ( ), subdivided into 7 "palms" (or), and 28 "digits" ( ). The most common standard for this measure was the so-called "royal cubit," with a length of 20.6 inches, which is just about the distance from elbow to fingertips of a fairly large man. That, however, this standard was not always adhered to is shown by a ★cubit rod, found near the North Pyramid at el Lisht, which is 27.5 inches long. This rod, a straight stick, circular in section, is marked off into seven equal divisions and has, in addition, an engraved mark at its center, dividing it into two halves. Comparable to this outsize version of the cubit are two wooden cubit rods of the Twelfth Dynasty from el Lāhūn, measuring 26.5 and 26.7 inches in length; a cubit measure of 25.1 inches at Abydos; a stone scale of the Graeco-Roman period, 26.8 inches long; and a 3-foot cubit rod used in the granite quarries at Aswān.

[5] In the New Kingdom the term *deben* was applied to a weight of 10 *ḳidet,* or 91 grams.



FIGURE 195. Stela of the Steward Montu-wosre from Abydos. Painted limestone. Dated to the seventeenth year of King Se'n-Wosret I, 1955 B.C. H. 41 in.

6. The Autobiography of an Egyptian Official

The painted limestone ★stela of the Steward Montu-wosre (fig. 195) is not only a fine example of the developed relief sculpture of the Middle Kingdom but also a document of major importance to our knowledge of the language and our understanding of the career, interests, and outlook on life of a typical official of the early Twelfth Dynasty. Acquired by the Museum in 1912 through the generosity of Edward S. Harkness, the stela was originally made and set up near the shrine of Osiris at Abydos in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Se'n-Wosret I, 1955 B.C. A royal gift to a favored official, the monument itself proclaims its date, origin, and purpose in three horizontal lines of inscription which precede the long and interesting autobiographical text.

We read: "Regnal Year 17 under the majesty of the Horus Life-of-Births, the Good God, Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ, may he live forever! My Majesty gives to thee this stela as a royal offering to Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, that he may give invocation, consisting of bread and beer, beef and fowl, alabaster and linen, and all things good and pure on which a god lives, to the spirit of the honored one, the Steward Montu-wosre, born of ᶜAb-kū."

Montu-wosre himself now speaks and introduces himself with a general statement of his charity toward his fellow men, both living and dead. He says: "I was one who looked after the bereaved, who buried the dead, and who used to give property to the poverty-stricken."

Forthwith he launches upon a description of his career as the king's steward: "I was a strong second in the house of the King, one sent because of sharpness of character. I served as Overseer of the Double Granary at the reckoning of northern barley. I served as overseer of oxen, overseer of goats, overseer of donkeys, overseer of sheep, and overseer of swine. I delivered clothing to the Treasury. The accounting was in my charge in the house of the King, and I was acclaimed and thanked."

We are then given a picture of the generous and noble character which Montu-wosre hoped he had achieved and of the ideals which he strove to make govern his existence: "I was liberal with fodder and food. There was no distress for him to whom I used to give. I apportioned the largest cuts of meat to those who sat beside me. I was one beloved of his neighbors, one attached to his family. I did not cover my face against him who was in servitude. I was a father to the orphan and a benefactor of widows. No man slept hungry in my district. I hindered no man at the ferry. I did not malign a man to his superior. I was not indulgent to malice. I talked beside the nobles and was free from saying anything unseemly. I heard a case justly and was not partial to the possessor of bribes."

Next he speaks with pardonable pride of his success in life as attested by the extent of his possessions, saying: "I was rich and fortunate in luxury. I sustained no loss in all my property. I was a possessor of bulls, rich in goats, a possessor of donkeys, and abounding in sheep. I was wealthy in barley and spelt, splendid as to clothing. There was no loss in all my riches. I was well provided with boats and was great in vineyards."

The concluding lines of the text are addressed to those who paused before the stela on their way to the shrine of the Great God of Abydos—and, incidentally, to us who pause before it now: "Now as for all persons who shall harken to this stela, who are among the living, and shall say, 'It is true,' and their children shall say to (their) children, 'It is true, there is no lie therein'; and as for any scribe who shall read this stela, and all persons who shall approach it: As ye love life and hate death, the First of the Westerners will love you and show you favor at his stairway, if ye say, 'Bread and beer, beef and fowl, offerings and food to the owner of this stela!' "

"The owner of this stela" appears below his written words, seated upon a fine chair carved with the legs of a lion and provided with a

cushion draped over its low back. He wears a long wig cover, a broad collar, a short kilt, and wide bracelets and holds in his left hand a folded handkerchief. With his right hand Montu-wosre reaches out to touch a circular tray mounted on a tall stone stand and piled high with food and floral offerings: the head, leg, and ribs of a calf, three loaves of bread, a squash, a head of romaine lettuce, a bundle of leeks, and a flower of the blue lotus. Presenting the offerings is "his son, the Steward In-yōtef . . . who causes his name to live," and below appear "his beloved daughter, Dedyet" and his father, "In-yōtef, born of Senet." Nefer-sekhty, Montu-wosre's wife, is not represented, but her name is mentioned twice as the mother of his children.

XV. BURIAL CUSTOMS AND FUNERARY ART

XV. Burial Customs and Funerary Art

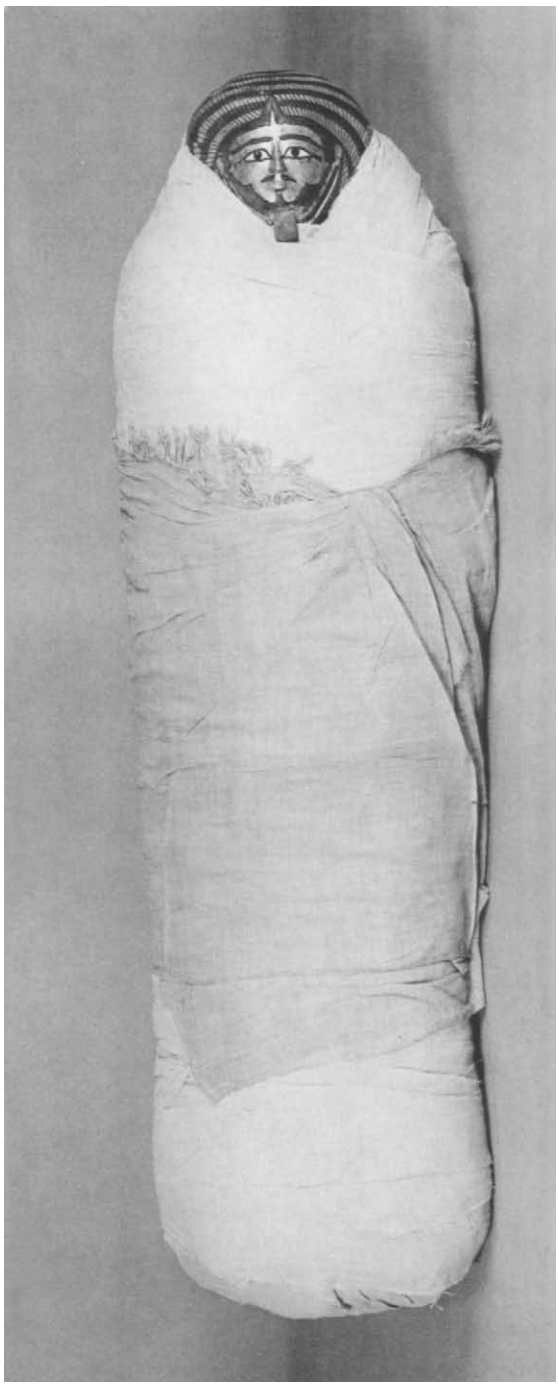
SINCE IT INCLUDES six complete burials of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties from Thebes, Mīr, and el Lisht, the Museum's Egyptian collection offers an exceptional opportunity to study at first hand the funerary customs and funerary art of the Middle Kingdom. In undertaking this study we may dispense with generalizations and inspect forthwith two of these burials, which were found intact by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition and on which, therefore, full information is available. Together they present a fairly comprehensive picture of the contents of private tombs of the Middle Kingdom; for by happy chance one is the burial of a man of the middle class who lived and died at Thebes during the Eleventh Dynasty and the other is that of a wealthy woman of the Twelfth Dynasty buried at el Lisht, in the region of Memphis. Many objects from both tombs have been discussed individually in the preceding pages and may be reviewed by referring to the Indices at the back of the book.

1. The Burial of the Estate Manager Waḥ

The death of Waḥ, a young superintendent of one of the Theban estates of the Chancellor Meket-Rēᶜ, occurred at Thebes during the latter years of the reign of King Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ Montuḥotpe, almost exactly two thousand years before the dawn of the Christian era. Waḥ was a person of moderate means, and his burial, probably provided largely by his employer, was not an elaborate one.

In preparation for burial the body was partially eviscerated through an incision in the lower abdomen and was subjected to a simple preservative treatment, involving apparently a prolonged application of natron (soda) and, subsequently, of various aromatic resins. It was laid out full length with the legs together and the arms crossed over the chest (cf. fig. 127), the head, torso, and limbs were wrapped in several layers of wide bandages torn from sheets, and a coating of resin was applied over the bandages. At this point the body was decked in its funerary jewelry, consisting of a broad collar, four bracelets, and four anklets of blue faience tubular beads (p. 307). Next came several alternating layers of sheets, bandages, and pads (to round out the shape of the mummy), and then Waḥ's personal jewelry was put on—the scarabs laid on his chest above his crossed arms, the necklaces tied in groups about his neck (p. 230 f.). After a few more layers of wrappings and another coating of resin, a cartonnage mask with a gilded face was slipped over the head of the mummy, its

long tabs projecting well down over the back and chest. The whole was then baled in layer after layer of sheets, bandages, and pads until it resembled a great, thick cylinder of cloth, with only the head and face of the mask projecting from the mass of wrappings around the neck and shoulders. As a finishing touch a fringed kilt cloth, once dyed red and inscribed for a person named Nyet-ᶜonekh-Sakhmet, was wrapped around the middle of the mummy and the ends tucked in at the belt line as for a regular kilt (fig. 196). The wrappings had been drawn from household and government linen stores, and sixty of the sheets bore identifying marks in their corners—eleven had the name and title of Waḥ himself, six had dates in the reigns of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ and Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe.



Meanwhile Waḥ's tomb, a narrow corridor running back into the cliff below the great tomb of Meket-Rēᶜ, had been prepared, and thither on the day of burial were taken his mummy and his single rectangular coffin. The coffin, covered with a white linen pall and tied with three linen tapes, was carried up the steep slope to the tomb and deposited at the inner end of the corridor with its head end to the north and the painted eyes on its left side facing the east. A folded sheet was placed on the floor of the box, and on this was laid Waḥ's mummy, placed on its left side so that the painted eyes of the mask looked out to the east through the painted eyes on the side of the coffin. Under the head were set a wooden headrest and a small disk of resin, or "hypocephalus biscuit," and in front of the face a copper mirror. By the feet were laid a pair of wooden sandals and Waḥ's painted wooden statuette, wrapped in a piece of linen. Thirty-eight more sheets were folded and placed over the mummy, forming a massive pile of linen to the top of the coffin, and in the midst of these were laid three quarterstaves. When a coating of dark brown resin was smeared over the uppermost sheet, the coffin was ready to close. The flat, heavy lid was set in place with the aid of a cylindrical lug projecting from its foot end, and after the stout pegs had been driven home this

FIGURE 196. Mummy of the Estate Manager Waḥ, fully wrapped. From a Theban tomb of the late Eleventh Dynasty. L. 65½ in.

lug was sawed off and allowed to fall to the floor of the tomb. For the funerary meal twelve conical loaves of bread, a leg of beef, and a jug of beer were placed beside the eye panel of the coffin. The burial completed, the priests withdrew, dropping as they went half-burned ashes from their straw torches. The entrance of the tomb was blocked with a wall of mud bricks and the sloping entranceway outside filled with limestone chip and other débris. It remained so until March 24, A.D. 1920, when it was found and cleared by the Museum's Expedition.

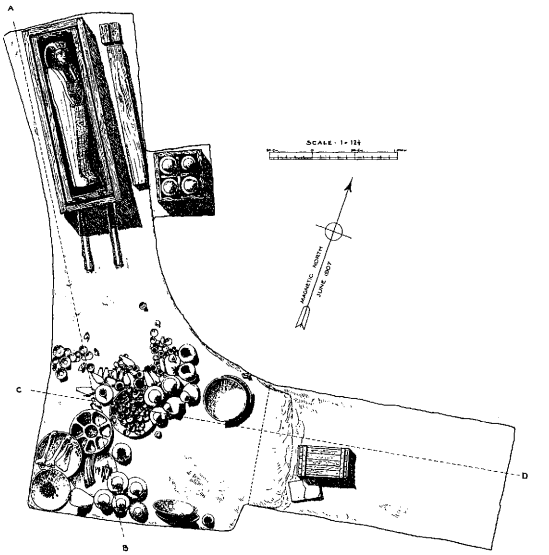


FIGURE 197. Plan of the tomb of the House Mistress Senebtīsy at el Lisht. Early Twelfth Dynasty

2. The Tomb of the House Mistress Senebtīsy

The tomb of Senebtīsy at el Lisht is one of a number of shallow pit tombs surrounding a limestone maṣṭabeh southwest of the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I. There can be little doubt that Senebtīsy was related by blood or by marriage to the owner of the maṣṭabeh, the Vizier Se'n-Wosret. Her tomb had been entered by plunderers shortly after it was first sealed, but they were apprehended before much damage was done, and the burial itself remained intact until its discovery by Arthur C. Mace and Herbert E. Winlock of the Museum's staff in February, 1907.

The plan of figure 197 shows the tomb to have consisted of three parts: the entrance pit, at the right, once filled to the top with heavy rubble; the offering chamber, closed at the bottom of the pit by a brick blocking and strewn with food and drink offerings contained in a multitude of pottery jars, dishes, and saucers; and, beyond, the burial chamber with the coffins and the niche for the canopic chest.

Like Waḥ, the body of Senebtīsy lay partially turned on its left side with the head to the north and the face to the east, the source of recurring life as symbolized each day by the rising sun. The body had been placed in a full-length anthropoid case of wood, a form of coffin developed from masks such as those seen in the earlier burial. This coffin was overlaid with gold foil and adorned on the breast with an elaborate inlaid design of polychrome beads (fig. 202). It was enclosed in a well-preserved, rectangular coffin of cedar, mounted with gold foil and having a low, vaulted lid with transverse end boards (fig. 206). This, in turn, had been placed in a large outer coffin of the same type, but with a higher lid and painted inscriptions on its sides and ends. The outer coffin and the anthropoid case, both made of some soft native wood, had succumbed to the humidity in the tomb and could not be saved. On the floor of the second coffin, beside the anthropoid case, lay ten ceremonial staves and weapons, the bent staff on the right, behind the mummy, the others on its left. As in the burial of Waḥ, the whole had been covered over with a thick pile of folded linen sheets or shawls.

The mummy of Senebtīsy inside the anthropoid coffin was wrapped in alternating layers of sheets and bandages and covered over the front with a coating of resin, evidently poured on in liquid form. The body, that of a small woman, about fifty years old, lay extended with the hands together over the lower abdomen. The viscera

had been extracted through an incision over the left groin and the body cavity packed with sawdust and wads of linen soaked in resin. The heart, wrapped in linen, had been replaced in the body, but the liver, intestines, and two other organs had been permanently removed and placed in the four canopic, or visceral, jars. These are of alabaster with painted wooden stoppers in the form of portrait heads of the deceased. They were found in the niche to the east of the coffins, in the canopic chest, a cubical box with a vaulted lid, made to match the outer coffin and inscribed on the exterior with the appropriate canopic texts.

Most of Senebtīsy's personal jewelry, described on pages 231 f., was found on the outer wrappings of the body, imbedded in the layer of resin: the circlet of gold wire on the head, two of the necklaces about the neck, and the girdles of small acacia beads at the waist. Also outside the wrappings were a funerary apron of beads, a dagger on the left side of the mummy by the hands, and a hypocephalus biscuit under the head.

Inside the wrappings and in some cases next to the body was the bulk of the funerary jewelry. The throat was adorned with three broad collars, two of beads, the third of copper overlaid with gold foil. Here also was found the third of Senebtīsy's necklaces, the one with beads in the form of small *ḥes*-vases. On the wrists and ankles were wide bracelets and anklets of tubular beads, matching in style the bead broad collars.

Other elements of the burial which appear in the plan were a long wooden chest, probably for additional staves, on the east side of the coffins, and two small, shrine-shaped boxes which may have contained *shawabty*-figures of the deceased. The outer coffin rested on two skid poles, let into the floor of the tomb, and these may be seen projecting from under the southern end of the great box. At the bottom of the pit was found a wig box, thrown out by the plunderers. Of these last items there remained only enough of their rotted remains to identify their original forms and purposes.

Although Senebtīsy was apparently not of royal blood, she was a fashionable resident of the capital city and undoubtedly a member of the court of the king. It is not surprising, therefore, that her burial followed in its general style and in many of the individual objects included in it the royal burials of the Twelfth Dynasty. It is in the tombs of the queens and princesses at Dahshūr, for example, that the closest parallels to the coffins, jewelry, and other funerary equipment of Senebtīsy are to be found.

3. Funerary Jewelry

A feature common to nearly every burial of the Middle Kingdom is a set of jewelry of ancient type and flimsy construction, made to be worn solely by the dead and clearly believed to be endowed with amuletic powers. The elements comprising the typical set—a broad collar, a pair of wide bracelets, and a pair of wide anklets—are traditional forms, going back in origin to the beginning of the Old Kingdom and probably earlier. Although jewelry similar to these strikingly handsome ornaments was worn also by living Egyptians from the Old Kingdom to the end of the dynastic period, there is an easily discernible difference between the collars, bracelets, and anklets of the living and those of the dead. The former, as we have seen, are made of materials capable of standing wear, are equipped with metal spreaders and clasps or with strong cord ties, and, in the case of the collars, with counterpoises to keep them from sagging or slipping down on the breasts of their wearers. The funerary jewels, destined only to be bandaged in place on a prostrate and motionless body, show none of these characteristics. Fragile faience is used in place of hard stone; gilded plaster or gilded wood is substituted for gold; ties are of the flimsiest thread or are omitted altogether; the collars are almost never provided with counterpoises; and the bracelets and anklets are fre-

quently too short to go around the wrists and ankles of their deceased wearers.

In the statues, reliefs, and paintings of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms the type of collar called by the ancient Egyptians *wesekh,* "the Broad" (𓏏), appears with unceasing regularity on men and women, both living and dead, on kings, queens, gods, goddesses, sacred animals, and even on inanimate objects, such as the prows and sterns of divine barques. In the painted friezes on the interiors of Middle Kingdom coffins it is represented more frequently and with more minor variations than any other object. From this source we learn that there were more than fifteen different varieties of broad collar, each with its individual name: "Collar of Gold," "Collar of Turquoise," "Collar of Nekhābet," "Collar of the Falcon," "Great-of-Magics," "To-be-worn-in-the-Necropolis," and so on. The *wesekh* is included in lists of standard amulets drawn up at a later date, and there can be no doubt that it was thought of not only as adorning but also as protecting its wearer. In the coffins the pairs of matching bracelets and anklets are labeled *menferty,* "encirclers"; *seruy,* "ornaments"; or simply "appurtenances-of-the-arms," "appurtenances-of-the-legs."

The broad ★collar, bracelets, and anklets found on the mummy of Waḥ typify the funerary jewelry of the late Eleventh Dynasty. The collar (fig. 198), which is on its original threads, is composed of eight rows of slender tubular beads of greenish blue faience, with an outer row of drop-shaped pendants and a pair of semicircular shoulder plates of the same material. The form of the collar was achieved by using beads which decrease gradually in length from the bottom to the uppermost row and from the center of each row toward its ends. The light thread ties from the shoulder plates were merely twisted together at the back of Waḥ's neck, but the collar was held firmly in place by the layers of bandages and sheets applied over it. The bracelets and anklets are indistinguishable one from another and are hardly more than token ornaments, made

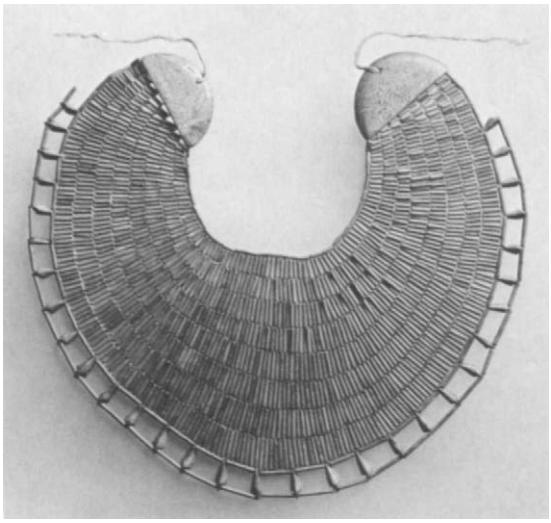


FIGURE 198. Broad collar of blue faience from the mummy of the Estate Manager Waḥ. Late Eleventh Dynasty. W. 15¼ in.

of tubular beads left over from the collar, strung longitudinally to form narrow bands three beads wide and seven long, and fitted with long thread ties. Similar ★bracelets, each composed of only two or three strands of faience tubular beads, are from slightly earlier tombs in the courtyard of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ's temple at Deir el Baḥri.

In the Twelfth Dynasty the funerary collar tends to become narrower, with fewer rows of beads, and more U-shaped, with the shoulder plates set wide apart. The beads themselves are shorter and thicker, and the rows of vertical tubes are often bordered and separated by lines of small disk beads. Most of the Twelfth Dynasty collars are made up of beads of three or more contrasting colors. Senebtīsy's two bead ★collars have pendants and shoulder plates of plaster overlaid with gold foil and beads of turquoise, carnelian, green faience, and gilded paste. The eyes of the falcon heads which serve as shoulder plates on one of these collars are inlaid in carnelian, and the details of the heads are applied in blue (fig. 199). It is worth noting that in neither of the collars are the shoulder pieces pierced with holes for suspension cords.

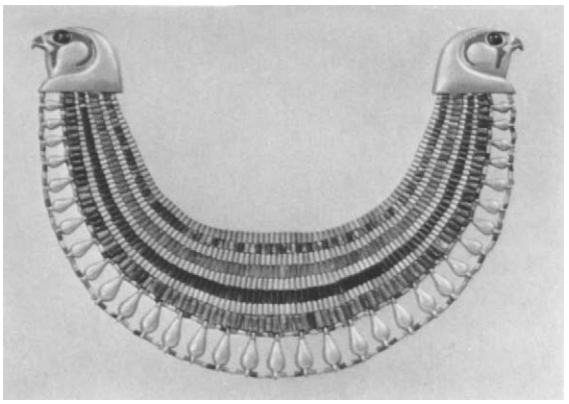


FIGURE 199. Falcon collar of turquoise, carnelian, green faience, and gilded plaster from the burial of Senebtīsy at el Lisht. Twelfth Dynasty. W. 10 in.

A ★collar of faience beads from the burial of the Steward Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify of Mīr is in two colors, greenish blue and black; and in seven similar bead ★collars from tombs at el Lisht the prevailing color scheme is greenish blue, black, and white. Glancing into the coffin of the Steward Chnum-ḥotpe of Mīr, we see a broad ★collar of black, pale blue, and white faience beads sewn to the breast of the fully wrapped mummy (fig. 201).

The bead ★bracelets and anklets found with these collars are both wider and longer than those of the Eleventh Dynasty. They are composed of the same tubular beads used in the collars, strung longitudinally in eight rows of from eight to fifteen beads each. Senebtīsy's bracelets and anklets were provided with spacers of wood overlaid with gold foil, four spacers to each bracelet, five to each anklet.[1] The majority are without spacers or clasps, but occasionally they were finished at the ends with ingenious ties formed by weaving and plaiting together the eight sets of threads on which the beads were strung.

Senebtīsy's third collar is a model of the ★"Collar of Gold," made of a piece of sheet copper cut to shape and overlaid on both sides with gold foil. On the front the outlines of the gold beads, pendants, and shoulder pieces of the typical collar are engraved in the surface of the foil. A similar model ★collar from the burial of Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify is of wood, also covered with gold foil. Comparable to these is a pair of gold ★bracelets made of strips of thin sheet gold engraved in imitation of beadwork. They are from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes and reproduce the rather narrow bead bracelets characteristic of that period.

A single large barrel bead of carnelian, often flanked at either end by a ball or tubular bead of green stone or faience, was evidently regarded as a potent talisman for the protection of the throat, over which it was usually worn strung on a piece of cord. Called a *seweret,* it occurs frequently in burials of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties, appears as an inlay on masks and anthropoid coffins (fig. 202), and is often represented in the painted rectangular coffins of the Middle Kingdom. Among the ★*seweret*-beads in the Museum's collection are examples found on the mummies of Waḥ, Senebtīsy, Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify of Mīr, and the girl Ḥapy of el Lisht. Of some comparable amuletic significance are the ★scarab necklaces or bracelets from the burial of Waḥ, each of which consists of a large scarab strung on a length of cord with one big barrel bead and one equally large tubular bead (p. 231).

A ★girdle of green faience disk beads supporting a small carnelian ★amulet in the form of a crouching falcon was worn about the hips and abdomen of the mummy of Senebtīsy in such a way that the falcon lay directly over the embalmer's incision on the left side of the body. The function of this small representation of the god Horus was evidently to protect the lower part of the body and magically to seal the incision, just as it was the function of the "Four Sons of Horus" to protect the viscera removed from the body and placed in the canopic jars.

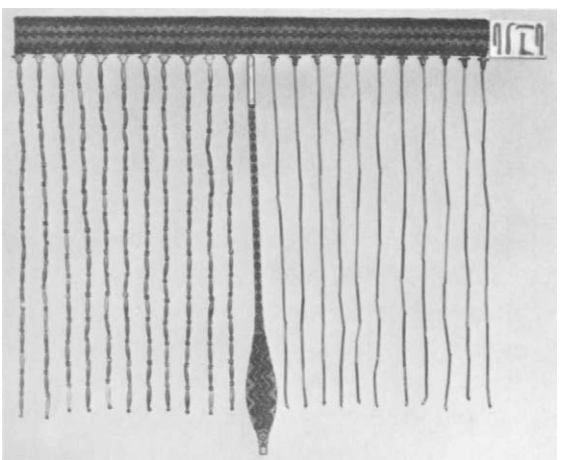
The most elaborate and most interesting article of funerary jewelry in the Museum's collec-

[1] These have been restored in gilded metal.

tion is an ★apron or skirt of faience beads found on the mummy of Senebtīsy (fig. 200). The belt and the covering of the imitation animal's tail which hangs from it are woven of minute beads of blue green, white, yellow, and black faience, composed to form intricate diamond and zigzag patterns. The core of the tail is wood, as is also that of the gilded belt clasp, on which the name "Senebtīsy" appears in painted blue hieroglyphs. Gold foil has been used to suggest a long metal cap at the top of the tail and a short ferrule at its lower end. The twenty-two long beadwork streamers depending from the belt represent the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, the "lily" of the south on the right side, the papyrus ( ) of the north on the left. In addition to the flowers, molded in blue green faience, an attempt has been made to reproduce the characteristic stems of the two plants by using lentoid and foliated beads for the papyrus stalks and straight black tubular beads for those of the plant of Upper Egypt. The distribution of the emblems on the right and left sides of the apron presupposes the fact that its wearer would face east, the position in which, as we have seen, the Middle Kingdom Egyptian was always buried.

The bead apron of this type, worn alone or over a linen kilt, was a primitive garment, adopted at an early date as one of the insignia of the king of Egypt, who is shown wearing it in temple reliefs of the Old Kingdom and subsequent periods (p. 188). By the Middle Kingdom it had been appropriated for funerary use by the rank and file of Egyptians and, together with many other royal attributes, appears among the objects represented in private coffins of this time. Since, in taking over for his own use the royal Pyramid Texts, the deceased Egyptian had already identified himself with his king and with the latter's divine counterpart, the god Osiris, it was only natural that he should also attire himself in the pharaonic and Osirian regalia, greatly enhancing thereby his chances of attaining a blessed immortality. Aside from other considerations, the royal character of the bead apron is attested by the prominent place accorded in its make-up to the emblems of Upper and Lower Egypt. Its name, *besau,* is perhaps to be translated "the protector." Parts of many similar ★aprons found in other tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht show that Senebtīsy's bead ornament was by no means an isolated example.

FIGURE 200. Funerary apron of polychrome beadwork from the burial of Senebtīsy. L., including buckle, 23 in.



4. Mummy Masks and Anthropoid Coffins

The painted cartonnage mask placed over the head of the partially or fully wrapped mummy not only added to it a lifelike appearance but served as a substitute for the deceased person's own head and face, hidden under the wrappings. Originated in the late Old Kingdom and developed during the Herakleopolitan period, the mummy mask was destined to enjoy a long popularity, continuing in use in Egyptian burials well down into Early Christian times. The term "cartonnage" has been adopted by Egyptologists as a convenient way of describing the fabric of the mask, which consists of multiple layers of coarse linen cloth coated on both sides with stucco and molded to the desired shape. Although sometimes called "portrait masks," few were really

portraits of their individual owners; they appear, rather, to have been stock items of funerary equipment, turned out in quantity and reproducing only the standard facial type currently in favor with the royal or local ateliers of sculptors and painters.

In the early examples the face tends to be small and somewhat pinched in appearance, and this characteristic is still discernible in the ★mask found in position on the mummy of Waḥ (fig. 196), who, as we have seen, lived during the latter years of the Eleventh Dynasty. Attached to the chin of the gilded face is a short beard, which, like the small moustache and the scanty whiskers around the jowls, is painted blue. The eyes, too, are painted, not inlaid as in some later masks. The long, archaic wig is striped light blue and dark green, and on the chest tab, under the wrappings, is a painted broad collar with bands of red, blue, and green, representing polychrome beadwork. The long, rectangular tabs, which extend down the front and back of the mummy as far as the waist are colored a neutral, light brown, to match the wrappings in which they are concealed. Produced by a local Theban craftsman, Waḥ's mask is distinctly provincial in style and has been aptly described as "countrified" in appearance.

There is, on the other hand, no provincialism or lack of sophistication in the handsome gilt and blue ★mask of the Steward Chnum-ḥotpe (fig. 201), a well-to-do official buried at Mīr in the Twelfth Dynasty. Evidently executed by an artist trained in the classic Memphite tradition, the strong and well-modeled face is an excellent example of the developed sculptural style of the Middle Kingdom. The gilded uraeus on the brow and the long and obviously artificial beard are marks of the royal state to which, after death, our steward might hope to aspire. An undeniable quality of liveliness is imparted by the inlaid eyes of alabaster and polished obsidian, set in sockets of ebony and accented at the corners with touches of red.

A similar ★mask, unfortunately in a less perfect state of preservation, may be seen on the mummy of the Chancellor Wekh-ḥotpe, also of Mīr and a close contemporary of Chnum-ḥotpe. Here the uraeus is missing, and the somewhat paler blue of the headdress is relieved by closely spaced, fine black lines suggesting the locks of hair.



FIGURE 201. Mummy mask of the Steward Chnum-ḥotpe of Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty

On the mummy of the Princess ʿAshyet, buried in the reign of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ Montu-ḥotpe, the cartonnage mask had been expanded to form a full-length case enclosing the whole body. Early in the Twelfth Dynasty such cases were made in two longitudinal halves—a back, or body, and a front, or lid. So came into being the *anthropoid coffin,* at first either of cartonnage or of wood, later almost exclusively of wood, which during the New Kingdom and subsequent periods was to become far and away the most popular type of Egyptian coffin.

"For some time after its introduction the anthropoid coffin continued to be regarded merely as a realistic envelope for the body. The body still being laid upon its side throughout the Middle Kingdom, this 'envelope' was naturally turned with it so that the eyes it gave the dead might look out through the eyes on the side of the coffin

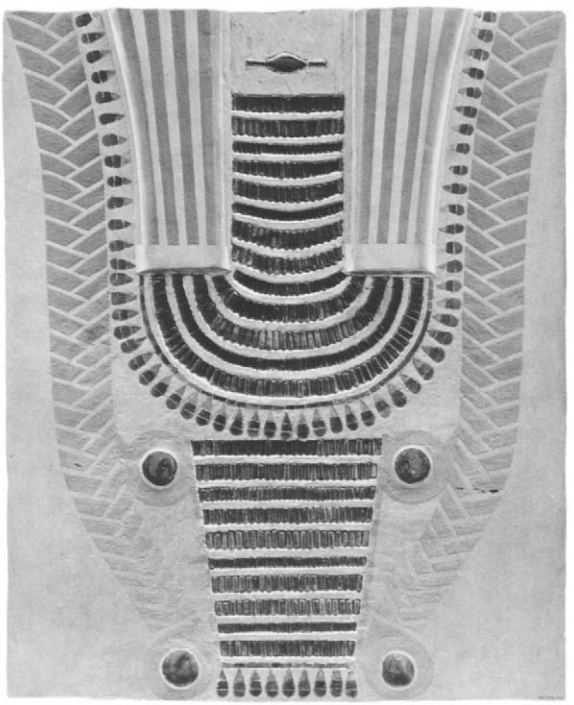
proper. The back was more or less exposed in this position and therefore it was modeled to represent the contours of the body and decorated as such. As the hands were not visible on the wrapped mummy, they never occur on its 'envelope' before the Eighteenth Dynasty. Moreover, the decoration is consistently limited to ornaments or dress appropriate to the body either living or dead. Just as a mummy with a mask might have an actual collar sewn on its breast, the coffins had one inlaid there; and as the mummy might wear a bead girdle or be wrapped in a pleated outer shawl or garment, or bound with narrow horizontal bandages, the decoration of the outside of the coffins reproduced such features faithfully. Some of the articles of attire, such as the necklaces, may have acquired an amuletic meaning, and, of course, the *nmś* and *ḥ3t*-headdresses were worn by the dead in their divine characters; but the realistic nature of the decoration remains the outstanding characteristic of these coffins. With this conception of the earliest anthropoid coffins in mind, it is not surprising to find that they have no inscriptions on them."[2]

Of the magnificent gilded anthropoid coffin of Senebtīsy all that could be saved were the ★inlays from the breast and the copper ★locking elements. The decoration of the front of the coffin (fig. 202), from just below the chin to the waist, has been restored on a panel of plaster, molded, gilded, and painted in exact imitation of the original and adorned with the original inlays of blue and green faience and carnelian. Here we see on the throat the *seweret*-necklace—a single large barrel bead of carnelian, flanked by tubes of green faience. Below, partially concealed by the gold and blue striped tabs of the long headdress, is the broad collar, banded blue, green, and red and finished with a row of polychrome pendants, each made up of three sections of inlay. The trapezoidal pectoral below the collar is a less usual piece of jewelry, but one known from both the Old and Middle Kingdoms and represented with the collar in the coffin of the Chancellor Wekh-ḥotpe of Mīr (p. 316), where the combined ornament is called "the Collar of the Two Goddesses." Down the sides are long braids of hair, painted blue, bound with narrow gold ribbons, and spiraled at the ends around disks of polished carnelian.

The locking elements consist of L-shaped metal tenons which projected downward from the lateral edges of the lid into mortises in the upper edges of the body of the coffin. When the lid was slid forward into final position, the horizontal arm of each L engaged under a metal pin driven transversely through the forward end of the mortise. At the same moment a pivoted tumbler in the foot end of the lid dropped into a slot in the foot end of the box, preventing the lid from being retracted and so locking the two parts of the coffin securely together.

The ★anthropoid coffin of the Count's Daughter Nebet-ḥat (Nephthys) is from an upper-class

FIGURE 202. Inlaid decoration of the anthropoid coffin of Senebtīsy. Carnelian and blue and green faience. Panel restored. H. 20 in.



[2] Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi*, p. 54.



FIGURE 203. Anthropoid coffin of the Steward Ḥapy-ʿankhtify of Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty. L. 72 in.

burial of the mid-Twelfth Dynasty at Mīr. Found enclosed in a rectangular coffin of wood, shortly to be discussed, the mummiform case is entirely of cartonnage, painted black and equipped with copper locking elements similar to those of the innermost coffin of Senebtīsy. The head resembles that of the mummy mask of Chnum-ḥotpe (fig. 201), but the beardless face is broader, heavier, and less delicately modeled. Face, ears, and throat are overlaid with gold foil, and the eyes are of alabaster and obsidian inlaid in sockets of ebony. As on the coffin of Senebtīsy the broad collar is of real beads, of black and dark green faience, inlaid in six alternating bands of color between curved strips of painted wood. The carnelian *seweret*-bead on the throat is strung on a piece of cord between two ball beads of pale blue faience.

Ḥapy-ʿankhtify's ★anthropoid coffin (fig. 203), the innermost of his set of three, is of the same type, but differs in construction, style, and ornamental details. The case is of wood covered on the outside with linen cloth, to which was applied a thick coat of black pitch. The long, kingly beard and the elaborate headdress are striped black and gold, and the black bands of the headdress are overlaid with rows of small, lozenge-shaped ornaments of black faience with striated backs, which produce the effect of thick, wavy locks of hair. The extensive broad collar is modeled in stucco, applied to the breast of the coffin, and painted red, green, and black, with strips of gold foil between the rows. The eyes are inlaid in realistic fashion. The irises are of smoky rock crystal backed by a gray substance in the center of which is a black spot representing the pupil of the eye.

5. Rectangular Coffins and Sarcophagi of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties

The oblong, rectangular box with flat or vaulted lid and four or more battens on its underside was the earliest and, until the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the most common form of coffin used by the ancient Egyptians. Although known from nearly all periods of dynastic history, it reached its greatest popularity in the Middle Kingdom, when it became standard for all classes of burial, from the simplest to the most elaborate.

The fifteen rectangular wooden coffins of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties in the Metropolitan Museum reflect a number of different conceptions of the nature and functions of these outer containers of the body and show the development of a scheme of coffin decoration which was to survive in Egypt until the latest times. The earliest and plainest examples are the two coffins of the Princess Muyet, discussed on page 162,

and the coffin of the Estate Manager Waḥ—all three from Thebes and all dated to the second half of the Eleventh Dynasty.

Waḥ's ★coffin is a heavy, rectangular box of spruce or pine, fitted with a flat lid of the same wood almost four inches thick. Its construction, because it is typical of all rectangular coffins of the Middle Kingdom, is worth noting. The sides and ends of the box, made up of two boards each, are fitted together at the corners with miter joints, masked at the top by overlapping tenons and fastened with stout dowels driven diagonally through the joints. To conserve wood, the walls of the coffin were made wedge-shaped in cross section, thinning appreciably from top to bottom. Since, however, the reduction in thickness is gradual and is confined to the interior surfaces, there is little loss in strength and no lessening of the massive effect produced by the box when viewed from the outside or from above. The floor, fitted inside the walls and held in place by dowels, is braced on its underside by four massive, transverse battens, on which the box stands. These floor battens, as we shall see, are characteristic of all coffins of this class. Two battens on the underside of the lid were made to project down into the top of the box and, when the burial was completed, were locked in place by long pegs, driven into them through the tops of the end walls of the coffin. A scarred circle at the center of the foot end of the lid marks the position of a projecting lug, sawn off when the cover was originally set in place. The lug itself, a cylinder of wood three and a half inches long, was recovered from the floor of the tomb.

Except for the pair of eyes painted on the left, or east, side of the coffin, the decoration consists entirely of five horizontal lines of painted hieroglyphic inscription, one line across the top of each of the sides and ends of the box and one longitudinally down the center of the lid.

The eyes, colored bluish green, black, white, and red, have the form of the *Wedjat,* or "sound eye," of the god Horus (), with the markings of a falcon's head,  , added to the usual ancient Egyptian representation of a human eye. In an ancient myth the eye of Horus, torn to pieces by the wicked god Sēṯḥ, was miraculously restored, or "made sound," by the ibis god Ṯḥōt and was therefore adopted as a symbol of "soundness" or "completion" and extensively used as an amulet. On the coffins, however, the eyes have the more practical function of permitting the deceased to look out—to escape in vision—to the regions of the east, at once the rising place of the sun god, the abode of the living, and the source of offerings brought to the tomb. They mark the position of the face of the dead person and therefore became the reference point around which the decoration of the coffin is composed. It will be noticed in the present example that the inscriptions are oriented so as to read away from the corner of the coffin nearest the eyes, running in two directions around the box and meeting back to back at the corner diagonally opposite. This applies also to the lid inscription which is written so as to be read from the left side of the coffin.

The inscriptions, drawn in thin black outline and colored bluish green, are simply repetitions of the ancient offering formulae, invoking the two principal gods of the dead in behalf of the deceased occupant of the coffin. On the lid the king is said to intervene with Anubis, Lord of Sepa, that Waḥ may have free passage "upon the goodly ways of the necropolis." On the right side it is again Anubis, in another form, who grants Waḥ "a fair burial in the necropolis," and on the left side, above the eyes, Osiris, Lord of Busiris and Abydos, through whom are evoked the usual food and drink offerings "in his tomb of the necropolis." On the head end Waḥ is named as "one in honor with the Great God," and on the foot offerings are again called forth in his behalf.

In the ★coffin of the Count's Son Amūny, from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Mīr, there is revived the ancient conception of the coffin as the dwelling house of the dead. Like the maṣṭabeh tombs of the earliest dynasties and the paneled coffins and sarcophagi of the Old Kingdom, the

sides and ends of this coffin are adorned with a continuous series of elaborate palace façades, or false doors, brilliantly painted in blue, green, red, yellow, black, and white. In the panel nearest the head end on the left side of the box the painted eyes look out over the bolted doors of the dead man's eternal dwelling. The only inscription, a long band down the center of the lid, calls upon the king to intercede with Anubis, Lord of Sepa, "that he may cause thee to cross the sky, join earth, and mount up to the Great God, Lord of Heaven." The lid, though higher than that of the coffin of Waḥ, is not solid, but is built up of several relatively light planks and is hollowed, or vaulted, on the underside.

The same elaborate paneling appears on the ★coffin of the Steward Chnum-ḥotpe (fig. 204), a fellow townsman of Amūny and probably a close contemporary. The architectural nature of the decoration is emphasized here by the leaves of a cavetto cornice painted on the edges of the lid and by the wide horizontal and vertical bands of inscription framing the painted panels and suggesting the beams and uprights of a house. Furthermore, the inscriptions in these bands make it clear that the house coffin and its deceased occupant were thought of as ringed about and protected by a special set of tutelary divinities, whose individual stations and responsibilities had already been established by ancient tradition. As on the earlier examples, Anubis, Lord of Sepa, "He-who-is-before-the-Divine-Booth," guards the lid, or, as the Egyptians called it, the "sky," of the coffin and causes the dead man to "mount up to the Great God, Lord of Heaven." On the left, or east, side Osiris appropriately calls forth the offerings "on which a god lives," and on the right Anubis, the divine embalmer, assures a "goodly burial in the necropolis of the West." The head and feet of the corpse are the stations of the chief mourners, Nephthys, the sister of Osiris, and Isis, his wife; and the names of these two goddesses are therefore written in the short dedications across the head and foot ends of the box. The four corners of the coffin are watched over by the so-called Four Genii of the Dead, Imsety and Ḥapy paired on either side of the shoulders of the mummy, Dewau-mautef and Ḳebeḥ-snēwef flanking the legs. Between, at the middle of the sides, are the primaeval cosmic divinities, Shu and his wife, Tefēnet, and their offspring, Gēb, the earth god, and Nūt, goddess of heaven. None of these deities is represented, but their presence is established by the vertical bands of inscription, in each of which the deceased Chnum-ḥotpe is stated to be held "in honor with" the particular god or goddess in question.

The ★outer coffin of the Steward Ḥapy-ʿankhtify is remarkable for a number of reasons, not the least of which are its huge size, its massive construction, and its extravagant use of fine, coniferous timber, brought to Mīr a distance of over six hundred miles from the wooded slopes of Syria. The decoration of the exterior of the box is similar in nearly all respects to that of the coffin of Chnum-ḥotpe; but the lid, in addition to the usual formula invoking Anubis, Lord of Sepa, bears two other texts in which the sky goddess Nūt emerges, quite logically, as the guardian of the roof of the eternal dwelling and the protectress of the dead man in the regions overhead. One of the two inscriptions is taken verbatim from the Pyramid Texts, and in it Ḥapy-ʿankhtify is addressed as the god Osiris, with whom he is clearly considered to be identified: "Osiris, thou Steward Ḥapy, thy mother Nūt has spread herself over thee in her name of 'Coverer-of-Heaven.' She has caused thee to become a god, without enemies, in thy name of 'God.' She protects thee."

In addition to more than five hundred columns of funerary texts written in cursive hieroglyphic script, the interior surfaces of the great coffin are adorned with painted representations of the food offerings and the scores of objects to be worn and used by the deceased steward, each carefully drawn and labeled with its name. On the left wall are mirrors, broad collars with counterpoises, bracelets, anklets, necklaces, and a

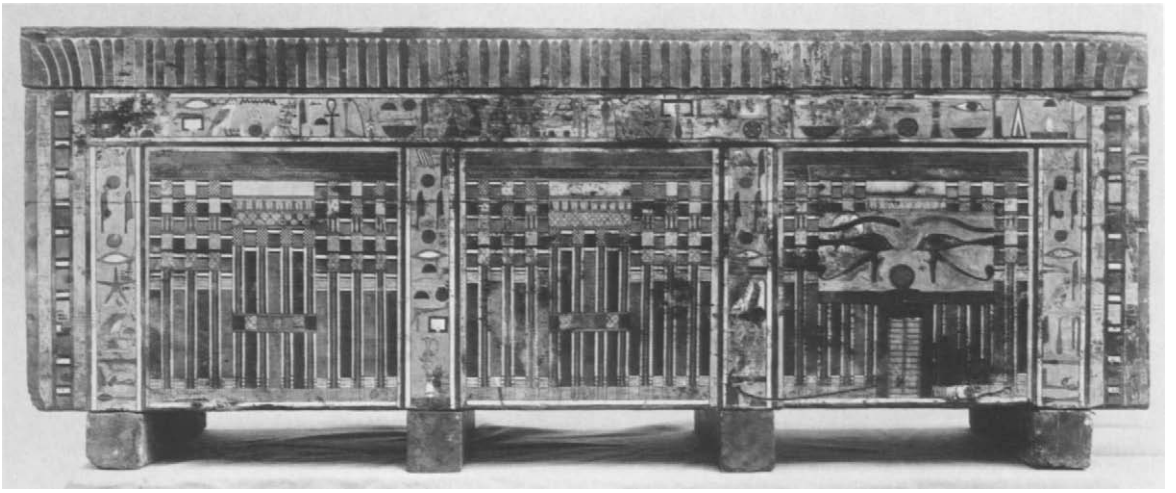


FIGURE 204. Coffin of the Steward Chnum-ḥotpe of Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty. L. 112 in. The left, or east, side of the coffin, with the eye panel, is shown.

gilded dress kilt; and, on the opposite side, bolts of linen cloth, scepters, a ladanisterion (see pp. 286 f.), staves, maces, bead aprons with tails, crooks, bows, bent staves, a circlet, and two headdresses. Painted jars for six of the "Seven Sacred Oils" occupy the head end, and at the foot are two vessels for washing the feet, a pair of sandals, and a spare sandal strap. The eye panel is repeated on the interior of the left side of the coffin, and above it is an inscription which leaves no doubt as to the purpose of the eyes: "Opened is the face of the Steward Ḥapy, justified, that he may see the Lord of the Horizon (the sun god), when he crosses the sky. . . ."

Coffins of this form and with this elaborate painted decoration have been classed as "Herakleopolitan," a type believed to have been developed in Middle Egypt during the period dominated by the Herakleopolitan kings of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties. The characteristic treatment of the interior – the long funerary texts, the eye panel, the offerings, and the rows of objects—may be seen also in the coffin of the Chancellor Wekh-ḥotpe of Mīr, shortly to be discussed, in the ★coffin of the Estate Manager Achtoy from el Lisht (fig. 205), and on the side of a Theban coffin usurped by a man named Ny-su-Oḳer. The texts, always written in columns of cursive script, include many short "utterances" lifted bodily from the Pyramid Texts and a number of longer spells, or "chapters," of the Middle Kingdom prototype of the so-called Book of the Dead. The Coffin Texts, properly speaking, are spells which are found in neither the Pyramids nor the Book of the Dead, but which are peculiar to these coffins of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. The great variety of objects pictured in the painted friezes and the detail with which they are represented provide us with an invaluable source of information on Middle Kingdom costume and personal equipment and will repay a far more detailed study than it is possible to give here.

A much simplified treatment of the exterior is seen on the fine cedar-veneered ★coffin of the Count's Daughter Nebet-ḥat, which had been made originally for the nomarch Soneby, probably her father, and was found at Mīr in a pit tomb in the floor of his funerary chapel. The panels between the vertical bands of inscription are blank except for the eye panel, where the beautifully painted palace façade, adapted for the cover design of this book, occurs as a frame for the eyes themselves. Columns of inscription with dedications of the deceased lady to the god-

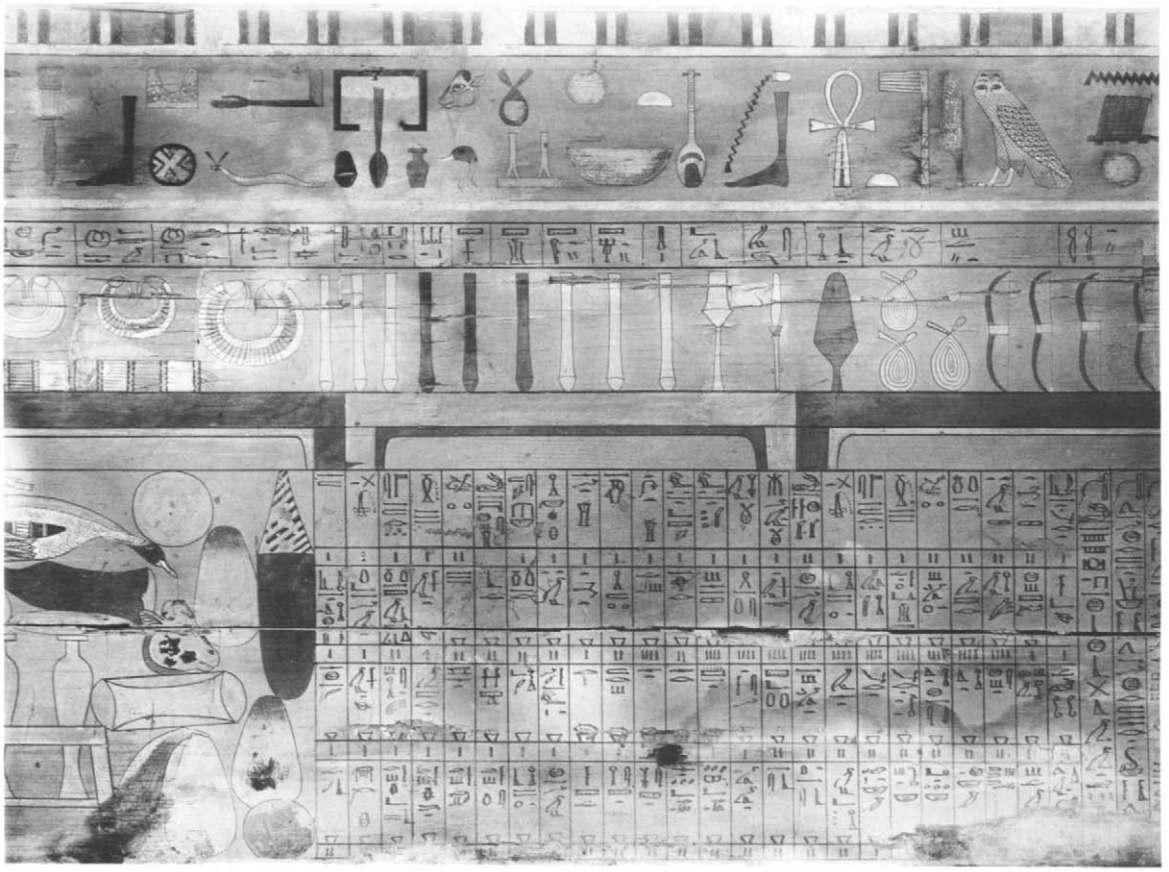


FIGURE 205. Decoration of the interior of the coffin of the Estate Manager Achtoy from el Lisht. Twelfth Dynasty. The central portion of the left side is shown.

desses Nit and Serḳet have been added to the sides of the coffin, increasing the number of panels on each side to four; and the number of floor battens has risen from four to nine. In place of a painted border the edges of the lid are overlaid with gold foil, engraved with a simple matting design. The interior of the coffin, coated with black pitch, is undecorated.

A further simplification appears in the carved and painted decoration of the outside of the ★coffin of the Chancellor Wekh-ḥotpe. Here the palace façades are completely absent, and the eyes are framed in a plain rectangle, painted yellow. Mention has already been made of the extremely interesting decoration of the interior of this coffin, which conforms to that seen in the outer coffin of Ḥapy-ʿankhtify but is even more elaborate and, happily, in a somewhat better state of preservation. To the right of the eye panel and the food offerings on the left wall we can make out a long tabulated list of offerings drawn up in cursive hieroglyphs, like the other funerary texts. Noteworthy among the many objects pictured is the representation of a granary, which occurs in the central register of the narrow foot end. The building, which evidently consisted of a columned hall and an adjacent compartment containing seven domed bins, is drawn, according to the confusing Egyptian convention, partly in plan and partly in cross section, with the large entrance doorway at the right shown in full front elevation.

The treatment seen on the exterior of Wekh-

ḥotpe's coffin, wherein the decoration is reduced to its bare essentials, was naturally the one adopted by persons of moderate means, who, unlike the wealthy chancellor of Mīr, could afford nothing more elaborate. Such persons were Si-Ḥat-Ḥor, Yebsen-ḥotpe, and Ḥik-yeb-Ḥepyu, all lower-middle class Egyptians of the Twelfth Dynasty, resident at Thebes and el Lisht. Their narrow, rectangular ★coffins, lightly built of cheap native woods—tamarisk and sycamore fig—are decorated only on the exterior, and here only with a simple eye panel and the essential horizontal and vertical bands of inscription. Although stereotyped in form and decoration and obviously inexpensive, the style of these coffins is still characteristic of the Twelfth Dynasty—the carpentry good and the inscriptions correctly composed and deftly drawn.

Early in the Twelfth Dynasty there was developed for the use of the royal family and the members of the court a type of rectangular coffin which in form and decoration differs widely from the painted coffins of the Herakleopolitan tradition. Found in the tombs of the queens and princesses at Dahshūr, the new court type is represented in the Museum's collection by the second ★coffin of the House Mistress Senebtīsy from el Lisht (fig. 206). Here, in place of the gaudy polychromy of the painted coffins, we find a severe but rich simplicity, relying for its effect on the color and tone of fine dark wood, relieved and accented by narrow bands of gold. The vaulted lid, with low, transverse end boards, goes back in origin to the Early Dynastic period (see fig. 30) and is the prevailing type on coffins and sarcophagi of the Old Kingdom (⌓). The eye panel is of stucco overlaid with gold foil, and the eyes themselves are of alabaster and obsidian, inlaid in wooden sockets. The brows and appendages of the eyes are molded in fine stucco over the gold foil and painted blue. The same fine white stucco also forms the backing of the engraved gold bands around the edges of the coffin and lid and the carved and gilded inscription down the center of the lid. This text—the only inscription on the coffin—is an utterance taken from the Pyramid Texts and is addressed to the sky goddess Nūt: "O Nūt, thou wast glorious and powerful in the womb of thy mother, Tefēnet, ere thou wast born. She causes the

FIGURE 206. Second coffin of the House Mistress Senebtīsy from el Lisht. Early Twelfth Dynasty. L. 78 in.



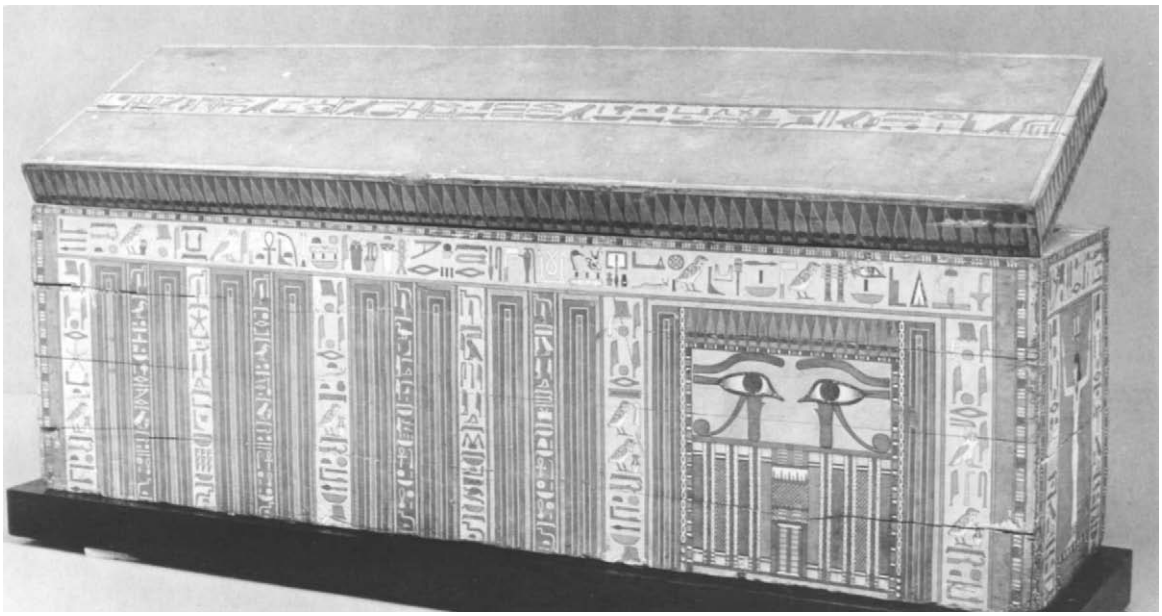


FIGURE 207. Coffin of Chnum-nakhte from Asyūt. Twelfth Dynasty. L. 82 in.

House Mistress Sit-Ḥapy,[3] justified, to be every god eternally. She imbues the House Mistress Senebtīsy, with life, stability, and well-being, so that she die not eternally."

In his handsome second ★coffin the Steward Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify of Mīr also followed the court model, but added to it horizontal and vertical bands of inscription and, in the eye panel, a painted and gilded palace façade. The inscriptions are molded in fine stucco on the surface of the dark cedar wood and painted blue over bands of yellow—a color scheme which we shall see retained in the black coffins of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the New Kingdom. The texts are no longer simple dedications of the dead man to the various tutelary divinities, but in almost every case are speeches of assurance addressed by the deities to the deceased Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify. "I have come," says the genius Dewau-mautef, "that I may envelop for thee thy bones, that I may unite for thee thy members." "I have come rejoicing through love of thee, O Ḥapy," says his companion, the genius Ḳebeḥ-snēwef. It is "Rēᶜ, who establishes the Steward ᶜAnkhtify at the head of the stars eternally," and the personified Crown of Upper Egypt who gives to him "every good and righteous thing in the necropolis of the West." As on the lid of the outer coffin, the heaven goddess Nūt, mother of "the Osiris, the Steward Ḥapy," "has stretched herself over" him to protect him, and the "gods who are in the Underworld (Dēt)" have accepted him as their lord. If the wording of these speeches sounds somewhat grandiose for a provincial steward, it is because most of them were borrowed directly from the Pyramid Texts, which, as we have seen, were composed expressly for the use of the king.

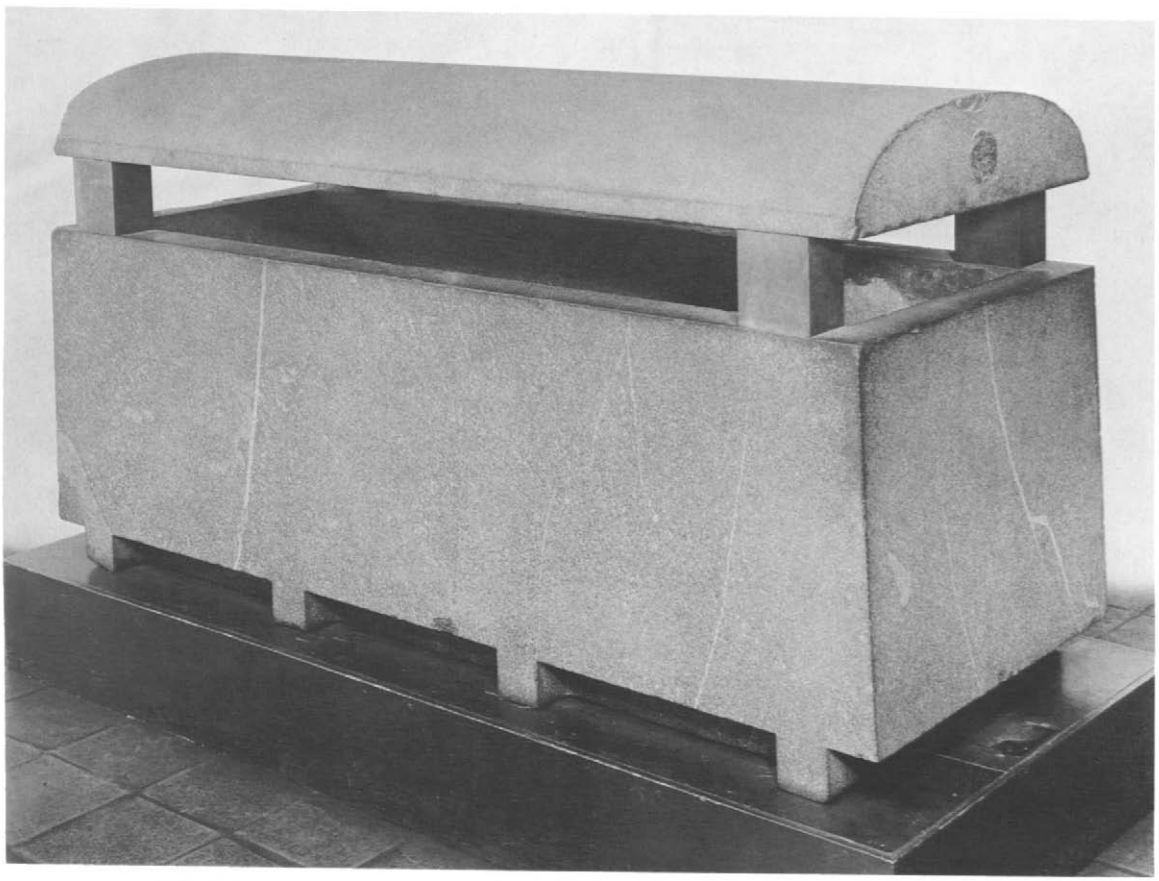
The brilliantly painted exterior of the ★coffin of Chnum-nakhte (fig. 207), from Asyūt, displays the multiplicity of texts and panels which is characteristic of coffin decoration of the late Middle Kingdom and has at least one feature—the figure of a goddess on the head end—which is rare before the Thirteenth Dynasty. The goddess, who stands with arms upraised in a protective gesture and carries on her head a standard composed of two cylindrical oil jars (), is apparently a dual form representing Isis and

[3] Evidently another name borne by Senebtīsy.

Nit, whose names appear in the adjacent inscriptions and who are associated with the two jars on a coffin of similar date in the Cairo Museum. The broad verticals on the sides and ends of the box are the old dedicatory inscriptions, beginning "One in honor with . . . ," but the text on the lid and the narrow columns inside the main panels are the speeches of the gods and goddesses seen on the second coffin of Ḥapy-ʿankhtify and others of its type. The frieze of *ḥekeru*-ornaments (; see p. 51) which, as usual, tops the palace façade in the eye panel appears at larger scale around the edges of the lid.

Twenty-two small fragments of the magnificent cedar ★coffin of the Chancellor Meket-Rēʿ are from the burial chamber of his great tomb at Thebes (p. 166). Coffin texts cover the interior surfaces of these fragments and, to insure their indestructibility, the large inscriptions on the outside are carved twice—once in the wood and again in gilded stucco overlying the original carving. Part of the ★head end of a coffin from el Lisht preserves on its interior surface two registers of brightly painted drawings showing unguents, perfumes, cosmetics, and articles of clothing for the use of the dead, each item accompanied by an ink label in cursive hieroglyphs. Two elaborately painted cylindrical ★lugs sawn from coffin lids are adorned at their outer ends with polychrome rosettes made up of lotus flowers and leaves composed around a central disk. Finally, there are a number of ★pegs and other fastenings from coffins, which, like the surfaces of the miter joints in the outer coffin of

FIGURE 208. Gray granite sarcophagus of the Twelfth Dynasty from el Lisht. L. 91 in.



Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify, are inscribed with short magical texts to insure the strength and permanence of the coffin structure.

As in the Old Kingdom, the kings, queens, and great nobles of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties were often buried in rectangular outer coffins of stone. Since the purpose of such a monument was to preserve the body from destruction, the Egyptian name for it was *neb-ᶜonekh,* "Lord-of-Life." Ironically enough, it is now usually called a *sarcophagus,* or "flesh-eater," a word used by the Greeks to describe a type of limestone sepulchral chest which because of its caustic qualities rapidly consumed the body entrusted to it.

During the Old and Middle Kingdoms the form of the stone sarcophagus was usually derived, more or less directly, from that of its prototype, the rectangular outer coffin of wood. This was certainly true in the case of the limestone sarcophagus of the Princess Henhenet, discussed on page 161, which in both shape and decoration bears striking similarities to the slightly later coffin of the Estate Manager Waḥ.

It is even more evident in a gray granite ★sarcophagus found at el Lisht in a great maṣṭabeh tomb north of the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I (fig. 208). Here, although both the box and the lid are hewn from single blocks of stone, they reproduce with surprising accuracy not only the form but also the structural details of contemporary wooden coffins. The vaulted lid, to be sure, lacks the characteristic transverse end boards; but on its ends may be seen the stumps of cylindrical stone lugs, which, since they could not be sawn away like their wooden models, were knocked off with the blow of a hammer. On a stone monument it is always preferable to round or bevel the corners to prevent them from being broken or chipped, but on this sarcophagus all the corners inside and out are sharp, like the edges of square-sawn wooden boards. The most striking adherence to the original is the careful reproduction in the stone of the four transverse floor battens which, though essential structural elements in a wooden coffin, are worse than useless in a monument made of any other material. The sarcophagus is not inscribed, but, like the maṣṭabeh in which it was found, it may have once contained the body and inner coffins of the long-lived vizier In-yōtef-oḳre (p. 183).

6. Canopic Equipment[4]

As early as the Old Kingdom it was recognized that, for the better preservation of the body, the removal of the viscera was a desirable practice. Since, however, the vital organs were as much part of a man's being as the rest of his corporeal remains, the provisions for their "burial" were second in importance only to those accorded the body itself and were carried out along exactly the same lines.

Material preserved from tombs of the Middle Kingdom makes it perfectly clear that the individual organs were regarded and treated as small "mummies." They were anointed with preservative resins, wrapped in linen bandages, and either provided with miniature mummy masks or enclosed in jars of cartonnage, wood, or stone, with covers in the form of portrait heads of the deceased person—obvious counterparts of the anthropoid coffins in which the bodies were placed. In spite of its cubical shape, the canopic, or visceral, chest in which the bandaged organs or the jars containing them were stored, was nothing more than a smaller replica of the rectangular outer coffin, with which it was always made to conform in type, construction, and decoration.

Like the rest of the body, the vital organs, usually grouped in sets of four, were thought of as being under the special care of an established group of tutelary divinities, whose function it was to protect them and at the same time to prevent them from causing their deceased

[4] On the term "canopic," generally applied to the visceral jars and chests, see above, p. 118.

owner any unpleasantness. The deities especially charged with this duty were the Four Genii of the Dead, Imsety, Ḥapy, Dewau-mautef, and Ḳebeḥ-snēwef, who, according to one legend, were sons of the god Horus, and according to another, the offspring of Isis, who succored Osiris in his misfortunes and saved him from hunger and thirst. They apparently came to be actually identified with the organs assigned to their care and, as such, were themselves possessed by and under the protection of four great goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, Nit, and Serḳet. The two quartets of deities are almost always paired in the order named—Imsety with Isis, Ḥapy with Nephthys, Dewau-mautef with Nit, and Ḳebeḥ-snēwef with Serḳet. In the Middle Kingdom the association of the individual goddesses and genii with individual organs is not clearly defined, and the stations occupied by the deities in relation to their charges vary considerably. As on the coffins, however, Nephthys and Nit are usually on the north, Isis and Serḳet on the south, Imsety and Dewau-mautef on the east, and Ḥapy and Ḳebeḥ-snēwef on the west.

In tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty the canopic chest normally occupied a square niche cut in the wall of the burial chamber on the east side of the coffin (fig. 197).

The ★canopic chest of the Chancellor Wekh-ḥotpe of Mīr is a cubical box, about two feet on a side, with a flat lid and two floor battens. The interior is divided by crossed partitions into four square compartments, in which the viscera were found, wrapped in linen, and packed in sawdust. On the sawdust in three of the compartments lay a painted wooden jar stopper in the form of a human head with a full wig and a short chin beard, but of the jars not a trace remained. Each wall, above the compartments, is inscribed with a dedication of the deceased to one of the four Genii of the Dead. Outside, the chest is decorated in the same style as Wekh-ḥotpe's coffin (p. 316) with large painted inscriptions and painted borders. The text on the lid is a short offering formula to Anubis, Lord of Sepa, the horizontal bands on the sides dedications of Wekh-ḥotpe to the four genii, and the vertical columns a speech addressed by the genii to the dead man, repeated four times and badly garbled in each instance. As preserved in later Books of the Dead this speech reads: "I have made thy house twice firm in accordance with the command of Ptaḥ, in accordance with the command of Rēᶜ."

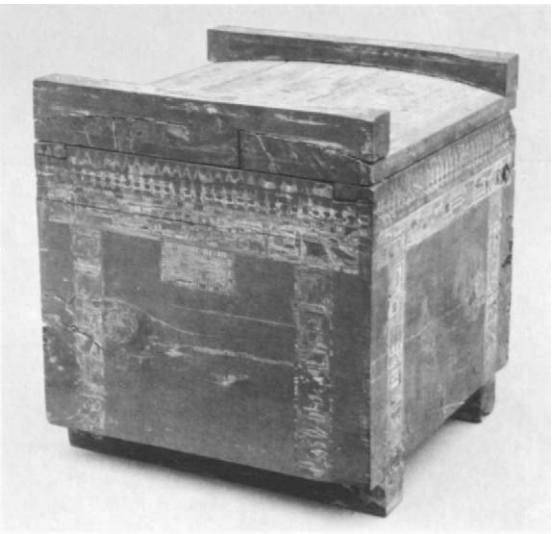


FIGURE 209. Canopic chest of the Steward Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify of Mīr. Twelfth Dynasty. H. 21 in.

The ★canopic chest of the Steward Soneby, also from Mīr and in most respects exactly similar to that of Wekh-ḥotpe, is provided with an inner lid resting on the tops of the partitions and fitted with a cord handle by means of which it could be lowered into position. In place of the jar stoppers four small painted wooden heads are mounted on the upper surface of this lid, each squarely over the center of a compartment.

Like his second coffin, Ḥapy-ᶜankhtify's ★canopic chest (fig. 209) is of the Twelfth Dynasty court type and is much more elaborately inscribed and decorated than the two just seen. Stars cover the vaulted lid between three bands of text in which it is asserted that the sky goddess Nūt hovers over, embraces, and protects her "children"—presumably the personified viscera

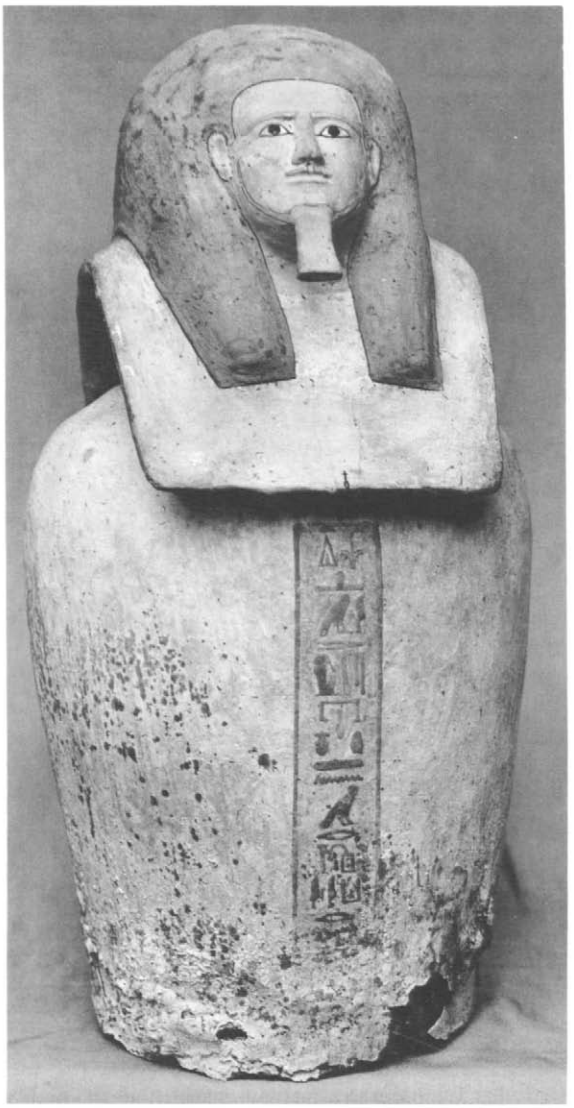


FIGURE 210. Canopic jar of the Overseer of Scribes Kuy, with a cover in the form of a miniature mummy mask. From a tomb of the early Middle Kingdom at Mīr. Both jar and cover are of painted cartonnage. H. 12 in.

in the chest beneath and the deities associated with them. A polychrome frieze of *ḥekeru*-ornaments crowns the four walls of the box, and on what was probably the north end there is a gilded eye panel, framed in a block border. The horizontal inscriptions across the tops of the sides and ends of the chest are all drawn from the Pyramid Texts. Clockwise around the box, from north to west, we read: "O Osiris, thou Steward ʿAnkhtify, take to thyself this thy dignity, which the Ennead of Gods has made for thee, that thou mayest be on the throne of Osiris"; "O ye who are over the hours, ye who are before Rēʿ, make ye a way for the Steward ʿAnkhtify among the glorious spirits"; "O Osiris, Steward ʿAnkhtify, thou pure one! Rēʿ finds thee standing with thy mother, Nūt. Mayest thou live forever!" "The Steward ʿAnkhtify appears as Nefer-tēm, as a lotus at the nose of Rēʿ when he goes forth from the horizon." The large vertical texts are the same speeches which we have seen on Ḥapy-ʿankhtify's second coffin, spoken here by the Four Goddesses and the Four Genii of the Dead, paired at the corners of the box. Between these, on each side, are sixteen small columns of cursive hieroglyphic inscription containing a long and monotonous offering ritual excerpted from the Pyramid Texts. The inscriptions written across the ends of the lid are too damaged to be legible. On the inside of the box an inner lid with knobs at the corners covered the four compartments in which lay the viscera, wrapped in linen bandages. The outer lid was held in place by a locking system similar to that of the anthropoid coffins of Senebtīsy and Nebet-ḥat, with, however, wooden dovetails substituted for the copper L-hooks.

A cubical box of fine, dark wood, its interior divided into four compartments, once formed the ★lining of a canopic chest of granite found at el Lāhūn in a royal tomb south of the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret II. Although uninscribed, the box was clearly the property of a prince or princess of the royal line. It is similar in all respects to the inner canopic box of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, found in her tomb near by encased in an outer chest of red granite and containing the four alabaster canopic jars shortly to be discussed.

With the gray granite sarcophagus from el Lisht (p. 320) was found a ★canopic chest, made of yellow quartzite and showing the same form

and workmanship as the larger monument. The deep lid, more than two-thirds the total height of the chest, is vaulted at the top and, unlike the sarcophagus, is provided with the transverse end pieces seen on contemporary coffins and canopic chests of the court type. It fits down over a low block, in the top of which are four circular cavities for the canopic jars. Two battens carved on the underside of the block imitate a wooden original, and at the ends of the lid are the stumps of the cylindrical lugs by means of which it was lowered into position.

The characteristic form of the canopic, or visceral, jar established in the Old Kingdom (fig. 72) remained practically unchanged throughout the entire history of dynastic Egypt. Moreover, among the numerous examples of Middle Kingdom date in the Museum's collection there are jars from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht and er Riḳḳeh which retain in various forms the early, simple type of lid or stopper. A popular shape is the high, truncated cone seen on two ★jars of yellow limestone and in four ★stoppers of wood, covered with painted stucco, from tombs near the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I. A set of four pottery ★jars from the northern cemetery at el Lisht has hemispherical covers, and on a limestone ★jar from the same site the lid is a low cone with a circular knob at the top. This last form of stopper occurs also on an inscribed set of limestone ★jars from a grave of the Twelfth Dynasty at er Riḳḳeh, on the west side of the Nile eleven miles south of el Lisht. The inscriptions written in black ink on the sides of the jars are dedications of the deceased owner, "the Herald of the Gate, Amūny," to the Four Genii of the Dead, each of whom is thus identified as the guardian of one of the four jars and its contents.

A set of ★jars and covers (fig. 210) belonging to an Overseer of Scribes named Kuy, who was buried at Mīr during the early years of the Middle Kingdom, shows a preliminary stage in the development of the canopic jar with a stopper in the form of a portrait head of its deceased owner. Like the contemporary anthropoid coffins, the jars are of cartonnage and the covers, made of the same material, are miniature reproductions of the painted mummy masks developed during the Herakleopolitan period and seen on mummies of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. The hieroglyphic inscriptions on the fronts of the jars are offering formulae, each invoking one of the Genii of the Dead in behalf of the deceased Kuy, whose "good name," we learn, was Ḥenenet. Each cover was made to fit an individual jar, and three of the covers and jars are marked in black ink with pairs of symbols ( ,  , ) to assure their proper assemblage.

Full confirmation of the belief that the canopic jars were regarded by the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom as the coffins of the viscera appears in a canopic container of the Twelfth Dynasty from a tomb at Mīr, which is nothing more than a miniature ★anthropoid coffin in painted wood. Evidently one of a set of four, the small coffin bears on its front the name of the genius Dewau-mautef. In other respects it is similar to the full-size anthropoid cases of the period. The mummiform body is white, the long wig blue, the face yellow with a black beard and moustache, and the broad collar on the breast painted in several colors, all now much faded.

A less obvious imitation of the wooden anthropoid coffin is seen in a set of wooden ★canopic

FIGURE 211. Canopic jars of the House Mistress Senebtīsy from el Lisht. Early Twelfth Dynasty. The jars are of alabaster, the stoppers of wood covered with stucco and painted. H. of largest jar 17 in.





FIGURE 212. Alabaster canopic jars of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet from el Lāhūn. H. 14½ in.

jars of the usual shape, equipped with wooden stoppers in the form of four nearly identical human heads. The wood is overlaid with a coating of stucco, which on the jars is left white, but on the heads is painted in appropriate colors—the faces yellow, the long, full wigs blue, and the eyes outlined in black with touches of red at the corners. All four heads were bearded, as indicated by the mortises in the chins and the blue beard straps on the sides of the faces. This set of jars and a similar ★set, from which the stoppers are missing, are from tombs of the early Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht.

The painted wooden stoppers of Senebtīsy's ★canopic jars (fig. 211), though unbearded, are of the same type; but the jars themselves are of alabaster, handsomely grained and finely polished. As is often the case, the jars are not perfectly matched, two being distinctly larger than their mates and more slenderly proportioned. The heads, also, differ slightly from one another, both in size and in facial type. Two of the human organs found in these jars have been identified as the liver and the intestines.

The best preserved of the wooden stoppers in the Museum's collection are the three unbearded ★heads from the canopic chest of the Chancellor Wekh-ḥotpe of Mīr. As in the other examples discussed, the wigs of these heads are blue, the faces yellow, and the eyes white with brown irises and black rims. Although crudely carved, a painted wooden ★head found in the burial chamber below the temple of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ Montuḥotpe at Thebes is interesting as showing the existence of this type of canopic jar stopper as early as the middle of the Eleventh Dynasty.

The fully developed canopic jar of the Twelfth

FIGURE 213. Limestone stopper of a canopic jar of the early Twelfth Dynasty from el Lisht. H. 5 in. The eyes and beard are painted black.



Dynasty is admirably illustrated by the handsome alabaster ★set of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, daughter of King Se'n-Wosret II (fig. 212). Both the jars and the four beardless heads which form their stoppers are of ornately grained calcite and are expertly carved and polished, but, as usual, they are of slightly different sizes and proportions. The inscriptions engraved on the fronts of the jars are repetitions of a formula wherein each of the Four Goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, Nit, and Serḳet, is exhorted to protect the Genius of the Dead "who is in" her, in behalf of "the one in honor with" the genius named on the jar, "the King's Daughter Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, justified." Traces of blue color remain in the inscriptions, and the eyes of the stoppers were outlined in black with touches of red at the corners. Upon examination the bundles contained in these jars proved to be, not the viscera of the princess, but merely lumps of cedar pitch mixed with mud—a typical example of the negligence and indifference of the ancient embalmer.

A set of four ★jars and stoppers of indurated limestone is from the burial of the Count's Daughter Nebet-ḥat of Mīr. As in several of the royal sets from Dahshūr, three of the heads are bearded and one is beardless. The beards, beard straps, and details of the eyes are painted black, and the jars, once white, are discolored to a deep brown, probably by the resinous oils poured into or over them. The chest in which these jars were found is now in Cairo.

An alabaster ★jar, complete with stopper, is inscribed in black ink with the name of the genius Dewau-mautef and with the name of its owner, "the Osiris Amūny, justified." It was picked up at el Lisht in the surface rubbish near the maṣṭabeh of the Vizier Se'n-Wosret and therefore in the vicinity of the tomb of Senebtīsy. Also from the cemetery around the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I are three of a set of limestone ★jars, inscribed with the canopic formula already noted on the jars of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet. The stoppers of the jars are missing, and the name of the owner is not given in the inscriptions.

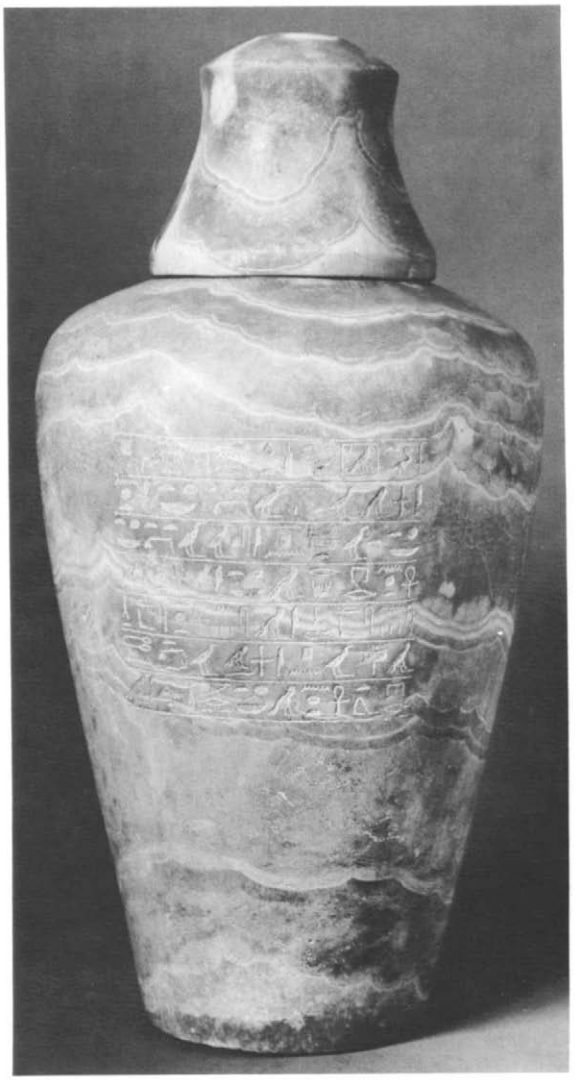


FIGURE 214. Magical jar of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, from her tomb at el Lāhūn. Alabaster. H. 22 in.

Three uninscribed ★jars of polished gray alabaster are from another tomb in the same cemetery.

Several sets of ★stoppers and numerous single ★heads from canopic jars in both alabaster and limestone were recovered from plundered burials of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. A limestone head (fig. 213) from a pit tomb near the maṣṭabeh of Se'n-Wosret-ʿankhe is remarkable for the portrait quality present in the powerfully

modeled face and for the detailed treatment of the headdress, beard, and eyes.

★Canopic jars of pottery are far less common in the Middle Kingdom than in later periods, but a set of four jars and stoppers in a hard, pink ware is apparently contemporary with the Twelfth Dynasty tomb at el Lisht in which it was found. The jars, burnished on the exterior, are taller and more ovoid in shape than the examples in stone and wood. The stoppers, in the form of small, rather crudely modeled human heads, are unpolished. An isolated ★head of pottery from a jar of the same type is covered with a whitish slip.

The magnificent alabaster ★jar shown in figure 214 was found at el Lāhūn in the tomb of the Princess Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, cached in a secret offering niche behind the limestone lining of the burial chamber. In spite of its shape, it was not a canopic jar, but a magical vessel containing "cool water" which, according to the engraved inscription on the side of the jar, "begets all living things and all things which this earth gives." The wording of the text is difficult and at times obscure, but it is clear that from this single jar and from the basic, creative element contained in it the deceased princess might expect to obtain every food offering and every other commodity which she would require. "Such a form of magical provision," says Sir Flinders Petrie, "is not known before; it superseded all the offerings, the models, and the scenes in the tombs, by one comprehensive formula, which carried magic and the power of the word to its utmost extent."[5]

7. Mummiform Statuettes (*Shawabtys*)

In addition to the portrait statues and statuettes, there begin to appear in the burials of the Herakleopolitan period small and at first rather crude figures which represent the deceased Egyptian, not as a living person, but as he actually appeared in his tomb—that is, as a mummy (𓊪), laid out in a miniature coffin and frequently wrapped in linen cloth and anointed with preservative oils. It is possible that the introduction of this class of figure was associated with the growth of the cult of the mummiform god of the dead, Osiris; but in the earliest examples known specific evidence which would support such a supposition is totally lacking.

Under the name *shawabty* these little mummiform statuettes were destined to enjoy a long and widespread popularity and to pass through several interesting stages of development, intimately linked with the changing attitude of the Egyptian toward his existence in the hereafter. The significance of the name—formerly read by modern scholars as *shabti, ushabti, ushebti,* and otherwise—has been variously explained. Some writers, influenced by an acquired characteristic of the *shawabty*-figure, would associate its name with the ancient verb *wšb,* "answer," "respond." Others see a connection with a word, *šbt,* dubiously translated "labor," "enforced labor." The most convincing explanation is that of Professor Newberry, who derives the name from the word *šwb,* "persea tree," and believes that the figures of this class may originally have been made of persea wood—a suggestion supported by the fact that some of the earliest examples are indeed carved of wood.[6]

The earliest *shawabty* in the Metropolitan Museum, however, is a crude little ★figure of wax, which was found in the surface rubbish of a cemetery of the Herakleopolitan period at Saḳḳāreh. Less than five inches in length and very cursorily modeled, the figure represents an elongated human body in extended position with the legs together and the arms at the sides. Neither the tiny wax image nor the miniature rectangular ★coffin of wood in which it was found are inscribed.

Four similar ★figures (fig. 215), two of wax and two of mud, are among nine found in the tomb

---

[5] *Ancient Egypt,* 1920, p. 67.

[6] *Theban Necropolis,* p. 27.

of Queen Nefru of the Eleventh Dynasty at Deir el Baḥri. One is hardly more than an unformed lump of mud, but the majority are well enough modeled for us to recognize the body of a woman, extended with the arms at the sides, and wearing a long headdress. Two bear short hieratic inscriptions in black ink giving the name of the owner, "Nefru, born of Yaʿḥ." The heads were smeared with resin and the figures wrapped in scraps of linen sheet before being placed in their small rectangular ★coffins. These are of pine, range in length from seven and a quarter to nine and a quarter inches, and are accurate models of the full-size rectangular coffins of the Eleventh Dynasty, such as those of Muyet and Waḥ. One example is carved, or "dug out," of a single block of wood, but the rest are built of planks like their larger prototypes. Several are painted white or yellow, and all bear the eye panel and the usual coffin inscriptions drawn in green paint on the lid and sides of the box.

The ★*shawabty*-coffin of Si-Yaʿḥ, from a tomb in the courtyard of Neb-hepet-Rēʿ's temple at Deir el Baḥri, is similar to those of Queen Nefru, but the crude little ★wax figure which it contained shows some noteworthy changes in form. The arms and legs are no longer shown, and the figure clearly represents, not a nude body, as heretofore, but a fully bandaged mummy, wearing a long headdress and with the limbs concealed under the wrappings. This form, with a few minor variations, remains standard for *shawabty*-figures until their disappearance in Graeco-Roman times. An ink inscription on the front of the statuette gives only the name of Si-Yaʿḥ and that of his father, Reny-oḳre.

In the Twelfth Dynasty the little figures of wax or mud were replaced by fairly large and well-carved mummiform statuettes of wood and stone (fig. 216). The bodies of the wooden figures are painted white to imitate the linen wrappings, the long headdresses are blue, the eyes black, and the broad collars polychrome. An uninscribed painted wooden ★*shawabty* from Mīr is mounted on a rectangular base and probably stood upright in a small shrine-shaped box, like the two found in the tomb of Senebtīsy. The curiously elongated ★mummiform figure of Soneby, also from Mīr, is inscribed on the front with an offering formula invoking Osiris and referring to the dead man as "the one in honor with the Great God."

On a gray granite ★*shawabty* from a tomb at el Lisht the arms, crossed over the breast, are modeled as they would appear under the wrappings. Down the front of this figure is an incised inscription wherein we read: "The one in honor with Osiris, Neb-ʿonekh, justified (with) the Great God, (son of) ʿOnekh." The same type appears again in an uninscribed alabaster ★statuette of unknown provenience. A serpentine ★figure from el Lisht, preserved only from the waist up, wears on its head, not the traditional long wig, but the pointed "shawl" type fashion-

FIGURE 215. *Shawabty*-figures and -coffin of Queen Nefru, from her tomb near the temple of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ Montu-ḥotpe at Deir el Baḥri. L. of coffin 8½ in.







FIGURE 216. *Shawabty*-figures of the Twelfth Dynasty in painted wood and stone. From tombs at Mīr, el Lisht, and Thebes. H. 6-14¼ in.

able during the Twelfth Dynasty. The lower part of a second ★figure in serpentine, also from el Lisht, is inscribed for Khenty-Echtay-ḥotpe, son of Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor; and on the front of a fragmentary ★figure in limestone are the words: "The one in honor with Isis, the goddess, the House Mistress Mer(yet)-sonbe." From Thebes comes an uninscribed ★*shawabty* in some hard, dark stone, with a head too large in proportion to the rest of the figure. A fragmentary ★mummiform statuette in green faience, inscribed in black for the Scribe Si-Ḥapy (?), was found in a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht and appears to be a rare example of Middle Kingdom *shawabty* in this material.

The association of the deceased Egyptian with the god Osiris is suggested in these figures of the Twelfth Dynasty by the Osirian pose, with the arms crossed under the wrappings, and by the prominent part played by the god and by his wife, Isis, in the inscriptions. We may recall that in several instances the similar mummiform figures of the dead on the model funerary ships are addressed by the attendant priests as "Osiris" (p. 271). However that may be, it seems clear that throughout the Eleventh and Twelfth Dy-

nasties the function of the *shawabty* was chiefly to provide an additional dwelling place for the spirit of the dead, deified or otherwise, and to take the place of the mummy in the event that the latter was destroyed.

It was apparently at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty that this conception of the *shawabty* as a substitute for the body was expanded to include the notion that it could also serve in the afterworld as a convenient substitute for the dead man himself, if he were called upon to labor or to perform any onerous or distasteful task. Thus, although the mummiform funerary statuette always retained, in a curious way, the identity of its owner, it came shortly to be little more than a magical servant figure, replacing almost completely the statuettes of real servants so common in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

Magical figures of an altogether different class, which, however, are found in association with burials of the Middle Kingdom and which superficially resemble *shawabtys,* may be conveniently dealt with here. They are in the form of crude little anthropoid tablets of stone or clay and represent persons regarded as enemies of the deceased Egyptian or his king. The majority are inscribed with the names and often with the parentage of specific individuals, who were to be destroyed or whose malevolent power was to be neutralized by burying or breaking the figures representing them. The names include both those of native Egyptians, in almost every case deceased, and those of the princes and peoples of foreign lands—Nubia, Libya, and western Asia. Similar lists of names occur also on numerous fragments of small pottery bowls from a tomb in western Thebes.

In the surface rubbish near the maṣṭabeh of Se'n-Wosret-ᶜankhe at el Lisht was found a group of ninety-six little mud ★tablets, each bearing on its front, below a crudely modeled human face, two or three lines of hieratic inscription written in red ink (fig. 217, right). In most cases the inscription begins with the words, "the deceased, the rebel, . . ." followed by an Egyptian personal name of Middle Kingdom type, such as Iby, Ibu, Idet, Beku, Keku, Tjay, Tjamet, Tjet, Tjetj, and the like. The name in every instance is followed by the sign , a man falling with blood streaming from his head. The same sign is commonly used in the verb "die" and in the word for "enemy." In the midst of the tablets were the fragments of a model ★coffin, also of mud, in which, presumably, one or more of them had been contained (fig. 217, left).

A similar ★tablet of alabaster, with a human head carved at the top, was picked up near the

FIGURE 217. Model coffin and inscribed magical figures of mud. Found near a maṣṭabeh of the early Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. L. of coffin 8½ in.



pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I. Unfortunately, it had been long exposed to the elements, and of the inscription all that remain are faint traces of hieratic signs in black ink.

8. Funerary Stelae of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties

We have followed the development of the tomb stelae in ancient Egypt from Early Dynastic times through the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate period (figs. 25; 53, 60; and 82, 83). We have also studied, because of their historical, biographical, or cultural interest — and sometimes in considerable detail—seven characteristic examples of Middle Kingdom date. These include the Eleventh Dynasty stelae of King Inyōtef II, the Gatekeeper Maʿety, and the Henchman Megegy (figs. 90, 91, and p. 153), the two big panels from the tomb of the Steward Ḥenenu (p. 164), the small limestone tablet of Min-oḳre (fig. 183), and the fine commemorative stela of the Steward Montu-wosre, of the early Twelfth Dynasty, from Abydos (fig. 195).

Among the thirty other stelae of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties in the Museum's collection the majority are of the same simple rectangular type, already well known in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate period (e.g., fig. 83). Five small wooden ★stelae of this form, from tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty at Deir el Baḥri, consist simply of used writing boards (p. 294) covered with gesso and painted with the conventional scene showing the deceased owner standing before a table or pile of offerings and attended by members of his family. The series is characterized by the detailed, provincial style of drawing seen in other Theban works of the period and by the prominence accorded throughout to the funerary god Sokar. On the stela shown in the illustration (fig. 218) the god appears above the offerings, in his customary form, as a falcon perched upon a sacred barque of ancient type. At the left, with hands upraised in an attitude of adoration, stands Neb-seny, the owner of the stela, and beside him his wife, Ḥenenu, in an elaborately patterned dress. Over the heads of the figures is a prayer for offerings, written in cursive hieroglyphs, in which Neb-seny is referred to as "the one in honor with Ptaḥ Sokar." The colors, now somewhat faded, are red, blue, green, yellow, black, and white. On a second board we see Montu-ḥotpe, son of Montu-ḥotpe-ʿankhe, standing with his wife and daughter before a great stack of offerings. Like Min-oḳre, he holds in his left hand a bow and in his right hand a sheaf of arrows. He is served by his son, who has just filled a drinking bowl from a jar on the adjacent rack and is extending it to his father. The inscription above is an offering formula invoking Osiris, "Lord of the Goodly West."

The three other writing-board stelae are from a single tomb. One is decorated and inscribed for a woman named Itĕ-oḳret, whose figure, drawn in thin black outline, occupies most of the left side of the board. She holds in her left hand a tall walking stick, and before her are an offering

FIGURE 218. Writing-board stela of Neb-seny from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes. Painted wood. H. 22½ in.



table, loaves of bread, jugs of beer, three unguent jars, and a mirror in a case. On the right, above a heap of offerings, are four columns of cursive hieroglyphic text comprising prayers for offerings addressed to Osiris and Anubis. Above is the god Sokar in his barque and to the left the words: "There comes one who is Sokar. There has come Itĕ as Sokar. There has been given to her justification by Sokar, Lord of Shetyet." The same formula is repeated in behalf of a man named Ḥotpy, whose small figure and prayer for offerings have been inserted under the woman's outstretched arm. The two other stelae, represented by fragments only, also bear repetitions of the Sokar formula, written for two women, Nebyōtefy and Itĕ-sonbe.

The form, composition, and style seen in the writing boards appear on three rectangular ★stelae of painted limestone, also from western Thebes. In one of these, from a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty near the temple of King Nebḥepet-Rēᶜ, the rectangular field is almost entirely taken up by the standing figure of the owner, a man with close-cropped hair, dressed in a short kilt and holding in his hands a staff and scepter. In the upper right-hand corner are a few food offerings—a cucumber, a bunch of leeks, a leg of beef, and two beer jars—and, in the painted border at the top of the slab, the remains of a horizontal line of inscription, half carved, half written in black ink. At the beginning we can make out the words: "Invocation, consisting of bread and beer, beef and fowl, alabaster and linen . . .," but the rest, with the name of the owner, is too faded to be any longer legible. Both the figure and the offerings are outlined in black and very lightly incised in the surface of the stone.

The two other stelae are from adjacent tombs in the lower ᶜAsāsīf valley, several hundred yards east of Deir el Baḥri. One, carved in low relief and brilliantly colored (fig. 219), shows Dedu, son of Sony, attended by his wife, Sit-Sobk, standing before a pile of offerings. The man is appropriately equipped with a quarterstaff and curved club (cf. fig. 181), the woman with a mirror which she holds in her right hand. The incised inscriptions above are dedications of the couple to Ptaḥ Sokar and to Ḥat-Ḥor, respectively. The second stela is not carved, but merely painted with the figures of two men standing one behind the other, each carrying a knobbed walking stick and a curved club. From the offering formula written over their heads we learn that the man on the right is In-yōtef, son of Sony and perhaps a brother of Dedu, and his companion, Ny-su-Montu, son of Iy. Positive evidence of date is lacking, but the style, proportions, and accessories of the figures on both stelae are altogether characteristic of middle-class Theban art of the Eleventh Dynasty.

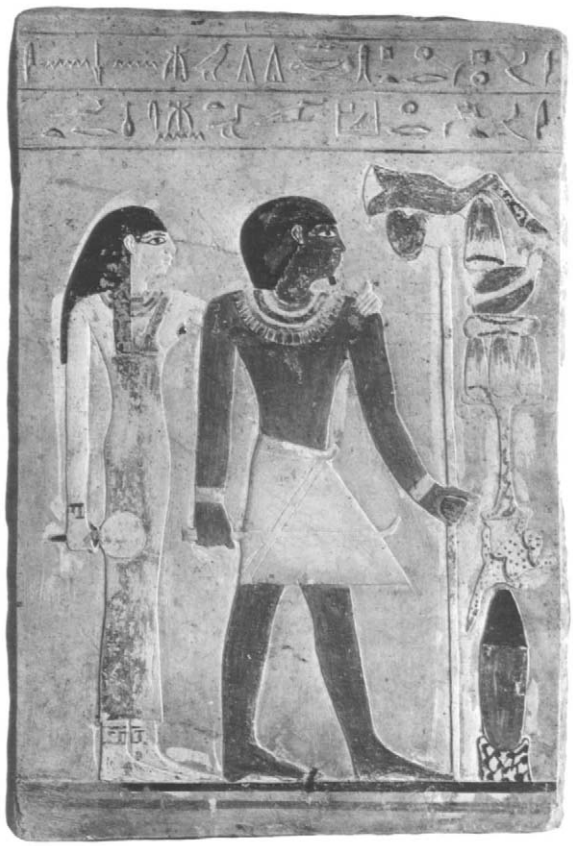


FIGURE 219. Painted limestone stela of Dedu and his wife, Sit-Sobk. From Thebes. Probably Eleventh Dynasty. H. 15 in.

The continuation at Dendereh of a local style of relief sculpture established in the First Inter-



FIGURE 220. Painted limestone stela of Nakhte, probably from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty in the vicinity of Thebes. H. 13½ in.

mediate period is apparent in two small limestone ★stelae from this site, dated by Sir Flinders Petrie to the Eleventh Dynasty. In both, the figures are carved in relatively bold relief, the inscriptions and offerings incised. On one we see the heavy, thickset figure of the lady Senet-tekh standing at the left of the rectangular slab and receiving a drinking cup from a small male figure placed high up in the panel. Behind the lady are a mirror in a case and a chest with a vaulted lid. "Anubis, Who-is-on-his-mountain," is invoked in the short offering formula at the top of the right half of the stela, and below are tiers of food offerings. Like many of her contemporaries, Senet-tekh is referred to in the text as a "Familiar of the King." The other stela, which is fragmentary, is from the tomb of the Chancellor In-yōtef, and on it we see this dignitary and his wife standing side by side before their offerings, while a small figure in front of them bends over to prepare the offering tray. The figures, especially that of the woman, are of the angular, attenuated form usually confined at Dendereh to work in *relief en creux*. Down the right edge of the panel are two columns of inscription in which offerings are called forth on the occasions of the six great festivals for "the one in honor with the Great God, In-yōtef."

From a tomb at el Lisht comes an interesting little ★stela of limestone, carved and painted for a woman named Sit-Ḥor-mery. On the lower half of the small rectangular slab the owner appears, standing behind a small offering table and holding to her nose a gigantic lotus flower. Above is a solid mass of food offerings, extending to the top and side edges of the stone. The style of the delicate, low relief is wholly characteristic of the early Twelfth Dynasty. The incised inscription calls upon Osiris to "give water, beer, bread, beef, fowl, alabaster, and linen in thousands to Sit-Ḥor-mery."

The brightly painted limestone ★stela of Nakhte (fig. 220), probably from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty in the neighborhood of Thebes, is of the old palace-façade type, framed by a torus molding and crowned by a cavetto cornice in high relief. In a panel over the recessed false door the deceased owner is seen smelling a lotus flower while seated at his funerary banquet. Across the top and down the left side runs an offering formula addressed to Osiris, Lord of Busiris and Abydos. On the right we read: "One pure of hand and glad of foot, presenting the *ku* with that which it desires, the one in honor, Nakhte." On the front of the cornice are scratched the words: "I was one truly beloved of his lord . . ., the one in honor, Nakhte, justified."

The ★stela of To, son of Senu, from a tomb near the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht, shows a common modification of the architectural type. Here the torus molding and the cavetto cornice are retained, but the space so framed is treated like an ordinary rectangular stela with

figures and inscriptions distributed over the field (cf. fig. 222). In the upper of the two registers To sits behind his offering table smelling a flower, while his wife, ʿAndyet, kneels facing him on the other side of the table, with one hand to her breast. The offering formula above invokes Ptaḥ Sokar. Below, a daughter of the couple, named Yufu, and her husband, Ptaḥ-wēr, son of Gifet, kneel on either side of a second table of offering. The figures and accessories are carved in relief, the inscriptions incised. Both the style of the work and the personal names point to a date in the Twelfth Dynasty.

The upper left-hand ★corner of a similar stela, also from el Lisht, preserves parts of three horizontal lines of incised inscription with sections of an offering formula addressed to [Ptaḥ] Sokar Osiris, Lord of ʿOnekh-towy, in behalf of the House Mistress Iny. ★Fragments of two painted stelae of the same type, with parts of figures, offerings, and inscriptions, are from tombs adjacent to those of To and Iny.

In discussing the maṣṭabeh reliefs of the Treasurer Reḥu-er-djēr-sen, a favored official of the court of King Amun-em-ḥēt I, we have had occasion to mention a small ★stela erected in his behalf near the shrine of Osiris at Abydos (p. 177). This monument (fig. 221), purchased by the Museum in 1912, is a narrow, rectangular slab of fine white limestone with a rounded top—a type which became popular during the Middle Kingdom and is extremely common thereafter. It is distinguished by the crisp delicacy with which it is carved and the gemlike detail displayed in the tiny figures, executed in *relief en creux*. Behind a stone table, stacked with half loaves of bread and duly labeled "offering table," sits Reḥu-er-djēr-sen, his left hand, grasping a handkerchief, held to his breast, his right hand extended toward the offerings. Below the table is a tall libation vase, and above is listed a thousand each of bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster, and linen. At the right the donor of the stela, the Lector Priest Heḳa-yōtef, brings up a live goose, and by the legs of this man is a brief label which tells us "It is his brother." At the top of the stela we read: "An offering which the King gives (to) Osiris, Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, that he may give invocation, consisting of bread and beer, beef and fowl, alabaster and linen, and every good thing to the Hereditary Prince and Count, Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Overseer of the Double House of Silver, Overseer of the Double House of Gold, Privy Councilor of the King in his every place,

FIGURE 221. Stela of the Treasurer Reḥu-er-djēr-sen from Abydos. Reign of King Amun-em-ḥēt I of the Twelfth Dynasty. H. 18 in.



the Chancellor Reḥu-er-djēr-sen, engendered of Ḥapy, justified." The rest of the stela is taken up with a roster of Reḥu-er-djēr-sen's extensive family, all of whom, presumably, were to share with him the benefits of being named on a monument at Abydos. Listed are his mother, ᶜAnkh-Mūt, his brothers Ipy, Khenty-echtay-ḥotpe, and S'en-Wosret, and their wives and children. From the data provided here and on the reliefs from el Lisht it is possible to draw up a genealogy of the family covering a period of almost a century, from the late Eleventh Dynasty to a point well down in the middle of the Twelfth.

A handsome ★stela of limestone with a rounded top is carved in sunk relief with the figures of a high Theban official and his brother, shown standing face to face, with hands upraised, on either side of a well-stocked table of offerings. Much of the right side of the stela, with the name of the owner, is missing, but the seven lines of inscription above the heads of the figures are largely taken up with his long and impressive list of titles. These include "Hereditary Prince, . . . Leader of all who wear the *shendyet*-kilt, Privy Councilor of . . . within the Palace, . . . Overseer of the Double Granary, Confidant of the King in all works. . . ." The left half of the last two lines gives the titles and name of "his beloved brother, the Hereditary Prince and Count, one in honor with the King, the Overseer of the Audience Hall Dedu-Sobk." The cemetery at Thebes in which the stela was found is composed chiefly of tombs of the late Middle Kingdom, and it is probable that, in spite of its excellent style, the monument is to be dated to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, perhaps even to the early years of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Although found in an adjacent tomb and presumably of the same general date, an interesting little ★stela of painted limestone dedicated to two women (fig. 222) is not only of different type but of vastly inferior style and quality of workmanship. Framed by a torus molding and surmounted by a banded cavetto are five lines of incised hieroglyphic text and a scene showing two women and two young girls grouped about a table of offerings. The persons named in the principal inscription, an offering formula invoking the god Osiris, are In-yōtef-ᶜankhe, daughter of Ḥedjeret and Nefer-tekh, and Meswet-netret-tekh, daughter of Dedyet-Nūb. Those represented in the scene below are, from left to right, Dedyet-Nūb; her youngest daughter, Seresu (?); another daughter, Ta-net-Tekh-nefer; and a young woman named Sit-An-ḥuret. Sit-An-ḥuret and Ta-net-Tekh-nefer hold lotus flowers before their faces, and the latter and her younger sister wear the braided side lock of youth.

It has been customary to assign rough little stelae of this class to periods of artistic decadence, and in many cases this is undoubtedly justifiable. On the other hand, it is clear that, even during those years when the sculptors and painters of the court reached the peaks of artistic and technical achievement, there were many untrained, provincial craftsmen who continued to supply the rank and file of Egyptians with monuments quite as crude and quite as styleless as those produced during less prosperous times. To this category belong seven small stelae, probably all of the Twelfth Dynasty, from Thebes, el Lisht, and other sites.

The rectangular limestone ★stela of Ḥotpy, son of Sit-Ishtek, is so completely lacking in style that it might easily be classed as a forgery, were it not for the fact that it was found by the Museum's Expedition in a tomb of the early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes. Even cruder is a sandstone ★slab, said to be from Gebelein, with the figures of Amun-em-ḥēt and his father, Yōtef-ᶜankhe, standing face to face below a raggedly cut offering formula to Osiris. A small round-topped ★tablet of limestone calls upon the earth god Gēb to provide offerings for the Inspector of Henchmen Montusu, son of Amūny, who is shown, with his sister, Renes-sonbe, beside a table laden with food. The Chamberlain Sony-Bebu appears on a rough ★slab of basalt, standing before his master, the Keeper of the Palace Seᶜankh-Ptaḥ, son of Amūny, in whose honor he caused the crude little

monument to be made. The name of Sony-Bebu's brother, Se'n-Wosret, points to a date in the Twelfth Dynasty. The stela was found near the copper mines at Serabit el Khadim, in Sinai.[7]

The lower half of a coarsely executed ★stela of limestone was found in position on a brick altar near the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht. It is framed by a torus molding and preserves the figures of a man and his wife seated at their funerary banquet. The remains of an interesting dedicatory inscription tell how the owner's "dearly beloved brother, the Attendant of the Poultry (?) House, Montu-ḥotpe, made (it) for him in order to perpetuate his name each day and to cause him to be remembered in the speech of men forever and ever." Also from the northern cemetery at el Lisht is a rectangular ★tablet of limestone, eight inches high, on which are painted the figures of a man and woman standing on either side of a small heap of offerings. The names, roughly scrawled near the heads of the figures, are not legible. A small tomb ★stela from a cemetery of the Twelfth Dynasty at Deir el Baḥri consists simply of an irregular piece of limestone with one flat, oblong surface on which a village craftsman has painted the figures of a Theban, In-yōtef, son of Ḥenyet, and his wife, Dedyet-Amūn, seated side by side behind a table of offerings. At the left of this unpretentious but rather charming little scene a son of the couple is bringing up a bunch of lotus flowers to add to the pile of offerings on the table.

Among the numerous inscribed fragments of stone recovered by the Museum's Expedition from Middle Kingdom tombs at el Lisht is a carved and painted slab of limestone which once formed the ★roof of a small shrine. The front edge of the slab is shaped to form a cavetto cornice and is inscribed with appeals for prayers and offerings addressed to those "who live on Earth." The underside—the ceiling of the shrine—is carved with four-pointed rosettes, evidently intended to represent stars, and carries down the middle a column of inscription wherein we read:

[7] Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 170.

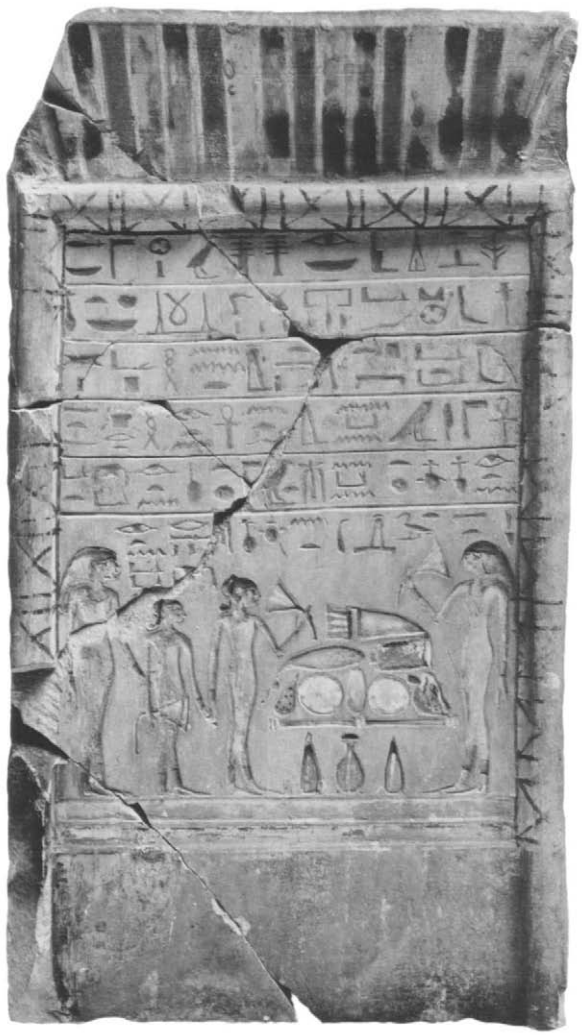


FIGURE 222. Painted limestone stela dedicated to two women of the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty. From Thebes. H. 19 in.

"The one in honor with the Great God, Lord of Heaven, the *Wēᶜb*-priest of the King, Si-nēb, justified, possessor of honor."

9. Offering Tables and Related Objects

In addition to the pottery offering trays discussed on pages 255 f., the tombs of the Middle Kingdom were equipped with stone offering tables, which usually conform to one of two traditional types.



FIGURE 223. Limestone offering table from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at er Riḳḳeh. H. 17½ in.

The circular table mounted on a single columnar stand (𓏏) goes back in origin to the earliest dynasties and is represented literally thousands of times in tomb and temple reliefs of every period of Egyptian history. After the Old Kingdom, however, actual examples are relatively rare, and especial interest therefore attaches to a big limestone ★table of this type from a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at er Riḳḳeh (fig. 223). A foot and a half high and over two feet in diameter, the table is made in two parts, the heavy disk-shaped top and the tall stand with gracefully incurved sides. A small model of a similar ★table from a tomb at el Lisht is of green faience, adorned above and below with lotus flowers drawn in black outline. From a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes comes a ★stand of pottery of the same general form, made in one piece of a soft brown ware and whitewashed on the exterior, probably in imitation of stone.

Far more numerous are the examples of the other common type of offering table—the low, rectangular slab, fitted with a short spout and sometimes mounted on four stubby legs. As we have seen, this form of table was frequently placed immediately in front of the tomb stela, or false door, and could range in size from a small slab, like that of Seḥetep-tēwy (p. 214), to a huge block of stone, like the granite altar of King Amun-em-ḥēt I. The upper surface is almost always carved in relief with the loaf and mat (𓏤) and with representations of other offerings and is often provided with rectangular basins and channels for libations of wine, beer, or water (pp. 116, 175, 177).

Eleven such ★tables in the Museum's collection are from private tombs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Thebes, el Lisht, and Deir Rifeh. The smallest is a little tablet of black granite bearing an offering formula to Osiris in behalf of the House Mistress Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor, daughter of the House Mistress Amūny. Among the other examples, all of limestone, is one which was jointly owned by a man named Nefer-seḥwy and a woman named Id (fig. 224), and its top is divided into two equal parts, inscribed with their respective names and parentages. Descended from a common grandmother, also named Id, the couple were first cousins—and probably husband and wife. A little rectangular table without a spout is roughdressed on the back and was evidently meant to be inset into a brick or stone surface. The top is carved with two deep

FIGURE 224. Limestone offering slab of Nefer-seḥwy and Id. From a Middle Kingdom tomb at Deir Rifeh. L. 13½ in.

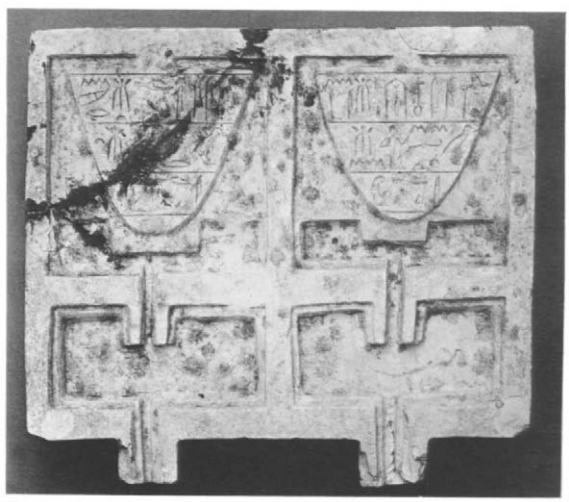




FIGURE 225. Faience models of food offerings from tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty at el Lisht. L. of plaque 6½ in.

rectangular basins and has at the center an inlaid plaque of alabaster with the name of the owner, Nefret. Small hieroglyphic inscriptions, which frame both the table itself and each of the basins, are composed entirely of the names of offerings, evidently drawn from a tabulated list of the type common in chapel reliefs from the Old Kingdom onward. A four-legged table without inscription, found by the Museum's Expedition in a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes, is described by Winlock as follows: "In this case the altar was a low limestone table with three rectangular basins connected by little conduits and draining off through a spout in front. Into these basins were to be poured libations of water and wine to quench the thirst and warm the heart of the dead, and in this instance the departed's trust in his family was well placed—for a while at least. Wine had been poured into these basins, and, as the wine had gone sour it had corroded the stone until the surface was all rough and pitted."[8]

An alabaster ★tablet with seven little circular basins for drops of the "Seven Sacred Oils" is inscribed for "the Sole Companion Djefay-Ḥaᶜpy." Although the tablet itself differs in no respect from those found in tombs of the Old Kingdom, the name of its owner is not common before the Twelfth Dynasty, when it is well known, especially in the neighborhood of Asyūt. The exact provenience of the tablet is not recorded, but it was purchased at Luxor and is almost certainly from Upper Egypt.

Hieratic inscriptions written in black ink on the sides of six small ★pottery jars from Tūneh el Gebel are repetitions of an offering formula to Osiris in behalf of a woman named Senet-Mēnet, daughter of Senet-Udōt. Four of the jars are provided with covers of Nile mud or pottery, inscribed in black or red ink with the name of the owner and her mother and once held in place by cords passed through the holes at their centers and in the rims of the jars. Both the handwriting of the inscriptions and the types of the jars, with the curious scrabbled decoration, are characteristic of the Eleventh Dynasty. There can be little doubt that the jars are from a tomb and that at one time they contained offerings to the dead.

Faience models of ★food offerings (fig. 225), especially fruits and vegetables, were found at el Lisht in tombs surrounding the pyramid of King Amun-em-ḥēt I and that of his son, King Se'n-Wosret I. They were frequently laid out on rectangular tiles of blue faience, which served as miniature offering slabs, and accompanied by models of jars and bowls and by the little

[8] *Excavations at Deir el Baḥri*, p. 206.

faience figures of servants and animals described in Chapter XII. In the models illustrated we can recognize—without too great difficulty—several cucumbers, a bunch of grapes, figs, grains of corn, and a helical shell, probably of some edible sea snail from the Red Sea coast.

XVI. THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

Kings of the Late Middle Kingdom

DYNASTY XIII (THEBAN) 1778-1625 B.C. (SELECTED KINGS)

1.	Sekhem-Rēᶜ Khu-towy Amun-em-ḥēt Sobk-ḥotpe I*	5 + years	
2.	Sekhem-ku-Rēᶜ Amun-em-ḥēt Sonebef*	3 + years	
4.	Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ (II) Amun-em-ḥēt* (about 1762-1761 B.C.)	1 year	
6.	Seᶜankh-yeb-Rēᶜ Amūny In-yōtef Amun-em-ḥēt*		
11.	Sobk-ḥotpe II, son of Montu-ḥotpe*	2 + years	
13.	Au-yeb-Rēᶜ Hor		9 months
14.	Sedjefa-ku-Rēᶜ Kuy Amun-em-ḥet*		
15.	Khu-towy-Rēᶜ Wegaf	2 years	4 months
	Senefer-yeb-Rēᶜ Se'n-Wosret IV		
16.	Woser-ku-Rēᶜ Khendjer I*	4 + years	
17.	Semenkh-ku-Rēᶜ, "the General"	3 + years	
18.	Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ*		
?	Ny-khaᶜ-ny-maᶜet-Rēᶜ Khendjer II*		
20.	Sekhem-Rēᶜ Sewadj-towy Sobk-ḥotpe III*	3 years	2 months
21.	Khaᶜ-sekhem-Rēᶜ Nefer-ḥotep* (about 1740-1729 B.C.)	11 years	
23.	Khaᶜ-nefer-Rēᶜ Sobk-ḥotpe IV*		
24.	Khaᶜ-ḥetep-Rēᶜ Sobk-ḥotpe V*	5 years	9 months
25.	Waḥ-yeb-Rēᶜ Yaᶜ-yeby*	10 years	9 months
26.	Mer-nefer-Rēᶜ Iy*	13 years	9 months
36.	Djed-nefer-Rēᶜ Dudy-mosĕ I (about 1675 B.C.)		
?	Neb-djed-Rēᶜ*		
?	Nefer-ᶜonekh-Rēᶜ*		
?	Nefer-kheper-Rēᶜ*		
52.	Neḥāsy*	1 year	5 months
54.	Neb-fau-Rēᶜ		

DYNASTY XIV (XOÏTE) 1778-1594 B.C.

76 kings, who reigned together 184 years, according to the Africanus version of Manetho. 72 of their names are preserved in part in the Turin Papyrus. Few monuments.

*Seals or other monuments in the Metropolitan Museum.

XVI. The Decline and Fall of the Middle Kingdom

1. The Thirteenth Dynasty

IN THE LIGHT of the discoveries of recent years the old conception of the century which followed the end of the Twelfth Dynasty as an era of political chaos and cultural collapse has had to be extensively revised. From their number, the brevity of their reigns, and the evidently frequent interruptions in the dynastic succession it is clear that the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty were neither as strong nor as wise as their predecessors of the Twelfth Dynasty. Moreover, it is certainly true that the instability of the royal succession had a detrimental effect on the prosperity of the country and on the standards demanded of and maintained by its artists and craftsmen. On the other hand, it is evident that, barring intrigues within the palace, the power of a single central government continued to be respected throughout most of Egypt itself, royal building activities and other public enterprises were carried on in both the north and the south, and, until late in the eighteenth century B.C., Egyptian prestige in Palestine and Syria remained largely unshaken.

Like their predecessors of the Twelfth Dynasty most of the members of the new royal house appear to have been Thebans, related perhaps by blood or by marriage to the rulers whom they succeeded. Their works at Deir el Baḥri, Karnak, Medamūd, and Ṭōd show a continued devotion to the Thebaid and its gods, and many of their personal names — Amun-em-ḥēt, Montu-ḥotpe, Nefer-ḥotep, In-yōtef—are of pure Theban type. The seat of government, however, remained, as before, in the region of Memphis, and the palace and fortified city of It-towy, near el Lisht, continued in use as a residence of the kings. One of two small pyramids of the Thirteenth Dynasty at South Saḳḳāreh was prepared for the burial of King Woser-ku-Rēᶜ Khendjer I and it is probable that the remains of two others, at Mazghūneh, belong to this period, rather than to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, as was previously thought.

An inheritance from the Twelfth Dynasty was the extremely popular and widespread cult of the crocodile god Sobk. During the Thirteenth Dynasty personal names compounded with that of the god became increasingly common, and the name Sobk-ḥotpe ("Sobk-is-content") was borne by no less than six of its kings. Especially popular was the form of the god worshiped at Sumenu in southern Upper Egypt. Other kings' names, such as that of Wegaf, were previously unknown, and it is probable that their owners were usurpers, rather than legitimate heirs to the throne.

In the Museum's collection, as in many others, the kings and other royal personages of the Thirteenth Dynasty are represented chiefly by a series of cylinder and scarab-shaped seals of glazed

steatite (fig. 226). In addition to the names, titles, and indications of family relationships which they bear, those of known provenience are of especial interest as indicating the geographical spheres of influence of the respective rulers and the localities in which their names carried the weight of royal authority.

Sekhem-Rēᶜ Khu-towy Amun-em-ḥēt Sobk-ḥotpe (I), the founder of the dynasty, is represented by two small monuments, both ★cylinder seals, preserving in one instance his two personal names and in the other his throne name, accompanied by the epithet "beloved of Sobk, Lord of Sumenu." A large and well-cut ★cylinder seal from Miᶜalleh, in southern Upper Egypt, gives the full titulary of his successor: "The Horus Meḥ-yeb-towy, He-of-the-Two-Goddesses, Ity-sekhemef, the Good God, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekhem-ku-Rēᶜ, Son of Rēᶜ, of his body, Amun-em-ḥēt Sonebef, given life, stability, and well-being, like Rēᶜ, forever."

A famous ★cylinder seal of lapis lazuli, formerly in the Carnarvon collection, is inscribed in hieroglyphic characters for the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ (II), beloved of Ḥat-Ḥor, Mistress of Byblos," and in cuneiform script for Prince Yakin-ilum of Byblos, a Canaanite "servant," or "officer," of the king of Egypt. This Yakin-ilum has been identified as the father of Prince Yantin (Jonathan), who is represented on a relief, found at Byblos, in the presence of one of Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ's best-known successors, King Khaᶜ-sekhem-Rēᶜ Nefer-ḥotep.

The sixth king of the dynasty, "the Good God, Seᶜankh-yeb-Rēᶜ," is named on a glazed steatite ★cylinder seal as "one beloved of Sobk, Lord of Sumenu," and a ★scarab of the same material bears the name of the second Sobk-ḥotpe, evidently a man of nonroyal descent, who calls himself simply "the son of Montu-ḥotpe."

A ★cylinder seal and a ★scarab of Kuy Amun-em-ḥēt give, respectively, his Horus name, Ḥery-tep-towy, followed by the ever-present assurance of the esteem of Sobk of Sumenu, and his throne name as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sedjefa-ku-Rēᶜ.

There appear to have been two kings with the un-Egyptian personal name Khendjer, one of whom is named in monumental hieroglyphs on a fragment of architectural ★tile of blue faience found at el Lisht near the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I. Since the fragment preserves only the lower part of the cartouche with the king's personal name, there is no way of knowing whether we have to do with Woser-ku-Rēᶜ Khendjer, the owner of the pyramid at South Saḳḳāreh, or with Ny-khaᶜ-ny-maᶜet-Rēᶜ Khendjer, mentioned on two stelae from Abydos now in the Louvre. The unmistakable praenomen of the latter occurs on a ★scarab of glazed steatite side by side with that of a King Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, whom it is tempting to identify with the "[Senefer?]-ku-Rēᶜ," listed in the Turin Papyrus next but one after Khendjer I. A second ★scarab of Thirteenth Dynasty type with the name of the same king, again written "Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ," leads one to suppose that this is the correct form of the name.

We come now to the three most substantial and extensively documented rulers of the dynasty—Sobk-ḥotpe III and the brothers, Nefer-ḥotep and Sobk-ḥotpe IV.

The elaborate legends on four steatite ★scarabs and two mud ★sealings give the names of "the Good God, Sekhem-Rēᶜ Sewadj-towy Sobk-ḥotpe (III), (May he live forever!)," accompanied in one case by the name of his father, "the Father of the God, Montu-ḥotpe," and in four instances by that of his mother, "the King's Mother, Yuḥet-yebu." Two of the scarabs were found in the surface rubbish near the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht, and both sealings are from offerings brought to the mortuary temple of Se'n-Wosret I (see p. 191). The king's Horus name, Khu-towy, is preserved on a steatite ★cylinder seal of unknown provenience, with the accompanying epithet, "beloved of Sobk, Lord of Sumenu."

The names of King Khaᶜ-sekhem-Rēᶜ Nefer-ḥotep, known from Nubia to Byblos, appear on



FIGURE 226. Cylinder seals and scarabs with the names of kings, queens, princes, and princesses of the Thirteenth Dynasty. L. ½-2 in.

three ★scarabs similar in style to those of Sobk-ḥotpe III. On one scarab the praenomen, Khaᶜ-sekhem-Rēᶜ, is followed by the phrase engendered of the Father of the God, Ḥa-ᶜankhef." On the two others the nomen, or personal name, Nefer-ḥotep, is used, and the "King's Mother, Kemy," is mentioned. One of the latter scarabs is from el Lisht, and there, also, was found a large *shawabty*-figure of Prince Waḥ-Nefer-ḥotep, perhaps a son of the king (see pp. 349, 350).

Ten altogether similar ★scarabs, including three from el Lisht, are inscribed for King Khaᶜ-nefer-Rēᶜ Sobk-ḥotpe (IV). The names of the royal parents, Ḥa-ᶜankhef and Kemy, preserved on these scarabs and on many other monuments of this reign make it clear that Sobk-ḥotpe IV was a younger brother of Nefer-ḥotep. He was not, however, his direct successor, for, according to the Turin Papyrus, a king named Si-Ḥat-Ḥor ruled Egypt for a few months between the reigns of the two brothers. On a ★cylinder seal, formerly in the Murch collection and probably from the Fayyūm, "the Good God, Khaᶜ-nefer-Rēᶜ" is called "one beloved of Sobk, the Shedetite, and Horus, who is in the midst of Shedet." The ancient city of Shedet, near the modern Medīnet el Fayyūm, we may remember as one of the principal north Egyptian cult centers of the crocodile god and his son, Horus the Elder. It is surprising to find that the name of Sobk-ḥotpe IV occurs al-

most as frequently on ★scarabs of the New Kingdom and the Late Dynastic period as do those of the great pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty. Nine of eleven such scarabs in the Museum's collection bear both the praenomen Khaᶜ-nefer-Rēᶜ and the personal name Sobk-ḥotpe, leaving no doubt as to the identity of the king commemorated in this manner centuries after the time of his death.

From el Lisht come a ★scarab with the name of King Khaᶜ-ḥetep-Rēᶜ (Sobk-ḥotpe V) and a large spherical ★bead of glazed steatite inscribed for "the Good God, Waḥ-yeb-Rēᶜ (Yaᶜ-yeby), beloved of Sobk, Lord of Sumenu." A ★cylinder seal and three almost identical ★scarabs bear the throne name of King Mer-nefer-Rēᶜ Iy, whose reign of nearly fourteen years—the longest recorded for the dynasty—produced few monuments of any other type.

Neḥāsy, listed in the Turin Papyrus among the last rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty, was probably a vassal of the Hyksos conquerors of Egypt. As the King's Son Neḥāsy, he is named on an obelisk from Avaris, the modern Ṣān el Ḥagar, and as "the King's Eldest Son, Neḥāsy," on a paste ★scarab in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 226, bottom row).

Other kings of the period whose names are preserved on ★scarabs in the Metropolitan Museum and elsewhere, but who are not listed in the Turin Papyrus, include Neb-djed-Rēᶜ (three scarabs, one with the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt"), Nefer-ᶜonekh-Rēᶜ, Nefer-kheper-Rēᶜ, and Khaᶜ-neferwy-Rēᶜ (= Khaᶜ-nefer-Rēᶜ Sobk-ḥotpe IV ?). In addition, there are nine ★scarabs, mostly of the New Kingdom and later, which carry only the personal name Sobk-ḥotpe.

A ★scarab purchased in Luxor is inscribed for "the Son of Rēᶜ, Sobk-ḥotpe, born of the King's Mother, Nūb-ḥetepty," and the name of a Queen Nūb-ḥetepty, written within a cartouche, occurs on two similar ★scarabs, accompanied by the titles "King's Mother," "King's Wife," and "King's Great Wife, She-who-is-united-to-the-White-Crown." Three ★scarabs honor the "King's Great Wife, Iny," whose name also is enclosed in a cartouche. The King's Wife, Sit-Sobk, and the King's Mother, Iy, are represented by one ★scarab each, and five other ★scarabs name the Kings' Sons Rou, Ruy, and Sobk-hotpe (two examples) and the King's Daughter Erdyetny-Ptaḥ. Although most of these royal persons are known from monuments in other collections and are listed in Gauthier's *Livre des rois d'Égypte,* their identities and their relationships to specific kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty still remain matters of conjecture.

2. Stelae, Coffins, and Other Works of Art and Craftsmanship Produced during the Thirteenth Dynasty

By and large, the art of the Thirteenth Dynasty represents nothing more than the attempt on the part of uninspired and inadequately trained craftsmen to reproduce the monuments and perpetuate the artistic traditions of the Middle Kingdom. Creditable imitations of the buildings, statues, and reliefs of the Twelfth Dynasty were produced by the ateliers attached to the courts of the ephemeral kings; but lesser patrons of the arts had to content themselves with work which at best was perfunctory and often downright bad. As in every period of artistic decadence, little true originality was exhibited, innovations consisting chiefly of the fussy elaboration of the classic models and the attempt to conceal, by means of a rather cheap gaudiness, the often deplorable lack of technical ability.

The decline already apparent under Amun-em-ḥēt IV and Sobk-nefru, was probably not accentuated immediately by the accession of King Sobk-ḥotpe I and his earliest successors, and culturally the transition from the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Dynasty must have been almost imperceptible. For this reason we have included in our chapters on the daily life of the Middle Kingdom many small objects of a utilitarian nature which were certainly made during the Thirteenth Dynasty but which differ in no essential respect from those produced during the two preceding

centuries. Now, however, we come to several groups of monuments which not only are typical of the Thirteenth Dynasty but, stylistically and iconographically, are characteristic of no other period in Egyptian history.

Six small tomb stelae from Upper Egypt conform, with little variation, to a type especially common in the late Middle Kingdom (fig. 227). They are without exception small, rather thick slabs of limestone, rounded at the top and displaying in the lunette so formed a pair of large *wedjat*-eyes, grouped on either side of the ☥-symbol. The human figures, usually executed in *relief en creux,* tend to be small and subordinated in the compositions to the inscriptions, which are invariably incised. All were once painted in a few simple, primary colors—blue, red, black, and white—applied in a wholly conventional manner. The ☥-signs were blue with red centers, the eyes black and white with blue appendages, the inscriptions almost always a monochrome blue, and the flesh of the male figures red. The workmanship ranges from mediocre to poor and the style from a reasonably close approximation of the classic forms of the Twelfth Dynasty to the crude efforts of provincial craftsmen left more or less to their own devices.

Stylistically the best of the series in a ★stela from Abydos (fig. 227, upper left), inscribed with a long and interesting hymn to the god Mīn, here, as frequently, merged with his fellow divinity Horus and identified as the son of Osiris. "Adoration of Mīn," says the text of the stela, "by the Hereditary Prince and Count, Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Overseer of a Department (?), Khonsu, repeating life. He says: 'Homage to thee, Min Ḥor-nakhte, Lord of Strength, who came forth from Chemmis, justified in the Double Plume!' " The hymn, which is known from other stelae of this period in the Cairo Museum, proceeds to tell how Min Horus overthrows his enemies and those of his father, Osiris, and ends with a prayer to the god to grant food offerings, services, and benefits in the hereafter to the owner of the stela, Khonsu, born of Idy. The figure of Khonsu, seen standing at the right, is not well proportioned, but is handled with assurance and sophistication, and the treatment of the long, transparent outer skirt is both ingenious and successful. The prominent hieroglyphic label "Adoring the God four times," carved before the face of the figure, is seen also on a royal stela in the Louvre, which is similar in form, subject matter, and style to the present example and which shows the daughters of King Sobk-ḥotpe III standing in adoration before the god Min Ḥor-nakhte.

The ★stela of the Scribe of the Ḥarīm Sonebḥenaᶜef, son of the Vizier Yaᶜ-yeby, is from a small cemetery of the late Middle Kingdom at Deir el Baḥri (fig. 227, upper center). The inscription, an offering formula invoking Osiris, is fairly well cut, but there is a curious lack of either style or spirit in the angular little figure of the owner seen seated at his funerary feast. The monument was dedicated by a brother of the deceased scribe, a "Controller of the Broad Hall," also named Soneb-ḥenaᶜef. The Vizier, Yaᶜ-yeby, father of the two brothers, is known from a statuette now in Bologna, and perhaps is the man who became King Waḥ-yeb-Rēᶜ Yaᶜ-yeby, the successor of Sobk-ḥotpe V.

From the same cemetery comes the small and crudely executed ★stela of Neb-iry-er-au, an Overseer of the Fields and Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt (fig. 227, lower left). The offering formula calls, not upon Osiris or Anubis, but upon the god of Thebes, Amun Rēᶜ, Lord of Karnak, to grant the usual funerary offering. The owner of the stela, seated at the left holding a jar of scented ointment to his nose, is clad in the same long, transparent overskirt worn by Khonsu, above. His housekeeper, Neb-iry-er-au-emḥeswet, offers him a rather meager little jug and a conical loaf of bread. We may note in passing the near identity of the names to that of King Sewadj-en-Rēᶜ Neb-iry-er-awet of the Sixteenth Dynasty.

On a very similar ★stela from a tomb in the temple precinct of Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ Montu-ḥotpe (fig. 227, lower center), we see the Elder of the



FIGURE 227. Private tomb stelae of the Thirteenth Dynasty from Abydos, Thebes, and Hierakonpolis. Painted limestone. H. 9½-16 in.

Portal Si-Amūn standing between his mother (?) and father (?)—three ill-proportioned little figures with curious birdlike faces. The inscription, an offering formula to Osiris, tells us that Si-Amūn's father was a Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt named Amun-ḥotpe and his mother the House Mistress Ḥanu.

The same style—or lack of it—appears in a limestone ★stela of unknown provenience, formerly in the Amherst collection (fig. 227, upper right). The owner, Res, son of the Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt Au-res, is apparently the standing figure at the right. Facing him are a small, misshapen male figure, labeled Amun-khuf, and a beaky female, called "the Maidservant of the Prince, To." The inscription, an offering formula invoking Ptaḥ Sokar Osiris, states that the stela was dedicated by a brother of Res, the Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt Au-res—clearly the inheritor of his father's name and title.

Far and away the most interesting of the group

is a ★stela found by the Museum's Expedition in a tomb of the late Thirteenth Dynasty at Kōm el Aḥmar, fifty miles south of Thebes, in southern Upper Egypt (fig. 227, lower right). The ancient town of Nekhen (the Greek Hierakonpolis) which occupied the site was the center of the worship of a falcon god known in dynastic times as "Horus of Nekhen," and Ḥor-em-khaᶜuf, the owner of our stela, was the "Chief Inspector" of the priesthood of this celebrated divinity. Following a long and elaborate offering formula, in which are invoked all the local gods and goddesses of Nekhen, the text of the stela goes on to tell how Ḥor-em-khaᶜuf made a trip to the residence city of the king of Egypt to bring back images of his god and the god's mother, Isis, apparently newly made in the royal workshops for the temple at Nekhen. "Horus, Avenger-of-his-father," he says, "gave me a commission to the Residence, to fetch (thence) Horus of Nekhen together with his mother, Isis, justified. He appointed me as commander of a ship and crew because he knew me to be a competent official of his temple, vigilant concerning his assignments. Then I fared downstream with good dispatch, and I drew forth Horus of Nekhen in (my) hands together with his mother, this goddess, from the Good Office of It-towy in the presence of the King himself." The last sentence is historically important, for from it we learn that in Ḥor-em-khaᶜuf's day, the late Thirteenth Dynasty, the king of Egypt was in residence at It-towy, just north of el Lisht. Moreover, it is clear that from his capital in the region of Memphis he ruled Upper Egypt, certainly as far south as Kōm el Aḥmar, where he was so well known that it was felt unnecessary to mention his name.

The rest of Ḥor-em-khaᶜuf's autobiography, though of a more general and stereotyped nature, is worth quoting: "I was an excellent dignitary on earth and shall be an excellent spirit in the afterworld, since I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked and supported my brothers and sisters, not letting one beg property from another, (so that) every man said 'Welcome!' to his mates. I cared for the house of those who nurtured me, and they were buried and commemorated. I offered labor to Horus, and Horus caused to be offered to me a vacation from labor in the temple, inasmuch as he loved me—the Chief Inspector of Priests of Horus of Nekhen, the Overseer of Fields, Ḥor-em-khaᶜuf, engendered of the Inspector of Priests, the Overseer of Fields, Thōty, justified, and born of the Royal Ornament, Ta-net-yeby, justified."

By a convention peculiar to provincial sculpture of both the late Old Kingdom and the late Middle Kingdom the figure of Ḥor-em-khaᶜuf, carved in true relief, is squat and heavy, while that of his wife, executed in *relief en creux,* is attenuated and angular.

The rectangular ★coffins of four middle-class Thebans of the Thirteenth Dynasty are from a cemetery of rock-cut tombs in the cliff north of Deir el Baḥri. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the causeway to Ḥet-shepswet's temple was cut through the lower slope of the cliff, these tombs were destroyed and their contents were cached in groups in the valley below. Here they were found in 1919-1920 by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition.

The coffin of the *Wēᶜb*-priest Ikhet (fig. 228) illustrates to perfection the peculiarities of the Thirteenth Dynasty type. The coffin proper, built of odd pieces of sycamore plank, is long, high, and narrow. It was provided with multiple floor battens, nine in number, and on the sides the vertical columns of inscription were correspondingly increased from four to nine, with one omitted on the left side to leave room for the eye panel. The eyes above the gaudily painted palace façade are enclosed within an elaborate panel resembling a large pectoral with a colored block border and cavetto cornice. Figures of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, very rare before the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, now appear on the ends of the box. The vault of the lid is far more pronounced than in similar coffin lids of the Twelfth Dynasty, and the end boards, characteristically edged with bands of color, are much higher and

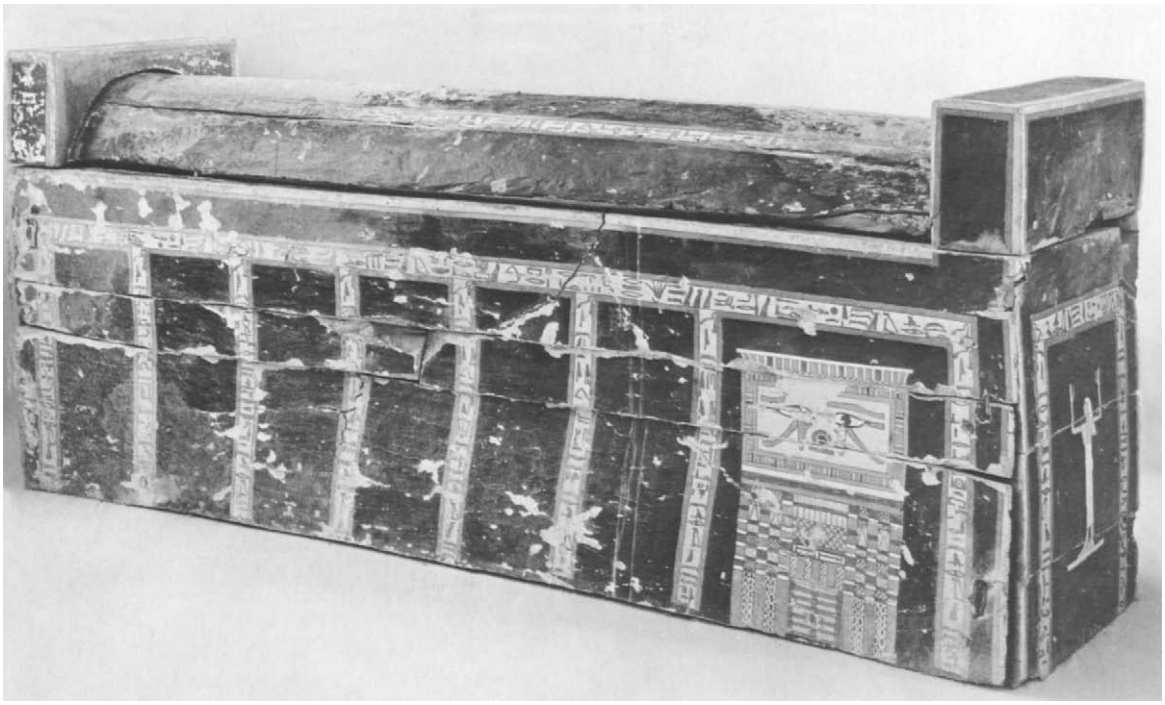


FIGURE 228. Coffin of the *We^{c}b*-priest Ikhet from Thebes. Thirteenth Dynasty. L. 78 in.

heavier. The lid is inscribed with three long horizontal bands of text side by side on the vaulted upper surface.

The ground color of the coffin and lid is a shiny pitch black, applied over a coating of white stucco. The inscriptions are drawn in blue on bands of white, and the borders at the corners of the box and lid are white and blue. Yellow is used for the flesh color of the goddesses on the ends of the coffin and white for their garments. The eye panel is polychrome—blue, green, red, yellow, black, and white.

The style of the decoration, as can be seen, is crude and careless, the figures childishly drawn, and the inscriptions irregular and full of errors. For superstitious reasons all the hieroglyphs representing birds are drawn without legs, and the tails of the serpents ( and ) are cut off. The texts themselves are more or less garbled versions of those seen on the Twelfth Dynasty coffins of Ḥapy-^{c}ankhtify and Chnum-nakhte—excerpts from the Pyramid Texts and the Middle Kingdom version of the Book of the Dead (see pp. 82, 83).

Of the three other coffins that of the Royal Ornament Nyet-nefret is exactly similar to the one illustrated and was evidently decorated by the same painter, who has made identical mistakes in the inscriptions on both monuments. The coffin of the *We^{c}b*-priest Nyet-em-Mar-em-saf differs only in the substitution of yellow for white in the bands of inscription and at the corners of the box and lid, in the insertion of a vertical column of text below the eye panel in place of the palace façade, and in the figures of the goddesses, which are drawn in yellow outline and labeled with their names, Isis and Nephthys.

It is probable that all these coffins were stock models, produced in quantity and sold ready made. This is clear in the fourth example of our group, which bears, in place of the name of an owner, the group  , best translated "So-and-so"—the ancient Egyptian equivalent of our "John Doe." This coffin is black, like the others, but its base is adorned all around with a high

paneled dado, the units of which are colored in succession blue, green, and red on a white ground.

With the coffin of Nyet-em-Mar-em-saf was found a ★canopic chest, matching the larger monument in construction, style, and color scheme. A curious feature of this chest is that it is oblong, not square, in plan, two of its sides being somewhat longer than the other two. On each side is drawn a figure of the canine animal of the god Anubis (), couchant above the symbols for "linen" (). The accompanying labels inform us that the four figures represent, respectively, Anubis, Lord of the Holy Land; Anubis, Who is in the Place of Embalming; Anubis, Lord of Naᶜ; and Anubis, Who is before the Divine Booth. The horizontal inscription above carries in each case the names of the Four Genii of the Dead, and the vertical columns at the edges of the sides contain a long speech addressed to the Genii in behalf of "the Osiris, . . ., justified." The name of the owner was never written in the spaces provided for it, and they remain blank. The lid of the chest was not found, but from indications on the tops of the box walls it was clearly of the vaulted type seen on the coffins.

The remarkable gilded ★*shawabty*-figure of the King's Son Waḥ-Nefer-ḥotep (fig. 229), wrapped in linen and enclosed in a miniature rectangular ★coffin, was found in the area east of the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht, not far from the northern gateway of the mortuary temple.

FIGURE 229. *Shawabty*-figure and -coffin of Prince Waḥ-Nefer-ḥotep from el Lisht. Thirteenth Dynasty. H. of figure 8¼ in.



Evidently deposited by reverent hands, not thrown out by tomb robbers, the little coffin stood upright in the sand with three pottery offering jars, lined up in a neat row, leaning against it.

The owner, whose name means "(King)-Neferḥotep-endures," was probably born in, or shortly after, the reign of King Khaᶜ-sekhem-Rēᶜ Neferḥotep of the Thirteenth Dynasty and may have been a son of this well-known pharaoh. Such a dating is amply borne out by the form of the coffin, with its high, vaulted lid and very prominent end boards (cf. fig. 228), and by the coarse modeling and rather crude workmanship seen in the funerary figure.

The coffin is of wood, painted dark red and overlaid with bands of gold foil, on which the usual Thirteenth Dynasty coffin inscriptions are written in thick blue paint. The *shawabty* also is of wood, completely gilded and with the headdress, eyes, and inscription painted in blue over the gold foil. Noteworthy is the manner in which the arms of the mummiform figure, crossed over the breast, are now represented in high relief, not, as in the earlier examples, concealed by the wrappings.

Even more interesting is the inscription on the figure, which reflects a new and not altogether praiseworthy attitude on the part of the deceased Egyptian toward his career in the hereafter and toward the part to be played in it by his little mummiform double. "O thou *shawabty,*" says the text, "if the King's Son Waḥ-Nefer-ḥotep is seized for work which a man does under obligation—to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the banks, to transport sand of the west and of the east—'Here am I!' thou shalt say." In other words, the *shawabty,* once the honored resting place of a man's immortal soul, is now to be merely a convenient substitute for him in case he is called upon to do his share of anything faintly resembling hard work. The system of corvée, whereby in everyday life any citizen of Egypt could be called upon to devote his labor to the public welfare and the needs of the state, was now evidently thought to exist also in the afterworld. On earth only the wealthy could afford to pay substitutes to do their share of the required labor, but thanks to his *shawabty* every Egyptian could now look forward to a life of ease in and beyond the tomb. The notion, mentally and morally characteristic of a decadent era, probably did not antedate the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. Thereafter, however, it became standard, and the text seen on the funerary statuette of Waḥ-Nefer-ḥotep was perpetuated on such figures until the end of Egypt's dynastic history. It became a spell (Chapter VI) in the New Kingdom version of the Book of the Dead and is commonly referred to by modern students of Egypt as "the Chapter of the *Shawabty.*"

The text appears also on the alabaster ★*shawabty* of the Chamberlain Bener, found near that of Prince Waḥ-Nefer-ḥotep and evidently closely contemporary in date. The figure is of the plain mummiform type common in the Twelfth Dynasty, but the small wooden ★coffin in which it lay, wrapped in linen cloth, has the high lid with heavy end boards characteristic of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The appeal to the *shawabty,* written on the front of the figure in four columns of incised hieroglyphs filled with blue pigment, is in this case spoken by the owner, "the Chamberlain of the Palace, Bener, justified," who says, "O thou *shawabty,* if I am reckoned for work which is to be done there (in the afterworld), as a man under obligation," etc. As in the inscription on the *shawabty* of Waḥ-Nefer-ḥotep and those on the Theban coffins discussed above, the legs of the signs representing birds and the tails of all serpent-hieroglyphs have been cut off.

The presence in the cemetery at el Lisht of these articles of tomb equipment of a prince of the royal house and a high-ranking official of the palace agrees with the information provided by the stela of Ḥor-em-khaᶜuf and points to the continued use during the Thirteenth Dynasty of the near-by palace at It-towy as the king's residence.

3. The Fourteenth Dynasty

Throughout the regime of the Thirteenth Dynasty and for many years after its fall the district of Xoïs in the swamplands of the western Delta maintained its independence and was ruled by a long line of local kings or governors known to us, through the Ptolemaic historian Manetho of Sebennytos, as the Fourteenth Dynasty. In the fragments of Manetho's history preserved in Africanus and in one of the versions of Eusebius the dynasty is assigned seventy-six kings and a duration of 184 years. Assuming Xoïs to have seceded from the rest of Egypt with the break-up of the Twelfth Dynasty in 1778 B.C., this would carry the independent government of the redoubtable little state through to 1594 B.C., almost a century after most of the country had fallen prey to Asiatic invaders and less than thirty years before the rise of the New Kingdom. Although almost no monuments of the rulers of the Fourteenth Dynasty are known, many of their names are preserved in the Turin Papyrus in the columns immediately next to those devoted to the Thirteenth Dynasty, and the total number of seventy-two kings given here agrees well with that derived by Manetho from evidently dependable historical sources.

4. The End of the Middle Kingdom

The Semitic names borne by several pharaohs of the Thirteenth Dynasty reflect the existence in northern Egypt of a large Asiatic population. This element, which began to make its presence known as early as the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty, was augmented during the eighteenth century B.C. by the immigration of more and more groups of tribesmen from the lands north and east of Egypt, forced southward by widespread racial movements in western Asia. The leaders of these tribes were called by the Egyptians *Ḥiḳ-khoswet,* "Princes of the Uplands," or "Rulers of Foreign Countries," from which was probably derived the Manethonian term "Hyksos" now generally applied to the people as a whole.

From the Egyptian monuments found at Byblos, in Syria, it is clear that it was not until after the death of King Khaᶜ-sekhem-Rēᶜ Nefer-ḥotep in 1729 B.C. that the Hyksos began seriously to challenge the political authority of the Thirteenth Dynasty. By 1700 B.C., however, they had emerged as a well-organized, well-equipped, and warlike people and had already seized large portions of Lower Egypt, including the town of Ḥat-waᶜret, or Avaris, in the northeast Delta, which they refortified for use as their capital. Twenty-five years later, in the reign of King Djed-nefer-Rēᶜ Dudy-mosĕ, the Hyksos chieftain Salatis occupied the key city of Memphis, and the Thirteenth Dynasty ceased to exist as the ruling house of an independent nation. After Dudy-mosĕ the Turin Papyrus lists eighteen more Egyptian kings, but these, including Neḥasy and Neb-fau-Rēᶜ, were probably no more than puppet rulers, vassals of their Asiatic overlords.

The subjugation of the Thirteenth Dynasty, about 1675 B.C., marked the end of the Middle Kingdom, and thereafter, for more than a century, Egypt suffered the indignity of a foreign occupation. The story of this period, comprising the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Dynasties, is the story of the struggles which ushered in the New Kingdom and of the new and far-reaching influences which determined the character of an era regarded by many as Egypt's greatest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

For the fifteen periodicals and series most frequently cited the following conventional abbreviations are used:

Abh. Berlin = *Abhandlungen der (königlich) preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [Berlin], Jahrgang . . . , Philosophisch-historische Klasse.

AJSLL = *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*

ASAE = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.*

BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.*

BMFA = *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* [Boston].

BMMA = *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

CCG = *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.*

JEA = *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*

JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*

MIFAO = *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.*

MMAF = *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire.*

Rec.trav. = *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.*

Sb. Berlin = *Sitzungsberichte der (königlich) preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [Berlin]. Philosophisch-historische Klasse.

Unters. = *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens,* edited by Kurt Sethe.

ZAS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.*

Bibliography[1]

1. General Works

BAEDEKER, K. *Egypt and the Sûdân: Handbook for Travellers.* 8th edition. (Edited by Georg Steindorff). Leipzig, 1929.

Bibliographie égyptologique éditée par la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. Brussels, 1936-1940.

BREASTED, J. H. *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents (Ancient Records,* 2nd Series), I: *The First to the Seventeenth Dynasties.* Chicago, 1906.

_____ *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest.* 2nd edition. London, 1927.

BRUNTON, W. M., AND OTHERS. *Kings and Queens of Ancient Egypt.* London, 1925.

_____ *Great Ones of Ancient Egypt.* London, 1929.

DRIOTON, É., AND VANDIER, J. *L'Égypte ("Clio": Introduction aux études historiques. Les Peuples de l'orient méditerranéen,* II). 2nd edition. Paris, 1946.

ENGELBACH, R. (ed.) *Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology with special reference to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.* Cairo, 1946.

ERMAN, A., AND RANKE, H. *Aegypten und aegyptischen Leben im Altertum.* Tübingen, 1923.

FEDERN, W. "Egyptian Bibliography (Jan. 1, 1939-Dec. 31, 1947)," *Orientalia* [Rome], vols. 17-18 (1948-1949).

GARDINER, A. H. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica.* 3 vols. Oxford, 1947.

HOYNINGEN-HUENE AND STEINDORFF, G. *Egypt.* 2nd edition. New York, 1945.

JANSSEN, J. M. A. *Annual Egyptological Bibliography, 1947, 1948.* International Association of Egyptologists. Leiden, 1948, 1949.

JUNKER, H. *Die Ägypter (Die Völker des antiken Orients: Geschichte der führenden Völker,* III). Freiburg, 1933.

KEES, H. *Beiträge zur altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung und der Geschichte des Feudalismus (Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Philologisch-historische Klasse, Fachgruppe I: *Altertumswissenschaft,* 1932, no. 12, pp. 85-119; 1933, no. 21, pp. 579-598). Göttingen, n.d.

_____ *Ägypten* (W. Otto [ed.], *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft,* III, part 1, no. 3. *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients,* I). Munich, 1933.

LEPSIUS, C. R. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien,* parts I and II. 6 parts. Berlin, 1849-1859.

_____ *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Text* (edited by E. Naville). 5 vols. Leipzig, 1897-1913. *Ergänzungsband.* Leipzig, 1913.

MEYER, E. *Geschichte des Altertums,* I, part 1 (3rd edition) and part 2 (5th edition). Stuttgart and Berlin, 1910, 1926.

MORET, A. *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization (The History of Civilization,* edited by C. K. Ogden). London, 1927.

MYRES, J. L., AND OTHERS. "Egypt and Babylonia to 1580 B.C.," *The Cambridge Ancient History,* I, Chaps. I, III, IV, VI-IX, XVI. 2nd edition. Cambridge, 1924.

PETRIE, W.M.F. *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Kings to the XVIth Dynasty.* 11th edition. London, 1924.

PORTER, B., AND MOSS, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings.* 7 vols. Oxford, 1927-1949.

PRATT, I. A. *Ancient Egypt: Sources of Information in the New York Public Library,* New York, 1925. *Supplement: Ancient Egypt, 1925-1941.* New York, 1942.

SMITH, W. S. *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts.* 2nd edition. Boston, 1946.

WEIGALL, A. E. P. *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt from Abydos to the Sudan Frontier.* London, 1910.

WEIL, A. *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches.* Strassburg, 1908.

WILSON, J. A., AND OTHERS. *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man.* Chicago, 1946.

2. Geology and Geography

An Atlas of Ancient Egypt (The Egypt Exploration Fund, Special Publication). 2nd edition, revised. London, 1894.

Atlas of the Normal 1/100,000-scale Topographical Series of Egypt (Ministry of Finance, Egypt: Survey of Egypt). Cairo, 1929-.

BALL, J. *Kharga Oasis: Its Topography and Geology (Survey Department, Public Works Ministry: Geological Survey Report,* 1899, part II). Cairo, 1900.

_____ *Description of the First or Aswan Cataract of the Nile.* Cairo, 1907.

_____ *Contributions to the Geography of Egypt (Ministry of Finance, Egypt: Survey and Mines Dept.).* Cairo, 1939.

_____ *Egypt in the Classical Geographers (Ministry of Finance, Egypt: Survey of Egypt).* Cairo, 1942.

BARRON, T., AND HUME, W. F. *Topography and Geology of the Eastern Desert of Egypt, Central Portion (Survey Department, Public Works Ministry: Geological Survey Report).* Cairo, 1902.

BEADNELL, H. J. L. *Dakhla Oasis: Its Topography and Geology (Survey Department, Public Works Ministry: Geological Survey Report,* 1899). Cairo, 1901.

1 Compiled in September, 1949.

BEADNELL, H. J. L., *continued*
_____ *The Topography and Geology of the Fayum Province of Egypt (Ibid.). Cairo,* 1905.
BLANCKENHORN, M. *Aegypten (Handbuch der Regionalen Geologie,* VII, part 9). Heidelberg, 1921.
BROWN, R. H. *The Fayûm and Lake Moëris.* London, 1893.
CATON-THOMPSON, G., AND OTHERS. "Lake Moeris: Re-investigations and Some Comments," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte,* XIX (1937), pp. 243-303.
DARESSY, G. "Les Branches du Nil sous la XVIIIe dynastie," *Bulletin de la Société royale de géographie d'Égypte,* XVI-XVIII (1928-1934).
ENGELBACH, R. *Index of Egyptian and Sudanese Sites From Which the Cairo Museum Contains Antiquities (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte).* Cairo, 1931.
FAKHRY, A. *Baḥria Oasis (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: The Egyptian Deserts),* I. Cairo, 1942.
_____ *Siwa Oasis, Its History and Antiquities (Ibid.).* Cairo, 1944.
GAUTHIER, H. *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques (La Société royale de géographie d'Égypte).* 7 vols. Cairo, 1925-1931.
GRANT BEY. "The Climate of Egypt in Geological, Prehistoric, and Ancient Historic Times," *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* [London], XXXII (1900), pp. 87-105.
HOMMEL, F. *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* (W. Otto [ed.], *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft,* I, part 3, no. 1, pp. 741-983). Munich, 1926.
HUME, W. F. *Geology of Egypt (Ministry of Finance, Egypt: Survey of Egypt).* 2 vols. Cairo, 1925-1935.
STEINDORFF, G. *Die Ägyptischen Gaue und ihre politische Entwicklung (Der Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,* XXVII, no. 25). Leipzig, 1909.

3. Chronology

ALBRIGHT, W. F. "An Indirect Synchronism between Egypt and Mesopotamia, cir. 1730 B.C.," *Journal of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* no. 99 (October, 1945), pp. 9-18.
BORCHARDT, L. "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun und die zeitliche Festlegung der mittleren Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte," *ZAS,* XXXVII (1899), pp. 89-103.
_____ *Die Annalen und die zeitliche Festlegung des alten Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte (Quellen und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte,* I). Berlin, 1917.
_____ *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte (Ibid.,* II). Berlin, 1935.
BURCHARDT, M., AND PIEPER, M. *Handbuch der aegyptischen Königsnamen,* I: *Die Königsnamen bis einschliesslich XVII. Dynastie.* Leipzig, 1912.
DARESSY, G. "La Pierre de Palerme et la chronologie de l'Ancien Empire," *BIFAO,* XII (1916), pp. 161-214.
EDGERTON, W. F. "Chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty," *JNES,* I (1942), pp. 307-314.
FARINA, G. *Il Papiro dei re restaurato (Pubblicazioni egittologiche del R. Museo di Torino).* Rome, 1938.
GARDINER, A. H. "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt," *JEA,* XXXI (1945), pp. 11-28.
GAUTHIER, H. *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte (MIFAO,* XVII-XVIII), I, II. Cairo, 1907, 1912.
_____ "Quatre Nouveaux Fragments de la pierre de Palerme." *Le Musée égyptien,* III, pp. 29-53. Cairo, 1915.
_____ "Répertoire pharaonique pour servir d'index au 'Livre des rois d'Égypte,'" *BIFAO,* XV (1918), pp. 1-139
_____ "Quelques additions au 'Livre des rois d'Égypte," *Rec. trav.,* XL (1923), pp. 176-204.
Manetho, with an English translation by W. G. Waddell. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge (Mass.), 1940.
MEYER, E. *Aegyptische Chronologie (Abh. Berlin,* 1904, I). Berlin, 1904.
_____ *Nachträge zur ägyptischen Chronologie (Ibid.,* 1907, III). Berlin, 1907.
_____ "Neue Nachträge zur ägyptischen Chronologie," *ZAS,* XLIV (1907), pp. 115-116.
_____ *Die ältere Chronologie Babyloniens, Assyriens und Ägyptens (Geschichte des Altertums,* I, supplement). Stuttgart and Berlin, 1925.
NAVILLE, E. "La Pierre de Palerme," *Rec. trav.,* XXV (1903), pp. 64-81.
NEUGEBAUER, O. "Die Bedeutungslosigkeit der 'Sothisperiode' für die älteste ägyptische Chronologie," *Acta Orientalia,* XVII (1939), pp. 169-195.
_____ "The Chronology of the Hammurabi Age," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXI (1941), pp. 58-61.
PARKER, R. A. *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Studies in Ancient and Oriental Civilization).* Chicago [1950].
PETRIE, W. M. F. "New Portions of the Annals," *Ancient Egypt,* 1916, pp. 114-120.
PRISSE D'AVENNES, E. *Monuments égyptiens: Bas-reliefs, peintures, inscriptions, etc., d'après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux,* p. 1, pls. I, II. Paris, 1847.
SCHÄFER, H. *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen (Abh. Berlin,* 1902, I). Berlin, 1902.
SCHAEFFER, C. F. A. "A propos de la Chronologie de la XIIe Dynastie égyptienne et des Hyksos," *Chronique d'Égypte,* XXII (1947), pp. 225-229.
SCHARFF, A. "Die Bedeutungslosigkeit des sogenannten ältesten Datums der Weltgeschichte und einige sich daraus ergebende Folgerungen für die ägyptische Geschichte und Archäologie," *Historische Zeitschrift,* CLXI (1940), pp. 3-32.
SETHE, K. "Zur zeitliche Festlegung der zwölften Dynastie und zur Benutzung ägyptischer Sothisdaten überhaupt," *ZAS,* XLI (1904), pp. 38-42.
_____ *Die Entwicklung der Jahresdatierung bei den alten Aegyptern (Unters.,* III. *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens,* 4, pp. 60-100). Leipzig, 1905.
_____ *Die Chronologie der älteren ägyptischen Geschichte, kontrolliert durch Wasserstandsangaben,* etc. *(Ibid. Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens,* 5, pp. 101-120). Leipzig, 1905.
_____ *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, IV),* II, pp. 607-610. Leipzig, 1906.
_____ *Die Zeitrechnung der alten Aegypter im Verhältnis zu der der andern Völker (Nachrichten der Königlich Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1919, pp. 287-320; 1920, pp. 28-85, 97-141). Göttingen, n.d.
UNGER, G. F. *Chronologie des Manetho.* Berlin, 1867.

WADDELL, W. G. See *Manetho*.
WINLOCK, H. E. "The Origin of the Ancient Egyptian Calendar," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXXIII (1940), pp. 447-464.
WOOD, L. H. "The Kahun Papyrus and the Date of the Twelfth Dynasty (with a Chart)," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 99 (October, 1945), pp. 5-9.

4. Prehistory

The Archaeological Survey of Nubia (Ministry of Finance, Egypt: Survey of Egypt). Reports for 1907-1908, 1908-1909, 1909-1910. Cairo, 1910-1915.
AYRTON, E. R., AND LOAT, W. L. S. *Pre-Dynastic Cemetery at el Mahasna (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 31st Memoir). London, 1911.
BACHATLY, C. *Bibliographie de la préhistoire égyptienne (1869-1938).* Cairo, 1942.
BAUMGÄRTEL, E. J. *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt (Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).* London, 1947.
BÉNÉDITE, G. "Le Couteau de Gebel el-ʿArak: Étude sur un nouvel objet préhistorique acquis par le Musée du Louvre," *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot)*, XXII (1916), pp. 1-34.
_____ "The Carnarvon Ivory," *JEA*, V (1918), pp. 1-15, 225-241.
BOVIER-LAPIERRE, P. "Les Gisements paléolithiques de la Plaine de l'Abbassieh," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, VIII (1926), pp. 257-275.
_____ "Une Nouvelle Station néolithique (el Omari) au nord d'Hélouan," *Congrès international de Géographie, le Caire, Avril 1925: Compte rendu*, IV, pp. 268-282. [Cairo] 1926.
_____ "L'Égypte préhistorique," *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, I. Cairo, 1932.
BRUNTON, G. *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture (British Museum Expedition to Middle Egype*, 1928, 1929). London, 1937.
_____ *Matmar (Ibid.*, 1929-1931). London, 1948.
_____ AND CATON-THOMPSON, G. *The Badarian Civilisation and Predynastic Remains near Badari (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account*, 1924). London, 1928.
BULL, L. S. "Two Groups of Prehistoric Egyptian Objects," *BMMA*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 119-120.
CAPART, J. *Primitive Art in Egypt.* Translated from the revised and augmented original edition by A. S. Griffith. London, 1905.
CATON-THOMPSON, G., AND GARDNER, E. W. *The Desert Fayum (Royal Anthropological Institute).* 2 vols. London, 1934.
CHILDE, V. G. *The Most Ancient East: The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory.* New York, 1929.
COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET, R. "L'Égypte avant l'histoire," *BIFAO*, XXXIII (1933), pp. 1-168.
CURRELLY, C. T. *Stone Implements (CCG*, nos. 63001-64906). Cairo, 1913.
DEBONO, F. "Hélouan: el Omari. Fouilles du Service des Antiquités (1943-1944)," *Chronique d'Égypte*, no. 41 (January, 1946), pp. 50-54.
_____ "El-Omari (près d'Hélouan). Exposé sommaire sur les campagnes de fouilles 1943-1944 et 1948," *ASAE*, XLVIII (1948), pp. 561-569.
_____ "Le Paléolithique final et le mésolithique à Hélouan," *ASAE*, XLVIII (1948), pp. 629-637.
ENGELBACH, R., AND GUNN, B. *Harageh (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account*, 20th Year, 1914). London, 1923.
HAYES, W. C. "A Fragment of a Prehistoric Egyptian Victory Monument," *BMMA*, XXXIV (1939), pp. 48-49.
_____ "Manche en ivoire gravé, prédynastique au Metropolitan Museum," *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXII (1947), pp. 220-222.
HUZAYYIN, S. A. *The Place of Egypt in Prehistory (Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte*, XLIII). Cairo, 1941.
JANSSEN, J. "De oudste Betrekkingen tusschen Egypte en Mesopotamië," *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* no. 7 (1944), pp. 319-326.
JUNKER, H. "Die Entwicklung der vorgeschichtlichen Kultur in Ägypten," *Festschrift: Publication d'hommage offerte à P. W. Schmidt*, pp. 865-896. Vienna, 1928.
_____ *Vorbericht über die . . . Grabung auf der neolithischen Siedelung von Merimde-Benisalâme . . . (Anzeiger der philosophisch-historische Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1929, 1930, 1932-1934).
KANTOR, H. J. "The Early Relations of Egypt with Asia," *JNES*, I (1942), pp. 174-213.
_____ "The Final Phase of Predynastic Culture, Gerzean or Semainean (?)," *JNES*, III (1944), pp. 110-136, pls. X, XI.
_____ Review of Baumgärtel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt. American Journal of Archaeology*, LIII (1949), pp. 76-79.
LEGGE, G. F. Articles on carved slate palettes. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XX (1900), pp. 125-139, 270-271; XXVI (1904), pp. 262-263; XXVIII (1906), p. 87; XXXI (1909), pp. 204-211, 297-310.
MENGHIN, O. "Die Grabung der Universität Kairo bei Maadi," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, II (1932), pp. 143-147; III (1932), pp. 150-154; V (1934), pp. 111-118.
_____ AND AMER, M. *The Excavations of the Egyptian University in the Neolithic Site at Maadi . . . (Egyptian University Faculty of Arts*, Publications 19, 20). 2 vols., Cairo, 1932, 1936.
MOND, R., AND MYERS, O. H. *Cemeteries of Armant [The Egypt Exploration Society]*, I. 2 vols. London, 1937.
PETRIE, W. M. F. *Diospolis Parva: The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu, 1898-9 (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 20th Memoir). London, 1901.
_____ *Prehistoric Egypt (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account*, 1917). London, 1920.
_____ AND QUIBELL, J. E. *Naqada and Ballas, 1895.* London, 1896.
_____ WAINWRIGHT, G. A., AND MACKAY, E. *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account*, 1912). London, 1912.
_____ AND OTHERS. *Tarkhan I and Memphis V (Ibid.).* London, 1913.
_____ *Tarkhan II* (Ibid.). London, 1914.

QUIBELL, J. E. *Hierakonpolis (Egyptian Research Account,* 4th and 5th Memoirs), parts I, II. London, 1900, 1902.

_____ *Archaic Objects (CCG,* nos. 11001-12000 and 14001-14754). Cairo, 1905.

RANDALL-MACIVER, D., AND MACE, A. C. *El Amrah and Abydos, 1899-1901 (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 23rd Memoir). London, 1902.

RANKE, H. "The Beginnings of Civilization in Egypt," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* December, 1939, supplement, pp. 3-16.

SANDFORD, K. S., AND ARKELL, W. J. *Paleolithic Man and the Nile Valley (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications,* X, XVII, XVIII, XLVI. *Prehistoric Survey of Egypt and Western Asia,* I-IV). Chicago [1929, 1933, 1934, 1939].

SCHARFF, A. *Die archaeologischen Ergebnisse des vorgeschichtlichen Gräberfeldes von Abusir el-Meleq, nach den Aufzeichnungen Georg Möllers (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* XLIX). Leipzig, 1926.

_____ *Grundzüge der ägyptischen Vorgeschichte (Morgenland: Darstellungen aus Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients,* no. 12). Leipzig, 1927.

_____ *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung,* IV, V). 2 vols. Berlin, 1929, 1931.

_____ "Neues zur Frage der ältesten ägyptisch-babylonischen Kulturbeziehungen," *ZAS,* LXXI (1935), pp. 89-106.

_____ *Die Frühkulturen Ägyptens und Mesopotamiens (Der alte Orient,* vol. 41). Leipzig, 1941.

_____ "Wesensunterscheide ägyptischer und vorderasiatischer Kunst," *Ibid.,* vol. 42 (1943), pp. 1-55.

SETHE, K. *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter (Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* XVIII, no. 4). Leipzig, 1930.

VIGNARD, E. "Une Nouvelle Industrie lithique, le 'Sébilien,'" *BIFAO,* XXII (1923), pp. 1-104.

WINKLER, H. A. *Völker und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderfunde.* Stuttgart, 1937.

_____ *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt: Sir Robert Mond Desert Expedition, Season 1936-1937 [and] Season 1937-1938, Preliminary Report (The Egypt Exploration Society: Archaeological Survey of Egypt,* XXVI, XXVII). 2 vols. London, 1938, 1939.

5. Historical Documents

ANTHES, R. *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub (Unters.,* IX). Leipzig, 1928.

BERLIN MUSEUM. *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin,* I. Leipzig, 1901, 1913.

BISSON DE LA ROQUE, F. *Rapport[s] sur les Fouilles de Médamoud, 1925-1935 (Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire,* III-IX, XIII). Cairo, 1926-1936.

_____ *Tôd, 1934 à 1936 (Ibid.,* XVII.) Cairo, 1937.

BOESER, P. A. A. *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseum der Altertümer in Leiden,* I-III. The Hague, 1908-1910.

BORCHARDT, L. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten (CCG,* nos. 1-1294). 5 parts [part 5 by A. Volten]. Berlin, 1911-1936.

BRITISH MUSEUM. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum* (edited by E. A. W. Budge, H. R. Hall, and I. E. S. Edwards). 8 parts. London, 1911-1939.

BRUGSCH, H. *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum.* 6 vols. Leipzig, 1883-1891.

CORY, I. P. *Ancient Fragments of the Phoenician, Chaldean, Egyptian, Tyrian, Carthaginian, Indian, Persian, and Other Writers.* 2nd edition. London, 1832.

COUYAT, J., AND MONTET, P. *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât (MIFAO,* XXXIV). Cairo, 1912.

DIODORUS SICULUS. "The Library of History," Book 1, edited and translated by C. H. Oldfather. *Diodorus of Sicily,* I. The Loeb Classical Library. London, 1934. *See also* W. G. WADDELL, "An Account of Egypt by Diodorus the Sicilian," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt,* I [1933], pp. 1-47, 161-218.

DUEMICHEN, J. *Historische Inschriften altaegyptischer Denkmaeler in den Jahren 1863-1865 an Ort und Stelle gesammelt und mit erlaüterndem Text herausgegeben.* Leipzig, 1867.

GARDINER, A. H., AND PEET, T. E. *The Inscriptions of Sinai (Egypt Exploration Fund),* part I, Introduction and Plates. London, 1917.

HALL, H. R. *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Etc., in the British Museum,* I. London, 1913.

Herodotus. "History," Book II, edited and translated by A. D. Godley. *Herodotus,* I. The Loeb Classical Library. London, 1921.
See also W. G. WADDELL (ed.), *Herodotus,* Book II. Methuen's Classical Texts. London, 1939.

JANSSEN, J. *De Traditioneele Egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk.* 2 parts. Leiden, 1946.

KOEFOED-PETERSEN, O. *Les Stèles égyptiennes (Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg,* no. 1). Copenhagen, 1948.

LUTZ, H. F. *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California (University of California Publications, Egyptian Archaeology,* IV). Leipzig, 1927.

MARIETTE, A. *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville.* Paris, 1880.

MORGAN, J. DE, AND OTHERS. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte),* I: *De la Frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombos.* Vienna, 1894.

NEWBERRRY, P. E. *Egyptian Antiquities, Scarabs: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings (Institute of Archaeology of the University of Liverpool).* London, 1906.

_____ *Scarab-Shaped Seals (CCG,* nos. 36001-37521). London, 1907.

PETRIE, W. M. F. *Historical Scarabs: A Series of Drawings from the Principal Collections; Arranged Chronologically.* London, 1889

_____ *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account,* 21st Year, 1915). London, 1917.

PIEHL, K. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Égypte.* 5 vols. Leipzig, 1886-1903.

PIERRET, P. *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée égyptien du Louvre (Études égyptologiques,* II, VIII). Paris, 1874, 1878.

PLINY THE ELDER. *Naturalis Historia,* Book XXXVI. *See* K. J. BLAKE, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art.* London, 1896.

RANKE, H. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen.* 2 vols. Glückstadt, 1935; New York, 1949.

ROUGÉ, E. DE. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de . . . Emmanuel de Rougé (Études égyptologiques,* IX-XII). Paris, 1877-1879.

SPIEGELBERG, W. (ed.), AND OTHERS. *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen.* 3 vols. Strassburg, 1902, 1904, 1906.

STRABO. "Geography," Book XVII, edited and translated by H. L. Jones. *The Geography of Strabo,* VIII. The Loeb Classical Library. London, 1932.

6. The Early Dynastic Period

BÉNÉDITE, G. "La Stèle dite du roi Serpent," *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot),* XII (1905), pp. 5-17.

BORCHARDT, L. "Das Grab des Menes," *ZAS,* XXXVI (1898), pp. 87-105.

CLÈRE, J. J. "Une Graffito du roi Djet dans le désert arabique," *ASAE,* XXXVIII (1938), pp. 85-93.

EMERY, W. B. *The Tomb of Hemaka (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Excavations at Saqqara,* XXII). Cairo, 1938.

_____ "A Preliminary Report on the Architecture of the Tomb of Nebet-ka," *ASAE,* XXXVIII (1938), pp. 455-459.

_____ *Hor-Aha (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Excavations at Saqqara,* 1937-1938). Cairo, 1939.

GLANVILLE, S. R. K. "An Archaic Statuette from Abydos," *JEA,* XVII (1931), pp. 65-66.

GRDSELOFF, B. "Notes d'épigraphie archaique," *ASAE,* XLIV (1944), pp. 279-306.

GUNN, B. "Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid Site, III: Fragments of Inscribed Vessels," *ASAE,* XXVIII (1928), pp. 153-174.

HAYES, W. C. "An Archaic Egyptian Statue," *BMMA,* n.s. IV (1945-1946), pp. 113-116.

LEGGE, G. F. "The Tablets of Negadeh and Abydos," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* XXVIII (1906), pp. 252-263; XXIX (1907), pp. 18-24, 70-73, 101-106, 150-154, 243-250.

MORGAN, J. DE. "Le Tombeau royal de Négadah," *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte,* [II]: *Ethnographie préhistorique,* pp. 147-268. Paris, 1897.

NAVILLE, E. "Les Plus Anciens Monuments égyptiens," *Rec. trav.,* XXI (1899), pp. 105-123; XXIV (1902), pp. 109-120; XXV (1903), pp. 199-225.

NEWBERRY, P. E. "The Wooden and Ivory Labels of the 1st Dynasty," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* XXXIV (1912), pp. 279-289.

PETRIE, W. M. F. *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty* and *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 18th and 21st Memoirs). London, 1900, 1901.

_____ *Abydos (Ibid.,* 22nd, 24th, and 25th Memoirs). 3 parts. London, 1902-1904.

PETRIE, W. M. F., *continued*

_____ *Gizeh and Rifeh (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account,* 13th Year). London, 1907.

_____ AND OTHERS. *Tarkhan I and Memphis V (Ibid.,* 18th Year). London, 1913.

_____ *Tarkhan II (Ibid.,* 19th Year). London, 1914.

QUIBELL, J. E. "Slate Palette from Hierakonpolis," *ZAS,* XXXVI (1898), pp. 81-84.

_____ *Hierakonpolis (Egyptian Research Account,* 4th and 5th Memoirs), parts I and II. London, 1900, 1902.

_____ *Archaic Objects (CCG,* nos. 11001-12000, 14001-14754). Cairo, 1905.

_____ *Archaic Mastabas (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Excavations at Saqqara,* 1912-1914 [VI]). Cairo, 1923.

_____ AND OTHERS. *Excavations at Saqqara (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte).* Cairo, 1907-1938.

REISNER, G. A., AND MACE, A. C. *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Dêr.* 2 vols. Leipzig, 1908, 1909.

SAAD, Z. Y. *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941-1945) (ASAE,* III, supplement). Cairo, 1947.

SETHE, K. *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens (Unters.,* III). Leipzig, 1905.

STEINDORFF, G. "Eine Statue der Frühzeit," *ZAS,* LVI (1920), pp. 96-98, pl. VII.

VIKENTIEV, V. "Les Monuments archaïques," *ASAE,* XXXIII (1933), pp. 208-234; XXXIV (1934), pp. 1-8; XLI (1942), pp. 277-294; XLVIII (1948), pp. 665-685.

WEILL, R. "Notes sur les monuments de la période thinite," *Rec. trav.,* XXIX (1907), pp. 26-53.

_____ *Les Origines de l'Égypte pharaonique (Annales du Musée Guimet: Bibliothèque d'études,* XXV), part I: *La IIe et la IIIe Dynasties.* Paris, 1908.

7. The Old Kingdom

ABDEL SALAM MOHAMED HUSSEIN. *"Fouilles sur la chaussée* d'Ounas 1941-1943," *ASAE,* XLIII (1943), pp. 439-448.

BARSANTI, A. "Ouverture de la pyramide de Zaouiét el-Aryân," *ASAE,* II (1901), pp. 92-94.

_____ "Rapport sur la fouille de Dahchour," *Ibid.,* III (1902), pp. 198-208.

_____ "Fouilles de Zaouiét el-Aryân," *Ibid.,* VII (1906), pp. 257-286; VIII (1907), pp. 201-210; XII (1912), pp. 57-63.

BISSING, F. W. VON, AND KEES, H. *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, XXII, 1). Munich, 1922.

_____ AND OTHERS. *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures).* 3 vols. Berlin and Leipzig, 1905-1928.

BORCHARDT, L. "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus dem alten Reiches." *Aegyptiaca: Festschrift für Georg Ebers,* pp. 8-15. Leipzig, 1897.

_____ "Ein Königserlass aus Dahschur," *ZAS,* XLII (1905), pp. 1-11.

_____ *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-reʿ (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* VII). Leipzig, 1907.

_____ *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-keʾ-reʿ (Ibid.,* XI). Leipzig, 1908.

BORCHARDT, L., *continued*
_____ "König Huni (?)," *ZAS,* XLVI (1909), pp. 12-13.
_____ *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'aḥu-reʿ (Ibid.,* XIV, XXVI). 2 vols. Leipzig, 1910-1913.
_____ *Die Entstehung der Pyramide, an der Baugeschichte der Pyramide bei Mejdum nachgewiesen.* Berlin, 1928.
_____ *Einiges zur dritten Bauperiode der grossen Pyramide bei Gise (Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde,* I). Cairo, 1932.
_____ "Zwei Schriftproben," *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten,* pp. 43-45. Leipzig, 1933.
_____ "Zur Geschichte der Pyramiden: Weiteres zur Baugeschichte der Stufenmastaba bei Saqqara," *ZAS,* LXXIII (1937), pp. 106-114.
_____ "*Ḫnt-k3w.ś,* die Stammutter der 5ten Dynastie," *ASAE,* XXXVIII (1938), pp. 209-215.
_____ AND SETHE, K. "Zur Geschichte der Pyramiden," *ZAS,* XXX (1892), pp. 83-106; XXXII (1894), pp. 88-89; and XXXV (1897), pp. 87-93.
BRUNNER-TRAUT, E. "Die Weisheitslehre des Djedef-Hor," *ZAS,* LXXVI (1940), pp. 3 ff.
CAPART, J. *Une Rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah.* 2 vols. Brussels, 1907.
_____ *Memphis à l'ombre des pyramides (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth).* Brussels, 1907.
CHASSINAT, E. "À propos d'une Tête en grès rouge du roi Didoufrî," *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot),* XXV (1921-1922), pp. 53-75.
DARESSY, G. "La Stèle de la fille de Chéops," *Rec. trav.,* XXX (1908), pp. 1-10.
_____ "La Tombe de la mère de Chéfren," *ASAE,* X (1910), pp. 41-49.
DAVIES, N. DE G. *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saggarah (The Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Survey of Egypt,* 8th and 9th Memoirs). 2 vols. London, 1900, 1901.
_____ *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd (Ibid.,* 10th Memoir). London, 1901.
DÉVAUD, E. *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep d'après le Papyrus Prisse.* Fribourg, 1916.
DRIOTON, É. "Une Répresentation de la famine sur un bas-relief égyptien de la Ve dynastie," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte,* XXV (1943), pp. 45-54.
DUNHAM, D. "The Portrait Bust of Prince Ankh-haf," *BMFA,* XXXVII (1939), pp. 42-46.
EDWARDS, I. E. S. *The Pyramids of Egypt.* Penguin Books. West Drayton, Middlesex, 1947.
ENGELBACH, R. "The Quarries of the Western Nubian Desert," *ASAE,* XXXIII (1933), pp. 65-80.
_____ "The Quarries of the Western Nubian Desert and the Ancient Road to Tushka," *Ibid.,* XXXVIII (1938), pp. 369-390.
ERMAN, A. "Geschichtlichen Inschriften aus dem Berliner Museum," *ZAS,* XXXVIII (1900), pp. 114-123.
_____ (ed.) *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar (Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen,* parts V, VI). Berlin, 1890.
FIRTH, C. M. "Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqarah (October 1928-March 1929)," *ASAE,* XXIX (1929), pp. 64-70.
_____ AND QUIBELL, J. E. *The Step Pyramid (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Excavations at Saqqara,* [XVII, XVIII]). 2 vols. Cairo, 1935, 1936.
FRASER, G. "The Early Tombs at Tehneh," *ASAE,* III (1902), pp. 67-76.
GARDINER, A. H. "The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni and His Brethren," *Ibid.,* XXXII (1946), pp. 71-76.
GARSTANG, J. *Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf (Egyptian Research Account,* 1901). London, 1903.
_____ *Tombs of the Third Dynasty at Reqaqnah and Bet Khallaf (Report of Excavations at Reqaqnah,* 1901, 1902). Westminster, 1904.
GAUTHIER, H. "Un Nouveau Nom royal," *BIFAO,* V (1906), pp. 41-42.
_____ "Le Roi Zadfré successeur immédiat de Khoufou-Khéops," *ASAE,* XXV (1925), pp. 178-180.
GILBERT, P. "La Date du temple de Kasr-el-Saga," *Chronique d'Égypte,* XIX (1944), pp. 31-34.
GRDSELOFF, B. "Deux Inscriptions juridiques de l'ancien empire," *ASAE,* XLII (1943), pp. 25-70.
_____ "Notes sur deux monuments inedits de l'ancien empire," *Ibid.,* pp. 108-125.
GRINSELL, L. V. *Egyptian Pyramids.* Gloucester, 1947.
GUNN, B. *The Instruction of Ptah-hotep and the Instruction of Ke'gemni: The Oldest Books in the World (The Wisdom of the East).* London, 1918.
_____ "Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid Site," *ASAE,* XXVI (1926), pp. 177-196.
HAYES, W. C. "Egyptian Tomb Reliefs of the Old Kingdom," *BMMA,* n.s. IV (1946), pp. 170-178.
HÖLSCHER, U. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephern (Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten,* I). Leipzig, 1912.
JÉQUIER, G. *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses variantes. . . .* Paris, 1911.
_____ AND DUNHAM, D. *Le Mastabat Faraoun (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Fouilles à Saqqarah).* Cairo, 1928.
JUNKER, H. *Gîza: Bericht über die . . . Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.* Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften 69-73). 8 vols. Vienna, 1929-1947.
_____ "Die Grabungen der Universität Kairo auf dem Pyramidenfeld von Giza," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo,* III (1932), pp. 123-149.
_____ "Phrnfr," *ZAS,* LXXV (1939), pp. 63-84.
KLEBS, L. *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Philosophisch-historische Klasse, III). Heidelberg, 1915.
LANSING, A. "An Old Kingdom Scribe," *BMMA,* XXI (1926), pp. 38-43.
_____ "The Museum's Excavations at Lisht," *Ibid.,* XXVIII (1933), April, Sect. II, pp. 4-26.
_____ "An Exchange of Egyptian Objects," *Ibid.,* XXXII (1937), pp. 285-286.
_____ "An Old Kingdom Statue Head," *Ibid.,* XXXVI (1941), pp. 250-252.
_____ "An Old Kingdom Captive," *Ibid.,* n.s. V (1947), pp. 149-152.
LAUER, J. P. *La Pyramide à degrés: L'Architecture (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Fouilles à Saqqarah).* 3 vols. Cairo, 1936-1939.
_____ "Le Temple funéraire de Khéops à la grande pyramide de Guizeh," *ASAE,* XLVI (1947), pp. 245-259. pls. LXVII-LXVIII.
_____ *Le Problème des pyramides d'Égypte.* Paris, 1948.

LYTHGOE, A. M. "Recent Egyptian Acquisitions," *BMMA,* II (1907), pp. 193-196; III (1908), pp. 220-223.

[_____ AND RANSOM, C. L.] *The Tomb of Perneb (The Metropolitan Museum of Art).* New York, 1916.

MACKAY, E., AND OTHERS. *Bahrein and Hemamieh (British School of Archaeology in Egypt,* 1925). London, 1929.

MARIETTE, A. *Les Mastabas de l'ancien empire.* Paris, 1889.

MASPERO, G. "La Pyramide du roi Ounas," *Rec. trav.,* III (1882), pp. 177-224; IV (1883), pp. 41-78.

_____ *Trois Années de fouilles dans les tombeaux de Thèbes et de Memphis (MMAF,* I), pp. 188-237. Cairo, 1884.

MAYSTRE, C. "Les Dates des pyramides de Sneferou," *BIFAO,* XXXV (1935), pp. 89-98.

MENGHIN, O., AND BITTEL, K. "Kasr el Sagha," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo,* V (1934), pp. 1-10.

MORGAN, J. DE. *Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894.* Vienna, 1895.

_____ *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895.* Vienna, 1903.

MURRAY, G. "A Note on the Sadd el-Kafara: The Ancient Dam in the Wadi Garawi," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte,* XXVIII (1947), pp. 33-46.

MURRAY, M. A. *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom (Studies of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt,* I). London, 1908.

_____ and (in part II) SETHE, K. H. *Saqqara Mastabas,* part I *(The Egyptian Research Account,* 1904) and part II *(Publications of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt,* no. 11). 2 vols. London, 1905, 1937.

NAVILLE, E., AND PEET, T. E. *The Cemeteries of Abydos (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 33rd-35th Memoirs). 3 parts. London, 1913, 1914.

PETRIE, W. M. F. *Medum.* London, 1882.

_____ *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh.* London [1883].

_____ *Deshasheh (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 15th Memoir). London, 1898.

_____ AND OTHERS. *Meydum and Memphis (III) (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account,* 1910). London, 1910.

QUIBELL, J. E. *Excavations at Saqqara, 1905-1910 (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte).* Cairo, 1907-1912.

_____ *The Tomb of Hesy (Ibid.).* Cairo, 1913.

_____ *Archaic Mastabas (Ibid.,* 1912-1914, [VI]). Cairo, 1923.

REISNER, G. A. "The Work of the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition," *BMFA,* IX (1911), pp. 54-59.

_____ Articles on Queen Hetep-heres I, the mother of Cheops. *BMFA,* XXV (1927), supplement, pp. 1-36; XXVI (1928), pp. 76-88; XXVII (1929), pp. 83-90; XXX (1932), pp. 56-60.

_____ *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza.* Cambridge (Mass.), 1931.

_____ *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops.* Cambridge (Mass.), 1936.

_____ *A History of the Giza Necropolis,* I. Cambridge (Mass.), 1942.

RICKE, H. *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches (Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde,* IV), I. Zürich, 1944.

ROUGÉ, E. DE. *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon.* . . . Paris, 1886. Reprinted in his *Oeuvres diverses (Bibliothèque égyptologique,* XXVI), VI, pp. 5-157. Paris, 1918.

ROWE, A. "The Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Expedition Excavations at Meydûm 1929-1930," *The Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania,* XXII (1931), pp. 5-46.

_____ "Provisional Notes on the Old Kingdom Inscriptions from the Diorite Quarries," *ASAE,* XXXVIII (1938), pp. 391-396, 678-688.

SCHÄFER, H. *Priestergräber . . . vom Totentempel des Ne-user-rê (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* VIII). Leipzig, 1908.

SCHARFF, A. "Die Lehre für Kagemni," *ZAS,* LXXVII (1941-1942), pp. 13-21.

SELIM HASSAN. *Excavations at Gîza, 1929-1935.* 6 vols. Cairo, 1932-1946.

_____ "Excavations at Saqqarah 1937-1938," *ASAE,* XXXVIII (1938), pp. 503-514.

SETHE, K. *Imhotep der Asklepios der Aegypter: Ein vergötterter Mensch aus der Zeit des Königs Doser (Unters.,* II, no. 4). Leipzig, 1902.

_____ *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens (Ibid.,* III). Leipzig, 1905.

_____ *Urkunden des alten Reichs (Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums,* I). Leipzig, 1932-1933.

SMITH, W. S. "The Origin of Some Unidentified Old Kingdom Reliefs," *American Journal of Archaeology,* XLVI (1942), pp. 509-531.

_____ *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom.* Cambridge (Mass.), 1946.

STEINDORFF, G. *Das Grab des Ti (Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten,* II). Leipzig. 1913.

WEILL, R. *Les Origines de l'Égypte pharaonique (Annales du Musée Guimet: Bibliothèque d'études,* XXV), part I: *La IIe el la IIIe Dynasties.* Paris, 1908.

WILLIAMS, C. R. *The Decoration of the Tomb of Perneb: The Technique and the Color Conventions (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art,* III). New York, 1932.

WILLIAMS, P. A. J. G. "In the Heart of the Dahshur Pyramid," *Illustrated London News,* March 22, 1947, p. 303.

_____ "Revolutionary Discoveries Which Identify Two Dahshur Pyramids," *Ibid.,* April 5, 1947, p. 344.

WINLOCK, H. E. "Bas-Reliefs from the Egyptian Delta," *BMMA,* XII (1917), pp. 64-67.

WRESZINSKI, W. *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte,* part III: *Gräber des alten Reiches unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Grapow bearbeitet von Heinrich Schäfer.* Leipzig, 1938.

8. The End of the Old Kingdom

THE SIXTH TO EIGHTH DYNASTIES

BAILLET, A. "Monuments des VIIIe-Xe Dynasties," *Rec. trav.,* XII (1892), pp. 48-52.

BISSING, F. W. VON. *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai.* 2 vols. Berlin, 1905-1911.

BLACKMAN, A. M. *The Rock Tombs of Meir (The Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Survey of Egypt,* 22nd-24th Memoirs). 3 parts. London, 1914, 1915.

CLÉDAT, J. "Deux Monuments nouveaux de Tell El-Maskhoutah," *Rec. trav.*, XXXII (1910), pp. 40-42.

DAVIES, N. DE G. *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi (The Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Survey of Egypt,* 11th and 12th Memoirs). 2 vols. London, 1902.

DRIOTON, É. "Notes diverses, 2: Une Corégence de Pepy Ier et de Mérenrê (?)," *ASAE,* XLIV (1945), p. 3.

DUELL, P. *The Mastaba of Mereruka (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications,* XXI, XXXIX). 2 vols. Chicago, 1938.

DUNHAM, D. *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).* London, 1937.

FIRTH, C. M., AND GUNN, B. *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Excavations at Saqqara).* 2 vols. Cairo, 1926.

FRANKFORT, H. "Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period," *JEA,* XII (1926), pp. 80-99.

GARDINER, A. H. *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 recto).* Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909.

_____ Review of Weill, *Décrets royaux. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* XXXIV (1912), pp. 257-265.

_____ "New Literary Texts from Ancient Egypt," *JEA,* I (1914), pp. 100-106.

_____ "An Administrative Letter of Protest," *Ibid.,* XIII (1927), pp. 75-78.

HAYES, W. C. "Two Egyptian Statuettes," *BMMA,* XXXIII (1938), pp. 107-108.

_____ "Royal Decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptus," *JEA,* XXXII (1946), pp. 3-23.

JÉQUIER, G. *La Pyramide d'Oudjebten (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Fouilles à Saqqarah).* Cairo, 1928.

_____ *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II (Ibid.).* Cairo, 1929.

_____ *Les Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit (Ibid.).* Cairo, 1933.

_____ *La Pyramide d'Aba (Ibid.).* Cairo, 1935.

_____ *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II (Ibid.).* 3 vols. Cairo, 1936-1940.

_____ "Les Femmes de Pepi II," *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith (The Egypt Exploration Society),* pp. 9-12. London, 1932.

_____ *Douze Ans de fouilles dans la nécropole memphite (1924-1936) (Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel,* XV). Neuchâtel, 1940.

KEES, H. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Vezirats im Alten Reich (Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Philologisch-historische Klasse, Fachgruppe 1: *Altertumswissenschaft,* n.s. IV, no. 2). Göttingen, 1940.

MASPERO, G. "La Pyramide du roi Teti." *Rec. trav.,* V (1884), pp. 1-59.

_____ "La Pyramide du roi Pepi Ier," *Ibid.,* V (1884), pp. 157-198; VII (1885), pp. 145-176; VIII (1886), pp. 87-120.

_____ "La Pyramide de Mirinri Ier," *Ibid.,* IX (1887), pp. 177-191; X (1888), pp. 1-29; XI (1889), pp. 1-31.

_____ "La Pyramide du roi Pepi II," *Ibid.,* XII (1892), pp. 53-95, 136-195; XIV (1893), pp. 125-152.

[MÖLLER, G. (ed.)] *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin,* III, pls. I-XVI. Leipzig, 1911.

MORET, A. "Chartres d'immunité dans l'ancien empire égyptien," *Journal asiatique,* 10th series, XX (1912), pp. 73-113; 11th series, VII (1916), pp. 271-341, 329-341; X (1917), pp. 359-387.

_____ Articles on the decrees of Koptos. *Comptes rendus . . . de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres,* 1914, pp. 565-574; 1916, pp. 140-148, 318-333, 378-386.

_____ "Une Révolution sociale en Égypte vers l'an 2000," *Revue de Paris,* II (1926), pp. 869-893.

NEWBERRY, P. E. "A Sixth Dynasty Tomb at Thebes," *ASAE,* IV (1903), pp. 97-100.

PETRIE, W. M. F. *Dendereh 1898 (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 17th Memoir). London, 1900.

_____ *Dendereh: Extra Plates (Ibid.,* Special Publication). London, 1900.

_____ *Abydos (Ibid.,* 22nd and 24th Memoirs), parts I, II. London, 1902, 1903.

PIRENNE, J. *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l'ancienne Égypte,* II, III. Brussels, 1934, 1935.

QUIBELL, J. E. *Excavations at Saqqara, 1907-1908 (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte).* Cairo, 1909.

_____ AND HAYTER, A. G. K. *Teti Pyramid, North Side (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Excavations at Saqqara).* Cairo, 1927.

SETHE, K. Review of Weill, *Décrets royaux. Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen,* December, 1912, pp. 705-726.

_____ *Urkunden des alten Reichs (Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums,* I). Leipzig, 1932-1933.

SMITHER, P. C. "An Old Kingdom Letter Concerning the Crimes of Count Sabni," *JEA,* XXVIII (1942), pp. 16-19.

STOCK, H. *Die ersten Zwischenzeit Ägyptens (Studia Aegyptiaca* II. *Analecta Orientalia* 31). Rome, 1949.

WEILL, R. *Les Décrets royaux de l'ancien empire égyptien. . . .* Paris, 1912.

WINLOCK, H. E. "The Publication of Objects in the Egyptian Collection," *BMMA,* XIV (1919), pp. 144-147.

9. The Herakleopolitan Period

ALLEN, T. G. "The Story of an Egyptian Politician," *AJSLL,* XXXVIII (1921), pp. 55-62.

ANTHES, R. "Die zeitliche Ansetzung des Fürsten *Nḥrj* I. von Hasengau," *ZAS,* LIX (1924), pp. 100-108.

_____ *Die Felseninschriften von Hat-nub (Unters.* IX). Leipzig, 1928.

BALY, T. J. C. "The Relations of the Eleventh Dynasty and the Heracleopolitans," *JEA,* XVIII (1932), pp. 173-176.

BRUNNER, H. *Die Anlagen der ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum mittleren Reich (Ägyptologische Forschungen,* III). Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York, 1936.

_____ *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut (Ibid.,* V). Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York, 1937.

BRUNTON, G. *Qau and Badari (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account,* 29th Year, 1923), I, II. London, 1927-1928.

CLÈRE, J. J., AND VANDIER, J. *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XIème dynastie (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca,* X). Brussels, 1948——

FAULKNER, R. O. "The Rebellion in the Hare Nome," *JEA,* XXX (1944), pp. 61-63.

FIRTH, C. M., AND GUNN, B. *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Excavations at Saqqara).* 2 vols. Cairo, 1926.

GARDINER, A. H. "New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt," *JEA,* I (1914), pp. 20-36.

_____ "A Stela of the Earlier Intermediate Period," *Ibid.,* VIII (1922), pp. 191-192.

_____ "The Eloquent Peasant," *Ibid.,* IX (1923), pp. 5-25.

GOLENISHCHEV, V. S. (ed.) *Les Papyrus hiératiques no. 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage impérial à St. Pétersbourg.* [St. Petersburg, 1913].

GRÉBAUT, M. E. *Le Musée égyptien: Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte (Ministère des travaux publiques),* I, pp. 30-34, pls. XXXIII-XXXVI. Cairo, 1890-1900.

GRIFFITH, F. LL. *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh.* London, 1889.

_____ "The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh," *The Babylonian and Oriental Record,* III (1888-1889), pp. 121-129, 164-168, 174-184, 244-252.

LANGE, H. O. *Inschriften des Gaufürsten Intf von Hermonthis (Sb. Berlin,* 1914, pp. 991 ff.). Berlin, 1914.

LEGRAIN, G. "Notes prises à Karnak, III: Statue votive d'Ousertesen Ier à son ancêtre, le prince Antef-aa," *Rec. trav.,* XXII (1900), p. 64.

MONTET, P. "Les Tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh," *Kêmi,* III (1930), pp. 89-111; VI (1936), pp. 138-155.

NEWBERRY, P. E. *Beni Hasan (The Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Survey of Egypt),* II. London, 1893.

_____ "King [*Nb-k3w-R^{c}*] of the Story of the Eloquent Peasant," *ZAS,* L (1912), p. 123.

_____ "The Inscribed Tombs of Ekhmîm," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Liverpool,* IV (1912), pp. 99-120.

_____ "On the Parentage of the Intef Kings of the Eleventh Dynasty," *ZAS,* LXXII (1936), pp. 118-120.

_____ AND OTHERS. *El Bersheh (The Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Survey of Egypt,* 3rd and 4th Memoirs), parts I, II. London, 1892, 1893.

PETRIE, W. M. F. *Ehnasya 1904 (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 26th Memoir). London, 1905.

_____ *Qurneh (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account,* 15th Year, 1909). London, 1909.

_____ AND BRUNTON, G. *Sedment* I, II *(Ibid.,* 27th Year, 1921). 2 vols. London, 1924.

POLOTSKY, H. J. "The Stela of Heḳa-yeb," *JEA,* XVII (1930), pp. 194-199.

QUIBELL, J. E. *Excavations at Saqqara, 1905-1906* and *1906-1907 (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte).* Cairo, 1907, 1908.

SCHARFF, A. *Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikarê (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, 1936, no. 8). Munich, 1936.

SPIEGELBERG, W. "Ein angeblicher thebanische Gaugraf Antef," *ZAS,* L (1912), p. 119.

STEINDORFF, G., AND WOLF, W. *Die thebanische Gräberwelt (Leipziger ägyptologische Studien,* IV). Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1936.

STOCK, H. *Die ersten Zwischenzeit Ägyptens (Studia Aegyptiaca,* II. *Analecta Orientalia,* 31). Rome, 1949.

VANDIER, J. "La Stèle 20.001 du Musée du Caire," *Mélanges Maspero (MIFAO, LXVI), I,* pp. 137-145. Cairo, 1935.

_____ "Quelques Stèles de soldats de la première période intermédiaire." *Chronique d'Égypte,* XVIII (1943), pp. 21-29; XIX (1944), p. 61.

_____ "La Tombe d'Ankhtifi à Moʿalla (Haute Égypte)," *Comptes rendus . . . de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres,* 1947, pp. 1-37.

VOGELSANG, F., AND GARDINER, A. H. *Die Klagen des Bauern (Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königliche Museen zu Berlin,* IV. *Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches,* I). Leipzig, 1908.

VOLTEN, A. *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften (Analecta Aegyptiaca, IV). Copenhagen,* 1945.

WINLOCK, H. E. "The Theban Necropolis in the Middle Kingdom," *AJSLL,* XXXII (1915), pp. 1-37.

_____ *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes.* New York, 1947.

10. The Eleventh Dynasty

ANTHES, R. "Eine Polizeistreife des mittleren Reiches in die westliche Oase," *ZAS,* LXV (1930), pp. 108-114.

BISSING, F. W. VON. "Zur Geschichte der 11ten Dynastie: Lesesfruchte, XXXII," *Rec. trav.,* XXXIII (1911), pp. 19-26.

BLACKMAN, A. M. "The Stele of Thethi, Brit. Mus. No. 614," *JEA,* XVII (1931), pp. 55-61.

BONNET, H. "Zur Baugeschichte des Mentu-hoteptempels," *ZAS,* LX (1925), pp. 40-45.

BULL, L. S. "A New Vizier of the Eleventh Dynasty," *JEA,* X (1924), p. 15.

CAPART, J. (ed.) *Fouilles d'el Kab: Documents (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth).* Brussels, 1940.

CARNARVON, THE EARL OF, AND CARTER, H. *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907-1911.* London, 1912.

CHEVRIER, H. "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1937-1938)," *ASAE,* XXXVIII (1938), pp. 567-608.

CLÉDAT, J. "Un Nouveau Monument du roi Sankhherâ," *Rec. trav.,* XXXI (1909), pp. 64-65.

CLÈRE, J. J., AND VANDIER, J. *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XIème dynastie (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca,* X). Brussels, 1948___

DARESSY, G. "Notes et remarques," *Rec. trav.,* XVI (1894), pp. 46-60.

_____ "Fragments de stèles de la XIe dynastie," *ASAE,* VIII (1907), pp. 242-247.

_____ "Chapelle de Mentouhotep III à Dendérah," *Ibid.,* XVII (1917), pp. 226-236.

DAVIES, N. DE G. *Five Theban Tombs (The Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Survey of Egypt,* 21st Memoir). London, 1913.

GARDINER, A. H. "The Tomb of a Much-travelled Theban Official," *JEA,* IV (1917), pp. 28-38.

GAUTHIER, H. "Quelques Remarques sur la XIe dynastie," *BIFAO,* V (1906), p. 23-40.

_____ "Nouvelles Remarques sur la XIe dynastie," *Ibid.,* IX (1911), pp. 99-136.

HAYES, W. C. "Career of the Great Steward Ḥenenu under Nebḥepetrēʿ Mentu-ḥotpe," *JEA,* XXXV (1949), pp. 43-49.

LANGE, H. O. "Zwei Inschriften der Fürsten von Hermonthis," *ZAS,* XXXIV (1896), pp. 25-35.

LANGE, H. O., *continued*

_____ AND SCHÄFER, H. *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs . . . (CCG,* nos. 20001-20780). 4 vols. Berlin, 1902-1925.

MASPERO, G. *Trois Années de fouilles dans les tombeaux de Thèbes et de Memphis (MMAF,* I, 2). Paris, 1885.

MOND, R., AND MYERS, O. H. *Temples of Armant: A Preliminary Survey (The Egypt Exploration Society).* 2 vols. London, 1940.

NAVILLE, E. *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 28th, 30th, and 32nd Memoirs). 3 vols. London, 1907-1913.

_____ "La XIe Dynastie, I, II," *ZAS,* XLVI (1909), pp. 82-89; L (1912), pp. 9-12.

NEWBERRY, P. E. "Miscellanea, II: A New Vizier of the Eleventh Dynasty," *JEA,* XIV (1928), p. 109.

PEET, T. E. "A Mortuary Contract of the XIth Egyptian Dynasty," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Liverpool,* VII (1916), pp. 81-88.

PETRIE, W. M. F. *Dendereh 1898 (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 17th Memoir). London, 1900.

_____ *Abydos (Ibid.,* 24th Memoir). part II. London, 1903.

POLOTSKY, H. J. *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie (Unters.,* XI). Leipzig, 1929.

SETHE, K. "Zur Königsfolge der 11. Dynastie," *ZAS,* XLII (1905), pp. 259-273.

_____ "Zur Datierung der Grabinschriften des Gaufürsten *Intf* von Hermonthis aus der Zeit der 11. Dynastie in London, Kopenhagen und Berlin," *Ibid.,* LII (1914), p. 128.

_____ "Die mit den Bezeichnungen der Schiffgeräte ⩓ und ⩔ gebildeten Namen Mentuḥotp-Könige," *Ibid.,* LXII (1927), pp. 3-5.

STEINDORFF, G. "Die Könige Mentuhotep und Antef," *ZAS,* XXXIII (1895), pp. 77-96.

VANDIÉR, J. "Un Nouvel Antef de la XIe dynastie," *BIFAO,* XXXVI (1936), pp. 101-116.

_____ "L'Ordre de succession des derniers rois de la XIe dynastie," *Studia Aegyptiaca* I (*Analecta Orientalia* 17), pp. 36-47. Rome, 1938.

WERBROUCK, M. "La Décoration murale du temple des Mentouhotep," *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire* [Brussels], 3rd series, IX (1937), pp. 36-44.

WILLIAMS, C. R. "The Abbott Collection," *Quarterly Bulletin of the New York Historical Society,* II (1918), pp. 14-21.

WINLOCK, H. E. *Excavations at Deir el Baḥri, 1911-1931.* New York, 1942.

[An account of work done by the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition, reprinted by The Macmillan Company under the author's copyright, with the Museum's permission and with some revisions, from the Museum's *Bulletin* for the years 1912-1932, 1936, and 1940.]

_____ *The Slain Soldiers of Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ Mentu-ḥotpe (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition.* XVI). New York, 1945.

_____ *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes.* New York, 1947.

11. The Twelfth Dynasty

ARKELL, A. J. "A Mother-of-Pearl Shell Disk of Senwosret III," *JEA,* XXX (1944), p. 74.

BLACKMAN, A. M. *Middle-Egyptian Stories (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca,* II), part I. Brussels, 1932.

BORCHARDT, L. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten (CCG,* nos. 1-1294). parts I, II. Berlin, 1911, 1925.

BOREUX, C. "À propos d'un Linteau représentant Sésostris III trouvé à Médamoud," *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot),* XXXII (1932), pp. 1-20.

BRUNTON, G. *Lahun I: The Treasure (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account,* 20th year, 1914). London, 1920.

_____ "A Monument of Amenemhet IV," *ASAE,* XXXIX (1939), pp. 177-185.

BUCK, A. DE. "The Instruction of Amenemmes," *Mélanges Maspero (MIFAO,* LXVI), I: *Orient ancien,* pp. 847-852. Cairo, 1935-1938.

_____ "The Building Inscription of the Berlin Leather Roll," *Studia Aegyptiaca* I (*Analecta Orientalia* 17), pp. 48-57. Rome, 1938.

CHEVRIER, H. "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak: Monument de Senouosrit Ier," *ASAE* XXXVIII (1938), pp. 567-595.

_____ "Une Chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak," *Comptes rendus . . . de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres,* 1943, pp. 221-234.

DARESSY, G. "Sur le Naos de Senusert Ier trouvé à Karnak," *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne,* I (1927), pp. 203-211.

DAVIES, N. DE G., AND OTHERS. *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of His Wife, Senet (No. 60) (The Egypt Exploration Society: The Theban Tomb Series,* 2nd Memoir). London, 1920.

DONADONI, S. "Testi geroglifici di Madinet Madi," *Orientalia,* XVI (1947), pp. 333-352, 506-524.

ENGELBACH, R. "The So-called Hyksos Monuments," *ASAE,* XXVIII (1928), pp. 13-28.

_____ "The Quarries of the Western Nubian Desert: A Preliminary Report," *Ibid.,* XXXIII (1933), pp. 65-74.

_____ "The Quarries of the Western Nubian Desert and the Ancient Road to Tushka," *Ibid.,* XXXVIII (1938), pp. 369-390.

ERMAN, A. "Zwei Rekrutenaushebungen in Abydos aus dem mittleren Reich," *ZAS,* XXXVIII (1900), pp. 42-43.

EVERS, H. G. *Staat aus dem Stein: Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des mittleren Reichs.* 2 vols. Munich, 1929.

FAULKNER, R. O. "Some Notes on 'the Teaching of Amenemmes I to His Son,'" *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith (The Egypt Exploration Society),* pp. 69-73. London, 1932.

FIRCHOW, O. *Studien zu den Pyramidenanlagen der 12. Dynastie (Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Georg August Universität zu Göttingen).* Göttingen, 1942.

GARDINER, A. H. "Notes on the Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor," *ZAS,* XLV (1908-1909), pp. 60-66.

_____ "Inscriptions from the Tomb of Si-renpowet I, Prince of Elephantine," *Ibid.,* XLV (1908-1909), pp. 123-140.

_____ *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe.* Paris, 1916.

_____ "The Accession Day of Sesostris I," *JEA,* XXXII (1946), p. 100.

GARDINER, A. H., AND BELL, H. I. "The Name of Lake Moeris," *JEA*, XXIX (1943), pp. 37-50.

GAUTHIER, H. "Une Nouvelle Statue d'Amenemhêt 1er," *Mélanges Maspero (MIFAO*, LXVI), I: *Orient ancien*, pp. 43-53. Cairo, 1935-1938.

GAUTIER, J. E., AND JÉQUIER, G. *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht (MIFAO*, VI). Cairo, 1902.

GOYON, G. "Trouvaille à Tanis de fragments appartenant à la statue de Senousrit 1er, no. 634 du Musée du Caire," *ASAE*, XXXVII (1937), pp. 81-84.

GRIFFITH, F. LL. *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*. London, 1889.

_____ *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (Principally of the Middle Kingdom)*. 2 vols. London, 1898.

GUNN, B. "Notes on Ammenemes I," *JEA*, XXVII (1941), pp. 2-6.

_____ "The Name of the Pyramid-Town of Sesostris II," *Ibid.*, XXXI (1945), pp. 106-107.

HABACHI, L. "Une 'Vaste Salle' d'Amenemhat III à Kiman-Farrés (Fayoum)," *ASAE*, XXXVII (1937), pp. 85-95.

_____ "The Monument of Biyahmū," *Ibid.*, XL (1940), pp. 721-732.

HALL, H. R. "A Sphinx of Amenemhet IV," *British Museum Quarterly* II, (1927), pp. 87-88.

_____ "A Portrait-Statuette of Sesostris III," *JEA*. XV (1929), p. 154.

HAYES, W. C. "The Entrance Chapel of the Pyramid of Se'n-Wosret I," *BMMA*, XXIX (1934), *November*, sect. II, pp. 9-26.

_____ "Royal Portraits of the Twelfth Dynasty," *Ibid.*, n.s. V (1946), pp. 119-124.

KEES, H. "Zu einigen Fachausdrücken der altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung," *ZAS*, LXX (1934), pp. 83-91.

KLEBS, L. *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, VI). Heidelberg, 1922.

LANGE, H. O., AND SCHÄFER, H. *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs . . . (CCG*, nos. 20001-20780). 4 vols. Berlin, 1902-1925.

LANSING, A. "Excavations . . . at Lisht," *BMMA*, XV (1920), July, part II, pp. 3-11; XIX (1924), December, part II, pp. 33-43; XXI (1926), March, part II, pp. 33-40; XXVIII (1933), April, sect. II, pp. 3-22, November, sect. II, pp. 4-26; XXIX (1934), November, sect. II, pp. 4-9, 27-40.

LYTHGOE, A. M. "The Egyptian Expedition," *BMMA*, II (1907), pp. 61-63, 113-117, 163-169; III (1908), pp. 83-86, 170-173; IV (1909), pp. 119-123.

_____ "Excavations at the South Pyramid at Lisht in 1914," *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, pp. 145-153.

_____ "The Treasure of Lahun," *BMMA*, XIV (1919), December, part II.

_____ "A Gift to the Egyptian Collection," *Ibid.*, XXI (1926), pp. 4-6.

MACE, A. C. "The Egyptian Expedition" (Excavations at Lisht). *BMMA*, III (1908), pp. 184-188; IX (1914), pp. 207-222; XVI (1921), November, part II, pp. 5-18; XVII (1922), December, part II, pp. 4-18.

_____ "The Caskets of Princess Sat-hathor-iunut," *Ibid.*, XV (1920), pp. 151-156.

_____ "The Lahun Caskets," *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, pp. 4-6.

MASPERO, G. "Les Premières Lignes des Mémoires de Sinouhit restituées d'après l'ostracon 27419 du Musée de Boulaq," *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, VIII (1900), pp. 281-305.

_____ "Note sur le pyramidion d'Amenemhaît III à Dahchour," *ASAE, III* (1902), pp. 206-208.

_____ *Les Enseignements d'Amenemhait 1er à son fils Sanouasrit 1er (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire: Bibliothèque d'étude*, VI). Cairo, 1914.

MORET, A. "L'Accession de la plèbe égyptienne aux droits religieux et politiques sous le moyen empire," *Recueil d'études égyptologiques*, 1922, pp. 331-360.

MORGAN, J. DE. *Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894*. Vienna, 1895.

_____ *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*. Vienna, 1903.

MÜLLER, H. W. *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine (Ägyptologishe Forschungen*, IX). Glückstadt, 1940.

NAUMANN, R. "Der Tempel des mittleren Reiches in Medînet Mādi," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, VIII (1939), pp. 185-189, pl. XXX.

NEWBERRY, P. E. "Co-Regencies of Ammenemes III, IV and Sebknefru," *JEA*, XXIX (1943), pp. 74-75.

_____ AND OTHERS. *Beni Hasan (The Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 7th Memoirs), parts I-IV. 4 vols. London, 1893-1900.

PEET, T. E. *The Stela of Sebek-khu: The Earliest Record of an Egyptian Campaign in Asia (The Manchester Museum*, Publication 75). Manchester, 1914.

PETRIE, W. M. F. *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*. London, 1889.

_____ *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*. London, 1890.

_____ *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob, 1889-90*. London, 1891.

_____ *Researches in Sinai*. New York, 1906.

_____ AND OTHERS. *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account*, 18th Year, 1912). London, 1912.

_____ *Lahun II (Ibid.*, 26th Year, 1920). London, 1923.

PIEPER, M. "Ein Wechsel im Horusnamen Amenemhêts I," *ZAS*, L (1912), pp. 119-120.

_____ "Zum Staate des mittleren Reiches in Ägypten," *Mélanges Maspero (MIFAO*, LXVI), I: *Orient ancien*, pp. 177-184. Cairo, 1935-1938.

REISNER, G. A. "The Tomb of Hepzefa, Nomarch of Siût," *JEA*, V (1918), pp. 79-98.

RICKE, H. "Eine Inventartafel aus Heliopolis im Turiner Museum," *ZAS*, LXXI (1935), pp. 111-133.

RICKETTS, C. "Head of Amenemmēs III in Obsidian," *JEA*, IV (1917), pp. 71-73.

ROWE, A. "Three New Stelae from the Southeastern Desert," *ASAE*, XXXIX (1939), pp. 187-197.

SCHÄFER, H. "Ein Zug nach der grossen Oase unter Sesostris I," *ZAS*, XLII (1905), pp. 124-128.

SCHARFF, A. "Briefe aus Illahun," *ZAS*, LIX (1924), pp. 20-51.

_____ "Illahun und die mit Königsnamen des mittleren Reiches gebildeten Ortsnamen," *Ibid.*, LIX (1924), pp. 51-55.

SETHE, K. *Sesostris (Unters.*, II, 1). Leipzig, 1900.

_____ *Historisch-biographische Urkundem des mittleren Reiches (Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums*, VII, 1). Leipzig, 1900.

_____ "Der Name Sesostris," *ZAS*, XLI (1904), pp. 43-57.

STECKEWEH, H. *Die Fürstengräber von Qâw (Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition,* VI). Leipzig, 1936.

STEINDORFF, G. "A Portrait-Statue of Sesostris III," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* III (1940), pp. 42-53.

VOGLIANO, A. *Secondo rapporto degli scavi . . . nella zona di Mādīnet Mādi (1936) (Pubblicazioni della Regia Universita di Milano).* Milan, 1937.

WILLIAMS, C. R. *The Stela of Menthu-weser.* New York, 1913.

WINLOCK, H. E. "Pearl Shells of Se'n-Wosret I," *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith (The Egypt Exploration Society),* pp. 388-392. London, 1932.

_____ *The Treasure of el Lahūn (The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Publications of the Department of Egyptian Art,* IV). New York, 1934.

12. The End of the Middle Kingdom

THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH DYNASTIES

ALBRIGHT, W. F. "An Indirect Synchronism between Egypt and Mesopotamia, cir. 1730 B.C.," *Journal of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* no. 99 (October, 1945), pp. 9-18.

BARSANTI, A. "Stèle inédite au nom du roi Radadouhotep Doudoumes," *ASAE,* IX (1908), pp. 1-2.

CARNARVON, THE EARL OF, AND CARTER, H. *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907-1911.* London, 1912.

CHASSINAT, É. "Le *mar* du Roi Menibré, à Edfou," *BIFAO,* XXX (1931), pp. 299-303.

COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET, R. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud, 1931: Les Monuments du moyen empire (Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archèologie orientale du Caire,* IX). Cairo, 1933.

DARESSY, G. "Notes et remarques," *Rec. trav.,* XIV (1893), pp. 20-38.

ENGELBACH, R. "Steles and Tables of Offerings of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfû," *ASAE,* XXII (1922), pp. 113-138.

EVERS, H. G. *Staat aus dem Stein: Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des mittleren Reichs.* 2 vols. Munich, 1929.

GARDINER, A. H. "Tanis and Pi-Raʿmesse: A Retractation," *JEA,* XIX (1933), pp. 122-128.

GAUTHIER, H. "Trois Vizirs du moyen empire," *ASAE,* XVIII (1919), pp. 265-269.

_____ "Vestiges de la fin du moyen empire à Karnak," *Ibid.,* XXXI (1931), pp. 191-192.

GRIFFITH, F. LL. "The Account Papyrus No. 18 of Boulaq," *ZAS,* XXIX (1891), pp. 102-116.

_____ *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob.* 2 vols. London, 1898.

GUNN, B. "A Middle Kingdom Stela from Edfu," *ASAE,* XXIX (1929), pp. 5-14.

HAYES, W. C. "Horemkhaʿuef of Nekhen and His Trip to Iṭ-towe," *JEA,* XXXIII (1947), pp. 3-11.

JÉQUIER, G. *Deux Pyramides du moyen empire (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Fouilles à Saqqarah,* XIV). Cairo, 1933.

_____ *Douze Ans de fouilles dans la nécropole memphite, 1924-1936 (Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel,* XV). Neuchâtel, 1940.

KEES, H. "Zu einigen Fachausdrücken der altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung," *ZAS,* LXX (1934), pp. 83-91.

KEES, H., *continued*

_____ *Tanis: Ein kritischer Überblick zur Geschichte der Stadt (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen,* Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1944). Göttingen, 1944.

KUENTZ, C. "Quelques Monuments du culte de Sobk," *BIFAO,* XXVIII (1928), pp. 113-172.

LANGE, H. O., AND SCHÄFER, H. *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs . . . (CCG,* nos. 20001-20780). 4 vols. Berlin, 1908-1925.

LANSING, A. "Excavations in the Asasif at Thebes," *BMMA,* XV (1920), July, part II, pp. 11-24.

_____ "The Egyptian Expedition 1931-1932: The Museum's Excavations at Lisht," *BMMA,* XXVII (1932), pp. 3-22.

LEGRAIN, G. "Notes d'inspection, II, XI, XVIII, XX, XXVIII, XXX, XLIX, LX, LXIV," *ASAE,* III (1902) and V-X (1904-1910).

_____ "Notes prises à Karnak, IX: Trois Rois inconnus," *Rec. trav.,* XXVI (1904), pp. 218-221.

_____ *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers (CCG,* nos. 42001-42138), I. Cairo, 1906.

LYTHGOE, A. M. "The Egyptian Expedition, II: Excavations at the South Pyramid of Lisht in 1914," *BMMA,* X (1915), February, supplement, pp. 5-22.

MACE, A. C. "The Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities," BMMA, VI (1911), January, supplement.

_____ "Excavations at Lisht," *Ibid.,* XVI (1921), November, part II, pp. 5-19; XVII (1922), December, part II, pp. 4-18.

_____ "A Group of Hitherto Unpublished Scarabs in the Metropolitan Museum," *JEA,* VII (1921), pp. 36-38.

_____ "A Group of Scarabs Found at Lisht," *Ibid.,* VIII (1922), pp. 13-15.

MONTET, P. "La Stèle de l'an 400 retrouvée," *Kêmi,* IV (1931), pp. 191-215.

_____ *Le Drame d'Avaris: Essai sur la pénétration des sémites en Égypte.* Paris, 1941.

MORGAN, J. DE, AND OTHERS. *Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894.* Vienna, 1895.

NAVILLE, E. "Le Roi Nehasi," *Rec. trav.,* XV (1893), pp. 97-101.

_____ *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari (The Egypt Exploration Fund,* 30th Memoir), part II. London, 1910.

NEWBERRY, P. E. "Note on a New Egyptian King of the XIII Dynasty," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* XXI (1899), pp. 282-283.

_____ "Extracts from My Notebooks," nos. 10, 24, 26, 33, 34, 41-45, 49, 55, 59, 62-63, *Ibid.,* XXII-XXV (1900-1903), XXVII (1905).

PETRIE, W. M. F., AND OTHERS. *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account,* 18th Year, 1912). London, 1912.

PIEPER, M. *Die Könige Aegyptens zwischen dem mittleren und neuen Reich.* Berlin, 1904.

_____ "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der XIII. Dynastie," *ZAS,* LI (1914), pp. 94-105.

_____ *Die Grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft (E. V.),* XXXII, 2). Leipzig, 1929.

_____ "Zum Staate des mittleren Reiches in Ägypten," *Mélanges Maspero (MIFAO,* LXVI), I: *Orient ancien,* pp. 177-184. Cairo, 1934.

PINCHES, T. G., AND NEWBERRY, P. E. "A Cylinder-Seal Inscribed in Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform in the Collection of the Earl of Carnarvon," *JEA*, VII (1921), pp. 196-199.

RANKE, H. "Ein Wesir der 13. Dynastie," *Mélanges Maspero* (*MIFAO*, LXVI), I: *Orient ancien*, pp. 361-365. Cairo, 1934.

SCHARFF, A. "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie (Papyrus Boulaq Nr. 18)," *ZAS*, LVII (1922), pp. 51-68.

SETHE, K. "Der Denkstein mit dem Datum des Jahres 400 der Ära von Tanis," *ZAS*, LXV (1930), pp. 85-89.

STOCK, H. *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skarabäen dieser Zwischenzeit* (*Ägyptologische Forschungen*, XII). Glückstadt, 1942.

TYLOR, J. J. *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: the Tomb of Sebeknekht*. London, 1896.

WEILL, R. *La Fin du moyen empire égyptien: Étude sur les monuments et l'histoire de la période comprise entre la XIIe et la XVIIIe dynastie*. 2 vols. Paris, 1918.

_____ "Notes sur 'La Fin du moyen empire égyptien,'" *Journal asiatique*, CCII (1923), pp. 118-130.

_____ "Les Successeurs de la XIIe dynastie à Médamoud," *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne*, II (1929), pp. 144-171.

_____ "Compléments pour 'La Fin du moyen empire égyptien': Monuments et faits documentaires," *BIFAO*, XXXII (1932), pp. 7-52.

WINLOCK, H. E. "Excavations at Thebes . . .," *BMMA*, XVII (1922), December, part II, pp. 19-48.

_____ *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*. New York, 1947.

13. Foreign Relations

CAPART, J. "Figurines égyptiennes d'envoûtement," *Comptes rendus . . . de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, 1938, pp. 66-74.

POSENER, G. "Nouveaux Textes hiératiques de proscription," *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, I, pp. 313-317. Paris, 1939.

_____ "Nouvelles Listes de proscription (Ächtungstexte) datant du moyen empire," *Chronique d'Égypte*, no. 27 (January, 1939), pp. 39-46.

_____ *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie: Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du moyen empire* (*Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth*). Brussels, 1940.

SETHE, K. *Die Achtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongegässscherben des mittleren Reiches* (*Abh. Berlin*, 1926, no. 5). Berlin, 1926.

AFRICA

The Archaeological Survey of Nubia (*Ministry of Finance, Egypt: Survey of Egypt*). *Reports for* 1907-1908, *1908-1909, 1909-1910*. Cairo, 1910-1915.

BORCHARDT, L. *Altägyptische Festungen an der zweiten Nilschnelle* (*Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition*, III). Leipzig, 1923.

BREASTED, J. H. "The Wadi Halfa Stela of Senwosret I," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIII (1901), pp. 230-235.

BREASTED, J. H., *continued*

_____ "The Temples of Lower Nubia," *AJSLL*, XXIII (1906), pp. 1-64.

_____ "Second Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition," *Ibid.*, XXV (1908), pp. 1-110.

CLARKE, S. "Ancient Egyptian Frontier Fortresses," *JEA*, III (1916), pp. 155-179.

EMERY, W. B., AND KIRWAN, L. P. *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan 1929-1931* (*Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Mission archéologique de Nubie*, 1929-1934). 2 vols. Cairo, 1935.

FARINA, G. "La prima pittura di negro," *Rassegna di studi etiopici*, III (1934), pp. 139-147.

GARDINER, A. H. "An Ancient List of the Fortresses of Nubia," *JEA*, III (1916), pp. 184-192.

HÖLSCHER, W. *Libyer und Ägypter: Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Geschichte libyscher Völkerschaften nach den altägyptischen Quellen* (*Ägyptologische Forschungen*, IV). Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York, 1937.

JUNKER, H. Accounts of excavations at el-Kubanieh, Ermmeneh, and Tushkeh in 1910-1912. *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Philologish-historische Klasse, LXII, LXIV, LXVII, LXVIII. Vienna and Leipzig, 1919-1926.

_____ "The First Appearance of Negroes in History," *JEA*, VII (1921), pp. 121-132.

_____ "Bemerkungen zur Kerma-Kunst," *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (*The Egypt Exploration Society*), pp. 297-303. London, 1932.

RANDALL-MACIVER, D., AND WOOLLEY, C. L. *Buhen* (*University of Pennsylvania: Egyptian Department of the University Museum, Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Expedition to Nubia*, VII, VIII). 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1911.

REISNER, G. A. *Excavations at Kerma* (*Harvard African Studies*, V, VI). Cambridge (Mass.), 1923.

_____ "Excavations in Egypt and Ethiopia 1922-1925," *BMFA*, XXIII (1925), pp. 17-29.

_____ "Ancient Egyptian Forts at Semna and Uronarti," *Ibid.*, XXVII (1929), pp. 64-75.

ROEDER, G. *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche* (*Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Les Temples immergés de la Nubie*). 3 vols. Cairo, 1911, 1912.

SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, T. *Ägypten und Nubien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik*. Lund, 1941.

STEINDORFF, G. "Nubien, die Nubier und die sogenannten Trogodyten," *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (*The Egypt Exploration Society*), pp. 358-368. London, 1932.

_____ *Aniba* (*Service des antiquités: Mission archéologique de Nubie*, 1929-1934). 2 vols. Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York, 1935, 1937.

WEIGALL, A. E. P. *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia* (*The First Cataract to the Sudan Frontier*) *and Their Condition in 1906-7* (*Egypt: Department of Antiquities*). Oxford, 1907.

ASIA AND THE AEGEAN AREA

ALBRIGHT, W. F. "The Egyptian Empire in the Twenty-First Century B.C.," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, VIII (1928), pp. 223-256.

_____ "Palestine in the Earliest Historical Period," *Ibid.*, XV (1935), pp. 193-234.

ALLEN, T. G. "A Middle Kingdom Egyptian Contact with Asia Minor," *AJSLL*, XLIII (1927), pp. 294-296.

ALT, A. "Die asiatischen Gefahrzonen in den Ächtungstexten der 11. Dynastie," *ZAS*, LXIII (1928), pp. 39-45.

BISSON DE LA ROQUE, F. "Le Trésor de Tôd," *Chronique d'Égypte*, XII (1937), pp. 21-26.

BLACKMAN, A. M. "A Reference to Sesostris III's Syrian Campaign," *JEA*, II (1915), p. 13.

BULL, L. S. "Egypt and Syria-Palestine," *BMMA*, XXIII (1938), pp. 39-42.

CAPART, J. "L'Égyptienne d'Adana," *Bulletins de la classe des lettres*, etc., *Académie royale de Belgique*, November 7, 1921, pp. 543-547.

CHÉHAB, M. "Un Trésor d'orfévrerie syro-égyptien," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, I (1937), pp. 7-21.

DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, COMTE. "L'Ancienne Qatna . . .: Deuxième campagne de fouilles (1927)," *Syria*, IX (1928), pp. 6-24.

_____ *Le Site archéologique de Mishrifé-Qatna (Collection de textes et documents d'orient*, I). Paris, 1935.

DUNAND, M. *Fouilles de Byblos (République libanaise, Direction de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts: Études et documents d'archéologie*, I), I (atlas and text). 2 vols. Paris, 1937, 1939.

DUSSAUD, R. "Nouveaux Renseignements sur la Palestine et la Syrie vers 2000 avant notre ère," *Syria*, VIII (1927), pp. 216-233.

_____ "Nouveaux Textes égyptiens d'exécration contre les peuples syriens," *Ibid.*, XXI (1940), pp. 170-182.

FIMMEN, D. *Die kretische-mykenische Kultur*. 2nd edition. Leipzig and Berlin, 1924.

FRANKFORT, H. "Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period," *JEA*, XII (1926), pp. 80-99.

HALL, H. R. "The Relations of Aegean with Egyptian Art," *JEA*, I (1914), pp. 110-118, 197-206.

KANTOR, H. J. *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B. C. (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America and the College Art Association of America*, IV). Bloomington (Indiana), 1947.

MONTET, P. "Un Égyptien, roi de Byblos, sous la XII[e] dynastie," *Syria*, VIII (1927), pp. 85-92.

_____ "Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire des relations entre l'ancienne Égypte et la Syrie," *Kémi*, I (1928), pp. 19-28, 83-93.

_____ *Byblos et l'Égypte: Quatre Campagnes de fouilles à Gebeil*, 1921-1924. 2 vols. Paris, 1928, 1929.

_____ "À propos de la Statuette de Sanousrit-Ankh," *Syria*, XVII (1936), pp. 202-203.

NAVILLE, E. "Le Vase à parfum de Byblos," *Syria*, III (1922), pp. 291-295. Reprinted from *Syria* in *Les Travaux archéologiques en Syrie 1920 à 1922*, pp. 32-38. Paris, 1923.

NELSON, H. H. "Fragments of Egyptian Old Kingdom Stone Vessels from Byblos," *Berytus*, I (1934), pp. 19-22.

OLMSTEAD, A. T. *History of Palestine and Syria*. New York, 1931.

PEET, T. E. "Early Egyptian Influence in the Mediterranean," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVII (1910-1911), pp. 250-263.

_____ *The Stela of Sebek-khu: The Earliest Record of an Egyptian Campaign in Asia (The Manchester Museum*, Publication 75). Manchester, 1914.

PENDLEBURY, J. D. S. *Aegyptiaca; A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area*. Cambridge, 1930.

PENDLEBURY, J. D. S., *continued*

_____ *The Archaeology of Crete: An Introduction*. London, 1939.

ROWE, A. *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (Government of Palestine, Department of Antiquities)*. Cairo, 1936.

SCHAEFFER, C. F. A. "Les Fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras-Shamra, Quatrième campagne (Printemps 1932): Rapport sommaire," *Syria*, XIV (1933), pp. 93-127.

_____ "Les Fouilles de Ras-Shamra, Cinquième campagne (Printemps 1933): Rapport sommaire," *Ibid.*, XV (1934), pp. 105-133.

SETHE, K. "Zur ältesten Geschichte des ägyptischen Seeverkehrs mit Byblos und dem Libanongebiet," *ZAS*, XLV (1908), pp. 7-14.

_____ "Ein ägyptisches Denkmal des alten Reiches von der Insel Kythera," *Ibid.*, LIII (1917), pp. 55-58.

VANDIER, J. "À propos d'un Dépôt de provenance asiatique trouvé à Tôd," *Syria*, XVIII (1937), pp. 174-182.

VIROLLEAUD, C., "Découverte à Byblos d'un hypogée de la douzième dynastie égyptienne," *Syria*, III (1922), pp. 273-290. Reprinted from *Syria* in *Les Travaux archéologiques en Syrie de 1920 à 1922*, pp. 14-31. Paris, 1923.

WAINWRIGHT, G. A. "The Occurrence of Tin and Copper near Byblos," *JEA*, XX (1934), pp. 29-32.

WILSON, J. A. "The Egyptian Middle Kingdom at Megiddo," *AJSLL*, LVIII (1941), pp. 225-236.

WINLOCK, H. E. "An Egyptian Statuette from Asia Minor, *BMMA*, XVI (1921), pp. 208-210.

14. Religion and Funerary Beliefs

BENNETT, C. J. C. "Growth of the *Ḥtp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom," *JEA*, XXVII (1941), pp. 77-82.

BISSON DE LA ROQUE, F. "Notes sur le dieu Montou," *BIFAO*, XL (1941), pp. 1-49.

BLACKMAN, A. M., AND OTHERS. *Myth and Ritual*. Oxford, 1933.

BREASTED, J. H. *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. London, 1912.

_____ *The Dawn of Conscience*. New York, 1933.

BUCHER, P. *Les Textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II (MIFAO*, LX). Cairo, 1932.

BUCK, A. DE. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications*, XXXIV, XLIX, LXIV). 3 vols. Chicago, 1935, 1938, 1947.

BUDGE, E. A. W. *The Book of the Dead: The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*. 3 vols. London, 1898.

_____ *The Gods of the Egyptians: or, Studies in Egyptian Mythology*. 2 vols. London, 1904.

———*The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*. 3 vols. London, 1925.

_____ *The Mummy: A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology*. 2nd edition. Cambridge, 1925.

CLÈRE, J. J. "Le Fonctionnement grammatical de l'expression *pri ḥrw* en ancien Égyptien." *Mélanges Maspero (MIFAO*, LXVI), I: *Orient ancien*, pp. 753-797. Cairo, 1934.

DRIOTON, É. *La Religion des Égyptiens*. Paris, 1937.

_____ *Croyances et coutumes funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte*. Éditions de la Revue du Caire. Cairo, 1943.

DRIOTON, E., *continued*
_____ *La Religion égyptienne dans ses grandes lignes.* Cairo, 1945.
ERMAN, A. *Die Religion der Ägypter.* Berlin and Leipzig, 1934.
GARDINER, A. H. "The Meaning of the Formula *ḥtp di niswt*," in N. M. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82)* (*The Egypt Exploration Society: The Theban Tomb Series,* 1st Memoir) pp. 79-93. London, 1915.
_____ *The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead.* Cambridge, 1935.
_____ "Horus the Beḥdetite," *JEA,* XXX (1944), pp. 23-60.
_____ AND SETHE, K. *Egyptian Letters to the Dead, Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (*The Egypt Exploration Society*). London, 1928.
GARNOT, J. STE. F. "Bibliographie analytique des religions de l'Égypte 1939-1943," *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* 128 (1944), pp. 94-126; 129 (1945), pp. 101-134; 130 (1945), pp. 107-128; 131 (1946), pp. 45-160; 133 (1948), pp. 162-180; 134 (1948), pp. 168-204.
_____ *La Vie religieuse dans l'ancienne Égypte* (*Mythes et Religions,* XXII). Paris, 1948.
_____ "Les Formules funéraires des stèles égyptiennes," *Histoire générale des religions,* I, pp. 328-337. Paris, 1948.
GARSTANG, J. *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt. . . .* London, 1907.
GRAPOW, H. "Zweiwegebuch und Totenbuch," *ZAS,* XLVI (1909), pp. 77-81.
_____ *Religiöse Urkunden (Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums,* V). Leipzig, 1915-1917.
HAYES, W. C. *The Texts in the Mastabeh of Se'n-Wosret-ʿankh at Lisht* (*Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition,* XII). New York, 1937.
HOPFNER, T. *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter . . . (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften: Denkschriften,* Philosophisch-historische Klasse, LVII). Vienna, 1913.
JÉQUIER, G. *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études,* Sciences philologiques et historiques, fasc. 97). Paris, 1894.
_____ *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du moyen empire (MIFAO,* XLVII). Cairo, 1921.
JUNKER, H. *Die Onurislegende (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften: Denkschriften,* Philosophisch-historische Klasse, LIX). Vienna, 1917.
_____ "Der Tanz der *Mww* und das butische Begräbnis im alten Reich," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo,* IX (1940), pp. 1-39.
_____ *Die Götterlehre von Memphis* (*Schabaka-Inschrift*) (*Abh. Berlin,* 1939, no. 23). Berlin, 1940.
_____ *Die politische Lehre von Memphis* (*Ibid.,* 1941, no. 6). Berlin, 1941.
_____ *Der sehende und blinde Gott* (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, 1942, 7). Munich, 1942.
KAMAL, A. *Tables d'offrandes* (*CCG,* nos. 23001-23256). 2 vols. Cairo, 1909.
KEES, H. *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter: Grundlagen und Entwicklung bis zum Ende des mittleren Reiches.* Leipzig, 1926.
_____ *Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten* (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen-ägyptischen Gesellschaft* [E. V.], XLV). Leipzig, 1941.
_____ "Die Phylen und ihre Vorsteher im Dienst der Tempel und Totenstiftungen (Untersuchungen zur Struktur der ägyptischen Priesterschaft im alten und mittleren Reich)," *Orientalia,* XVII (1948), pp. 71-90.
KUENTZ, C. "Quelques Monuments du culte de Sobk," *BIFAO,* XXVIII (1928), pp. 113-172.
LACAU, P. *Sarcophages antérieures au nouvel empire* (*CCG,* nos. 28001-28126). 2 vols. Cairo, 1904-1906.
_____ "Textes religieux," *Rec. trav.,* XXVI-XXXVIII (1904-1915).
_____ "Textes religieux écrits sur les sarcophages," in J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906-1907),* pp. 21-61. Cairo, 1908.
LANZONE, R. V. *Dizionario di mitologia egizia.* 2 vols. Turin, 1881-1885.
LEGRAIN, G. "Notes sur le dieu Montou," *BIFAO,* XII (1912), pp. 75-124.
LEXA, F. *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique de l'ancien empire jusqu'à l'époque copte.* 3 vols. Paris, 1925.
LORET, V. "Les Statuettes funéraires du Musée de Boulaq", *Rec. trav.,* IV (1883), pp. 89-117; V (1884), pp. 70-76.
MACE, A. C., AND WINLOCK, H. E. *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (*Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition,* I). New York, 1916.
MASPERO, G. *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes (Bibliothèque égyptologique,* I, II, VII, VIII, XXVII-XXIX). 7 vols. Paris, 1893-1913.
MORET, A. *Le Rituel du culte journalier en Égypte (Annales du Musée Guimet: Bibliothèque d'études,* XIV). Paris, 1902.
_____ *Du Caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique* (*Ibid.,* XV). Paris, 1902.
_____ *Mystères égyptiens.* 2nd edition. Paris, 1922.
MÜLLER, H. W. "Die Totendenksteine des mittleren Reiches, ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre Komposition," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo,* IV (1933), pp. 165-206.
MÜLLER, W. M. *Egyptian [Mythology]* (*The Mythology of All Races,* XII). Boston, 1923.
NAVILLE, E. *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie.* 3 vols. Berlin, 1886.
NORTHAMPTON, MARQUIS OF, AND OTHERS. *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-1899,* pp. 26-29. London, 1908.
OTTO, E. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Aegypten* (*Unters.,* XIII). Leipzig, 1938.
PETRIE, W. M. F. *Shabtis Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London, with a Catalogue of Figures from Many Other Sources* (*British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account,* 41st Year, 1935, LVII). London, 1935.
_____ *The Funeral Furniture of Egypt* (*Publications of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account,* LIX). London, 1937.
PFLÜGER, K. "The Private Funerary Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXVII (1947), pp. 127-135.
PIANKHOFF, A. "Les Different 'Livres' dans les tombes royales du nouvel empire," *ASAE,* XL (1940), pp. 283-289.

ROEDER, G. *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Aegypten (Religiöse Stimmen der Völker)*. Jena, 1915.
SCHACK-SCHACKENBURG, H. *Das Buch von den zwei Wegen des seligen Toten (Zweiwegebuch) . . .*, part I. Leipzig, 1903.
SCHÄFER, H. *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostris III . . . (Unters.,* IV, 2), Leipzig, 1904.
_____ *Priestergräber . . . vom Totentempel des Ne-user-rê (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* VIII). Leipzig, 1908.
_____ *Amarna in Religion und Kunst (Sendschrift der Orient-Gesellschaft,* no. 7). [Leipzig] 1931.
SCHARFF, A. *Das Grab als Wohnhaus in der ägyptischen Frühzeit (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1944-1946, no. 6). Munich, 1947.
_____ *Die Ausbreitung des Osiriskultes in der Frühzeit und während des Alten Reiches (Ibid.,* 1947, no. 4). Munich, 1948.
SELIM HASSAN. *Hymnes religieux du moyen empire (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte)*. Cairo, 1928.
SETHE, K. *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1908-1922.
_____ *Dramatische Texte zu alt-aegyptischen Mysterienspielen (Unters.,* X). Leipzig, 1928.
_____ *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis (Abh. Berlin,* 1929, no. 4). Berlin, 1929.
_____ *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* XVIII, no. 4). Leipzig, 1930.
_____ *Die Totenliteratur der alten Ägypter (Sb. Berlin,* 1931, XVIII). Berlin, 1931.
_____ *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. 4 vols. Glückstadt, 1935-1939.
SMITH, G. E. "The Antiquity of Mummification," *The Cairo Scientific Journal,* II (1908), pp. 204-205.
_____ AND DAWSON, W. R. *Egyptian Mummies*. London, 1924.
SMITHER, P. C. "The Writing of *Ḥtp-di-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms," *JEA,* XXV (1939), pp. 34-37.
SOTTAS, H. *La Préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte (Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études: Sciences historiques et philologiques,* fasc. 205). Paris, 1913.
SPELEERS, L. *Les Textes des pyramides égyptiennes*. 2 vols. Brussels, 1923.
_____ *Les Figurines funéraires égyptiennes (Fondation Universitaire de Belgique)*. Brussels, 1923.
_____ *Textes des cercueils du moyen empire égyptien*. Brussels, 1947.
STEINDORFF, G. *Grabfunde des mittleren Reiches in dem Königlichen Museen zu Berlin (Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Mittheilungen aus dem orientalischen Sammlungen,* VIII, IX). Berlin, 1896, 1901.
VANDIER, J. *La Religion égyptienne ("Mana": Introduction à l'histoire des religions,* I. *Les Anciennes Religions orientales,* I). Paris, 1944.
WEILL, R. *Le Champ des roseaux et le champ des offrandes dans la religion funéraire et la religion générale (Études d'égyptologie,* III). Paris, 1936.
WIEDEMANN, K. A. *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter (Der alte Orient* 14th Year, part 1). Leipzig, 1912.
WILSON, J. A. "Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom," *JNES,* III (1944), pp. 201-218.

15. Language, Writing, and Literature

ALBRIGHT, W. F. *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography (American Oriental Series,* V). New Haven, 1934.
ANTHES, R. *Lebensregeln und Lebensweisheit der alten Ägypter (Der alte Orient,* XXXII, 2). Leipzig, 1933.
BUCK, A. DE. "Défense et illustration de la langue égyptienne," *Chronique d'Égypte,* XXII (1947), pp. 23-37.
CRUM, W. E. *A Coptic Dictionary*. 6 parts. Oxford, 1929-1939.
DAVIES, N. DE G. *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqarah (The Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Survey of Egypt,* 8th Memoir), part I. London, 1900.
DRIOTON, É. *Le Théâtre égyptien*. Éditions de la Revue du Caire. Cairo, 1942.
EDGERTON, W. F. "Egyptian Phonetic Writing from Its Invention to the Close of the Nineteenth Dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LX (1940), pp. 473-506.
ERMAN, A. *Die Entzifferung der Hieroglyphen (Sb. Berlin,* IX, 1922, pp. xxvii-xliv). Berlin, 1922.
_____ *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians: Poems, Narratives, and Manuals of Instruction, from the Third and Second Millennia B. C.* Translated into English by Aylward M. Blackman. London, 1927.
_____ *Ägyptische Grammatik*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1928, 1929.
_____ *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*. 2nd edition. Leipzig, 1933.
_____ AND GRAPOW, H. *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache*. 8 vols. Leipzig, 1926-1937.
GARDINER, A. H. "The Nature and Development of the Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing," *JEA,* II (1915), pp. 61-75.
_____ *Egyptian Grammar*. Oxford, 1927.
GRIFFITH, F. Ll. "Hieroglyphs," *Beni Hasan, (The Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Survey of Egypt,* 5th Memoir), part III: I. London, 1896.
_____ *A Collection of Hieroglyphs: A Contribution to the History of Egyptian Writing (Ibid.,* 6th Memoir). London, 1898.
GUNN, B. *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*. Paris, 1924.
HARTLEBEN, H. *Champollion: Sein Leben und sein Werk*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1906.
LEFEBVRE, G. "Sur l'Origine de la langue égyptienne," *Chronique d'Égypte,* XI (1936), pp. 266-292.
_____ *Grammaire de l'Égyptien classique (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire: Bibliothèque d'étude,* XII). Cairo, 1940.
LEWIS, B. (ed.) *Land of Enchanters: Egyptian Short Stories from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. London, 1948.
LICHTHEIM, M. "The Songs of the Harpers," *JNES,* IV (1945), pp. 178-212.
MACE, A. C. *Egyptian Literature: A Lecture (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)*. New York, 1928.
MASPERO, G. *Du Genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique*. Paris, 1873.
MÖLLER, G. *Hieratische Paläographie: Die aegyptischen Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. 2nd edition. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1927-1936.
PEET, T. E. *A Comparative Study of the Literature of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia: Egypt's Contribu-*

tion to the Literature of the Ancient World (British Academy: Schweich Lectures, 1929). London, 1931.

PETRIE, H. U. *Egyptian Hieroglyphs of the First and Second Dynasties.* London, 1927.

PIEPER, M. *Die aegyptische Literatur (Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft,* nos. 79, 83, 85). Wildpark-Potsdam, 1927.

_____ *Das ägyptische Märchen: Ursprung und Nachwirkung ältester Märchendichtung bis zur Gegenwart (Morgenland,* XXVII). Leipzig, 1935.

PLUMLEY, J. M. *An Introductory Coptic Grammar (Sahidic Dialect).* London [1948].

SCHARFF, A. *Archäologische Beiträge zur Frage der Entstehung der Hieroglyphenschrift (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, 1942, no. 3). Munich, 1942.

SETHE, K. *Das aegyptische Verbum im altaegyptischen, neuaegyptischen, und koptischen.* 3 vols. Leipzig, 1899-1902.

_____ *Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben: Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Schrift (Unters.,* XII). Leipzig, 1939.

SOTTAS, H., AND DRIOTON, É. *Introduction à l'étude des hiéroglyphes.* Paris, 1922.

SPIEGELBERG, W. *Demotische Grammatik.* Heidelberg, 1925.

STEINDORF, G. *Koptische Grammatik. . . .* 2nd edition, new printing. Berlin, 1930.

STRICKER, B. H. *De indeeling der Egyptische taalgeschiedenis.* Leiden, 1945.

WALLE, B. VAN DE. "La Division matérielle des textes classiques égyptiens et son importance pour l'étude des ostraca scolaires," *Le Muséon,* LIX (1946), pp. 223-232.

_____ *La Transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens (Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth).* Brussels, 1948.

16. Science, Law, and Business

BORCHARDT, L. "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus dem alten Reiche," *Aegyptiaca: Festschrift für Georg Ebers,* pp. 8-15. Leipzig, 1897.

_____ "Besoldungverhältnisse von Priestern im mittleren Reich," *ZAS,* XL (1902-1903), pp. 113-117.

BREASTED, J. H. *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus (University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications,* III, IV). 2 vols. Chicago, 1930.

CHACE, A. B., AND OTHERS. *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: British Museum 10057 and 10058.* 2 vols. Oberlin, 1927, 1929.

DARESSY, G. "Calculs égyptiens du moyen empire," *Rec. trav.,* XXVIII (1906), pp. 62-72.

EBBELL, B. *The Papyrus Ebers: The Greatest Egyptian Medical Document.* Copenhagen, 1937.

EBERS, G. *Papyros Ebers: Das hermetische Buch über die Arzeneimittel der alten Ägypter in hieratischer Schrift.* 2 vols. Leipzig, 1875.

ERMAN, A. "Zehn Verträge aus dem mittleren Reich," *ZAS,* XX (1882), pp. 159-184.

GARDINER, A. H. "An Administrative Letter of Protest," *JEA,* XIII (1927), pp. 75-78.

_____ *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica.* 3 vols. Oxford, 1947.

GILLAIN, O. *La Science égyptienne: L'Arithmétique au moyen empire (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth).* Brussels, 1927.

GLANVILLE, S. R. K. "The Mathematical Leather Roll in the British Museum," *JEA,* XIII (1927), *pp.* 232-239.

GRAPOW, H. "Bemerkungen zum Papyrus Ebers als Handschrift," *ZAS,* LXXI (1935), pp. 160-164.

GRIFFITH, F. Ll. "The Account Papyrus No. 18 of Boulaq," *ZAS,* XXIX (1891), pp. 102-116.

_____ *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob.* 2 vols. London, 1898.

GUNN, B., AND PEET, T. E. "Four Geometrical Problems from the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus," *JEA, XV* (1929), pp. 167-185.

OEFELE, F. VON. "Zur Erklärung des Veterinär-papyrus von Kahun," *ZAS,* XXXVII (1899), pp. 55-60.

PEET, T. E. *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, British Museum 10057 and 10058: Introduction, Transcription, Translation and Commentary.* London, 1923.

_____ "Arithmetic in the Middle Kingdom," *JEA,* IX (1923), pp. 91-95.

_____ "A Problem in Egyptian Geometry," *Ibid.,* XVII (1931), pp. 100-106.

_____ Review of W. W. Struve, *Mathematischer Papyrus. Ibid.,* XVII (1931), pp. 154-160.

PIRENNE, J. *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l'ancienne Égypte (Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth).* 3 vols. Brussels, 1932-1935.

_____ AND WALLE, B. VAN DE. "Documents juridiques égyptiens," *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental,* I (1937), pp. 3-86.

RANKE, H. "Medicine and Surgery in Ancient Egypt," *History of Sciences (University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference),* pp. 31-42. Philadelphia, 1933.

REISNER, G. A. *The Hearst Medical Papyrus (University of California: Egyptian Archaeology,* I). Leipzig, 1905.

SCHACK-SCHACKENBURG, H. "Der Berliner Papyrus 6619," *ZAS,* XXXVIII (1900), pp. 135-140.

SCHÄFER, H. *"Beiträge zur Erklärung des Papyrus Ebers," ZAS,* XXX (1892), pp. 35-37, 107-109; XXXI (1893), pp. 51-62, 117-119.

SCHARFF, A. "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie," *ZAS,* LVII (1922), pp. 51-68.

_____ "Briefe aus Illahun," *Ibid.,* LIX (1924), pp. 20-51.

SEIDL, K. *Einführung in die ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches (Ägyptologische Forschungen,* X), I: *Juristischer Teil.* Gluckstadt, 1939.

SMITHER, P. C. "A Tax-Assessor's Journal of the Middle Kingdom," *JEA,* XXVII (1941), pp. 74-76.

_____ "The Report Concerning the Slave-Girl Senebet," *Ibid.,* XXXIV (1948), pp. 31-34.

SPIEGELBERG, W. *Studien und Materialen zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches der Dynast. XVIII-XXI.* Hannover, 1892.

STRUVE, W. W. *Mathematischer Papyrus des Staatlichen Museums der Schönen Künste in Moskau (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Abteilung A: Quellen,* I) Berlin, 1930.

THOMAS, W. R. "Moscow Mathematical Papyrus, No. 14," *JEA,* XVII (1931), pp. 50-52.

WILSON, J. A. "The Oath in Ancient Egypt," *JNES,* VII (1948), pp. 129-156.

WRESZINSKI, W. *Die Medizin der alten Aegypter.* 3 vols. Leipzig, 1909-1913.

17. Daily Life

BÉNÉDITE, G. *Miroirs (CCG,* nos. 44001-44102, XXXVII). Cairo, 1907.

BONNET, H. *Die Ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches (Unters.,* VII, no. 2). Leipzig, 1917.

BOREUX, C. *Étude de nautique égyptienne: L'Art de la navigation en Égypte jusqu'à la fin de l'ancien empire (MIFAO,* L). Cairo, 1925.

BRUNNER-TRAUT, E. *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen (Ägyptologische Forschungen,* VI). Glückstadt, 1938.

CARTLAND, B. M. "The Dress of the Ancient Egyptians," *BMMA,* XI (1916), pp. 166-171, 211-214.

DAVIES, N. DE G. "The Town House in Ancient Egypt," *Metropolitan Museum Studies,* I (1929), pp. 233-255.

EDGERTON, W. F. "Ancient Egyptian Ships and Shipping," *AJSLL,* XXXIX (1923), pp. 109-135.

_____ "Ancient Egyptian Steering Gear," *Ibid.,* XLIII (1927), pp. 255-265.

FAULKNER, R. O. "Egyptian Seagoing Ships," *JEA,* XXVI (1940), pp. 3-9.

GLANVILLE, S. R. K. *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt (Routledge Introductions to Modern Knowledge,* no. 16). London, 1930.

HALL, H. R. "Three Hippopotamus-Figures of the Middle Kingdom," *JEA,* XIII (1927), pp. 57-58.

HARTMANN, F. *L'Agriculture dans l'ancienne Égypte.* Paris, 1923.

HAYES, W. C. "Daily Life in Ancient Egypt," *The National Geographic Magazine,* LXXX (1941), pp. 419-515.

HOUTART, A. "Les Chiens dans l'ancienne Égypte," *Chronique d'Égypte,* IX (1934), pp. 28-34.

JÉQUIER, G. *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du moyen empire (MIFAO,* XLVII). Cairo, 1921.

KEIMER, L. "Nouvelles Recherches au sujet du *Potamogeton Lucens L.* dans l'Égypte ancienne et remarques sur l'ornementation des hippopotames en faïence du moyen empire," *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne,* II (1929), pp. 21-253.

_____ "Eine Nilpferd-Statuette des mittleren Reichs in Rijks-Museum van Oudheden zu Leiden," *Oudheidkundige mededeelingen van het Rijks-Museum van oudheden te Leiden,* X (1929), pp. 74-78.

_____ *Histoires de serpents dans l'Égypte ancienne et moderne (Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte . . .,* L). Cairo, 1947.

_____ *Remarques sur le tatouage dans l'Égypte ancienne (Ibid.,* LIII). Cairo, 1948.

KLEBS, L. *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches . . . (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Philosophisch-historische Klasse, III). Heidelberg, 1915.

_____ *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches . . . (Ibid.,* VI). Heidelberg, 1922.

LANGTON, N. AND B. *The Cat in Ancient Egypt.* Cambridge, 1940.

LEGGE, G. F. "The Magic Ivories of the Middle Empire," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* XXVII (1905), pp. 130-152, 297-303; XXVIII (1906), pp. 159-170.

LUCAS, A. "Ancient Egyptian Wigs," *ASAE,* XXX (1930), pp. 190-196.

_____ "Cosmetics, Perfumes, and Incense in Ancient Egypt," *JEA,* XVI (1930), pp. 41-53.

LYTHGOE, A. M. "An Egyptian Hippopotamus Figure," *BMMA,* XII (1917), p. 78.

MONTET, P. *Les Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire.* Strasbourg, 1925.

NOBLECOURT, C. *L'Habitation civile égyptienne (MIFAO).* Cairo (in press).

PETRIE, W. M. F. *Objects of Daily Use (British School of Archaeology in Egypt).* London, 1927.

PHILLIPS, D. W. *Ancient Egyptian Animals (The Metropolitan Museum of Art).* New York, 1948.

R[ANSOM], C. L. "Egyptian Furniture and Musical Instruments," *BMMA,* VIII (1913), pp. 72-79.

REISNER, G. A. *Models of Ships and Boats (CCG,* nos. 4798-4976, 5034-5200). Cairo, 1913.

ROBINS, F. W. "The Lamps of Ancient Egypt," *JEA,* XXV (1939), pp. 184-187.

SCHÄFER, H. "Altaegyptische Pflüge, Joche, und andere landwirtschaftliche Geräte," *Annual of the British School at Athens,* X (1904), pp. 127-143.

SCHARFF, A. "Ägyptische Handspiegel," *Berliner Museen: Berichte aus den preuszischen Kunstsammlungen,* XLII (1921), pp. 127-132.

SCOTT, N. E. *The Home Life of the Ancient Egyptians (The Metropolitan Museum of Art).* New York, 1947.

SHORTER, A. W. *Everyday Life in Ancient Egypt.* London [1932].

_____ "A Magical Ivory," *JEA,* XVIII (1932), pp. 1-2.

STEINDORFF, G. "The Magical Knives of Ancient Egypt," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* IX (1946), pp. 41-51, 106-107.

STEUER, R. O. "Stacte in Egyptian Antiquity," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXIII (1943), pp. 279-284.

VANDIER, J. *La Famine dans l'Égypte ancienne (Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire,* VII). Cairo, 1936.

WINLOCK, H. E. "Ancient Egyptian Kerchiefs," *BMMA,* XI (1916), pp. 238-242.

_____ *The Private Life of the Ancient Egyptians (The Metropolitan Museum of Art).* New York, 1935.

18. Crafts and Professions

BAUD, M. "Le Métier d'Iritisen," *Chronique d'Egypte,* XIII (1938), pp. 20-34.

BONNET, H. *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients.* Leipzig, 1926.

BUDGE, E. A. W. "Egyptian Writing Materials," in *The Mummy,* pp. 171-177. 2nd edition. Cambridge, 1925.

CARTLAND, B. M. "Egyptian Weights and Balances," *BMMA,* XII (1917), pp. 85-90.

CLARK, C. R. "Egyptian Weaving in 2000 B. C," *BMMA,* n. s. III (1944), pp. 24-29.

CLARKE, S., AND ENGELBACH, R. *Ancient Egyptian Masonry: The Building Craft.* London, 1930.

GLANVILLE, S. R. K. "Weights and Balances in Ancient Egypt," *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain,* XXIX (1936), pp. 10-40.

_____ "Materials and Technique of Egyptian Painting," *Papers of the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera,* III (1936), pp. 13-35.

JÉQUIER, G. *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du moyen empire (MIFAO, XLVII),* pp. 157-231. Cairo, 1921.

JOHL, C. H. *Altägyptische Webestühle und Brettchenweberei in Altägypten (Unters.,* VIII). Leipzig, 1924.

LUCAS, A. *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries.* 3rd edition, revised. London, 1948.

MACE, A. C., AND WINLOCK, H. E. *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition Publications,* I), pp. 76-103. New York, 1916.

NEUBURGER, A. *Die Technik des Altertums.* 3rd edition. Leipzig, 1921.

NEWBERRY, P. E. "The Shepherd's Crook and the so-called 'Flail' or 'Scourge' of Osiris," *JEA,* XV (1929), pp. 84-94.

PETRIE, W. M. F. *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt.* 2nd edition. London, 1910.

_____ *Tools and Weapons . . . (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account,* 22nd Year, 1916). London, 1917.

_____ *Ancient Weights and Measures (Ibid.,* XXXIX). London, 1926.

_____ "Professions and Trades," *Ancient Egypt,* 1926, pp. 73-84.

WEIGALL, A. E. P. *Weights and Balances (CCG,* nos. 31271-31670). Cairo, 1908.

WINLOCK, H. E. "A Set of Egyptian Writing Materials," *BMMA,* IX (1914), pp. 181-182.

_____ *The Slain Soldiers of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ Mentu-ḥotpe (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition Publications,* XVI). New York, 1945.

WOLF, W. *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres.* Leipzig, 1926.

19. Art and Architecture

BALCZ, H. "Die altägyptische Wandgliederung," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Altertumskunde in Kairo,* I (1930), pp. 38-92.

BELL, E. *The Architecture of Ancient Egypt: A Historical Outline (The Origins of Architecture).* London, 1915.

BISSING, F. W. VON. *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur.* 3 vols. Munich, 1911-1914.

BORCHARDT, L. *Die aegyptische Pflanzensaüle: Ein Kapitel zur Geschichte des Pflanzenornaments.* Berlin, 1897.

_____ *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten (CCG,* nos. 1-1294). 5 parts (part 5 by A. Volten). Berlin, 1911-1936.

BULL, L. "Four Egyptian Inscribed Statuettes of the Middle Kingdom," *Journel of the American Oriental Society,* LVI (1936), pp. 162-172.

CAPART, J. *Recueil de monuments égyptiens.* 2 vols. Brussels, 1902, 1905.

_____ *L'Art égyptien: Choix de documents accompagnés par d'indications bibliographiques.* 3 vols. Paris, 1909, 1911, 1922.

_____ *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien.* 2 vols. Paris, 1927, 1931.

CLARK, C. R. "Senebtisi Jewelry," *BMMA,* XXXI (1936), pp. 115, 116.

CLARKE, S. "El Kab and the Great Wall," *JEA,* VII (1921), pp. 54-79.

DARESSY, G. *Statues de divinités (CCG,* nos. 38001-39384). Cairo, 1906.

DAVIES, N. M., AND GARDINER, A. H. *Ancient Egyptian Paintings (Special Publication of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).* 3 vols. Chicago, 1936.

DUNHAM, D. "An Egyptian Portrait Head of the XII Dynasty," *BMFA,* XXVI (1928), pp. 61-64.

_____ "An Egyptian Statuette of the Middle Kingdom," *Worcester Art Museum Annual,* III (1940), pp. 8-16.

EATON, E. S. "A Group of Middle Kingdom Jewelry," *BMFA,* XXIX (1941), pp. 94-98.

EVERS, H. G. *Staat aus dem Stein: Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des mittleren Reichs.* 2 vols. Munich, 1929.

FECHHEIMER, H. *Kleinplastik der Ägypter (Die Kunst des Östens,* III). Berlin, 1922.

_____ *Die Plastik der Ägypter (Ibid.,* I). 2nd printing. Berlin, 1923.

FRANKFORT, H. "A Masterpiece of Early Middle Kingdom Sculpture," *JEA,* XII (1926), pp. 143, 144.

_____ "On Egyptian Art," *Ibid.,* XVIII (1932), pp. 33-48.

_____ "The Origin of Monumental Architecture in Egypt," *AJSLL,* LVIII (1941), pp. 329-358.

GENNEP, A. VAN, AND JÉQUIER G. *Le Tissage aux cartons et son utilisation décorative dans l'Égypte ancienne (Mémoires d'archéologie et d'ethnographie comparées).* Neuchâtel, 1916.

GILBERT, P. *Le Classicisme de l'architecture égyptienne.* Brussels, 1943.

HAMMAN, R. *Ägyptische Kunst: Wesen und Geschichte.* Berlin, 1944.

HAYES, W. C. "Egyptian Sculpture: A Statue of the Lady Senewy," *Art in America,* XXXV (1947), pp. 257-263.

HOYNINGEN-HUENE AND STEINDORFF, G. *Egypt.* 2nd edition. New York, 1945.

JÉQUIER, G. "Les Temples primitifs et la persistance des types archaïques dans l'architecture religieuse," *BIFAO,* VI (1908), pp. 25-41.

_____ *Les Temples memphites et thèbains des origines à la XVIIIe dynastie (L'Architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte,* I). Paris, 1920.

_____ *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne,* I: *Les Éléments de l'architecture.* Paris, 1924.

KAYSER, H. *Die Tempelstatuen ägyptischer Privatleute im mittleren und im neuen Reich (Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorwürde, Universität Heidelberg).* Heidelberg, 1936.

KEES, H. *Das Werden der ägyptischen Monumentalarchitektur (Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Jahresbericht* 1935, 1936, pp. 49-59). Göttingen, 1936.

LANGE, K. *Ägyptische Kunst.* Zürich and Berlin, 1939.

LEGRAIN, G. *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers (CCG,* nos. 42001-42250). 3 vols. Cairo, 1906-1914.

MENGHIN, O. "El Origen del pueblo de antiguo Egipto," *Ampurias,* IV (1941), pp. 25-41.

MÖLLER, G. *Die Metallkunst der alten Ägypter.* Berlin [1924].

PETRIE, W. M. F. *Egyptian Architecture (British School of Archeology in Egypt).* London, 1938.

PRISSE D'AVENNES E. *Monuments égyptiens: Bas-reliefs, peintures, inscriptions, etc., d'après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux.* Paris, 1847.

_____ *Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments . . .* 2 vols. Paris, 1878, 1879.

RANKE, H. *The Art of Ancient Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Applied Art.* Vienna, 1936.

_____ "An Unfinished Statue of the Twelfth Dynasty," *Bulletin of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania,* VIII (1940), pp. 28-30.

RANKE, H., *continued*

_____ *Meisterwerke der ägyptischen Kunst.* Basel, 1948.

REISNER, G. A. *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops.* Cambridge (Mass.), 1936.

RIEFSTAHL, E. *Patterned Textiles in Pharaonic Egypt (Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences).* New York, 1944.

ROSS, E. D. *The Art of Egypt through the Ages.* New York and London, 1931.

SCHÄFER, H. "Die angebliche Entstehung der ägyptischen Wandbilder aus Wandbehang," *Deutsche Literaturzeitung,* no. 39 (1926), cols. 1879-1886.

_____ *Ägyptische und heutige Kunst und Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter: Zwei Aufsätze.* Berlin and Leipzig, 1928.

_____ *Die Leistung der ägyptischen Kunst (Der alte Orient,* XXXIII, 1, 2). Leipzig, 1929.

_____ *Von Ägyptischer Kunst: Eine Grundlage.* 3rd edition. Leipzig, 1930.

_____ AND ANDRAE, W. *Die Kunst des alten Orients.* Berlin, 1925.

SCHARFF, A. *Ägypten* (W. Otto [ed.], *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft,* VI. *Handbuch der Archäologie*), I, pp. 433-642, pls. 15-20, 49-112. Munich, 1939.

SCOTT, N. E., AND SHEELER, C. *Egyptian Statues (The Metropolitan Museum of Art).* New York, 1945.

_____ *Egyptian Statuettes (Ibid.).* New York, 1946.

SETHE, K. *Die Bau- und Denkmalsteine der alten Ägypter und ihre Namen (Sb. Berlin,* 1933, XXII). Berlin, 1933.

SMITH, E. B. *Egyptian Architecture as Cultural Expression.* New York, 1938.

SMITH, W. S. *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom.* Cambridge (Mass.), 1946.

STEINDORFF, G. "Haus und Tempel," *ZAS,* XXXIV (1896), pp. 107-110.

_____ *Die Kunst der Ägypter: Bauten, Plastik, Kunstgewerbe.* Leipzig, 1928.

_____ *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery.* Baltimore, 1946.

WEIGALL, A. E. P. *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art.* London, 1924.

WILLIAMS, C. R. *Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects (The New York Historical Society: Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities,* nos. 1-160). New York, 1924.

WILSON, J. A. "The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom," *JNES,* VI (1947), pp. 231-249.

WINLOCK, H. E. "Elements from the Dahshūr Jewelry," *ASAE,* XXXIII (1933), pp. 135-139.

_____ "Three Egyptian Gold Circlets," *BMMA,* XXVIII (1933), pp. 156-160.

WOLF, W. "Bemerkungen zur frühgeschichtlichen Ziegelarchitektur," *ZAS,* LXVII (1931), pp. 129-131.

WRESZINSKI, W. *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte.* 3 parts, Leipzig, 1923-1938.

INDEXES OF PROPER NAMES

A. Egyptian Kings

B. Egyptian Personal Names
(Other Than Those of Kings)

C. Divinities

D. Geographic and Ethnic Names

Indexes of Proper Names

A. Egyptian Kings

Achtoy I, 134, 143, 144
  Mery-yeb-Rēᶜ, 134, 143, 144
  Mery-yeb-towy, 143
Achtoy II, 134, 144
Achtoy III, 134, 144
Achtoy IV, 134, 144
  Waḥ-ku-Rēᶜ, 134, 144
Achtoy V, 134, 145
  Neb-kū-Rēᶜ, 134, 145
ᶜAdj-yeb, 34
  Merpibia, 34
ᶜAḥa, 34, 39, 52, 53, 54
  Ity I (?), 34
Aᶜḥ-mosĕ, 153
Amun-em-ḥēt I, 167, 168, 175, 176, 189, 209
  his reign, 170-172, 178, 179, 181, 182, 208, 231
  his pyramid and mortuary temple, 68, 127, 172-178, 182, 191, 214, 297, 330, 336, 342
  the cemetery surrounding his pyramid, 195-337 *passim*
  his family and ḥarīm, 171, 176, 177, 190, 194, 220
  his court, 183, 305, 333
  Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ, 168, 170, 171, 173, 175, 208
  Wehem-meswet, 173, 179
  Amūny, 171
Amun-em-ḥēt II, 170, 191, 193-197, 200, 201, 236, 295
  Nub-kū-Rēᶜ, 170, 193
  Amūny, 196
Amun-em-ḥēt III, 170, 196-199, 201, 202, 233, 235, 239, 246
  Ny-maᶜet-Rēᶜ, 170
Amun-em-ḥēt IV, 170, 196, 200-202, 246, 344
  Maᶜ-khrou-Rēᶜ, 170, 200, 246
Amun-em-ḥēt Sobk-ḥotpe I, 340, 342, 344
  Sekhem-Rēᶜ Khu-towy, 340, 342
Amun-em-ḥēt Sonebef, 340, 342
  Sekhem-ku-Rēᶜ, 340, 342
  Meḥ-yeb-towy, 342
  Ity-sekhemef, 342
Amūny, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt I and II
Amūny In-yōtef Amun-em-ḥēt, 340
  Seᶜankh-yeb-Rēᶜ, 340, 342
ᶜAnkh-meswet, *see* Se'n-Wosret I
ᶜAnty-em-saf, *see* Mery-en-Rēᶜ I and II
ᶜAnu, 134
  Nefer-ku-Min, 134
Apries, *see* Ḥaᶜaᶜ-yeb-Rēᶜ
Au-yeb-Rēᶜ, *see* Ḥor

Ba-ku-Rēᶜ, 58

Cheops, *see* Khuf-wy
Chephren, *see* Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ
Chnum-khuf-wy, *see* Khuf-wy
Chonem-Rēᶜ, *see* Seger-seny

Demedj-yeb-towy, *see* Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ (Dyn. VIII)
Den, 34, 42, 46, 53, 54
  Khasety, 34
"Divine-of-Forms," *see* Se'n-Wosret III
Djedef-Ptaḥ, 58, 66
Djedef-Rēᶜ, 58, 65
Djed-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Isesy
Djed-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Shemay
Djed-nefer-Rēᶜ, *see* Dudy-mosĕ I
Djer, 34, 46, 53, 54
  Ity II, 34, 46
Djoser I, 40, 51, 58-60, 90, 91, 115, 122, 131
  Iry-chet-nuter, 58, 59
Djoser II, *see* Si-nakhte
Djoser-nūb (?), 134
Double Horus of Gold, *see* Khuf-wy, Pepy I
Dudy-mosĕ I, 340, 351
  Djed-nefer-Rēᶜ, 340, 351

Goreg-towyef, *see* I-khent-yeb-Rēᶜ

Ḥaᶜaᶜ-yeb-Rēᶜ (Apries), 182
Ḥery-tep-towy, *see* Kuy Amun-em-ḥēt
Ḥet-shepswet, 156, 159, 202, 215, 347
Ḥetep-nebwy-yemef, *see* Khaᶜ-sekhemwy
Ḥetep-sekhemwy, 34
  Ḥotep, 34
Ḥor, 197, 340
  Au-yeb-Rēᶜ, 197, 340
Ḥotep, *see* Ḥetep-sekhemwy
Ḥuny, 58, 60

Iby, 134, 136
  Ḳa-ku-Rēᶜ, 134, 136
I-em-ḥotep, 134
I-khent-yeb-Rēᶜ, 167
  Goreg-towyef, 167
In[-yōtef ?], 167
  Ḳa-ku-Rēᶜ, 167
  Senefer-towyef, 167
In-yōtef I, 148, 150, 151
  Seher-towy, 148, 150, 151
In-yōtef II, 144, 150-152, 330
  In-yōtef-ᶜo, 151
  Waḥ-ᶜonekh, 144, 150-152
In-yōtef III, 150, 151
  Nakhte Neb-tepy-nefer, 150-152
Iry-chet-nuter, *see* Djoser I
Iry-nuter, *see* Semer-chet
Isesy, 58, 67, 72, 90, 94, 100, 122
  Djed-ku-Rēᶜ, 58, 72, 90, 100
Ity I, *see* ᶜAḥa
Ity II, *see* Djer
Ity III, *see* Wadjy
Ity (at el Ḥammāmāt), 134
Ity-sekhemef, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt Sonebef
Iy, 340, 344
  Mer-nefer-Rēᶜ, 340, 344

Ḳa-aᶜ, 34, 37, 54
  Ḳa-aᶜ Seny, 34
Ḳa-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Iby
Ḳa-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* In[-yōtef ?]
Ka-pu-yeby, *see* Nefer-kū-Ḥor
Ḳa-shuty, *see* Montu-ḥotpe II
Khaᶜ-ba, 58, 60
  Tety (?), 58
Khaᶜ-[bau], *see* Wadj-ku-Rēᶜ

Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ (Chephren), 58, 62-65, 116
Woser-yeb, 64
Woser-em-Nebty, 64
Sekhem, 64
Khaᶜ-ḥetep-Rēᶜ, *see* Sobk-ḥotpe V
Khaᶜ-kheper-Rēᶜ, *see* Se'n-Wosret II
Khaᶜ-kū-Rēᶜ, *see* Se'n-Wosret III
Khaᶜ-nefer-Rēᶜ (Khaᶜ-neferwy-Rēᶜ ?), *see* Sobk-ḥotpe IV
Khaᶜ-sekhem, 34, 38, 46, 54
Khaᶜ-sekhem-Rēᶜ, *see* Nefer-ḥotep
Khaᶜ-sekhemwy, 34, 38, 39, 46, 52, 54, 59
Ḥetep-nebwy-yemef, 34
Khasety, *see* Den
Khendjer I, 340-342
Woser-ku-Rēᶜ, 340-342
Khendjer II, 340, 342
Ny-khaᶜ-ny-maᶜet-Rēᶜ, 340, 342
Khendu (Khendy), 134, 136
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, 134
Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Se'n-Wosret I
"Khety," *see* Achtoy
Khuf-wy (Chnum-khuf-wy, Cheops), 58, 61-67, 100, 122
Medjedu, 63
Medjed-er-Nebty, 63
Double Horus of Gold, 63
Khu-towy, *see* Sobk-ḥotpe III
Khu-towy-Rēᶜ, *see* Wegaf
Kuy Amun-em-ḥēt, 340, 342
Sedjefa-ku-Rēᶜ, 340, 342
Ḥery-tep-towy, 342

Maᶜ-khrou-Rēᶜ, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt IV
Medjed-er-Nebty, *see* Khuf-wy
Medjedu, *see* Khuf-wy
Meḥ-yeb-towy, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt Sonebef
Menes (Meny), 31, 125, 153; *see also* Naᶜr (-mer)
Men-kū-Ḥor, 58, 67
Men-kū-Rēᶜ (Mycerinus), 58, 62, 65, 66, 71, 87, 110, 122
Men-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Nit-oḳrety
Meny, *see* Menes
Mer-nefer-Rēᶜ, *see* Iy
Merpibia, *see* ᶜAdj-yeb
Mery- . . . , 134
Mery-en-Ḥor, 134
Mery-en-Rēᶜ I, 58, 82, 122, 126, 128, 129
ᶜAnty-em-saf, 58, 126
Mery-en-Rēᶜ II, 58, 130
ᶜAnty-em-saf II, 58, 130
Mery-Ḥat-Ḥor (?), 134, 144
Mery-khet, *see* Pepy I
Mery-ku-Rēᶜ, 134, 144
Mery-Rēᶜ, *see* Pepy I
Mery-towy, *see* Pepy I
Mery-yeb-Rēᶜ, *see* Achtoy I
Mery-yeb-towy, *see* Achtoy I
Montu-ḥotpe I, 150, 152
Seᶜankh-yeb-towy, 150, 152
Montu-ḥotpe II, 150, 181, 280
his reign, 144, 145, 148, 152-155, 171, 260, 277, 304
his tomb and mortuary temple, 155-158, 178, 200, 202, 220, 237, 250, 260, 266, 289, 291, 324
his ḥarīm, 158-162, 229, 246, 288, 310
his court, 162-167, 270
Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ, 167, 201, 230, 304, 331; *see also references under* Montu-ḥotpe II
Netery-Ḥedjet, 152
Som-towy, 153, 157, 165
Ḳa-shuty, 153, 157, 165
Montu-ḥotpe III, 150, 158, 164, 166, 230, 260, 303, 304, 345
Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ, 150, 158, 164, 166, 167, 201, 230, 260, 303, 304, 345
Seᶜankh-towyef, 166
Montu-ḥotpe IV, 150, 167, 176
Neb-towy-Rēᶜ, 150, 167, 176
Mycerinus, *see* Men-kū-Rēᶜ

Nakhte Neb-tepy-nefer, *see* Inyōtef III
Naᶜr (-mer), 30 n., 31, 34, 39, 54; *see also* Menes (Meny)
Neb-djed-Rēᶜ, 340, 344
Neb-fau-Rēᶜ, 340, 351
Neb-ḥepet-Rēᶜ, *see* Montu-ḥotpe II
Neb-iry-er-awet, 345
Sewadj-en-Rēᶜ, 345
Neb-khaᶜu, *see* Saḥu-Rēᶜ
Neb-ku (Neb-ku-Rēᶜ), 58, 60, 122
Neb-kū-Rēᶜ, *see* Achtoy V
Neb-maᶜet, *see* Snefru
Neb-towy-Rēᶜ, *see* Montu-ḥotpe IV
Neby, 134
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, 134
"Nefer-es," *see* Nefer-ku-Min
Nefer-ḥotep, 340, 342, 343, 350, 351
Khaᶜ-sekhem-Rēᶜ, 340, 342, 343, 350, 351
Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ, 58, 66, 72, 106
Nefer-ir-ku-Rēᶜ (Dyn. VIII), 134, 136
Demedj-yeb-towy, 134, 136
Nefer-kheper-Rēᶜ, 340, 344
Nefer-ku-Ḥor, 134
Nefer-kū-Ḥor, 134, 136, 137
Netery-bau, 134, 136, 137
Ka-pu-yeby, 134
Nefer-ku-Min, 134, 136
Nefer-ku-Min, *see* ᶜAnu
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Pepy II
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, "the Younger," 129, 134, 136
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Khendu
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Neby
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Pepy-sonbe
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Tereru
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ (Dyn. IX), 134, 144
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ (Dyn. X), 134, 144, 148
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ (Dyn. XIII), 340, 342; *see also* Senefer-ku-Rēᶜ
Nefer-ᶜonekh-Rēᶜ, 340, 344
Nefer-sa-Ḥor, *see* Pepy I
Nefrof-Rēᶜ, 58
Neḥāsy, 340, 344, 351
Netery-bau, *see* Nefer-kū-Ḥor
Netery-Ḥedjet, *see* Montu-ḥotpe II
Netery-khaᶜu, *see* Pepy II
Nit-oḳrety (Nitokris), 58, 130
Men-ku-Rēᶜ, 58, 130
Nub-kū-Rēᶜ, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt II
Nūb-nefer, *see* Rēᶜ-nēb
Ny-khaᶜ-ny-maᶜet-Rēᶜ, *see* Khendjer II
Ny-ku-Rēᶜ, 134, 136
Ny-maᶜet-Rēᶜ, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt III
Ny-nuter, 34
Ny-woser-Rēᶜ, 58, 66, 67, 72, 106, 115

Pe, *see* "Scorpion"
Pepy I, 58, 82, 122, 125-130, 239
Mery-Rēᶜ, 127, 128, 239
Nefer-sa-Ḥor, 126
Mery-towy, 127
Mery-khet, 127
Double Horus of Gold, 127
Pepy II, 58, 82, 115, 121, 126, 128-130, 136, 144, 183, 222
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, 126, 129, 130
Netery-khaᶜu, 129
Pepy-sonbe, 134
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, 134
Pery-yebu-sen, 34, 38, 39
Ptolemy, 35

Ramesses II, 164, 195
Reᶜ-nēb, 34
Nūb-nefer, 34

Saḥu-Rēᶜ, 9 n., 58, 66-68, 71, 106
Neb-khaᶜu, 71
Salatis, 351
"Scorpion," 30, 31
Pe, 31
Seᶜankh-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Montu-ḥotpe III
Seᶜankh-towyef, *see* Montu-ḥotpe III
Seᶜankh-yeb-Rēᶜ, *see* Amūny In-yōtef Amun-em-ḥēt
Seᶜankh-yeb-towy, *see* Montu-ḥotpe I
Sedjefa-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Kuy Amun-em-ḥēt
Seger-seny, 167
Wadj-ku-Rēᶜ, 167
Chonem-Rēᶜ, 167
Seḥer-towy, *see* In-yōtef I
Seḥetep, *see* Tety
Seḥetep-towy, *see* Tety
Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt I
Seḥetep-yeb-Rēᶜ (II) Amun-em-ḥēt, 208, 340, 342
Sekhem, *see* Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ
Sekhem-ku-Rēᶜ, 134
Sekhem-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt Sonebef
Sekhem-Rēᶜ Khu-towy, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt Sobk-ḥotpe I
Sekhem-Rēᶜ Sewadj-towy, *see* Sobk-ḥōtpe III
Semenkh-ku-Rēᶜ, "the General," 340
Semer-chet, 34
Iry-nuter, 34
Sened, 34
Senefer-ku-Rēᶜ, 342
Senefer-towyef, *see* In[-yōtef ?]
Senefer-yeb-Rēᶜ, *see* Se'n-Wosret IV
Se'n-Wosret, the God's Father, 150, 167
Se'n-Wosret I, 170, 189, 193, 195, 214
Se'n-Wosret I, *continued*
his reign, 172-174, 177, 179-182, 190, 196, 222, 232, 299
his pyramid and funerary complex, 182-196, 206, 290, 342, 349
the cemetery surrounding his pyramid, 206-292 *passim,* 320, 323, 337
his family, 176, 177, 183, 190, 191, 193-195
his court, 183, 184, 191, 206-213, 264, 299, 320
Kheper-ku-Rēᶜ, 170, 179, 181, 184, 185, 190, 194, 195, 299
ᶜAnkh-meswet ("Life-of-Births"), 181, 185, 190, 194, 299
Se'n-Wosret II, 170, 191, 196-198, 200, 201, 233, 236, 255, 260, 322, 325
Khaᶜ-kheper-Rēᶜ, 170, 233
Se'n-Wosret III, 170, 181, 183, 193, 195-199, 201, 208, 233, 236
Khaᶜ-kū-Rēᶜ, 170, 199
"Divine-of-Forms," 199
Se'n-Wosret IV, 340
Senefer-yeb-Rēᶜ, 340
Setwet, 134
Sewadj-en-Rēᶜ, *see* Neb-iry-er-awet
Shed- . . . , 134
Shemay, 134
Djed-ku-Rēᶜ, 134
Shepses-kuf, 58, 65, 108
Shepses-ku-Rēᶜ, 58
Si-Ḥat-Ḥor, 343
Si-nakhte, 58, 60
Djoser II, 58, 60, 61
Snefru, 58, 60-62, 121, 122, 130, 171, 196
Neb-maᶜet, 61
Sobk-ḥotpe I, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt Sobk-ḥotpe I
Sobk-ḥotpe II, son of Montu-ḥotpe, 340, 342
Sobk-ḥotpe III, 191, 340, 342, 343, 345
Sobk-ḥotpe III, *continued*
Sekhem-Rēᶜ Sewadj-towy, 191, 340, 342
Khu-towy, 342
Sobk-ḥotpe IV, 340, 342-344
Khaᶜ-nefer-Rēᶜ (Khaᶜ-neferwy-Rēᶜ ?), 340, 343, 344
Sobk-ḥotpe V, 340, 344, 345
Khaᶜ-ḥetep-Rēᶜ, 340, 344
Sobk-nefru, 170, 196
Sobk-ku-Rēᶜ, 170
Som, *see* Tety
Som-towy, *see* Montu-ḥotpe II

Tereru (Telelu), 134, 136
Nefer-ku-Rēᶜ, 134
Tety (?), *see* Khaᶜ-ba
Tety, 58, 82, 103, 120-122, 125, 126, 144, 145, 248
Seḥetep-towy, 125
Seḥetep, 125
Som, 125

Wadj-ku-Rēᶜ, 134, 136, 137
Khaᶜ-[bau], 134, 136, 137
Wadj-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Seger-seny
Wadjy, 34
Ity III (?), 34
Waḥ-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Achtoy IV
Waḥ-ᶜonekh, *see* In-yōtef II
Waḥ-yeb-Rēᶜ, *see* Yaᶜ-yeby
Wegaf, 340
Khu-towy-Rēᶜ, 340
Wehem-meswet, *see* Amun-em-ḥēt I
Weneg, 34
Wen-is, 58, 66-69, 82, 90, 115, 125
Woser-em-Nebty, *see* Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ
Woser-kuf, 58, 66, 71, 72, 90, 102, 122
Woser-ku-Rēᶜ, 58, 125
Woser-ku-Rēᶜ, *see* Khendjer I
Woser-yeb, *see* Khaᶜef-Rēᶜ

Yaᶜyeby, 340, 344, 345
Waḥ-yeb-Rēᶜ, 340, 344, 345

B. Egyptian Personal Names

Ab-kū, 299
Achtoy, 144, 154, 163, 164, 183, 210, 212, 258, 260, 295, 315
Akhty-ḥotpe, 72
ᶜAmet, 218
Amun-em-ḥēt, 152, 168, 202, 213, 218, 277, 334
Amūnet, 162
Amun-ḥotpe, 346
Amun-khuf, 346
Amūny, 184, 196, 206, 216, 218, 239, 257, 260, 313, 314, 323, 325, 334, 336
ᶜAndyet, 333
ᶜAnkhef, 289
ᶜAnkhes-en-Mery-Rēᶜ, 126, 127, 129
ᶜAnkhes-en-Pepy, 129, 136
ᶜAnkh-Mūt, 334
ᶜAnkhtify, 148, 322
ᶜAnkh-wedjes, 117

Anup-em-ḥēt, 145
As, 162
ʿAshyet, 160, 161, 220, 310
Au-res, 346

Beby, 138, 153
Beku, 329
Bener, 193, 350
Bewau, 162

Chenmet, 198, 236
Chnūm, 206
Chnum-ḥotpe, 213, 308, 310, 312, 314
Chnum-nakhte, 318, 348
Chnum-nofre, 213
Chrod-ny, 137

Dagy, 162, 163, 260
Debeḥ-ny, 122
Dedu, 331
Dedu-Sobk, 334
Dedyet, 177, 300
Dedyet-Amūn, 215, 335
Dedyet-Nūb, 334
Dewauf, 122
Djar, 163
Djaʿu, 129
Djedy, 129
Djefa-yeb-shēry, 88
Djefay-Ḥaʿpy, 191, 337
Djuḥ, 191
Dy-Sobk, 218

Emseḥ, 166
Erdyet-ny-Ptaḥ, 344

Gifet, 333

Ḥa-ʿankhef, 343
Ḥanu, 346
Ḥapy, 178, 222, 232, 241, 242, 244, 308, 314, 315, 318, 334
Ḥapy-ʿankhtify, 236, 241, 283, 287, 308, 312, 314, 316, 318, 319, 320-322, 348
Ḥedjeret, 334
Ḥeḳa-yōtef, 333
Ḥem-Rēʿ, 116
Ḥemy, 138
Ḥenenet, 323
Ḥenenu, 164-166, 260, 330
Ḥenenu-ren, 260
Henhenet, 160-162, 220, 260, 320
Ḥen-itu, 152
Ḥenwet, 218
Ḥenwet-ḥotpe, 206
Ḥenyet, 335
Herū-nufer, 152
Ḥery-shy, 191
Ḥetep-ḥras, 65, 102
Ḥiḳ-nakhte, 166, 219, 294, 296
Ḥiḳ-yeb-Ḥepyu, 317
Ḥor-em-ḥab, 218
Ḥor-em-khaʿuf, 347, 350
Ḥor-ḥotpe, 164
Ḥor-khūf, 78, 122, 129, 222
Ḥotep-sy, 106
Ḥotpe, 295
Ḥotpu, 295
Ḥotpy, 331, 334
Ḥuy, 216

Ibu, 295, 329
Iby, 329
Id, 336
Ideḥ, 162
Idet, 329
Id-oḳre, 279
Idu, 113
Idy, 112, 130, 136-138, 345
I-em-ḥotep, 59, 60, 183, 193, 271
Ikhet, 347
Ikuy, 148, 153
Impy, 120
Imy-ro-beḥsu, 294
Indy, 139, 141
I-nofret, 69
Inwet, 191
Iny, 333, 344
In-yōtef, 138, 148, 153, 154, 162, 166, 214, 260, 266, 295, 300, 331, 332, 335
In-yōtef-ʿankhe, 334
In-yōtef-ʿo, 148
In-yōtef-oḳre, 177, 183, 208, 209, 320
In-yōtefy, 148
Iny-su, 294
Ipu-wēr, 135, 142
Ipwet, 125, 129
Ipy, 165, 166, 183, 294, 334
Iryet-Nūb, 104
Itĕ, 198, 331
Itĕ-kuyet, 183, 195
Itĕ-oḳret, 330
Itĕ-sonbe, 331
Itĕ-weret, 198
Iy, 160, 331, 344

Kawiyet, 160, 161
Keku, 329
Kem, 191
Kemes, 242
Kemsiyet, 160, 220, 260
Kemtet, 216, 241
Kemu-ny, 201, 202, 244, 246
Kemy, 343
Khaʿ-kheper-Rēʿ-sonbe, 191
Khenty-bau, 177
Khenty-echtay, 191, 200, 295, 334
Khenty-echtay-ḥotpe, 328
Khenty-kūs, 65, 66
Khenty-kuy, 121
Khenty-sonbe, 191
Khenwet, 106
Khonsu, 345
Khuy, 126, 129
Khuyet, 125
Ku, 191
Ḳusy-em-saf, 121
Kuy, 207, 209, 323
Kuy-ʿankhe, 42
Kuy-ʿapre, 107
Kuy-em-ḥesyet, 112
Kuy-em-snēwy, 103-106, 112, 113, 115
Kuy-gem-ny, 104, 122
Kuy-nofre, 102
Kuy-nofre-waḥ, 191
Kuy-pu-Ny-sūt, 94, 112, 115

Maʿety, 153, 330
Megegy, 152, 330
Meket-Rēʿ, 212, 214, 230, 304
  his tomb at Thebes, 166
  funerary models from his tomb:
    boats, ships, 248, 268-270, 272
    figures, 266, 271, 297
    houses, shops, 257, 262, 264
    tools, weapons, 166, 287, 288, 292
  other objects from the tomb, 166, 240, 291, 295, 319
Memy, 110
Mēnet, 162, 218
Merer, 211
Merer-wy-kuy, 104
Merery, 138, 139
Mereryet, 198, 236
Meru, 166
Meru-si-rensy, 260
Mery, 88, 89, 182
Meryet-Nit, 53, 54
Meryet-sonbe, 328
Mery-Rēʿ, 127
Mery-Rēʿ-sonbe, 127, 128
Mery-sonbes, 249
Mery-su, 294
Meseḥty, 278
Meskhenty, 191
Meswet-netret-tekh, 334
Metjen, 121
Min-ḥotpe, 214
Min-oḳre, 280, 330
Mītry, 108, 110-112
Montu-ḥotpe, 165, 184, 206, 223, 260, 280, 330, 335, 342

Montu-ḥotpe-ʿankhe, 280, 330
Montu-ʿo, 218
Montu-su, 334
Montu-wosre, 182, 299, 300, 330
Mūt, 218
Mūt-mauty, 141
Mūt-nefret, 200
Muyet, 160, 162, 229, 230, 260, 312, 327

Nakhte, 177, 183, 211, 239, 332
Nakhty, 295
Neb-enteru, 164
Nebet, 127
Nebet-ḥat vii, 311, 315, 322, 325
Nebet-ku, 53
Neb-ḥuf, 100
Neb-iry-er-au, 345
Neb-iry-er-au-em-ḥeswet, 345
Neb-kū, 295
Neb-ʿonekh, 327
Neb-seny, 330
Nebyet, 137
Neb-yōtef (y), 209, 331
Nefer-ḥotep, 202, 283
Nefer-iryet-nes, 94, 101
Nefer-reḥu, 136, 171
Nefer-seḥwy, 336
Nefer-sekhty, 300
Nefer-tekh, 334
Nefer-yu, 139, 140
Nefret, 177, 200, 295, 337
Nefru, 158-160, 162, 176, 183, 191, 194, 195, 218, 229, 240, 260, 288, 327
Nefru-Ptaḥ, 183, 194
Nefru-shēry, 177
Nefru-Sobk, 183, 194
Nefry, 177
Nefry-To-tenen, 177
Nen-sed-djebet, 193
Neny, 214
Neter-wosre, 92
Nit, 82, 129
Nit-ḥotpe, 39, 53
Nūb-ḥetepty, 344
Nūb-ḥetepty-chrod, 198
Nyet-em-Mar-em-saf, 348, 349
Nyet-nēb, 201
Nyet-nefret, 348
Nyet-ʿonekh-Sakhmet, 304
Ny-Ḥor, 210
Ny-kū-Ḥor, 102-104, 248
Ny-ku-ʿonekh, 122
Ny-ku-Rēʿ, 110
Ny-ʿonekhy-Udōt, 88, 89
Ny-su-Montu, 331
Ny-su-Oḳer, 315
Ny-su-Wosret, 100

Oḳer, 209
ʿOnekh, 295, 327
Oʿu, 207

Pa-idnu, 141
Peḥ-ny-su, 294
Pepy-ʿankhe, 121
Pepy-ʿankhe-ḥery-yeb, 278
Pepy-nakhte, 122
Pery-nēb, 90-95, 98, 102, 103, 116, 118
Ptaḥ-ḥotpe, 122
Ptaḥ-wēr, 333

Reʿ-em-kuy, 94-102, 120, 164
Reʿ-ḥotpe, 108-110
Reḥu-er-djēr-sen, 177, 333, 334
Renes-sonbe, 334
Reny-oḳre, 162, 327
Reny-sonbe, 236, 241, 246, 250
Rery, 210
Res, 346
Resy, 106
Rou, 344
Ruy, 344

Sab-ny, 122
Sabu, 110
Sadeh, 160
Sau, 176
Seʿankh-Ptaḥ, 334
Sedjed, 210
Seḥetep-tēwy, 214, 336
Seḥetep-yeb-Rēʿ, 191
Seḥetep-yeb-Rēʿ-ʿankhe, 183, 208
Seḥetep-yeb-Rēʿ-sonbe, 177
Seḥetpu, 104
Sekhem-Ḥat-Ḥor, 102, 103
Sekhsekh, 294
Semekh, 295
Se'n-Ba, 36, 37, 54
Senebes-ʿankhes, 218
Seneb-Min-ḥotpe, 249
Senebtisy, 318, 322, 325
  her tomb at el Lisht, 178, 305, 306
  jewelry from her tomb, 231, 234, 306-309
  other objects from her tomb, 260, 261, 280, 282-287, 311, 312, 317, 324, 327
Senedjem-yeb, 122
Senenuy, 200
Senet, 177, 209, 300
Senet-Mēnet, 337
Senet-tekh, 332
Senet-Udōt, 337
Senu, 332
Se'n-Wosret, 183, 207, 210, 213, 214, 260, 325, 334, 335
Se'n-Wosret-ʿankhe, 173, 183, 202, 206, 207, 213, 247, 289, 325
Seresu (?), 334
Seseneb-nef, 183
Shedu-Khuf-wy, 100
Shemay, 136-138
Shemsu-Amūn, 218
Shepses-Ptaḥ, 100, 104
Shepses-Rēʿ, 90-92
Shesh, 39
Si-Amūn, 346
Si-Ḥapy, 328
Si-Ḥat-Ḥor, 317
Si-Iset, 162
Si-nēb, 261, 335
Si-nuhet, 179, 180
Sit-An-ḥuret, 334
Sit-Ḥapy, 213, 318
Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor, 177, 198, 213, 236, 328, 336
Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-ʿankhe-i, 177
Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-meryet, 198
Sit-Ḥat-Ḥor-Yunet, 198, 233, 235, 236, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246, 322, 325, 326
Sit-Ḥor-mery, 332
Sit-Ishtek, 334
Sit-Ny-yotef-Atūm, 206
Sit-Sheryet, 152
Sit-Snefru, 215
Sit-Sobk, 146, 331, 344
Si-Yaʿḥ, 162, 327, 329
Sobk-ḥotpe, 344
Sobk-nakhte, 178
Sobk-seʿankhu, 191
Soneb, 191, 210, 258
Soneb-ḥenaʿef, 202, 345
Soneby, 212, 315, 321, 327
Sont-yeby, 218
Sony, 331
Sony-Bebu, 191, 334, 335
Sony-mery, 177
Sony-pu, 209

Ta-net-Tekh-nefer, 334
Ta-net-yeby, 347
Tēm, 158
Tenenyet, 162
Tety-em-saf, 163
Thōty, 183, 264, 271, 347
Tjamet, 329
Tjauty, 106
Tjay, 329
Tjet, 329
Tjetĕ, 178
Tjetety, 112, 113
Tjetj, 329
Tjetju, 120
To, 332, 333, 346

Waḥ, 320, 327
his tomb at Thebes, 166, 303-305
jewelry on his mummy, 230, 303, 307, 308
other objects from his burial, 211-212, 240, 241, 260, 310, 313, 314
Waḥ-Nefer-ḥotep, 193, 343, 349, 350
Wedjeb-djet, 139
Wedjeb-ten, 129
Weḥaʿ-Ḥor, 213
Wekh-ḥotpe, 240, 272, 273, 283, 285, 286, 311, 315, 316, 321, 324
Wen-is-ʿankhe, 106
Weny, 122, 126, 128
Wer-djed-Ptaḥ, 103-106
Woser, 141

Yaʿḥ, 152, 154, 160, 327
Yakin-ilum, 342
Yamtisy, 126
Yantin, 342
Yaʿ-yeby, 202, 345
Yebsen-ḥotpe, 317
Yem, 167, 239
Yeny, 246
Yotef-ʿankhe, 334
Yufu, 333
Yuḥet-yebu, 191, 342
Yunef, 218

C. Divinities

Amūn, 75-77, 79, 148, 152, 179, 181, 201, 202
Amun Rēʿ, 77, 179, 181, 201, 345
ʿAndjety, 286
Anubis, 76, 80, 194, 250, 314, and *passim*
representations, 173, 349
Apis, 200
Apophis, 75
Asklepios, 60
Aten, 79
Atūm, 77, 78

Ba, 37
Bastet, 76
Bēs, 239, 247, 249

Chnūm, 76

Dewau, 101
Dewau-mautef, 314, 318, 321, 323, 325

Gēb, 76, 78, 218, 314, 334

Ḥapy, 314, 321
Haroēris, 181
Harpokrates, 237
Ḥat-Ḥor, 76, 113, 138, 154, 155, 160, 179, 247, 248, and *passim*
representations, 25, 157
Ḥeḥ, 78
Ḥeḳet, 237, 249
Ḥor-akhty, 155, 158
Horus, 26, 27, 75-79, 81, 83, 155, 181, 227, 232, 249, 272, 313, 321, 343, 347, and *passim*
representations, 25, 29-31, 173, 185, 237, 308
Horus-Mīn, 137
Ḥor-wēr (Haroēris), 181

I-em-ḥotep (Imouthes), 60
Imsety, 314, 321
Isis, 78, 81, 161, 271, 272, 314, 318, 321, 325, 328, 347, 348

Ḳebeḥ-snēwef, 314, 318, 321
Kek, 78
Khenty-Amentiu, 77, 80, 159
Khonsu, 78

Maʿet, 78, 106, 110
Mīn, 71, 76, 130, 136-138, 148, 155, 179, 189, 237, 345
Min Ḥor-nakhte, 345
Min Horus, 345
Montu, 147, 148, 151, 155, 157, 179
Mūt, 77, 179, 249

Nefer-tēm, 77, 322
Nehmet-ʿaway, 125
Nekhābet, 27, 38, 59, 67, 157, 173, 187, 189, 190, 200, 307
Neper, 187
Nephthys, 78, 161, 271-273, 314, 321, 325, 347, 348
Nit, 39, 52, 76, 102, 316, 319, 321, 325
Niu, 78
Nūn, 76, 78
Nūt, 76, 78, 314, 317, 318, 321, 322

Osiris, 44, 54, 75-79, 81, 83, 155, 159, 179, 182, 189, 193, 267, 271, 272, 286, 287, 309, 321, 326, 328, and *passim*
Osiris, *continued*
representations, 155-157

Ptaḥ, 75, 77, 79, 178, 181-183, 206, 207, 321
Ptaḥ Sokar, 187, 209, 237, 330, 331, 333
Ptaḥ Sokar Osiris, 333, 346

Rēʿ, 27, 64, 66, 71, 75-79, 81, 83, 267, 272, and *passim*
Rēʿ-Atūm, 78, 151, 180
Renen-ūtet, 189

Saḥ, 76
Sakhmet, 77
Serḳet, 316, 321, 325
Seshat, 188
Sēṯḥ, 26, 27, 75, 76, 78, 81, 195, 285, 313
Shu, 76, 78, 235, 314
Sobk, 45, 181, 201, 246, 261, 341-344
Sokar, 330, 331
Sopdu (Sothis), 40, 76, 200

Ta-weret (Thoueris), 45, 227, 237, 239, 240, 249
Tefēnet, 78, 235, 314
Ṯḥōt, 45, 75, 76, 78, 82, 94, 224, 237, 297, 313
Thoueris, 227

Udōt, 27, 38, 59, 68, 76, 158, 173
Up-wawet, 76, 189, 237, 281

Yaʿḥ, 76

D. Geographic and Ethnic Names

Abadīyeh, 237
Abbāsiyeh, 8
Abgīg, 180
Abisko, 154
Abu Rauwāsh, Gebel, 65
Abu Ṣīr, 66-68, 87, 173, 272
Abu Ṣīr el Meleḳ, 8, 21
Abydos, 77, 81, 159, 218, 267, 270, 271, 313, 332, 334, and *passim*
  objects from Abydos, 37, 41, 43, 44, 46, 116, 147, 182, 200, 236-238, 242, 297, 299, 330, 333, 342, 345
  tombs, temples, and other monuments, 8, 31, 36, 54, 55, 125, 126, 136, 155, 166
Abyssinia(n), 3, 25
Actium, 35
Adana, 215
Aegean, 25, 180
Ahnāsyeh, 143
Akh-eswet, 156
Alexandria, 180
el ʿAmārneh, 65
el ʿAmreh, ʿAmratian, 2, 8, 21, 50, 206
ʿAmu, 126
Aphroditopolis, 144, 151, 165, 175
Apis, 175
Apollinopolis Magna, 175
Arab(s), 35, 244, 265
Arabia, 25
Arabian Desert, 4
Arabic, 242
Armenoid, 59
ʿAsāsīf, 202, 331
Ashru, 77
Asia(tic), 14, 20, 36, 135, 136, 142-144, 154, 171, 200, 215, 277, 329, 351
Aswān, 3, 67, 126, 144, 165, 180, 220, 297
Asyūt, 144, 152, 191, 206, 210, 211, 264, 265, 278, 288, 318, 337
Atbara, 3
Athens, 294
Avaris, 344, 351

Babylonia(n), 37
el Badāri, Badarian, 8, 14-17, 24, 141
Bahr Yūsuf, 4
el Ballās, 8, 25, 147
Bedawīn, 20, 59, 61, 66, 126, 135, 136
Beḥdet, 25, 26, 76, 77, 173, 189, 190
Beit Khallāf, 60
Beni Ḥasan, 174, 196, 250, 257, 278
Berlin, 43, 46
el Bersheh, 196, 255
el Birāby, 202
Birket Ḳarūn, 4
Blue Nile, 3
Bolbitinic, 3
Bologna, 345
Boston, 65, 71, 108, 109, 119, 200
Brooklyn, 28, 125
Bubastis, Bubastite, 2, 64, 76, 126, 178
Busiris, 76, 94, 201, 286, 313, 332, 333
Buto, 27, 76, 189
Byblos, 25, 67, 129, 180, 240, 283, 342, 351
Byzantine, 35

Cairo, 3, 4, 31, 46, 50, 60, 62, 65, 172
  objects in the Cairo Museum, 30, 43, 44, 68, 88, 108, 110, 130, 193, 198, 199, 202, 222, 232, 233, 236, 246, 262, 266, 268, 278, 319, 325, 345
Campigny, 11
Canopic, 3, 118, 320
Cappadocia(n), 142
Carmel, 126
Chemmis, 345
Chenmet-eswet, 191
Chicago, 88, 113
Coptic, 36, 37
Crete, 20, 131, 180
Cyprus, 20

Dahshūr, 61, 87, 130, 196-198, 235, 236, 306, 317
ed Dākhleh, 4
Damietta, 3
Deir el Baḥri, 155, 163, 164, 201, 202, 229, 341
  objects from tombs and temples, 209, 220, 260, 274, 281, 289, 291, 307, 327, 330, 331, 335, 345, 347
Deir el Ballās, 155
Deir el Bersheh, see el Bersheh
Deir Rifeh, see Rifeh
Deir Tāsa, see Tāsa
Dendereh, 106, 113, 125, 126, 138, 139, 147, 151, 154, 155, 179, 331, 332
Dēt, 81, 83
Dimai, 8
Diospolis Parva, 137
Dirāʿ Abu'n Naga, 202
Djed-eswet, 145
Doric, 174

Edfu, 3, 27, 77, 148, 190
Eileithyiapolis, 175
Elephantine, 68, 76, 78, 122, 129, 131, 135, 137, 166

Elysian Fields, 81
Erment, 147, 201
Esneh, 4
Ethiopia(n), 2, 35
Euphrates, 20
Europe, 9, 11, 136

el Fayyūm, 4, 8, 11, 12, 20, 21, 36, 143, 180, 181, 196, 197, 201, 343

Gebelein, 41, 154, 195, 221, 279, 281, 283, 334
Gerzeh, Gerzean, 8, 21
Gibraltar, 9
Girgeh, 147, 244, 264
Gīzeh, 60-62, 65, 71, 87, 109, 110, 113, 119, 120, 173
Greece, Greek, Graeco-, 31, 35, 37, 60, 67, 75, 79, 118, 138, 147, 174, 181, 195, 227, 261, 294, 297, 327

Ḥalfa, Wādy, 179, 247, 259
Halikarnassos, 35
Hamitic, 36, 115
el Hammāmāt, Wādy, 4, 67, 154, 164, 166, 167, 180, 277
el Harageh, 8, 21, 216
Ḥat-nūb, 65, 154, 180
Ḥat-waʿret, 351
Ḥau-nebwet, 180
Hauwāreh, 4, 196, 197
Heliopolis, 27, 66, 75, 77, 78, 81, 175, 180, 183, 193, 223, 224, 227, 271

Helwān, 8, 11, 36, 50, 54
Ḥemāmīyeh, 8, 50
Ḥenet, 201, 246
Herakleopolis, Herakleopolitan Dynasties, 2, 143-145, 148, 151-153, 157, 163, 211, 277
  objects of the period, 145, 147, 279, 280, 309, 315, 317, 326
Hermonthis, 147
Hermopolis, 27, 45, 75, 76, 78, 82, 144, 152, 175, 224
Ḥes, 201
Hibis, 4
Hibiu, 175
Hierakon, 175
Hierakonpolis (see also Nekhen), 15, 27, 29-31, 36, 38, 46, 52, 53, 55, 126, 157, 255, 347
Ḥik-khoswet, see Hyksos
Hu, 8, 137, 283
el Hudy, Wādy, 180
Hurbeiṭ, 59
Hyksos, 2, 344, 351

India, 225
It-towy, 172, 179, 180, 202, 341, 347, 350
Iuntiu, 115

Japanese, 219

el Kāb, 55, 76, 189
Kafr Ṭarkhān, see Tarkhān
Ḳa-nefer, 191
Kanopos, 118
Karnak, 36, 78, 148, 151, 179, 181, 201, 341, 345
Ḳaṣr Ḳarūn, 8
Ḳaṣr el Ṣagheh, 8
Ḳau, 141
Ḳeneh, 139, 147
Ḳereret, 289
Kermeh, 171, 179, 191
el Khārgeh, 4, 8, 12, 13, 180
Khartūm, 3
Khasmet ed Dīb, 8
el Khatāʿneh, 178
Khmūn, 78
el Khōkheh, 148
Kōm el Aḥmar, 347
Kōm Ombo, 8
Kōm Washīm, 8
Koptos, 4, 20, 27, 67, 71, 76, 117, 126, 129, 130, 136-138, 147, 148, 164, 179, 180, 189, 237, 277
Korosko, 171
Kosseir, 4
Krokodilopolis, 181, 201
Ḳurneh, 148
Ḳūs (Kusae), 121
Kush, 179
Kynopolis, 27, 76

el Lāhūn, 196-198, 200, 233, 235, 236, 241, 242, 255-257, 260, 261, 297, 322, 326
Lebanon, 67
Leiden, 135, 281
Leningrad, 171, 177
Libya(n), 2, 20, 25, 35, 61, 66, 154, 171, 179, 277, 329
Libyan Desert, 4, 64
el Lisht, 303, 305, and *passim*
  objects from el Lisht:
    coffins, canopic equipment, and *shawabtys*, 315, 319, 320, 322-329, 349
    jewelry, 231, 232, 236, 239, 308, 309
    statuettes, figures, and models, 206, 208-216, 221, 227, 264-266, 271
    other objects, 116, 142, 143, 167, 179, 195, 200, 240-242, 244, 247-250, 257-262, 274, 279-292, 294-297, 332-337, 342-344
  royal cemeteries, 63, 68, 172 ff., 182 ff., 350
London, 43
Luxor, 71, 147, 148, 233, 337, 344
Lykopolis, 27

el Maʿādy, 8, 50
Macedonia(n), 35
Maghāreh, Wādy, 59, 61, 67
el Maḥāsneh, 8, 46, 50
Maṣṭabet el Faraʿūn, 66
Mazghūneh, 196, 341
Medamūd (Medu), 148, 201, 341
Medīnet el Fayyūm, 181, 343
Mediterranean (Sea), 9, 10, 14, 20, 24, 25, 131, 180, 202
Medjay, 131, 154
Meidūm, 60, 87
Memphis (Men-nefer), Memphite, 4, 39, 67, 126, 178, 271, 341, 347, 351
  cult center, 75, 77, 183, 200, 207, 237
  dynasties of, 2, 38, 131, 134, 136, 144, 148
  objects from Memphis, 36, 63, 106, 118, 182
  school of sculpture, 141, 154, 173, 199, 310
  tombs, 54, 87, 91, 129, 166, 172, 173
Mendes, Mendesian, 2, 3, 76, 200
Merimdeh Beni Salāmeh, 8, 12, 24, 49
Mesopotamia(n), 25, 29
Miʿalleh, 342
Mindel, 9
Mīr, 303, 317
  objects from Mīr:
    amulets, 240, 241
    funerary equipment, 310, 311-315, 318, 321, 323-325, 327
    funerary models, 258, 264-266, 272, 283, 284, 287
    jewelry, 236, 308
    statues, statuettes, 206, 210, 212, 213, 226
    staves and scepters, 282, 285-287
Moēris, Lake, 196
Muḳattam, 3, 60
Mustagiddeh, 8

Naʿ, 349
Naples, 43
Nebesyet, 294
Neḳādeh, 8, 20, 25, 26, 36, 39, 50, 53, 54
Nekhāb, 27, 55, 76, 101, 173, 190
Nekhen, 27, 102, 189, 200, 347
Nen-Ny-sūt, 143
New York, 91, 94, 102, 233
Nubia, 3, 98, 115, 286, 292
  in prehistoric times, 8, 14, 16, 17
  in the Old Kingdom, 60, 61, 65, 67, 122, 126, 128-131
  in the Middle Kingdom, 154, 166, 167, 171, 179, 190, 196, 277, 329, 342
  its people, 162, 171, 176, 177, 190, 219, 220, 224, 225, 329
  its products, 180, 198
Nūbt, 26

el ʿOmari, 8, 50
Ombos, 26, 76, 181, 201
ʿOnekh-towy, 333

Palermo, 26, 61, 66
Palestine, 20, 22, 25, 66, 67, 125, 126, 131, 135, 171, 180, 250, 341
Paris, 43, 88, 177, 210
Pelusiac, 3
Persia(n), 2, 35, 250
Phatnitic, 3
Phoenicia, 131
Pūnt, see Pwēnet
Pwēnet, 67, 129, 166, 188

Red Sea, 4, 16, 20, 67, 71, 129, 232
Reʿ-em-Nekhen, 102

el Reḳāḳneh, 121
Rhodes, 20
Rifeh, 206, 255, 256, 336
er Riḳḳeh, 210, 323, 336
Riss, 9
Roman, 31, 35, 50, 55, 75, 79, 138, 148, 261, 297, 327
Rosetta, 3

Ṣaʿīdi, 4
Saïs, Saïte, 2, 52, 76, 175
Saḳḳāreh, 68, 134
  objects from tombs:
    Early Dynastic, 36, 41
    Old Kingdom, 59, 67, 88, 110, 112, 113, 115, 116, 121
    later periods, 146, 326
  tombs and temples at Saḳḳāreh:
    Early Dynastic, 46, 50, 51, 53-55
    Old Kingdom, 60, 66, 67, 72, 82, 87, 90, 92, 102, 103, 122, 125, 126, 128, 129, 183
    later periods, 136, 145, 341, 342
Salūki, 18, 98, 223
Ṣān el Ḥagar, 344
Sebennytos, Sebennytic, 2, 3, 35, 351
Sedment, 147
Sekhet, 201
Semitic, 20, 36, 66, 67, 125, 351
Semneh, 171
Sepa, 313, 314, 321
Serābīṭ (el Khadīm), 180, 335
Seya, 201
Shaṭṭ er Rigāl, 154, 163, 166
Shedet, 181, 201, 343
Sheikh ʿAbd el Ḳurneh, 162
Shetyet, 331
Shūnet ez Zebīb, 55
Sibil, 8
Sicilian, 36
Silsileh, Gebel, 154
Sinai, 16, 20, 36, 59, 60, 61, 66, 67, 115, 125, 135, 171, 180, 335
Si'ūt (Asyūt), 76, 144, 189, 237
Somali coast, 67, 129
Somaliland, 131
Sūdān, 3, 129, 171, 245
Suez, 129
Sumenu, 201, 261, 341, 342, 344
Sumeria, 25
Syēnē (Aswān), 67
Syria(n), 20, 25, 51, 61, 67, 131, 136, 142, 144, 165, 179, 180, 188, 240, 283, 314, 341, 351

Tanis, Tanitic, 2, 3, 126, 175, 178
Ṭarkhān, 39, 41, 46, 121
Ta-Ro-an, 172
Tāsa, Tasian, 8, 12-15
Teḥenu, 180
Temeḥu, 180
Thebes, Theban, 260, 279, 303
  capital of empire, 106, 141, 157
  cult center, 75-77, 147, 151, 152, 172, 201, 345
  dynasties of, 2, 144, 145, 148, 152, 153, 172, 178, 202, 340, 341
  objects from Thebes:
    coffins, 313, 315, 319, 347
    funerary models, 266
    jewelry, 229, 236-239, 308
    reliefs, 159, 163, 173
    statues, statuettes, 206, 208, 210, 213-215, 218, 219, 221, 225, 226
    stelae, 331, 332, 334, 335
    other objects, *passim*
  tombs and temples, 8, 148, 151, 155, 158, 166-168, 177-179, 212
Thinis, Thinite, 2, 29, 31, 54, 126, 129, 135, 139, 143, 144, 151, 152, 165
Tigris, 20
Ṭōd, 148, 154, 201, 341
Transjordania, 20
Tūmās, 126
Tūneh, el Gebel, 278, 283, 337
Tuphium, 148
Tureh, 31, 43, 62, 172, 182
Turin, 36, 125, 130, 136, 144, 166, 340, 342-344, 351
Tūshkeh, 64, 67, 179

Wādy ʿAngabiyeh, 8
Wādy el Gasūs, 4
Wādy 'n Natrūn, 25
Wādy es Sheikh, 11
Waset, 147
Wawat, 131, 154, 190
White Nile, 3

Xoïs, Xoïte, 2, 175, 340, 351

Yam, 129
Yaru, 81
Yerdjet, 131

Zaraby, 119
Zawyet el ʿAryān, 60

GENERAL INDEX

General Index

ʿ*Aba*-scepter, 159, 287
Abrasive, 65
ʿ*Abyet*-staff, 285
Acacia, 49, 159, 231, 232, 234, 236, 237, 246, 284, 306
Addax, 100
Adze, 12, 166, 288
Aelian, 36
Africanus, 35, 340, 351
Agate, 24, 230
Agriculture, agricultural, 11, 14, 196
Akh, 79
Akhet, 39, 41, 179
Alabaster, 13, 41, 65, 180, and *passim; see also* Calcite
Albumin, 291
Alexander the Great, 2, 31, 35
Aloe trees, 22
Altar, 60, 78, 116, 156, 157, 165, 175, 178, 179, 183, 188, 190, 194, 335, 336, 337.
Amethyst, 128, 195, 198, 201, 202, 229, 232, 234, 236-239
Amherst collection, 346
Amulets, amuletic, 14, 141, 143, 226-228, 230, 231, 237, 238, 241, 247-249, 306 ff.
  Prehistoric, 12, 14, 20
  Early Dynastic, 45
  Old Kingdom, 91
  First Intermediate period, 141, 143
  Middle Kingdom, 162, 164, 193, 195, 218-249 *passim*, 297, 306-313 *passim*
Anhydrite ("blue marble"), 244, 247, 261
Anklets, 24, 88, 107, 109, 216, 228, 232, 234, 235, 237, 266, 303, 306-308, 314
Annals, 26, 36, 40, 61
Antelopes, 22, 29, 98, 100, 146, 187, 188, 227
Antimony, 120
Apes, 45, 46, 78, 221, 224, 225, 228
Apophis Book, 75
Aprons, 109, 188, 189, 210-212, 240, 266, 306, 309, 315
Arch, arched, 55, 88, 256
Archers (bowmen), 29, 195, 202, 277, 281, 282
Architrave, 53
Armenoid, 59
Armlets, 235, 238, 246
Armor, 277
Armory, 62
Army, 61, 69, 126, 144, 154, 277
Arrows, arrow heads, 11, 12, 18, 19, 29, 46, 52, 158, 163, 164, 166, 202, 278, 280, 281, 330
Atef-crown, 189, 193
Autobiographies, 78, 138, 182, 299, 347
ʿ*Awet*-crook, 286
Awl, 12
Awnings, 51, 100, 269
Axes, axe heads, 9, 12, 13, 69, 163, 166, 250, 278, 282, 283, 288, 289
Azurite, 291

Ba, 79, 237
Badge, 195, 238, 277
Bag, 281, 292, 297
Bakers, bakery, baking, 97, 264, 265
Balance, 297
Balls, 121, 143, 251, 292, 296
Balsam, 117
Bandages (linen), bandaged, 120, 162, 194, 212, 240, 303-307, 311, 320, 322, 327
Barley, 157, 251, 264, 266, 299
Barques (sacred, solar, etc.), 53, 81, 82, 137, 181, 201, 267, 269-273, 294, 307, 330
Barracks, 55
Basalt, 17, 18, 23, 64, 72, 181, 213, 226, 244, 296, 297, 334
Basins, 97, 98, 118, 119, 175, 194, 196, 256, 263, 264, 292, 296, 336, 337
Baskets, basketry, basketwork, 11, 17, 92, 93, 97, 109, 191, 226, 232, 243, 247, 259, 263, 264, 266, 267, 281, 292
Bat, 241
Bath, bathing, 92, 243
Bathroom, 256
Baumgärtel, E., 11, 20
Beads, 16, 109, 228-239, 305-312
  Prehistoric, 13, 16, 24
  Early Dynastic, 46
  Old Kingdom, 88, 91, 109, 119
  Middle Kingdom, 158-315 *passim*, 344
Beakers, 13, 244, 246
Beard, bearded, 14, 20, 28, 29, 59, 71, 92, 115, 157, 188, 199, 207, 215, 310, 312, 321, 323-325
Beater-in, 265, 291
Bedroom, 256
Beds, 41, 240, 248, 258, 259
Bee (of Lower Egypt), 27, 38, 59
Beer, 42, 81, 92, 94, 97, 98, 106, 113, 120, 147, 151, 153, 157, 159, 215, 264, 299, 305, 331-333, 336
Beer jars, 147, 159, 256, 261, 269, 331
Beetle (insect), 142, 143, 235, 237, 238
Beetle (paving), 241
Belt, 108, 189, 211, 231, 281-283, 304, 309
Bench, 52, 271
Beryl, 16, 229, 237, 239
Besau, 309
Bier, 41, 271-273
Biographies, biographical inscriptions, 121, 122, 165
Birds, 75, 82, 173
  representations of:
  Prehistoric, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24
  Old Kingdom, 92, 96, 97, 100, 102, 104
  First Intermediate period, 142
  Middle Kingdom, 158-350 *passim*
Blades, 11, 12, 19, 283, 284, 287-289
Block border, 139, 162, 188, 191, 347
Boats, 22, 80, 81, 90, 96, 98, 139, 158, 159, 205, 224, 248, 262, 266-274, 287, 299
Bologna, 345
Bolts, 245, 246, 250
  door bolts, 127, 139, 194, 257, 314

Bone, 11-13, 16, 24, 46, 142, 193, 244-248, 283, 292, 295
Book of Him Who Is in the Underworld, 83
Book of the Dead, 75, 83, 297, 315, 321, 348, 350
Book of the Gates, 83
Boomerangs, 248, 284
Borer, boring tool, 24
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 65, 71, 108, 109, 119
Bottles, 120, 244, 245
Bowls, 141, 151, 160, 187, 214, 222, 264, 292, 330
  clay, 261
  faience, 42, 261, 337
  metal, 42, 119, 261
  pottery, 12-15, 17, 23, 119, 147, 261, 291, 329
  stone, 42, 118, 119, 167, 176, 194, 244, 260, 261
  wood, 261
Bows, 18, 29, 30, 69, 158, 163, 164, 166, 279-281, 288, 315, 330
Bowstrings, 279-281
Box, 193, 243, 245-247, 259, 272, 288, 290, 304, 311-314, 319, 321, 322, 327, 348
Boxwood, 223, 245, 247
Bracelets, 13, 16, 24, 38, 46, 107, 109, 198, 216, 228, 230-232, 235-238, 247, 266, 300, 303, 306-308, 314
Braziers, 98, 147, 228, 263
Bread, loaves, 12, 37, 97, 116, 156, 175, 264, 269, 305, 336, and *passim*
Breccia, 4, 19, 23, 216, 242, 244
Brewer, brewery, 80, 113, 120, 264, 265, 267
Brewster, J., vii
Brick, 21, 25, 49-55, 157, 175, 184, 290, 291, and *passim*
Bronze, 119, 128, 223, 241, 242, 258, 283, 289, 296
Brooklyn Museum, 166
Broom, 146
Brunton, G., 198
Brushes, 188, 291, 292, 295, 296
Bubalis, 28
Bull, bullock, 4, 30, 41, 63, 92, 100, 164, 176, 188, 200, 250, 268, 271, 272, 278, 299
Bull, L., vii
Burnishers, 291, 294
Burton, H., vii
Butchers, 93, 96, 97, 103, 146, 163, 187-189, 263-265, 267
Butlers, 98, 160, 187, 201, 202, 244, 246, 261
Cabin (boat's), 268, 269, 272
Calcite, 25, 65, 116, 325; *see also* Alabaster
Calendar, 39-41, 179
Calf, 100, 142, 146, 152, 161, 177, 193, 201, 224, 246, 266, 300
Canal, channel, 4, 12, 30, 128, 144, 165, 183, 196, 197, 290, 336
Canoes, 268, 271
Canopic chests, 147, 165, 193, 194, 272, 305, 306, 320-323, 325, 349
Canopic jars, 91, 118, 147, 205, 306, 308, 320-326
Canopy, 270-274
Caravans, caravan routes, 4, 67, 129, 131, 166, 180
Carbon, carbonization, 15, 17, 292
Carey, H. A., vii
Carnarvon, the Earl of, 202, 209, 246
Carnarvon collection, 199, 213, 227, 236, 342
Carnelian, 24, 119, 143, 201, 202, 216, 229-237, 240, 245, 247, 286, 307, 308, 311, 312
Carpenter, cabinetmaker, carpentry, 262, 283, 287-289, 317
Carter, [H.], 202
Cartland, B. M., vii
Cartonnage, 303, 309, 310, 312, 320, 323
Cartouche, 64, 148, 173, 175, 176, 181, 184, 193, 195, 201, 233, 239, 246, 260, 296, 342, 344
Caskets, chests, coffers, 46, 143, 201, 202, 244-246, 259, 288, 306, 320, 332
Castanets, 164, 247, 248
Castor oil, 260
Cat, 76, 195, 223, 224, 228, 249
Cataract, 3, 4, 60, 65, 67, 68, 128, 131, 143, 154, 171, 179, 196, 219, 225
Caton-Thompson, G., 11
Cattle, 4, 63, 71, 97, 100, 138, 158, 160, 162, 167, 187, 188, 218, 262, 263, 266, 287; *see also* Bull, Calf, Cow, Negau, Ox, Steer, and Yewa
Cattle stable, 262, 263, 287
Causeway, 62, 63, 67, 68, 155, 163, 166, 173, 183, 185, 190, 202, 237, 295, 347
Cavetto (and torus) cornice, 51, 139, 161, 314, 332, 334, 335, 347
Cedar (wood, tree, oil), 52, 67, 135, 194, 210, 242, 245, 246, 292, 305, 315, 318, 319, 325
Celt, 12
Cement, 231, 280
Cenotaphs, 36, 37, 41, 43, 53, 54, 60
Censer, 243, 266
Chair, 98, 258, 259, 273, 299
Chalcedony, 24
Chalk, 291
Chamberlain, 90, 92, 118, 183, 193, 239, 246, 264, 334, 350
Chancellor, 59, 61, 69, 106, 129, 138-334 *passim*
Chapel, 154, 155
  tomb chapel, 337; *for those of specific periods, see below:*
  Early Dynastic, 55
  Old Kingdom, 79, 87, 88, 92-94, 96, 102, 104, 106, 112, 113, 129, 136
  First Intermediate period, 141, 146
  Middle Kingdom, 243
    Eleventh Dynasty, 159, 160, 163, 164, 166, 167
    Twelfth Dynasty, 172, 177, 178, 183, 187, 190, 194, 195, 202, 218, 315
Charcoal, 291
Chest, *see* Caskets
Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum, 113
Chisels, 46, 166, 218, 242, 280, 288, 289
Circlet (tiara), 228, 231, 237, 271, 306, 315
City, 130, 137, 139, 143, 144, 147, 152, 154, 172, 177, 181, 191, 196, 197, 201, 206, 306, 343, 351; *see also* Residence, Town
Clarinet, 103
Clark, C. R., v, vii
Clasp, 189, 231, 232, 234, 235, 236, 306, 308, 309
Claws, 234, 236, 283
Clay, 50, 290, 291, 329
Clay figures, 15, 20, 160, 176, 220
Climate, 4, 11, 49, 243
Cloak, mantle, 93, 101, 209, 210, 213-215, 221, 264, 271, 273
Cloth (linen), 11, 12, 212, 219, 240-242, 244, 259, 260, 265, 292, 304-306, and *passim*
Clothing (costume, dress, garments), 20, 88, 107-112, 206-220 *passim*, 240-243, 266, 309, 315, and *passim*
Clubs, 164, 278, 282, 283, 287, 289, 331
Cobra, cobra goddess, 27, 38, 59, 68, 71, 76, 125, 158, 173, 188, 189, 227; *see also* Uraeus

Coffins, 13, 50, 79, 81-83, 117, 120
Early Dynastic, 41
First Intermediate period, 147
Middle Kingdom, vii, 83, 147, 162, 271, 272, 274, 304-323, 327, 347-350, and *passim*
Coffins, anthropoid, 305, 308-312, 320, 322, 323
Coffins, model, (*shawabty*), 160, 162, 193, 323, 326, 327, 329, 349, 350
Coffin Texts, 75, 83, 159, 163, 164, 211, 314-316, 319
Collars, 45, 88
broad collars, 91, 107, 109, 212, 228, 303-314 *passim*, and *passim*
Colonnade, 63, 155, 181, 263
Colonnettes, 161
Columns, 51, 53, 60, 67, 68, 125, 135, 156, 157, 161, 166, 174, 183, 188, 241, 256, 257, 262, 273, 295
Combs, 14, 15, 20, 27, 240
Contracts, 121, 191, 238
Copper, 14, 16, 125, 126, 180, 211, 212, 229, 234, 263, 291
fastenings, fittings, 16, 161, 193, 245, 250, 274, 284, 311, 312, 322
implements, tools, 14, 41, 46, 91, 241, 242, 286, 288, 292, 304
jewelry, 16, 24, 128, 232, 234, 306, 308
mines, 59, 61, 67, 180, 335
plaques, 175, 184
vessels, 120
weapons, 41, 46, 278, 279, 281, 283
Copt, Coptic, 36
Corbel (vault), 55
Cord, 38, 51, 180, 247, 259, 262, 271, 281, 285, 289, 291, 321, 337
representations of, 29, 69, 162
used in jewelry, 229-232, 235, 237, 238, 286, 306-308, 312
Cord pattern, 21, 46, 51
Coregent, coregency, 128, 172, 201
Cores, 9, 10, 53, 54, 62, 88, 172, 182, 194, 237, 292, 309
Cornflowers, 247
Corvée, 350
Cosmetic, cosmetics, 13, 109, 118, 241, 242, 244, 246, 319
Cosmic divinities, 76-78
Couches, 41, 152, 272
Counterpoise (for collar), 159, 306, 314
Coup de poing, 9
Court (royal, princely), 154, 201, 202, 306
Court, courtyard, forecourt, 60, 255, 256, 297
temple, 52, 63, 67, 116, 155, 156, 158, 188, 189, 202, 291, 327
tomb, pyramid, 91, 93, 94, 151, 155, 163, 166, 182
Cow, cow goddess, 25, 76, 100, 138, 142, 157, 161, 162, 224, 246, 266
Cowrie (shells), 220, 232-237
Cramps, builders', 184, 290
Crane, 100
Crocodile, crocodile god, 4, 18, 45, 76, 142, 158, 181, 201, 225-227, 246, 247, 249, 341, 343
Crook, 157, 194, 272, 286, 315; *see also* *ʿAwet*-crook, *Ḥeḳat*-scepter
Crown, crowned, 26, 27, 31, 59, 65, 92, 127, 131, 148, 154, 157, 158, 176, 185, 188, 189, 193, 196, 199, 201, 233, 237, 246, 277, 318, 344
Crucibles, 291
Crypt, 159, 163, 280
Crystal, rock, 46, 107, 142, 201, 212, 229, 238, 240, 283, 312
Cubit, 137, 197, 292, 294, 297
Cubit rod, 297
Cucumbers, 188, 331, 338
Cuneiform script, 342
Cups, 118, 129, 226, 247, 249, 261, 332
Cylinder seals, 29, 36, 38, 39, 65, 72, 125, 127, 141, 195, 201, 341-344
Cynocephalus (ape), 45, 78, 224, 225
Cypress, 162, 210

Dado, 173, 257, 291, 349
Daggers, dagger blades, 19, 25, 282-284, 306
Dances, dancers, dancing, 90, 98, 162, 164, 202, 219, 222, 224, 230, 234, 246, 247
Date palm, 67
Davies, Nina de G., vi
Davies, Norman de G., vi
Davis, Theodore M., 209, 213, 230
Deben, 71, 72, 195, 297
Debono, [F.], 11
Decrees, royal, 92, 110, 117, 130, 136-138
Deer, 28
"Destruction of Mankind," 75, 78
Diabase, 64
Diadem, 158
Dice, 250
Didactic treatises ("Teachings," "Instructions"), 122, 144, 179
Diodoros the Sicilian, 35, 41
Diorite, 4, 19, 23, 42, 64, 67, 71, 72, 119, 179, 198, 206, 214-216, 218, 242, 244, 261, 290, 297
Dishes, 18, 41, 42, 118, 164, 193, 194, 242, 244, 245, 261, 291, 305
Disks, disk-shaped, 19, 46, 216, 229, 231, 235, 237, 238, 240-242, 261, 283, 307, 311, 319
Djaʿm-scepter, 285
Dog, 14, 18, 27, 28, 76, 80, 164, 189, 190, 194, 223, 224, 237
Dolerite, 64
Dolls, 89, 219-221
Dome, domed, 138, 316
Donkeys, 101, 188, 264, 266, 292, 299
Door, 50, 122, 127, 139, 148, 163, 194, 257, 263-265, 314; *see also* "False door"
Door bolts, *see* Bolts, door
Doorjambs, 36, 46, 52, 88, 91, 104, 139, 173, 177, 190, 257
(Door) lintel, 94, 104, 173, 176, 189, 200
Doorway, door opening, 41, 50, 51, 93, 94, 104, 127, 255, 263-265, 316
temple, chapel, 154, 189, 191
tomb, 87, 88, 91, 94, 138, 151, 159, 163, 165, 270
Dramas, 75
Draughts, 103
Drill, 288
Drill cap, 288, 289
Duck, 71, 98, 100, 119, 177, 184, 187, 244, 264, 266, 269, 271
Dwarf, 164, 210, 218, 221, 222, 239, 247, 249

Earrings, 228
Eaton, E. S., 234
Ebony, 36, 52, 107, 200, 241-246, 250, 280, 310, 312
Eggs, 143
Egypt Exploration Fund, 236
Electrum, 231, 237, 245
Elephant, 15, 16, 20, 27, 226
Embalmer, embalming, 80, 141, 166, 191, 194, 308, 314, 325, 349; *see also* Mummification
Emmer, 100; *see also* Spelt
Enneads, 78, 322
Eraser, (scribe's), 296
Estates (farms), 63, 80, 92, 96, 100, 146, 167, 190, 262, 264, 266, 267, 294, 303
Estate Manager, 106, 166, 183, 211, 212, 230, 240, 258, 260, 303, 313, 315, 320
Eusebius, 35, 351

Ewer, 98, 118-120
Eye cosmetic, eye paint, 15, 109, 119, 242; *see also Kohl*
Eye panel, *see Wedjat*-eyes

Faience, 16, 24, 45, 176, 193, 201, 229, 241, 245, 248, 250, 258, 283, 306 ff., 337
  beads, 24, 46, 109, 119, 160, 194, 201, 229-232, 236-238, 287, 303, 306-309, 311, 312
  plaques, 175, 184
  scarabs, seals, 142, 176, 195, 201, 231, 238
  statuettes, 44, 45, 202, 220-227, 266, 328, 338
  tiles, 45, 176, 257, 337, 342
  vessels, 42, 193, 242, 244, 245, 247, 261, 336
Falcon, 25-27, 71, 76, 77, 125, 173, 181, 189, 190, 233, 237, 307, 308, 330, 347
  above kings' Horus names, 27, 29, 157, 173, 185, 199
  falcon-head(ed), 189, 249, 313
  See also Hawk
"False door" (stela), 37, 50, 51, 54, 87, 88, 93, 95, 98, 101-106, 116, 127, 141, 145, 160, 172, 175, 183, 187, 245, 314, 332, 336
Fan, 98, 267
Farms, *see* Estates
Feathers, plumes, 277, 280, 297, 345
Feldspar, 16, 25, 67, 201, 229, 231, 233, 235-237, 297
Fence, fenced, 52, 272
Ferrule, 280, 284, 286, 309
Fetish, 26, 194
Figs, 49, 155, 188, 263, 317, 338
Filigree, 233
Fillets, 24, 158
Finding List, v, vii, 9
Fish, fishing, 11, 18, 24, 75, 97, 98, 158, 164, 177, 244, 268, 269, 271
Fishhooks, 13
"Flail," 157, 159, 189, 286, 287; *see also* Ladanisterion
Flakes, (flint, limestone), 10, 11, 246, 280, 294, 295
Flamingoes, 22
Flax, 265
Flint implements, 9-14, 19, 24, 27, 41, 46, 117, 193, 246, 280
Float, mason's, 290
Flour, 13, 264, 265, 269
Flowers (floral), 89, 104, 158, 190, 218, 226, 233, 236, 245, 269, 287, 309, 319, 332-335
Flowers, *continued*
  as offerings, 81, 92, 98, 187, 188, 300
Flute, flautist, 103
Fly, 237
Fly-whisk, 91, 106, 181, 206
Food cases, 119
Forecourt, *see* Court
Foreshortening, 89
Fork, forked instrument, 101, 117
Forked staff, 285
Fort, fortress, fortifications, 55, 61, 144, 151, 171, 172, 179, 196, 277, 341
Foundation deposits, 128, 157, 166, 175, 176, 179, 184, 194
Fowlers, fowling (bird-netting), 97, 164, 262, 266, 269, 271
Fox, 98, 249, 250
Frieze, 138, 139, 159, 163, 164, 188, 307, 315, 319, 322
Frit, 24, 45, 201, 231
Frogs, 228, 237, 249

Gabbro, 200, 215, 216
Galena, 15, 18, 242, 281
Games, 45, 46, 80, 103, 225, 249-251
Gaming boards, 41, 103, 202, 249, 250
Gaming pieces, 45, 103, 250, 297
Garden, 80, 107, 157, 167, 255, 262, 263
Gardiner, [A. H.], 135, 335
Gargoyles (drainspouts), 185, 263
Garlic, 97
Garnet, 229, 232, 233, 238
Gate, gateway, 55, 60, 128, 130, 135, 137, 138, 151, 155, 182, 183, 191, 193, 349
Gauthier, [H.], 344
Gazelle, 20, 98, 100, 164
Genii, Four . . . of the Dead, Four Sons of Horus, 81, 271, 308, 314, 318, 321-323, 325, 349
Gesso, 107, 211, 227, 294, 330
Gibson, S. M., vii
Gilani Suleyman, vii
Giraffe, 20, 27, 28, 190
Girdles, 16, 219, 220, 228, 230-236, 238, 241, 306, 308, 311
Glass, 16, 229
Glaze, glazed, 16, 24
  glazed frit (faience), 24, 45, 201, 242
  glazed steatite, 16, 127, 142, 152, 176, 195, 198, 201, 227-242 *passim*, 261, 341, 342, 344
Glue (size), 291
Gneiss, 4, 65, 198
Goat, 14, 190, 287, 299
Gold, 72, 108, 135, 179, 180, 195, 242, 245, 246, 297, 307, 311, 333
  foil, 212, 241, 282, 285, 286, 305-312, 316, 317, 350
  jewelry, 25, 41, 46, 162, 164, 198, 208, 228-236, 239, 306
  mines, 179, 180
Golden Horus name (of king), 38, 63, 153, 190
Goldsmiths, 221
Goose, 98, 100, 119, 177, 184, 187, 264, 266, 333
Graeco-Roman, 35, 138, 297, 327; *see also* Greek, Roman
Graffiti, 159, 160, 162
Grain (cereal), "corn," 11, 30, 42, 101, 135, 262, 264, 265, 266, 338
Grain god, 187
Granary, granaries, 61, 101, 103, 104, 110, 264, 265, 287, 294, 297, 316, 334
Granite, 4, 19, 62, 67, 104, 144, 172, 176, 181, 194, 283, 288, 289, 296, 322
  altars, 165, 175, 178, 179, 183, 194, 336
  architectural elements (casings, columns, doorjambs, etc.), 46, 52, 54, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 156, 181, 182, 188
  quarries, 4, 67, 68, 144, 180, 297
  sarcophagi, 129, 177, 320
  statues, statuettes, 109, 110, 178, 194, 199, 200, 202, 206, 207, 215, 216, 327
  vessels, 23, 194
Granodiorite, 208, 214
Grapes, 157, 188, 247, 338
Grass, 49, 247, 259, 291, 292
Graves, 13, 14, 18, 21, 25, 26, 36, 46, 49, 50, 52-54, 88, 119, 121, 141, 237, 255, 283, 323
Greek, Greeks, Greece, 31, 37, 75, 79, 126, 143, 174, 195, 227, 261, 294, 297, 320, 347
Griffon, 249
Grills, 161, 256, 257
Grinder, grinding stone, 11, 12, 18, 175, 281, 291, 296
Gritstone, 202, 289
Gum, 242, 243, 286, 291, 292; *see also* Pitch, Resin
Gut, 248, 280, 281
Gypsum, 290, 291

Haematite, 25, 65, 147, 201, 229, 238, 242, 262, 297
Haff, M., vii

Hair, 14, 29, 45, 89, 98, 108, 115, 212, 219, 220, 221, 228, 231, 236, 240, 243, 271, 277, 278, 311, 312, 331
Hairpins, 240, 250
Hall, L. F., vii
Hamed Mohammed, vii
Hammer, hammerstone, hammered, 9, 65, 120, 320; *see also* Mauls
Hamper, 13
Handkerchief, 91, 107, 181, 206, 207, 300, 333
Hare, 98, 142
Harīm, 158, 160, 162, 163, 176, 177, 195, 219-221, 230, 246, 256, 345
Harkness, E. S., 299
Harp, harper, 103, 248, 269
Harpoons (fish-spears), harpooning, 25, 46, 239, 269
Harvard (University), 65, 109, 119
Hauser, W., vi
Havemeyer collection, 199, 213
Hawk, 142, 161, 193; *see also* Falcon
Headrest, 120, 121, 258, 304
Hearths, 50
Heddle, heddle jacks, 265
Hedgehog, 98
Ḥekat-measure, 264
Ḥekat-scepter, 193, 286; *see also* Crook
Ḥekenu (oil), 117
ḥekeru-frieze, *ḥekeru*-ornaments, 51, 162, 188, 189, 191, 319, 322
Henna, 242
Herodotos, 3, 35, 260
Ḥes-vase, 147, 231, 306
Hides, skins of animals, 13, 49, 51, 164, 194, 268, 271, 272, 278, 281, 287; *see also* Leather, Rawhide
Hieratic, 37, 193, 206, 292, 294, 295, 327, 329, 337
Hieroglyphs, hieroglyphic, 37, 59, 63, 64, 89, 94, 104, 162, 228, 230, 235, 348, 350
  cursive hieroglyphs, 83, 159, 211, 314, 316, 319, 331
  individual signs, 52, 55, 100, 116, 117, 129, 142, 181, 236, 240, 258, 277, 280, 283, 285, 292
Hippopotamus, 4, 15, 18, 20, 45, 49, 76, 142, 226, 227, 237, 239, 240, 248, 249, 274
Hoe, 113, 265
Hones (whetstones), 242, 245, 289
Hoopoe, 103
Hopgood, H. R., vii
Horn, horns, 157, 236
Hornblende, 67, 181
Horus name (of king), 27, 29, 31, 38, 50, 61, 64, 148, 153, 157, 167, 173, 175, 185, 188-190, 195, 199, 200, 342
Hounds, 98, 164, 223, 250
House (dwelling), 11, 13, 41, 49-52, 61, 76, 80, 101, 107, 146, 163, 167, 188, 189, 205, 255-263, 266, 299, 313, 314, 321, 347
Howe, G., vii
Ḫtm ("seal"), 121
Ḫu-ʿa-scepter, 287
Hunt, hunters, hunting, 4, 9, 10, 28, 98, 164, 218, 225, 226, 262
  hunting dogs, 18, 164
  hunting scenes, 18, 24, 98, 164, 190
  hunting weapons, 14, 27, 80, 248, 279, 280, 284
Hut, 49, 51, 255
Huzayyin, [S. A.], 11
Hyena, 27
Hymns, 75, 82, 83, 151, 345
Hypocephalus (biscuit), 304, 306
Hypostyle hall (columned hall), 51, 63, 88, 156, 157, 257, 258, 316

Ibex, 22, 98, 100, 142
Ibis, 27, 76, 237, 313
Idol, 20
Imy-Dēt, 83
Incense, 67, 81, 93, 94, 101, 145, 243, 266, 270, 273
Inet-fish *(Bolti)*, 244
Ink, 92, 104, 157, 257, 260, 292, 296
  ink inscriptions, 83, 159, 206, 210, 211, 260, 294, 319, 323, 329-331, 337
Ink shells, 296
Ink slabs, 296
Inkstands, 296
Inlay, inlaid, 107, 176, 198, 202, 210-212, 221, 229, 231-233, 235, 241, 245, 310-312, 317
Innundation, 3, 12, 39, 40
Iron, 25
Irrigation, irrigate, 11, 12, 30, 350
Ivory, 11, 13, 15, 16, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 36, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46, 143, 179, 194, 202, 220, 222, 225, 231, 238, 240, 241, 244-250, 283, 287, 294

Jabiru, 27
Jackal, 14, 250
Jar labels, 36
Jars, 118, 191, 222, 244
  model (miniature) jars, 118, 157, 194, 261, 265, 266, 269, 337
  pottery jars:
    Prehistoric, 15, 17, 21, 22, 25, 31, 41, 46
    Early Dynastic, 42, 43
    Old Kingdom, 97, 120
    First Intermediate period, 147
    Middle Kingdom, 157, 184, 193, 260-262, 294, 295, 305, 326, 337, 350
  stone jars:
    Prehistoric, 17, 30
    Old Kingdom, 91, 118, 126, 127
    Middle Kingdom, 243-246, 261, 322-326
Jars represented in reliefs, etc., 93, 97, 98, 141, 159, 188, 256, 315, 318, 330, 345
Jasper, 71, 201, 229, 230, 238, 239
Javelin, 278, 281, 282
Javelin case, 278
Jerboa, 224
Jewel box, jewel casket, 162, 198, 232, 235, 245-247
Jeweler, 287
Jewelry:
  Prehistoric, 16, 24
  Early Dynastic, 36, 41, 46
  Old Kingdom, 65, 107, 110
  Middle Kingdom, 197, 198, 202, 228-246 *passim*, 303, 306-309, 311
Josephus, 35, 36
Judge, judgment, 77, 81, 94, 102, 103, 106, 135
Juniper oil, 243
Junker, H., 11

Ka, see *Ku*
Kanopos, 118
Khat (ḫ3t), 210, 311; *see also* Wig cover
Kheper, 143
Kherep-scepter, 287
Khopesh, 96, 97, 103, 142
Ḳidet (Kitĕ), 297
Kiln, potter's, 15, 17
Kilt (skirt, loincloth), 108, 109, 220, 240, 278, 304, 309, 315, 334
  on figures in relief, 88, 91, 98, 101, 138, 188, 189, 300, 331, 345
  on statues and statuettes, 110, 112, 181, 193, 194, 206-214, 216, 266
Kiosk, 50

Kitchen, 11, 71, 80, 255, 262, 268, 269
Knife, 96, 97, 146, 263, 272, 288
  bronze, 296
  flint, 12, 13, 24, 26, 28, 46, 193
  ivory (amuletic), 225, 247-249
Knife handles, 24, 27, 28
Knob, 193, 242, 245, 246, 250, 259, 284, 322, 323
Knot, 231, 235, 236, 238, 240, 262
Knucklebones, 46, 104, 250
Kohl, 242, 243, 247
Kohl-jars, *kohl*-pots, 242, 246, 247
Kohl-sticks, 242
Ku, 79, 94, 98, 107, 163, 189, 199, 260, 273, 332
Ku-servant, 100, 103, 146, 166, 219, 295, 296
Ku-statue, 88, 107, 112, 113, 117, 156, 160, 218
Kulleh-ware, 147, 242, 262, 264, 295

Ladanisterion, 287, 315
Ladanum, 286, 287
Lamb, 224
Lamps, 260, 261
Lances, lance heads, 12, 19, 25, 46, 279
Lansing, A., vi, vii, 222
Lapis lazuli, 24, 25, 127, 128, 198, 201, 202, 229, 231-233, 235-237, 342
Lariats, lassos, 18, 98
Lead, 242
Leaf, leaves, 42, 161, 246, 247, 314, 319
Leather, 13, 18, 41, 91, 109, 229, 240, 251, 258, 268, 269, 278, 281, 287, 294
Lector, lector priest, 76, 93, 101, 106, 127, 138, 139, 145, 163, 183, 333
Leeks, 188, 300, 331
Leiden, Rijksmuseum, 281
Leopard, leopard heads, 28, 234, 249
Leopard skin, 88, 93, 101, 189, 273
Letters, 122, 129, 166, 222, 294, 296
Lettuce, 188, 300
Libations, libation vases, 116, 117, 151, 175, 266, 333, 336, 337
Lichen, 246, 247
Lily, lily pad, 27, 157, 309
Limespar, 65
Limestone, *passim*
Linen, *see* Cloth, Clothing, Rope, Thread
Linen marks, 260, 304
Linseed oil, 260
Lintel, *see* Door lintel
Lion, 4, 27, 29, 30, 63, 142, 225, 227, 228, 247, 249
  figures of, 45, 185, 195, 198, 199, 225, 235-237
  legs (claws) of, 272, 283, 299
Lion god (goddess), 76, 225, 235
Lioness, 45
Lint, 260
Litanies, 75
Litter (carrying chair, sedan chair), 92, 122
Lizards, 195
Locking elements (of coffins, etc.), 311, 322
Locust (wood), 284
Longley, L., vii
Loom, 265, 291
Lotus, 77, 161, 226, 233, 236, 245, 258, 263, 269, 287, 319, 322
  in tomb and temple reliefs, 89, 104, 158, 187, 218, 300, 332, 334, 335
Lythgoe, A. M., vi, 91

McAdams, T., vii
Mace, A. C., vi
Maces, mace heads, 12, 19, 24, 26, 30, 188, 282, 283, 315
Magic, magical, 80, 81, 118, 119, 185, 228, 307, 308
  magical objects, symbols, 118, 159, 162, 185, 218, 227, 248, 249, 326, 329
  magical texts, spells, 78, 79, 82, 93, 320, 326
Magicians, 60, 66, 295
Malachite, 15, 18, 242, 247, 291
Mallets, 270, 272, 274, 289, 290, 292
Manetho, 35, 340, 351
Mantle, *see* Cloak
Marabou stork, 27
Marble, 23, 199, 213, 241, 244
Mariette, A., 88, 110
Marines, 69, 272
Masks, mummy, 147, 304, 305, 308, 309-312, 320, 323
Mason (stonecutter), 287, 289-291, 295
Mast, 268-273
Mastabat el Fara'ūn, 66
Mastabeh, 52, 87, 88
  Early Dynastic, 46, 50, 53-55
  Old Kingdom, 60, 62, 71, 72, 87-131 *passim*, 145
  First Intermediate period, 138, 139
  Middle Kingdom, 82, 172-333 *passim*
Masthead fittings, 274
Mat, matting, 11, 13, 21, 41, 45, 50, 52, 53, 60, 116, 163, 175, 185, 187, 230, 258, 259, 261, 316, 336
Mauls, 290
Me'andjet-barque, 272
Medicine, 60, 286
Mekes-staff, 285
Melon, melon-shaped, 232
"Memphite Drama," 75
Menferty, 307
Menghin, O., 11
Mesdemet, 242
Mesektet-barque, 272
Mibt- or *Minb*-axe, 283, 289
Mica, 193
Mice, 224
Microliths, 11
Militia, 277
Milk, 151, 193
Milla, E. J., vii
Mills, millers, 11, 13, 97, 264, 265
Mines, mining, 59, 61, 67, 154, 178-180, 196, 277, 335
Mirror, 101, 233, 241, 245, 246, 304, 314, 331
Models, architectural, 67, 88, 91
Models, funerary, 80, 113, 147, 164, 167, 205, 212, 218, 337, 338
  boats, ships, 248, 268-274, 328
  figures, 265-267
  houses, shops, 255-257, 262-264, 294, 297
  tools, weapons, 166, 282, 283, 286-288, 290, 292
Model vases, model vessels, 91, 118, 119, 128, 157, 175, 194, 261, 337
Molds:
  bread, 97
  brick, 25, 290
  metal, 120, 291
Mollusk, 11, 24
Monkey, 128, 142, 164, 225, 242, 244
Monotheism, 79
Moon (lunar), moon god, 40, 76, 78
Morgan, J. de, 198
Morgan collection, 221
Mortar (grinding), 29, 264, 265, 291
Mortar (as in masonry), 290
Mother-of-pearl, 195
Moustache, 310, 323
Mouths (of the Nile), 3
Mud, 49, 50, 184, 255, 257, 290, 291, 325
  figures, parts of figures, 193, 219, 326, 327, 329

Mud, *continued*
stoppers, sealings, 262, 264, 296, 337
See also Clay
Mummification, 79, 118, 303, 320
Mummiform, 155, 157, 160, 185, 326-329, 350
Mummy, mummified body, 80, 109, 162, 166, 271-274, 303-306, 314, 320, 326, 329
equipment of, 83, 162, 212, 229, 230, 231, 236, 238, 241, 258, 282, 303-312, 323
wrappings of, 240, 241, 260, 303-306
Murch collection, 198, 237, 343
Mushrabīyeh-work, 161
Music, musicians, musical instruments, 98, 103, 125, 247, 248, 269
Myrrh, 67, 166, 214

Nabbūt, 284, 285
Naia serpent, 27
Naos, 125; *see also* Shrine
Napkins, 93
Natron, 243, 303; *see also* Soda
Neb-ᶜonekh, 320
Nechenem (salve), 117
Necklaces, necklace beads, 38, 109
Prehistoric, 13, 16, 24
Early Dynastic, 46
Old Kingdom, 91, 119
Middle Kingdom, 228-234, 236-238, 306, 308, 311, 314
Necropolis, 80, 81, 91, 141, 151-153, 158, 289, 307, 313
Needles, 46, 292
Negau, 100
Negro, 220
Neḥbet-scepter, 287
Nemes (nms), 71, 175, 181, 189, 198, 199, 311
Nets, 97, 109, 164, 266, 269
Newberry, [P. E.], 286, 326
Niche, 88, 138, 145, 146, 156, 185, 202, 305, 306, 321, 326
"Nine Bows" ("Nine Peoples of the Bow"), 116, 154, 181, 187, 188
Nomarchs, 121, 122, 129, 131, 136-138, 143, 144, 147, 148, 151-154, 171, 174, 196, 279, 315
Nomes, 5, 26, 135, 148, 171, 190
individual nomes (Dendereh, Thebes, Kusae, etc.), 106, 113, 121, 137, 138-151 *passim*, 165, 175, 191, 196, 201, 277-279
nome gods, 71, 77, 175, 185, 190
Nurse, nursing, 215, 221, 247
Nuts, 246, 247, 262

Oars, oared, 22, 96, 99, 268-274
Oasis, 4, 180
Obelisk, 52, 66, 180, 344
Obsidian, 19, 25, 107, 215, 236, 242, 246, 247, 261, 297, 310, 312, 317
Ocher, 242, 291
Offering formula, 88, 94, 214, 313, and *passim*
Offering list (list of offerings), 80, 93, 98, 104, 117, 146, 163, 187, 191, 316, 337
Offering table (table of offerings), 93, 104, 116, 165, 177, 214, 255, 330-337
Offering trays, 64, 147, 255, 256, 332, 335, 337
Oils, 81, 117, 193, 243, 260, 325, 326
"The Seven Sacred Oils," 117, 243, 315, 337
Oil jars, 246, 247, 318
Ointment (anointing oil), 81, 117, 194, 243, 244, 246, 345
Ointment jars, 118, 119, 126, 129, 194, 243, 244, 345
Ointment scoops, 244
Okapi, 20
Olibanum, 243
Opal, 71
Opening of the Mouth (a rite), 117
Oracle, 3
Orycterope, 76
Oryx, 27, 92, 100, 196, 277
Ostraka, 179, 294, 295
Ostrich, 20
Ostrich plumes, 159, 272
Oven, 264, 265, 269
Owl, 37
Ox, oxen, 14, 157, 175, 184, 193, 194, 256, 299
representations of, 20, 71, 96, 97, 103, 146, 158, 160, 161, 163, 187-189, 263-270 *passim*
Oyster, 195

Paddle dolls, *see* Dolls
Paddles, paddlers, 99, 269, 270
Paint, pigment, 291, 292, 295
Painter, 291, 292, 296, 310, 334, 348
Paintings, 61, 75, 79, 80, 88, 92, 143, 162, 163, 177, 221, 260, 283, 288, 307
Palace, 28, 45, 50, 55, 61, 69, 127, 135, 179, 182, 188, 202, 220, 277, 334, 341, 350
Palace façade, 29, 50, 53, 55, 64, 88, 93, 139, 157, 185, 314-316, 319, 332, 347, 348
Palettes, commemorative, 24, 27-31, 37, 39
Palettes, cosmetic, 13, 15, 18, 24, 28, 119, 244
Palettes (pen cases), scribes', 69, 200, 263, 292-295
Palm (tree, branches, fiber, leaf), 18, 49-51, 67, 68, 98, 238, 247, 250, 259, 291, 292
Panther head, 241
Panther skin, 101
Papyrus (paper), 83, 121, 292, 294, 296
manuscript, document, 60, 66, 75, 83, 117, 122, 135, 145, 171, 177, 179, 294
representations of (in reliefs, etc.), 69, 93, 100, 107, 109, 146, 188, 264, 273
the Turin Papyrus (of kings), 36, 125, 130, 136, 144, 340, 342-344, 351
Papyrus (plant), 4, 27, 45, 71, 97, 142, 158, 161, 173, 187, 227, 285, 287, 309
bark, pith, reed (as material), 49, 50, 99, 177, 226, 230, 239, 247, 259, 270, 271, 292, 296
column, 51, 241, 258, 263
Paste, 41, 127, 212, 224, 229, 231, 232, 235, 236, 242, 244, 307, 344
Pavilion, 50
Peasant, the Eloquent, (tale of), 145
Pebbles, 17, 297
Pectorals, pectoral ornaments, 198, 228, 233, 246, 311, 347
Pedj-ᶜaḥaᶜ-staff, 281, 282
Peek, G. M., vii
Peet, [T. E.], 335
Pen case, 69; *see also* Palettes, scribes'
Pendants, pendent ornaments, 24, 193, 198, 208, 231, 233, 236, 237, 286, 307, 311
Perfume vases, 139, 163, 181
Perfumes, 117, 243, 286, 319
Periwinkle (shells), 232
Per-ᶜo ("the Great House," later "Pharaoh"), 61
Perry, Commodore M. C., 113
Persea, 326
Perspective, 89
Pestle, 291, 296

Peters, A., vii
Petrie, [W. M. F.], 20, 22, 55, 198, 326
Phillips, D. W., vii
Physician, 60
Pier, pillar, pilaster, 107, 109, 156, 180, 183, 185, 190, 216
Pigeon, 100
Pigs (swine), 27, 299
Pillow, 13, 120, 121, 258
Pine, 162, 210, 313, 327
Pitch, 312, 316, 325, 348; *see also* Gum, Resin
Pitchers, 244, 261
Plaster, 49, 50, 120, 193, 257, 285, 290, 306, 307, 311
Pliny the Elder, 36
Plover, 30, 100
Plow, plowing, 90, 265
Plutarch, 36
Pomades, 243
Pondweed, 226
Porphyry, 4, 230, 244
Portcullis, 53, 54
Portico, porch, verandah, 51, 88, 151, 155, 162, 163, 166, 202, 237, 256, 257, 262
Portière (curtain), 51, 94, 103, 191, 259
Portrait, portrait head, 44, 107, 108, 185, 306, 309, 310, 320, 323, 325
  reliefs, 59, 102, 158, 189
  statues, statuettes, 63, 65, 107-110, 115, 175, 176, 194, 198-200, 207, 209, 213, 326
Posesh-kef, 117, 118, 181
Potter's wheel, *see* Wheel
Pottery chest, 259
Pottery figures, 220, 226
Pottery vessels, 11, 42, 43
  Prehistoric, 11-15, 17, 18, 21-23, 25, 41, 42
  Early Dynastic, 42, 43
  Old Kingdom, 120
  First Intermediate period, 145, 147
  Middle Kingdom, 175-260 *passim*, 261, 262, 291-350 *passim*
Prayers, 82, 151, 273, 330, 331, 335, 345
Priest, priesthood, priestly, 36, 39, 60, 66, 72, 76-81, 88, 93, 138, 176-219 *passim*, 266, 278, 347
  lector priest, 76, 93, 101, 106, 127, 138, 139, 145, 146, 163, and *passim*
  mortuary priest, 80, 87, 93, 96, 102, 104, 121, 146, 270-274, 294, 305, 328
"Priest" (title), 101, 102, 106, 110, 127, 138, 139, 206-216 *passim*, 347, 348
  "Overseer of Priests," 112, 137, 138
Priestess, 72, 88, 102, 104, 106, 110, 127, 141, 161
Prince, 26, 28, 53, 62, 64, 81, 135, 173, 200, 223, 322
  "Hereditary Prince," 101, 148, 163, 206, 295, 333, 334, 345
  King's son, 94, 101, 152, 193, 196, 343, 349, 350
  of foreign land or city, 329, 342, 351
  (title of nomarch), 78, 113, 129, 148, 154
  "Wall of the Prince," 171, 180
Princess, 64, 129, 162, 183, 194, 195, 200, 229, 230, 260, 310, 312, 320
  of Dahshūr and el Lāhūn, 197, 198, 233, 235, 236, 245, 306, 317, 322, 325, 326
Prisoners (of war), captives, 28, 78, 115, 188, 225
"Proto-Doric" column, 174
Proyet, 39
Ptolemaic, 351
Ptolemy, 35
Pygmy, 129, 222
Pylon, 180, 181
Pyramid, 46-349 *passim*
Pyramid Texts, 68, 75, 82, 83, 125, 136, 309
  on Middle Kingdom monuments, 82, 83, 177, 183, 314, 315, 317, 318, 322, 348
  references to, 117, 281, 285, 287
Pyramidion (capstone), 175, 184, 194

Quail, 100
Quarry, quarrying, 4, 36, 98, 178, 196, 277
  alabaster, 65, 180
  diorite, 64, 67, 179, 198
  granite, 67, 68, 144, 180, 297
  limestone, 62, 172, 182, 194
  of Wādy el Ḥammāmāt, 4, 67, 154, 166, 167
Quartz, 16, 24, 67, 107, 230
Quartzite, 176, 194, 195, 197, 199, 207, 208, 227, 242, 291
Queen, 64, 156, 215, 307, 320
  Early Dynastic, 36, 39, 53-55
  Old Kingdom, 62, 65, 66, 82, 125-127, 129, 130, 136
  Eleventh Dynasty, 152, 154, 158-160, 162, 229, 260, 288, 327
Queen, *continued*
  Twelfth Dynasty, 176, 177, 183, 191, 194-198, 200, 235, 236, 306, 317
  Thirteenth Dynasty, 344
Quern, 12
Quiver, 202, 281

Ram, 37, 76, 200, 224
Rawhide, 240, 248, 278, 289, 290
Razors, 241, 242, 245
Reamer, 288
Rebus, 125, 233
Record, [S. J.], 284
Reed, 28, 49-51, 59, 161, 189, 257, 280, 282, 291, 292, 294
  mats, matting, 45, 51, 259
  skiffs, barques, canoes, 18, 267, 270, 271
Reel, 269, 271, 292
Reisner, G. A., 65
Reliefs, relief sculpture, 59 and *passim*
Residence, (king's), 61, 66, 72, 129, 135, 144, 172, 196, 201, 341, 347, 350
Resin, resinous, 97, 242, 243, 246, 291, 303-306, 320, 325, 327; *see also* Gum, Pitch
Rhyolite, 195
Ribbons, (hair), 216, 311
Rings, 228, 233, 259
Rings, finger, signet, 128, 141, 198, 228, 235-240
Rivet, 120, 258, 283, 296
Rock inscriptions, rock carvings, 36, 59, 61, 67, 126, 154, 163, 167, 201
Rollers, 290
Roman, 31, 35, 75, 79, 120, 138, 195, 202, 261, 297
Rope, 64, 67, 97, 161, 164, 193, 259, 262, 266, 292
Rosettes, 28, 231, 319, 335
Rosewood, 247
Rouge, 242
Rouge dish, 242, 245
Rubble, 53, 54, 88, 129, 182, 257, 305
Rudder (steering oar), 99, 268, 269-274
Rush, rushes, 11, 49, 247, 258, 259, 291, 292

"Saber," 283
Saʿīd Pasha, 112
Sail, 99, 268-273
Sailors, 69, 270, 271
Salt, 247
Salves, 117, 118, 243, 244

Sanctuary, 63, 76, 183, 187, 190
Sandal strap, 42, 109, 240, 315
Sandals, 91, 109, 141, 240, 304, 315
Sandstone, 155-159, 161, 163, 175, 208, 215, 289, 291, 296, 334
Sarcophagus, 41, 50, 79, 320
  Old Kingdom, 91, 129, 136, 313, 317
  Eleventh Dynasty, 156, 158-164, 166-168, 220, 320
  Twelfth Dynasty, 177, 194, 320, 322
Sard, 24
Saucers, 128, 175, 184, 261, 296, 305
Saw, 11-13, 288, 289
Sawdust, 306, 321
Scarab, scarab-shaped seal, 38, 141-143, 201, 227-240 *passim*, 246, 247, 296, 303, 308
  with royal names, 65, 127, 176, 191, 195, 198, 201, 235, 239, 341-344
Scepter, 88, 89, 101, 107, 138, 159, 210, 213, 263, 284-287, 315, 331
  was-scepter, 45, 157, 190, 285, 286
  See also Scepter Nome
Scepter case, 287
Scepter Nome (Thebes), 147, 148
Scharff, [A.], 11
Schist, 4, 23, 42, 181, 244, 296
Scorpion, 30, 31
Scott, N. E., vii
Scrapers, 10, 12, 13, 291
Scribe, 69, 92, 100, 101, 107, 122, 159, 164, 179, 260, 264, 265, 277, 299
  equipment of, 69, 200, 292-297
  "scribe" (title), 100-102, 106, 109, 110, 160, 191, 207, 208, 211, 214, 323, 328, 345
Sculptors' models, 59, 64, 166
Seals, 38, 127, 141-143, 152, 162, 191, 201, 240, 296
  button, 142
  stamp, 141, 191, 195 ("rectangular"), 223, 227
  See also Cylinder seals, Scarabs
Seal impressions, 36, 39, 43, 191, 296
Sealings, 38, 39, 43, 60, 61, 157, 191, 193, 246, 262, 264, 266, 296, 342
Sed-festival (jubilee), 126, 127, 157, 167, 173, 180, 188, 189, 287
Sedge (plant), 27, 38
Sekhem-scepter, 287
Senet, 103, 250
Serekh-building, -panel, 50, 199
Serpent, snake, 27, 29, 82, 125, 159, 188, 227, 247-249, 285, 348, 350
Serpentine, 23, 24, 39, 42, 65, 210, 214, 216, 242, 244, 296, 297, 327
Seruy, 307
Setem-priests, 189-191, 272
Settlement, *see* Town
Seweret, 308, 311, 312
Shawabty-figures, 193, 205, 306, 326-329, 343, 349, 350
Shawls, 240, 260, 305, 311, 327
Sheaths, 20, 29, 283
Sheep, 14, 122, 224, 299
Sheets (linen), 160, 163, 212, 240, 258-260, 266, 303-305, 307, 327; *see also* Cloth
"Sheikh el Beled," 108
Shell, shells, 11, 41, 193, 195, 198, 208, 233, 246, 294, 296, 338
  bracelets, necklaces, girdles, 13, 16, 119, 220, 230-236, 238
  See also Cowrie, Periwinkle, Snail
Shenu, 64, 235
Shepherd, 28, 122, 194, 285, 286
Shields, 52, 164, 166, 268, 272, 278
Ships, 22, 63, 67-69, 99, 100, 126, 128, 129, 131, 135, 166, 167, 171, 262, 267, 271-274, 294, 328, 347
Shirt, 240
Shōmu, 39
Shrine, shrine-shaped, 49-52, 189, 237, 299, 333
  Prehistoric and Early Dynastic, 22, 49, 50, 52, 115, 194
  Old Kingdom, 60, 96, 125
  Eleventh Dynasty, 155, 160, 161, 164, 201
  Twelfth Dynasty, 179, 193, 194, 218, 271, 306, 327, 335
Shuttle, 265, 292
Sickle, sickle flints, 11-13, 100
Sidder, 49
Sieve, 97, 113, 264
Silver, 120, 184, 229, 233, 234, 241, 242, 245, 246, 283, 297, 333
  amulets, 162, 164, 236, 237, 238
  jewelry, 202, 229-231, 236-239
Silver foil, 216
Singers, songs, 103, 122, 248, 269
Sirdāb, 63, 87, 88, 94, 104, 106, 107, 110, 112, 113, 167, 183, 193, 266, 288, 292
Sistrum, 106, 125, 137, 248
Skiff, 18, 177, 226, 239, 267, 271, 272, 274
Slate, 15, 18, 24, 27, 28, 42, 46, 167, 176, 193, 242, 244, 289, 291, 296
Slaves, 179, 220
Sledge, 96, 180, 193
Slings, slingers, 277, 282
Slings, carrying, 193, 262, 292
Slipstones, 242; *see also* Whetstones
Smelting, 16
Snail, 230, 338
Soap, 119
Soapstone, 213; *see also* Steatite
Soda, 119, 243, 303
Solar cult, solar religion, 21, 272; *see also* Sun, Sun god
Solder, soldered, 120, 230-233, 236, 242
Soldiers, 62, 137, 158, 163, 164, 191, 202, 260, 272, 277, 278-284
Sothis (Sirius), Sothic cycle, 40
"Soul house," 255, 256
Spatulae, 12, 193, 244, 290
Spearmen, 277, 278
Spears, spear heads, 18, 278, 279
Spelt, 100, 299
Sphinx, 45, 63, 198
Spindles, spindle whorls, 12, 265, 289, 292
Spirit, 79, 81, 88, 139, 146, 189, 205, 218, 247, 272, 273, 329, and *passim*
  the Spirits, 158, 222, 322
Spoons, 13, 15, 46
Sporran, 158, 189
Spruce, 313
Square, carpenter's, 288
Squash, 300
Staff, staves, 69, 98, 100, 101, 106, 138, 146, 166, 210, 213, 246, 263, 280-286, 304-306, 315, 331
Stairs, stairways, steps, 53, 54, 60, 87, 151, 163, 255, 256, 264, 267, 299
Stands (for jars, tables, etc.), 64, 93, 98, 116, 129, 147, 160, 164, 188, 201, 242, 248, 261, 300, 336
Staples, 193, 245, 246, 250
Statues, 75, 76, 79, 80, 87, 88, 107, 108, 137, 260, 291, 307, 326
  Early Dynastic, 44, 46
  Old Kingdom, 63, 65, 71, 87, 88, 94, 96, 106-117, 126, 287
  Eleventh Dynasty, 156, 157, 163, 210, 215, 270
  Twelfth Dynasty:
    royal statues, 148, 178, 179, 181, 183, 185-187, 194, 198, 200, 344
    private statues, 200, 202, 205-208, 215, 218, 273

Statuettes, 79, 80, 326-329, 345, 350
Prehistoric, 15, 19, 20, 25
Early Dynastic, 36, 43-45
Old Kingdom, 65, 71, 107, 110, 112, 113, 115, 120
Eleventh Dynasty, 164, 209, 210-212, 214, 266, 304
Twelfth Dynasty, 175, 193-226 *passim*, 266, 273
Steatite (glazed), 16, 198, 201, 229, 233
amulets, 227, 228
beads, 16, 25, 201, 230, 232, 238, 344
scarabs, 176, 195, 201, 229, 237, 239, 342
seals, 39, 72, 127, 142, 152, 195, 201, 342
vases, 227, 242, 261
Stelae, 37, 50, 51, 81, 87, 88, 116, 205, 330-336
Early Dynastic, 36, 37, 46, 54, 64
Old Kingdom, 87-106 *passim*, 127, 130
First Intermediate period, 136, 139, 145, 146, 287, 330
Eleventh Dynasty, 148, 151, 152, 163-165, 280, 294, 330-333
Twelfth Dynasty, 172, 175, 177, 182, 183, 187, 194, 195, 299, 330-335
Thirteenth Dynasty, 202, 342, 345-347, 350
Steward, 92, 100, 145, 166, 295, 299, 318
"Steward" (title), 110, 117, 164, 165, 182, 183, 191, 207-330 *passim*
"Chief Steward," 165, 177, 178, 191
Stone vessels, 15-18, 22, 41, 42, 46, 60, 116, 118-120, 147, 198, 200, 243, 244, 246, 261, 322-326; *see also* Jars, stone; Vases
Stools, 41, 221, 258, 259
Stoppers (of jars, etc.), 306, 320, 321, 323-326; *see also* Sealings
Strabo, 36
Straw, 101, 220, 290, 305
String, 16, 24, 229-232, 237, 238, 247, 248, 280, 281
Stucco, 162, 183, 194, 227, 246, 257, 309, 312, 317-319, 323, 324, 348
Sun, 21, 37, 40, 80-83, 99, 143, 185, 241, 260, 267, 291, 305
sun disk, 157, 160, 173, 190, 233, 241
Sun god, 38, 53, 66, 71, 76-78, 81, 83, 151, 233, 271, 272, 313, 315
Sun temple, 66, 102, 106
Sunshade, 157
Sycamore, 49, 102, 155, 162, 250, 257, 263, 272, 294, 296, 317, 347
Syenite, 67; *see also* Granite

Tables, 41, 93, 98, 118, 146, 187, 333-337; *see also* Offering tables
Tablets, plaques, 26, 52, 60, 117, 128, 141, 151, 157, 175, 176, 179, 184, 201, 329, 330, 334, 337
Taborets, 261
Tags, 36
Talc, *see* Steatite
Tallow, 242
Tamarisk, 49, 155, 296, 317
Tattooed, tattooing, 20, 162, 202, 219, 220, 246
Temples, 51, 52, 155-162, 183-193, and *passim*
Tent, 49, 51
Terrace (architectural), 155, 156, 178
Terraces, Nile, 9
Thatch, thatched, 49, 50
Thorn, 49, 246
Thread, 12, 229, 231, 240, 244, 247, 264, 265, 280, 281, 292, 296, 306, 307
Throw-sticks, 248, 272, 282, 284
Tiles, 45, 51, 60, 176, 257, 337, 342
Tiller, 268, 270, 271
Tin, 242
Tipcat, 251
Tombs, 52-55, 87-122, 303-306, and *passim*
Tortoise shell, 24
Tortoises, 24, 228, 247, 249
Torus molding, 51, 139, 161, 246, 332, 334, 335; *see also* Cavetto (and torus) cornice
Totems, 28, 159
Towels, linen, 244
Towers, 50
Town, settlement, village, 11, 14, 25, 26, 55, 67, 71, 75, 76, 79, 92, 106, 117, 130, 147, 172, 180, 197, 201, 223, 255, 294, 295, 335, 351; *see also* City
Toys (playthings), 218, 222
Trade routes, 36, 71, 154, 178, 179
Trays, 25, 116, 187, 259, 261, 300
Treasurer, treasury, 61, 72, 88, 153, 162, 177, 182, 191, 202, 218, 266, 297, 299, 333, 345
Triads, 71, 77, 78, 216
Trowel, 244, 290
Tubes, tubing, 229, 230, 233, 236, 246
Tumbler, 311
Turquoise, 16, 24, 67, 127, 201, 229, 233, 235-237, 307
Tusks, 15, 20, 248
Tweezers, 46
Two Goddesses, Two Goddesses name (of king), 38, 59, 143, 153

Unguent vessels, 244, 331
Unguents, 117, 118, 286, 319; *see also* Oils, Ointments
Uraeus, 38, 59, 71, 158, 159, 175, 188, 199, 200, 227, 230, 233, 240, 249, 310; *see also* Cobra
Ushabti, see *Shawabty*-figures

Valley Temple, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 71, 155, 183, 202
Varnish, 212
Vases, 42, 175, 245, 261
pottery vases, 17, 21, 25, 175, 194
stone vases, 15, 22, 37, 42, 72, 118, 126-129, 198, 200, 227, 244, 246, 261
See also Jars, Pottery vessels, Stone vessels
Vat, 97, 103, 113, 120, 146, 264, 265, 269
Vault, vaulted roof, etc. (in architecture), 55, 88, 138, 183, 187, 188, 194, 227, 256, 257
vaulted lids (of coffins, etc.), 245, 305, 306, 312, 314, 317, 320, 321, 323, 332, 347, 349, 350
Vegetable, vegetables, 20, 163, 187, 243, 247, 260, 267, 337
Veneer, 259, 296, 315
Vineyards, 299
Visceral jars, *see* Canopic jars
Vizier, 62, 137 (titles), 286
Old Kingdom, 62, 90, 104, 122, 129
First Intermediate period, 136, 137
Eleventh Dynasty, 153, 162, 165, 166, 167, 260, 277
Twelfth Dynasty, 177, 183, 191, 206, 209, 305, 320, 325
Thirteenth Dynasty, 202, 345
Vulture, vulture goddess, 27, 38, 59, 67, 76, 77, 157, 173, 187-190, 200, 237, 249

Wadju, 242
Wādy, 4 and *passim*
Wag-feast, 94
Walking stick, 91 107, 284, 285, 330, 331; *see also* Staff
Wands, 194, 248

War, warfare, 24, 76, 80, 99, 131, 139, 148, 277-280
War god, goddess, 52, 76, 147
Was-scepter (scepter of "well-being"), 45, 129, 157, 175, 190, 285, 286
Water jars, 118, 159, 256
Wattle (and daub), 50
Wax (bees-), 78, 160, 162, 246, 247, 291
Wax figures, 78, 160, 162, 326, 327
Weaving, weavers, 260, 262, 264, 265, 287, 291, 292, 308
Wēᶜb-priest, 76, 102, 106, 191, 335, 347, 348
Wedges, wedged, 100, 290
(Wedjat-) eye(s), 139, 218, 227, 230, 232, 237, 249, 273, 345
(panel) on coffins, etc., 162, 304, 310, 313, 315-319, 322, 327, 347, 348
Weights, 11, 72, 176, 195, 296, 297
Wesekh, 307
"Westerners," the, 80, 159, 299
Wheat, 12, 13, 100, 264, 266
Wheel, 193
potter's wheel, 43, 147
Whetstones, 242, 245
Whip, 286
White, H. G. Evelyn, vii
Whitewash, whitewashed, 257, 259, 288
Wicker, wickerwork, 27, 52, 97, 98, 113, 116
Wicks, 260, 261
Widgeons, 187
Wig, 108, 159, 220, 228, 240, 243, 246, 306, 310, 321, 323, 324
in reliefs and paintings, 88, 91, 101, 106, 138, 187
on statues, 107, 110, 112, 206-208, 215
on statuettes, 44, 71, 110, 200, 206, 208-213, 215, 216, 220, 271, 327
Wig cover, 71, 210, 215, 300
Wilkinson, C. K., vi
Williams, C. R., vii, 228
Willow, 49
Wills, 122
Window, 41, 50, 51, 93, 98, 256, 257, 263
Wine, wine jars, 118, 157, 266, 269, 336, 337
Winlock, H. E., vi, 220, 229, 235, 280, 305, 311, 337
Wire, 230, 231, 235-237, 326
Withes (mast), 274
Wolf, 27, 76, 189, 237
Wood, *passim; see also* Acacia, Cedar, etc.
Wool, woolen, 209, 213
Wrist guard (archer's bracer), 281
Writing boards, 263, 265, 280, 294, 295, 330, 331

Yacht, 81
Yeast, yeasty, 97, 264
Yewa, 100, 146, 158
Yoke, yoked, 265

Set in 10 point Linotype Baskerville,
with Bauer Weiss for display

Format by Peter Oldenburg
Printed by Plantin Press, New York
Reprinted in offset
by the Meriden Gravure Company, Meriden, Conn.

The Scepter of Egypt presents the story of life in ancient Egypt as it is reflected in the large and comprehensive collection of Egyptian antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. This account of developments from prehistoric times through the Roman occupation is presented in two parts. In each, the historical and cultural background of the antiquities is treated, and the uses and meanings of these objects are explained. The work is designed to serve not only as an unusually full and graphic handbook to a particular collection but, for the general reader, as an introduction to a fascinating people of the ancient world.

PART I is devoted to Egyptian culture from its origins in the Stone Age through succeeding periods to the collapse of the Middle Kingdom in the eighteenth century B.C. It covers ten thousand years of Egyptian prehistory and almost seventeen hundred years of recorded time; it deals with more than 18,000 objects of art and craftsmanship. All phases of Egyptian culture have been treated. In addition to the objects of art produced, the book discusses the architecture, language and writing, religion, funerary beliefs and customs, dress, warfare, and daily life. The many quotations from ancient records and inscriptions bring the reader close to ideas, events, and personalities of the time.

Valuable aids to students of ancient Egyptian art are also included: an outline of the cultures and periods of Egyptian prehistory; detailed chronological lists of dynasties and kings; an extensive bibliography; indexes of names of divinities and of royal, private, and place names occurring on objects in the collection or mentioned in the book; and a comprehensive general index.

ISBN 0-87099-190-6