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THE MASTABA OF MERERUKA
PART I

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PLATE 1



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MERERUKA ISSUING FROM THE KINGDOM OF THE DEAD AND
ENTERING HIS TOMB

AN ATTEMPT TO REPRESENT THE SCENE IN ITS ORIGINAL LIGHTING
CHAMBER A 13, NORTH WALL

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME XXXI

THE MASTABA OF MERERUKA

PART I
CHAMBERS A 1-10
PLATES 1-103

BY
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The idea of reproducing adequately the painted relief sculptures of the notable tomb of Mereruka at Sakkarah originated with the late Professor James H. Breasted, founder and first director of the Oriental Institute. Owing to the interest and generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the project was made possible and these volumes accomplished. Dr. Breasted's regretted death occurred toward the end of the Expedition's field work. The task was completed and the volumes edited under his successor, Professor John A. Wilson.

In the preparation of the volumes I am indebted to numerous friends who have collaborated directly and indirectly in the work both in the field and at home. I wish first to thank M. Pierre Lacau, former Director General of the Service des Antiquités of the Egyptian Government, for his courtesy in granting the necessary permission to undertake the project, and M. Henri Gauthier, former Secretary General, for most kindly arranging the many official details. The generous assistance lent me by the late Cecil M. Firth, Inspector General of the Service des Antiquités, at Sakkarah, and by his successor, the late J. E. Quibell, I recall with gratitude. To Professor George A. Reisner, Director of the Joint Egyptian Expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts at Gizah, I am deeply indebted for much kind co-operation and for advising me on such problems as arise in the field; the friendly relationship with the

members of his staff was to us one of the most pleasant of experiences. I have further to acknowledge helpful suggestions on the part of many colleagues who visited the Expedition, especially Dr. Howard Carter, Mr. Joseph Lindon Smith, and Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Harold H. Nelson, Field Director of the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic and Architectural Survey at Luxor, for his generous assistance in organizing the Expedition and for valuable help afforded me at all stages of the work. As to the Introduction, I owe much to Professor A. T. Olmstead, Oriental Institute Professor of Oriental History in the University of Chicago. I acknowledge gratefully the assistance of Dr. T. George Allen, Editorial Secretary of the Oriental Institute, who read the manuscript and checked the inscriptions with meticulous care; Dr. Adolph A. Brux I wish also to thank for much assistance. Above all, I wish to express to my staff my appreciation of their loyalty and conscientious labor throughout five field seasons in making the plates reproduced in these volumes; on their behalf I would place on record the great inspiration of working under the guidance of Professor Breasted. I would likewise express to Professor John A. Wilson our appreciation of much helpful co-operation in bringing these volumes to completion.

PRENTICE DUELL

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ERRATUM

In the legends of Plates 29 *B* and 30 *B*, for “Carpenter” read “Carpenters”

FOREWORD

It is to the enlightened interest of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., that we owe this opportunity of publishing and saving from destruction the great treasury of art and history which has survived to us in the tomb of Mereruka in the ancient Memphite cemetery. In view of the fact that the two volumes portraying it are intended for students of art and history and not exclusively for orientalists, it has been necessary to present here an account of the tombs of Memphis which the professional orientalist may find superfluous.

The traveler of today who rides his donkey through the beautiful palm groves of ancient Memphis finds it difficult to believe that the somber mounds of rubbish out of which these lofty palm trunks rise cover the wreckage of what was once the capital of Egypt—a city which already five thousand years ago, in the Pyramid Age, was one of the most splendid the Ancient World was ever to see.¹ Late in the fourth century the edict of Theodosius I condemning all the so-called “pagan” temples to destruction resulted in much damage to the splendid buildings of Memphis. Much more destructive was the Arab conquest of Egypt two and a half centuries later, in A.D. 640, when the Moslem builders of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Cairo began to use as a quarry the vast structures of Memphis and its neighboring cemeteries, especially Gizah and Sakkarah. When ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, who was flourishing about A.D. 1200, visited Memphis, this quarrying in the ancient buildings had been going on for over five centuries. Nevertheless his account of what he saw, among the imposing monuments which he found still surviving there, is filled with wonder. His words are:

Among the monumental remains of ancient Egypt are also those of the city situated in the territory of Gizah a little above al-Fuṣṭāṭ, that is, of Memphis, which was the residence of the pharaohs and the established capital of the empire of the kings of Egypt. . . . The territory covered by the ruins today is half a day’s journey in extent. It had been inhabited in the time of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses (may peace be upon them!) and previous to them, as God willed, and also after them to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. . . . Yet in spite of the city’s extent and antiquity, in spite of the successive changes introduced into it by different religions and the destruction meted out to it by various peoples—the effacement of its remains, the wiping out of its vestiges, the removal of its stones and materials, the devastation of its buildings, the disfiguration of its statues, in addition to the havoc wrought in it by upwards of four thousand years—you will still find in it such marvels as exceed the understanding of the reflecting mind and tongue-tie even the eloquent. The more you reflect on them, the more they increase your admiration; and the more you look at them, the more they enhance your wonderment. As often as you seek to elicit a meaning from them, they inform you of something more extraordinary; and as often as you seek to obtain from them knowledge, it is but to learn that behind them lies something still greater.²

The next few centuries, however, resulted in the complete demolition of the Memphite temples; but from the beginning of the destruction under Theodosius it was more than a thousand years before the mighty buildings which the Egyptian pharaohs had erected in their first dynastic capital had been entirely quarried away.

¹ [Cf. the thoroughly illustrated appreciation and description of this ancient capital and its cemeteries as a whole by Jean Capart and Marcelle Werbrouck: *Memphis. A l’ombre des pyramides* (Bruxelles, 1930).]

² [Translated by Dr. A. A. Brux from the Arabic text in J. White’s *Abdallatīphī historiae Aegypti compendium, arabice et latine* (Oxonii, 1800) pp. 116–20.]

Long before this the storms of war had swept away the Delta cities, and after the Moslem conquest the scanty wreckage of Heliopolis also had disappeared. Besides its famous obelisk only a few scattered blocks still remain within the line of ancient walls now traceable. With Heliopolis and Memphis gone, the historian of today has lost the greatest two cities of the archaic age in Egypt; and with them he has lost forever a great body of evidence disclosing the early development of Egyptian civilization after the rise of the pharaonic state.

It is the destruction of these cities which has given unequalled importance to the cemeteries of the Old Kingdom stretching for over fifty miles along the margin of the desert, from Abu Roash on the north to Meidum on the south. They are today our basic source for the disclosure of a unique stage of human development. I am using the word “unique” here with a temporal limitation, by which I mean that the civilization revealed in the Old Kingdom cemeteries was unique at the time of its appearance. It is their unparalleled importance as historical sources and as works of art which gives these cemeteries their unique significance. [The tomb structures found in them are of two main types: the pyramids of royalty and the mastabas³ of both royal and nonroyal owners. Architecturally the pyramid itself is an outgrowth and elaboration of the mastaba. The latter type, in its various stages of development, is characteristic of the vicinity of Memphis.⁴] As sources for a knowledge of the early life of man the wall scenes sculptured in the tomb chapels of Memphite lords at Sakkarah⁵ from nearly 3000 to after 2500 B.C. have no parallel elsewhere until two thousand years later, when the Greek vase-painters began to adorn their pottery with similar glimpses of daily life in Greece.

The mastaba wall scenes have long been recognized as an unequalled revelation of early *material life* in its varied aspects, such as industry, agriculture, animal husbandry and domestication of animals, and traffic and transportation by both land and water. As these things are disclosed in actual pictures they incidentally form also a unique revelation of *natural life*, especially of wild animals, including fish and fowl, all of which are depicted with amazing skill and fidelity. It has also long been recognized that these wall scenes furnish invaluable knowledge of the local processes of *government and administration* at a period far earlier than we find them illustrated elsewhere. They are the earliest revelation of the organization of human society under governmental forms and of the operation of its machinery in the systematized control of human groups. Curiously enough, however, it has not been recognized that these tomb chapel scenes are our earliest source for observing the rise of *family life* as the primary

³ [The accepted name of this type of tomb is based on Arabic *maṣṭabah*, “bench,” which describes the form of the superstructure.]

⁴ [Instances elsewhere are rare. Two of the 6th dynasty at Edfu are discussed in Service des Antiquités, *Annales* XVII (1917) 130–40 and XXXIII (1933) 131–34, by G. Daressy and Ragheb Ibrahim Effendi respectively.]

⁵ [The 5th and 6th dynasty mastabas offer the widest range of subjects and the fullest treatments. Since the outstanding examples are found at Sakkarah, the mastabas of Gizah are not considered in detail here.]

FOREWORD

force in the creation of the earliest ideals of conduct and the emergence of conscience as a social force.⁶

Besides their unique value as *historical sources* the Sakkarah tomb walls are an extraordinary treasury of *works of art*, both graphic and sculptural, produced at a period long before any art disclosing such astonishing power of representation had arisen among any other people. The power of these mastaba wall scenes is due to a number of characteristics. In the first place they are the earliest large and ambitious compositions known in the history of art, including many figures of men and animals combined with all kinds of equipment and furniture, such as tools, weapons, cabinet-work, and especially elaborately drawn Nile ships with sails, rigging, and oarsmen, all colored with surprisingly enduring water-color paints, mostly in flat tones. These colors lend great vivacity, which is enhanced by the fact that many of the human and animal figures are in rapid or even violent motion. This characteristic is the more surprising in view of the fact that Egyptian sculpture in the round is static; the greatest sculptures of the same age are portrait statues depicting the subject motionless, whether seated or standing.⁷

Finally we must note that these wall scenes, while we call them sculptures, are really *raised drawings*, involving all the problems and difficulties of drawing, and that the artists who produced them were superb draftsmen. Understanding perfectly well how to draw the human figure, they yielded to the demands of traditional and highly revered conventions regarding it; but in the drawing of animals they were not affected by such inherited conventions. Their animal figures, often crowded together in violent motion, are superb examples both of drawing and of complicated composition. The artists were sometimes so aware of the beauty of animal forms that they placed an animated scene of hunting in the midst of a setting of desert ridges and sand dunes, touched here and there with plants and shrubs, the whole disclosing a dawning sense of landscape and the unity of a desert scene in which the desolation of the sandy wilderness merges into the life of leaping antelopes and wild cattle. The coursing hounds speed before the hunters with such life and power that we seem to hear their very yelping as they drag down the exhausted gazelles.

In spite of the extraordinary value of these ancient tomb chapel scenes, an advancing tide of desert sand under which these tombs have been engulfed has never been systematically cleared away. Mariette's far-reaching and praiseworthy effort to disengage the Sakkarah mastabas was not followed by any systematic copying of the wall scenes. His records of his work at Sakkarah⁸ contain only a few notes, chiefly on the material features of each tomb, with but slight references to the wall scenes or the inscriptions. The history of scientific work among the mastaba cemeteries, however, reveals some exceedingly valuable publications of the wall scenes of individual tombs, and these are briefly discussed below.

One of the valuable results of modern scientific interest in the mastaba cemeteries has been the stoppage of the destruc-

tion of these tombs by the modern inhabitants; for the demolition of these tombs to secure building stone for local use, or limestone for the lime kilns of the neighborhood, continued until two generations ago. Writing from Gizah in 1843, Lepsius says:

Es ist wahrhaft empörend mit anzusehen, wie täglich ganze Züge von Kameelen aus den nächsten Dörfern hierher kommen, und mit Bausteinen beladen in langen Reihen wieder abziehen. . . . Gestern haben die Räuber einen schönen, festen, ganz beschriebenen Pfeiler, der eben gezeichnet werden sollte, hinter unserm Rücken umgeworfen. Das Zerschlagen scheint ihnen nicht gelungen zu sein. Die Menschen sind hier so erbärmlich geworden, dass ihre Kräfte vielfach nicht mehr hinreichen, mit allem Fleisse das wieder zu zerstören, was ihre grossen Vorgänger aufgerichtet haben.⁹

But Mariette, strangely enough, mentions only sand and robbers of mummies as the destroyers of the Sakkarah tombs.¹⁰ Far from being a destroyer of the tombs, the sand was on the contrary the sole protection which the tombs enjoyed after the decline of Egyptian civilization. At the present day the visitor will constantly find, in the mastabas now open to inspection, that only the lower portion of the wall scenes is still in position. The blocks forming the upper portion projected above the sand, which had not yet covered them, and were therefore exposed to plundering. They were removed by the plunderers down to the level of the protecting sand; and the survival of the lower parts of the sculptured walls, which we now find still in position, was of course due to the fact that the sand covered them. They too would eventually have been dug out, but not until all more easily accessible blocks had been carried away. Like the sumptuous blocks from the marble-incrusted buildings of ancient Rome, most of these Memphite tombs have been either consumed by the lime kiln or re-used in the construction of later buildings.

The history of modern scientific research in the mastaba cemeteries is of unique interest because it was these researches which for the first time rolled up the curtain on the oldest stage of human history yet discernible at that time. Pushing backward through the progressive disclosure of the great periods of Egyptian history, we see that they were revealed in inverted succession by modern research, first the later ones by Champollion, then the earlier by Lepsius, as follows:

THE EMPIRE (16th to 12th century B.C.)	} Discovered by CHAMPOLLION, beginning 1828
THE MIDDLE KINGDOM (flourishing 2000 B.C.)	
THE OLD KINGDOM or PYRAMID AGE (30th to 25th century B.C.)	Discovered by LEPSIUS, beginning 1842

I have elsewhere¹¹ had occasion to pay tribute to the prodigious labors of Champollion among the temples of the Nile in pioneer researches which revealed to his eyes, the first modern eyes able to read hieroglyphic inscriptions, the power and splendor of the Egyptian *Empire*. Neither did he fail to discern the *Middle Kingdom*, the great age which preceded the Empire; but it was little short of tragedy that he passed by the great mastaba cemeteries without perceiving that

⁹ Richard Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien und der Halbinsel des Sinai* (Berlin, 1852) pp. 39 f. The same statements are quoted by A. M. Lythgoe in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Tomb of Perneb* (New York, 1916) pp. 24 f., from the English translation (London, 1853) pp. 63 f.

¹⁰ Mariette, *Les mastabas* ... , p. 3.

¹¹ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I* ("Oriental Institute Publications," Vol. VIII [Chicago, 1930]) ix.

⁶ See Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York: Scribner's, 1933).

⁷ It was under the influence of the mastaba wall scenes that groups of household servants eventually were sculptured in the round, in animated activity, performing household tasks.

⁸ [Auguste Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'ancien empire*, ... pub. ... par G. Maspero (Paris, 1889).]

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relatively slight clearances, such as Lepsius made only a little later, would enable him to recover the lost civilization of a new and older period, the Age of the Pyramid-Builders, which we call the Old Kingdom. Champollion arrived at Sakkarah early in October, 1828. In his letters he expresses his horrified disappointment to find only desolate heaps of sand, not the grand monuments he had expected would greet him there. He says:

Cette localit   ... est presque tout-  -fait nulle pour l'  tude: les tombeaux orn  s de sculptures sont, pour la plupart, d  vast  s, ou recombl  s apr  s avoir   t   pill  s. ... Deux tombeaux seuls ont attir   notre attention, et m'ont d  dommag   du triste aspect de ce champ de d  solation. J'ai trouv  , dans l'un d'eux, une s  rie d'oiseaux sculpt  s sur les parois, et accompagn  s de leurs noms en hi  roglyphes; cinq esp  ces de gazelles avec leurs noms; et enfin quelques sc  nes domestiques, telles que l'action de traire le lait, deux cuisiniers exer  ant leur art, etc. Nos portefeuilles se grossissent du fruit de ces d  couvertes.¹²

Nevertheless Maspero states in his publication of Champollion's papers: "La notice de ces deux localit  s n'a jamais   t   r  dig  e par Champollion. Je n'ai trouv   que des feuillets   pars num  rot  s de 257    277 et sur lesquels sont trac  es au crayon et tr  s vite un certain nombre de copies d'inscriptions et de notes."¹³ It could not have been otherwise, for Champollion spent only three full days in the Memphite cemetery.¹⁴ His conclusions regarding the tombs by the pyramids of Gizah were the same, for he remarks: "Il y a peu    faire ici, et lorsqu'on aura copi   des sc  nes de la vie domestique, sculpt  es dans un tombeau voisin de la deuxi  me pyramide, je regagnerai nos embarcations."¹⁵ Shocked at the desolate waste of sand and mounds of rubbish that covered the tombs of the great lords of Memphis at Sakkarah and Gizah, the genius who deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphic passed by the treasury of human documents which lay hidden there and which might have disclosed to him the civilization of the Pyramid Age.

On October 15, 1842, exactly fourteen years after Champollion's brief stay, Lepsius first visited the great Gizah cemetery.¹⁶ Lepsius began work there on an extensive scale November 10, 1842, and continued it until February 10, 1843.¹⁷ He had at once recognized his magnificent opportunity, for in his letters he quotes the impression of Champollion regarding Gizah, already noticed above, and adds: "Auf der besten fr  heren Karte f  hren zwei Gr  ber, ausser den Pyramiden, noch besondere Bezeichnungen. Rosellini hat nur e i n Grab n  her untersucht. . . . Wir haben auf unserem genauen topographischen Plane der ganzen Nekropolis 45 Gr  ber angegeben, deren Inhaber mir aus ihren Inschriften bekannt geworden sind, und im Ganzen habe ich 82 ver-

¹² J. F. Champollion, *Lettres   crites d'  gypte et de Nubie, en 1828 et 1829* (Paris, 1833) pp. 68 f. (letter of Oct. 5, 1828, to Champollion-Figeac). [The text as here given varies slightly from that in the Hartleben edition in the "Biblioth  que   gyptologique."] See also H. Hartleben, *Champollion, sein Leben und sein Werk* (Berlin, 1906) II 214-16.

¹³ Champollion, *Monuments de l'  gypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives ...* II (Paris, 1889) 476.

¹⁴ [He arrived toward evening on Oct. 4 and left early on Oct. 8, 1828; see his journal, published by H. Hartleben, *Lettres et journaux de Champollion* II ("Biblioth  que   gyptologique" XXXI [Paris, 1909]) 103-12 and 116-19. These passages identify the "deux tombeaux" referred to above as those of *M3-nfr* and *R3-  p   *.]

¹⁵ From Champollion's letter of Oct. 8, 1828, to Champollion-Figeac, quoted (with a slight omission) by Lepsius, *Briefe*, p. 23.

¹⁶ Lepsius, *Briefe*, pp. 17-22.

¹⁷ [So Lepsius, *Denkm  ler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien ... Text I* (1897) 24; but his *Briefe*, p. 23, say that work began Nov. 9.]

zeichnet."¹⁸ As a matter of fact, when he came to publish his records of Gizah, he had numbered one hundred and six tombs there¹⁹ and was able to print seventy-two folio plates of wall scenes from that site alone.²⁰

It was his campaign at Gizah which taught Lepsius that the mastaba tombs in the pyramid cemeteries were unique sources for recovering the civilization of the Pyramid Age. He therefore knew what to expect in the Memphite cemetery, whither he shifted his staff on leaving Gizah. In the spring of 1843 he and his associates worked for more than three months at Sakkarah, ending May 19.²¹ Together with his Gizah drawings and a few others from Old Kingdom cemeteries at other sites, some farther up the Nile, Lepsius had gathered an impressive series of beautifully drawn copies of Old Kingdom wall scenes, forming a mass of one hundred and eleven folio plates. These served for over a generation as the chief documentary basis of modern knowledge of the civilization of the Pyramid Age.

Lepsius numbered thirty-one tombs in the Abusir-Sakkarah area, from eleven of which he secured twenty-eight plates of mastaba drawings.²² The northeast corner of the mastaba of Kagemni was among his discoveries,²³ but he did not pursue further his clearance at this point. It was some years later that his expedition's copies of Sakkarah wall scenes became available in printed plates.

Exactly eight years after Lepsius first arrived at the Old Kingdom cemeteries, and twenty-two years after Champollion's visit at Sakkarah and Gizah, Auguste Mariette climbed the citadel of Cairo to view the magnificent prospect of the monuments strewn along the fringe of the western desert. It was the 18th of October, 1850. He was at the threshold of his brilliant career, and the splendid panorama before him moved him deeply: "J'avais sous les yeux Ghiz  , Abousyr, Sakkarah, Dahchour, Myt-Rahyn  h. Ce r  ve de toute ma vie prenait un corps. Il y avait l  , presque    la port  e de ma main, tout un monde de tombeaux, de st  les, d'inscriptions, de statues."²⁴ On October 27, nine days later, he was at Sakkarah, and on November 1 he began his excavations by the use of a fund of 6,000 francs intrusted to him for the purchase of oriental manuscripts.²⁵ In a few weeks he justified this unauthorized use of funds by the discovery of the lost Serapeum.

It was not until June 1, 1858, after his return from a three-year interval of service in the Louvre, that Mariette was appointed "*mamour*" of the ancient monuments of Egypt.²⁶

¹⁸ Lepsius, *Briefe*, p. 23.

¹⁹ [Described in his *Denkm  ler ... Text I* 26-125. Most of these were of the Old Kingdom, but 9 pyramids (Nos. 1-9), 1 uninscribed tomb group (No. 14), and at least 13 later tombs (Nos. 52, 62, 81-84, 97, and 101-6) were included.]

²⁰ Lepsius, *Denkm  ler* (Berlin, 1849-56) II, Pls. 8-38, 40-44, 49-59, and 71-95.

²¹ Lepsius, *Briefe*, pp. 41 and 63, and *Denkm  ler ... Text I* 188.

²² [Lepsius, *Denkm  ler* II, Pls. 3-7, 45-48, 60-64 *bis*, 65-70, 96-97, and 100-104. Plates 3-7 represent the early tomb of *Mtn*, found at Abusir and removed by Lepsius to Berlin.] Of the ten at Sakkarah the most important were the mastabas of *Ph.n-w-k3* (Pls. 45-48), *R3-  p   * (Pls. 60-64 *bis*), *M3-nfr* (Pls. 65-70), and *Pth-htp* (Pls. 101 *b*-104).

²³ *Ibid.* Pl. 97 *b* [and *Text I* 159 (where the pl. ref. is to be corrected) with sketch on p. 145. Cf. Gunn in Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Tei Pyramid Cemeteries* (2 vols.; Le Caire, 1926) I 108 f.].

²⁴ Auguste Mariette, *  uvres diverses*, pub. par G. Maspero ("Biblioth  que   gyptologique" XVIII [Paris, 1904]) p. xxviii.

²⁵ [*Ibid.* pp. xxix and xxi-xxiv; p. xxxiv, however, refers to "le cr  dit de 7,000 francs."]

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. lxxxix.

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After some hasty clearances during a rapid tour of Upper Egypt, accompanied by Devéria, he returned to Sakkarah and began excavations among the mastabas. In 1860 he discovered the large mastaba of Ti, with its extensive and magnificently painted wall scenes.²⁷ This discovery was made twenty years before Mariette's death, and the fact that no publication appeared until long after his death is a sufficient illustration of how such priceless monuments were uncovered, then left exposed to weather and defacement for years without any effort at copying or publication. It was in the excavation of such tombs as Ti's that Mariette discovered the Egyptian practice of building in the mastaba a secret chamber where a portrait statue of the deceased might be deposited in close connection with the tomb chapel. The existence of such a chamber, which the Arabs called the "serdab," was unknown to Lepsius;²⁸ its discovery by Mariette resulted in finding the impressive array of Old Kingdom portrait statues which now adorn the Cairo Museum.

Mariette was much more interested in such features of mastaba construction as the serdab than he was in copying and publishing the painted wall scenes in the tombs he uncovered at Sakkarah. As his work advanced and he uncovered mastaba after mastaba, he planned a survey of these tombs covering a large part of the Sakkarah cemetery. Eventually he catalogued one hundred and thirty-eight Sakkarah mastabas, with accompanying notes chiefly archeological and architectural, with some hurried sketch plans, and occasionally with selected inscriptions and wall scenes in line drawings. The mastabas were arranged in six groups, beginning with the archaic (four), then early Fourth Dynasty (sixteen), later Fourth Dynasty (twenty-seven), Fifth Dynasty (seventy), Sixth Dynasty (seventeen), and finally a group of four of doubtful age. In the identification of tombs this catalogue,²⁹ for that is its real character, has been very useful. Unfortunately the positions of the tombs which Mariette lists are given, if at all, at best in vague terms which indicate their positions merely by reference to the neighboring mastabas. When these Sakkarah researches were edited and published years after Mariette's death by Maspero, the latter found no general plan of the Sakkarah cemetery among Mariette's papers; it is improbable that Mariette ever made any, otherwise he must have discovered that there were huge areas which he had left untouched—areas in which de Morgan later discovered the largest mastaba at Sakkarah, and Loret uncovered a whole street of tombs.³⁰

Probably the most important action of Mariette at Sakkarah was his introduction of systematic protection of the tombs against the vandalism of the local inhabitants, which had so aroused the indignation of Lepsius. But Mariette realized that it would be impossible to protect all the masta-

bas which he was uncovering. He therefore re-covered them with the protecting sand which he had removed. It was, however, desirable to leave accessible to visitors a few of the typical or especially impressive mastabas; these Mariette placed under trustworthy native guardians. The finest tombs he had discovered were those of Ti and Ptahhotep, and he accordingly left them open to visitors. As for the tombs which he re-covered with sand, in the absence of any general plan of the Sakkarah cemetery by Mariette it is now very difficult to determine exactly where they lie. Their re-excavation and full publication remain a responsibility for the future. Of great value in this task will be a new plan of the Sakkarah cemetery compiled by Reisner and his associates.³¹

With the death of Mariette early in 1881 the pioneer age of haphazard discovery and excavation in Egypt was not yet ended, but methods began to improve. Maspero, Mariette's successor as head of the Egyptian Service des Antiquités, continued work in Sakkarah, but chiefly in an effort to find tombs from the period of transition following the Old and leading over to the Middle Kingdom.³² Consequently his work at Sakkarah did not increase our body of original sources among the Old Kingdom tombs.³³

The next to undertake excavations at Sakkarah was de Morgan. In July, 1893, he discovered two of the now best known mastabas, those of Kagemni and Mereruka. Publication of the mastaba of Kagemni was later undertaken by Baron von Bissing. He and Quibell found "dass von den Darstellungen viel mehr unter dem Sande steckte, als de Morgan angegeben hatte. Quibell stellte sogar fest, dass mindestens ein ganzer Saal vor unserer Kammer I gelegen hat. Leider verschüttete ein heftiger Sandsturm die Ausgrabung wieder, noch ehe ich sie hatte besuchen können."³⁴

After five years the large mastaba of Mereruka received a rather summary treatment by Georges Daressy.³⁵ His report contained no reproductions of the sculptures, and the inscriptions were given in hieroglyphic type only. The admirable and highly important sculptures have remained unpublished³⁶ until today—a lapse of more than forty years.

By 1893 the Service des Antiquités had thus taken up anew the exploration of the Sakkarah plateau.³⁷ In the years 1897–99 Victor Loret discovered a whole street of tombs to the east of the tomb of Kagemni. His own brief report³⁸ was

²⁷ [Published in G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936). Key plans of Sakkarah as a whole, of the main groups of tombs, and of individual tombs are given by Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. III. *Memphis* (Oxford, 1931) pp. 82 ff.]

²⁸ See G. Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie* I ("Bibliothèque égyptologique" I [Paris, 1893]) 173–79 (reprinted from Institut égyptien, *Bulletin* for 1885), also his "Trois années de fouilles dans les tombeaux de Thèbes et de Memphis" (Mission archéologique française au Caire, *Mémoires* I [Paris, 1889] 133–242) pp. 188–89.

²⁹ [The Foreword up to this point had been written out by Dr. Breasted himself, except for the bracketed additions. Beyond here he left various notes which have been utilized in the preparation of the remainder.]

³⁰ Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* II (Berlin, 1911) v. As to later work there, see our p. xvi.

³¹ "Le mastaba de Mera," Institut égyptien, *Mémoires* III⁶ (1898) 521–74.

³² Except for the scattered items mentioned on p. xvi.

³³ Cf. Pierre Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire* (Strasbourg, 1925) p. xv, and Firth at the beginning of his publication of the work of 1920–22 (cited in our n. 23).

³⁴ "Fouilles dans la nécropole memphite (1897–1899)," Institut égyptien, *Bulletin*, 3. sér., No. 10 (1899) pp. 85–100, with plan by E. Baraize.

²⁷ [*Ibid.* pp. cix f.]

²⁸ [Lepsius had found such chambers, but had not recognized their nature; cf. his *Denkmäler* *Text* I 142 and 144.]

²⁹ [Mariette, *Les mastabas* . . .]

³⁰ [See below. De Morgan found the mastabas of both Mereruka and Kagemni. The former was presumably considered the largest of all at the time of its discovery; but Firth afterward showed that the latter was more than 1,000 square meters in area and therefore somewhat the larger of the two. Traces of an apparently even vaster "mastaba," that of Queen Khuit (covering more than 1,600 square meters), were found by Loret; but Firth's plan, Pl. 51 in his volume cited on p. xiii, refers to that area as containing temenos and pyramid of Queen Khuit. This discussion leaves out of consideration the long known Mastabat Fara'ün, the huge tomb identified by Jéquier as that of King Shepseskaf of the 4th dynasty.]

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amplified some years later by Jean Capart.³⁹ The larger of Capart's two volumes consists almost wholly of photographic plates (many of which fall short of current possibilities) representing three of the four tombs discovered by Loret—those of Neferseshemre (Sheshi), Ankhmahor (Sesi), and Neferseshemtah.

Soon after the excavations just mentioned Loret gave up his post. Gaston Maspero, who now returned to the directorship of the Service des Antiquités, had some work done at Sakkarah by Barsanti. The latter made almost no contribution to our knowledge of the Old Kingdom mastaba tombs there. Only one tiny example is mentioned in his reports.⁴⁰

The next campaigns were conducted by Quibell, who began his work at Sakkarah April 2, 1905, and continued season after season until the World War. His results concern only incidentally Old Kingdom tombs of the type in which we are most directly interested.⁴¹ He did, however, make some notable discoveries of archaic mastabas belonging to the first three dynasties of Egypt. Most striking among these was his contribution to our knowledge of the remarkable Third Dynasty tomb of Hesire.⁴²

After the World War Cecil M. Firth, who had been appointed in 1914, continued the excavation of Sakkarah. His clearances, which began in 1920, uncovered several more Old Kingdom mastabas as well as additional elements of pyramid architecture. He was concerned also with further discoveries in mastabas already known, and contributed much new light on such tombs as those of Kagemni and Mereruka. In his final report covering the years 1920–22⁴³ the new inscriptions were treated in detail by Battiscombe Gunn.

Besides the laying bare of new areas the Service des Antiquités had been engaged in maintaining the few tombs which were kept open for visitors. In the fall of 1912, for example, the roofs, entrances, and interiors of the tombs of Ptahhotep, Mereruka, and others had had to be freed from sand.⁴⁴ Again in 1921 the modern roofs which had been placed over some of the mastabas in the “street of tombs” had had to be repaired. Mereruka's tomb had required the same care; moreover, part of its west wall had had to be rebuilt, and its east wall had had to be reinforced by a retaining wall.⁴⁵

Firth's later work, from 1924 on, is described in preliminary reports only. During its course other, but chiefly unimportant, Fifth and Sixth Dynasty mastabas continued to appear.⁴⁶ After Firth's untimely death in 1931, his Sakkarah projects were continued by M. Jean-Philippe Lauer. The latter's reports, however, do not bear upon the particular problem with which we are concerned.

³⁹ *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah* (Bruxelles, 1907).

⁴⁰ Alexandre Barsanti, “Fouilles autour de la pyramide d'Ounâs,” in Service des Antiquités, *Annales* I–III and V (1900–1904). See his account of “Le mastaba de Samnofir [Seshemnofir],” *Annales* I 150–60.

⁴¹ For two mastabas of minor interest found in 1912–14 see J. E. Quibell and A. G. K. Hayter, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid, North Side* (Le Caire, 1927) frontispiece (in colors) and pp. 16–23.

⁴² J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (6 vols.; Le Caire, 1907–23). Of this work *The Tomb of Hesi* constitutes Vol. V, and *Archaic Mastabas* constitutes Vol. VI.

⁴³ *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (2 vols.; Le Caire, 1926).

⁴⁴ A. Barsanti in *Annales* XVIII (1919) 8–10.

⁴⁵ C. Barsanti in *Annales* XXII (1922) 69–71.

⁴⁶ *Annales* XXVI (1926) 101; XXVII (1927) 107; XXX (1930) 185–89; XXXI (1931) 48.

Meantime Gustave Jéquier had been carrying on work at the south end of the Memphite necropolis. There he had identified the huge Maṣṭabat Faraʿūn as the tomb of Shepseskaf, last king of the Fourth Dynasty.⁴⁷ He found also tombs of the very end of the Old Kingdom, some of which carry the history of mastaba burial forward into the succeeding dark period. Among these latest Old Kingdom burials are many collective tombs of people of equal rank, also family tombs in which the head of the household and his wife are surrounded by both relatives and dependents. In this area, around the pyramid of Pepi II, there are no chapels within the brick superstructures; and the tomb decoration, as befits a period of political disturbance and change, has been transferred from superstructure or appendages to the burial chambers. Here provision for bodily needs has become the sole objective; food and equipment, even granaries to assure continuous supplies, are pictured, and long lists of offerings are inscribed.⁴⁸ Only one mastaba of the classical Fifth-Sixth Dynasty type, and that almost completely in ruins, was found in this vicinity; it belonged to the vizier Idi.⁴⁹

Notwithstanding such long delays in publication as have been mentioned above, much valuable copying and publishing of wall scenes at Sakkarah has been done since the pioneer campaign of Lepsius, whose copies, in spite of errors, were on a level of excellence far higher than any earlier work in the field of oriental archeology. References to Memphis and its cemeteries constitute a whole volume in the *Topographical Bibliography* assembled by Misses Porter and Moss.⁵⁰ Yet the great task of adequate publication of its treasures has barely begun.

Among the largest and most imposing tombs, that of Ptahhotep and his father Akhtihotep, one of Mariette's earliest finds (his D 64), was first illustrated in several large drawings and one photograph made by Dümichen in 1868.⁵¹ Not until 1878 did Mariette publish a photograph from this mastaba—a fowling and fishing scene on the east wall of the chapel.⁵² The French artist Bourgoïn next made a sketch of the west wall, with color studies of the great false door; these were utilized by Perrot and Chipiez.⁵³ In the winter of 1895/96 a more comprehensive publication was undertaken by

⁴⁷ *Annales* XXV (1925) 61–71 and XXVI 44–48; Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: Le Mastabat Faraoun* (Le Caire, 1928).

⁴⁸ *Annales* XXVI 56–61, XXVII 49–54, XXVIII (1928) 51–54, XXIX (1929) 152 f.; Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (Le Caire, 1929). For some examples previously known cf. Jean Capart, *Chambre funéraire de la sixième dynastie aux Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire* (Bruxelles, 1906). In 1921/22 Firth discovered that the mastabas of Kagemni, Mereruka, and Ankhmahor possessed burial chambers decorated as above described, though in these three cases there were decorated chapels also. See Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I 2, 15, 16, 21, and 24, and II, Pls. 2–6.

⁴⁹ *Annales* XXVIII 54 f.; Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: Tombeaux de particuliers*, pp. 106–9. Even other viziers decorated their burial chambers only, though they might use stone masonry rather than brick; cf. *Annales* XXXIII (1933) 143–45 and XXXIV (1934) 76–79.

⁵⁰ See n. 31.

⁵¹ Johannes Dümichen, *Resultate der . . . im Sommer 1868 nach Aegypten entsendeten archäologisch-photographischen Expedition* I (Berlin, 1869) Pls. VIII–XV, and II (Berlin, 1871) Pl. XIII.

⁵² Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte* (Caire [et] Paris, 1878; 2^{me} éd., Paris [et] Leipzig, 1893) I, Pl. 11.

⁵³ G. Perrot and Ch. Chipiez, *A History of Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1883) I, Fig. 115, and II, last two plates.

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Misses R. F. E. Paget and A. A. Pirie, who copied much of the entrance and chapel of Ptahhotep's portion. Professor F. Ll. Griffith furnished the descriptive text for their plates.⁵⁴ Their record was supplemented and completed for the tomb as a whole in 1898/99 by Mr. Norman de Garis Davies. His plates, including both drawings and photographs, were published by the Egypt Exploration Society in its "Archaeological Survey of Egypt."⁵⁵

The tomb of Ti, discovered in 1860, was, like that of Ptahhotep, visited by Dümichen, who published in 1869–71 a plan, a few large-scale drawings, and some photographs.⁵⁶ Mariette himself devoted two photographic plates to it in 1878,⁵⁷ along with others showing less important tombs. Beginning that same year, and continuing through the current edition, Baedeker's guidebooks of Egypt have carried numerous small line drawings of scenes from this particular mastaba. In spite of these and other selected reproductions, the first complete record, published by Steindorff, did not appear until 1913.⁵⁸ It is notable for its detailed wall diagrams, in which the various scenes are individually marked off and labeled. Its plates are all in photogravure, very pleasing, but in many cases inadequate both because of their small scale and because of the often damaged condition of the delicate low reliefs.

In the winter of 1903/4 a few of the smaller and less known mastabas which had been reburied by Mariette after his investigations were cleared once more, and these and some sculptures which had been removed to the Cairo Museum were copied by two English ladies, Miss F. Hansard and Miss Jessie Mothersole. The inscriptions were studied and the publication effected by Miss Margaret Murray.⁵⁹ In this volume eight tombs given designations by Mariette were supplemented by three more which he had not recorded. Only three photographs accompany the drawings. Attention was paid by Miss Murray, however, to the forms of the hieroglyphs, and she added valuable notes on their coloring.

The first trace of the mastaba of Kagemni, known since 1893, had already been found by Lepsius some fifty years earlier (see p. xiii). Von Bissing's publication,⁶⁰ begun in 1905 and continued in 1911, still remains unfinished. His discussion is valuable; but by current standards his photographs are rather poor or poorly reproduced, and his line drawings are harsh. Firth found in 1920/21 the true entrance to the chapels and was the first to realize the great extent of Kagemni's mastaba. In the following season Firth discovered the burial chamber. His publication of these two years' work includes a valuable plan, good photographs and drawings of

the newly found portions, and treatment of the texts by Gunn.⁶¹

Scenes from the mastaba of Mereruka, likewise known since 1893, made their first appearance in tiny drawings published by its discoverer, J. de Morgan, in his *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte: L'âge de la pierre et les métaux* (Paris, 1896) pages 165–78. Then came Daressy's brief report of 1898 (see p. xiv), unillustrated except for a plan. The first photographic views of this tomb were provided by Capart in 1907.⁶² Not until 1921/22 were the tomb shafts and burial chambers of Mereruka and his wife cleared. These and other features were published by Firth and Gunn.⁶³ Some further views or scenes of Mereruka's mastaba have been given by Capart and Werbrouck.⁶⁴ Other illustrations or mentions of this tomb are duly noted in the admirable *Topographical Bibliography* of Porter and Moss, pages 140–43.^{64a}

Publications of the "street of tombs" found by Loret have been mentioned already (pp. xiv f.).

As recently as 1927 another notable Sakkarah mastaba was discovered by Firth.⁶⁵ It had been built originally for the vizier Ihi, then taken over by the Sixth Dynasty princess Idut. In 1932/33 the Service des Antiquités repaired it and made arrangements to make it accessible to visitors.⁶⁶ This mastaba has now been published for the Service, with descriptive text, some photographs, many drawings, and two plates in colors.⁶⁷ Again, examination of the area around the tomb of Ti in 1930–32 revealed a whole group of neighboring mastabas. One of these, that of Niankhptah, since it proved to contain some paintings on stucco, has likewise been repaired and made ready for display to the public.⁶⁸

The examples just mentioned suggest that other important tomb chapels, in addition to those already familiar to us, remain to be discovered in the vast Sakkarah cemetery. Hence need of adequate original publication or republication not only of significant mastabas now known but of those likely to become known is to be anticipated.

Besides the tomb chapels which have been left in their original locations at Sakkarah, mention must be made of chapel sculptures removed to the Cairo Museum,⁶⁹ and of sculptures and even entire tomb chapels presented or sold by the Egyptian Government to various European and American museums, whither they have been removed from their original sites and where they are now installed.⁷⁰

Berlin has the chapel of Manofer and one wall of the chapel of Persen. The former, one of the "deux tombeaux seuls"

⁵⁴ Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I* 20–23 and 105–30; II, Pls. 1, 5, 7, 8, 9 B, 10, 50, 51 (plan), 52, 53, 59. For objects from the tomb see Pls. 12, 14, 15, 60, and 65.

⁵⁵ *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*, Pls. CIV and CVII.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.* I 23–27 and 131–50; II, Pls. 2–4, 9 A, 13 B, 17 D, 20 D–E. For objects from the tomb see *ibid.* Pls. 12, 60, and 65.

⁵⁷ *Memphis*, figures listed on p. 414 (where "381" should be corrected to "382"), with sources indicated on pp. 401–12.

⁵⁸ [See also Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Teil III, which began to appear after this Foreword was written.]

⁵⁹ Firth in *Annales* XXVII 107.

⁶⁰ Lauer in *Annales* XXXIII 153.

⁶¹ R. Macramallah, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: Le mastaba d'Idout* (Le Caire, 1935).

⁶² See Firth in *Annales* XXXI 45 and Lauer in *Annales* XXXIII 153 f.

⁶³ E.g., sculptures of Sabu, Nenkeftka, and Ipi; see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* III 109, 165, and 179–81 respectively.

⁶⁴ A list of mastabas excavated at Sakkarah in 1907/8 "for sale to European and American museums" is given by Quibell in Egypt Exploration Society, *Archaeological Report, 1907–1908*, pp. 13 f. For his fuller final report on these see his *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–1908)* (Le Caire, 1909) pp. 22–26 and Pls. LX–LXVI.

⁵⁴ Published in the Egyptian Research Account volume for 1896, attached to J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London, 1898).

⁵⁵ *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqarah* (2 vols.; London, 1900–1901). Three plates are in color—two with details of the great false door, one with hieroglyphs etc. Addenda, made possible by a further clearance by the Service des Antiquités, are given in Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (London, 1913) p. 44 and Pl. XL.

⁵⁶ Dümichen, *op. cit.* I, Pls. I–V, and II, Pls. III–XII.

⁵⁷ Mariette, *Voyage*, Pls. 9–10.

⁵⁸ Georg Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* ("Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten" II [Leipzig, 1913]). See his pp. 1 f. for further details of previous publications. Since 1913 scenes from this tomb have been copiously used in Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée* (1925).

⁵⁹ *Saqqara Mastabas*, Part I (London, 1905).

⁶⁰ *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* (Berlin, 1905—).

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(p. xiii) which had impressed Champollion, is represented in his own plates and those of his artist Rosellini and also in those of Lepsius. But no complete modern edition of even this well known mastaba is available.⁷¹

The chapel of Neferirtene in Brussels was received as a gift in 1905. A popular preliminary account of it, giving illustrations of some details and containing collated facsimiles as well as translations of its inscriptions, appeared in 1930.⁷²

Most of the chapel of Kamrometh was acquired in 1909 by Copenhagen, though its east wall had been removed long since by Mariette and is now in Cairo, so that in the reconstructed chamber its place is taken by a cast. This chapel has been completely published, with half tones, drawings, and discussion, but without colored reproductions, since only traces of color remain.⁷³

The mastaba chapel of Akhtihotpehri was received in Leyden in 1902. It has been described, with plans, and completely reproduced in photogravure, with two plates in colors, but without facsimiles of the inscriptions.⁷⁴

The British Museum in London possesses the mastaba chapel of Werirenptah. This has been published by the Museum in rather coarse line drawings, with very brief descriptive text.⁷⁵

Of the mastaba chapel and entrance of Akhotep, in the Louvre at Paris, only scattered details have yet been made available.⁷⁶

In the United States the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, Field Museum of Natural History at Chicago, the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, and the University Museum at Philadelphia have re-erected mastaba chambers in their exhibit halls.

A volume giving complete descriptions of the four mastabas represented in New York has been in preparation for some time. A popular preliminary account of the mastaba of Perneb, acquired in 1913, was issued in 1916 when its re-erection was completed and it was placed on exhibition.⁷⁷ The history of the tomb and its constructional features were described by Mr. A. M. Lythgoe, its decoration and its inscriptions by Dr. Caroline L. Ransom (now Mrs. Grant Williams). The latter made, moreover, a very detailed study of the decoration of this tomb and brought it out as a Museum publication in 1932.⁷⁸ She deals with the techniques of the draftsman, the sculptor, and the painter, all of whom were involved in the successive outlining, carving, and coloring

of the wall scenes, and with the color conventions applied to the various objects pictured in both the scenes and the hieroglyphs. Her book is an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of Egyptian mastabas.

Other mastaba sculptures from Sakkarah in the Metropolitan Museum include those of Ra'emka and single walls from the chapels of Kaemsenu and Nekauhor. Kaemsenu's tomb, which lacks scenes of daily life, was found by Firth in 1921/22;⁷⁹ the rest, including Perneb's, had been excavated by Quibell in 1907/8, and the sculptures of Ra'emka and Nekauhor had been purchased at that time.⁸⁰ Relatively few details from the tombs of these last two have yet been reproduced photographically, but many of the scenes in Nekauhor's chapel were published by Quibell in line drawings.⁸¹

The two mastabas chambers from which are in Chicago were, like the preceding, uncovered by Quibell in 1907/8. That of Neteruser, known since Mariette's day, was published in line drawings by Miss Murray while it was still *in situ*; that of Unisonekh is yet to be made available.⁸²

Boston possesses the Fifth Dynasty mastaba chapels of Sekhemankhptah and Kamnofret, both discovered by Mariette. These have been only incidentally illustrated in brief articles by members of the Museum staff; but Mr. Dunham reported in 1929 that the whole series of sculptures of Sekhemankhptah had "recently been photographed by the Museum, thus making available for general study and enjoyment one of the finest examples of Old Kingdom tomb relief in this country."⁸³

The mastaba of Kapure, sent by the Egyptian Government to America for exhibition at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904, was afterward acquired by the University Museum of Philadelphia. Some small-scale photographs were published when permanent installation was completed in 1927.⁸⁴

From such publications as were then available a very useful study of the various types of scenes represented in Old Kingdom tombs was prepared more than twenty years ago by Luise Klebs,⁸⁵ who followed it with similar studies for the Middle Kingdom and the Empire.

If the various mastaba publications described above are considered as a whole, it will be realized that none gives a completely satisfactory record. The outline drawings of the large early folios are in general on a more usable scale than those in later works. Photographs, more exact in some ways, have of course been relatively more abundant in books which

⁷¹ For other reproductions from or references to these tombs see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* pp. 163 f. and 164 f. respectively.

⁷² B. van de Walle, *Le mastaba de Neferirtene aux Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire à Bruxelles (Parc du Cinquantenaire). Notice sommaire* (Bruxelles, 1930). Both this work and Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* pp. 167 f., offer other bibliographic data.

⁷³ Maria Mogensen, *Le mastaba égyptien de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Copenhagen, 1921). See also Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* pp. 153 f.

⁷⁴ Leyden. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung*. [I.] *Die Denkmäler des alten Reiches*, von A. E. J. Holwerda, P. A. A. Boeser, und J. H. Holwerda (Haag, 1908) pp. 11-18 and Pls. V-XXI. See also Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* pp. 157 f.

⁷⁵ British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, &c. I (1911) Pls. XXX-XXXII, and VI (1922) Pls. I-XII. See also Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* pp. 189 f.

⁷⁶ See references in Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* p. 170.

⁷⁷ New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Tomb of Perneb* (New York, 1916).

⁷⁸ Caroline R. Williams, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-nēb. The Technique and the Color Conventions* (New York, 1932).

⁷⁹ Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I* 2, 31-36, and 157 ff.; II, Pls. 18 and 49 (objects), 51 (plan), and 62-63 (sculptures). See also Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* p. 143.

⁸⁰ Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-1908)*, pp. 24-26 (on all three) and Pls. LXII-LXVI (Nekauhor only); Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bulletin* III (1908) 217 and 221-23 (Ra'emka and Nekauhor; the name "Sekhemhathor" belongs to the latter's wife).

⁸¹ See preceding note, also Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* pp. 154 and 152.

⁸² See Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* pp. 153 and 173.

⁸³ Quoted from Dows Dunham, "Some Old Kingdom Tomb Reliefs," Museum of Fine Arts [Boston], *Bulletin* XXVII (1929) 35-37. See also L. E. Rowe, "Two Mastaba Chambers," *ibid.* VIII (1910) 19 f., and further references in Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* pp. 105 f. and 115.

⁸⁴ Cornelia H. Dam, "The Tomb Chapel of Ra-Ka-Pou," *Museum Journal* XVIII (1927) 188-200, not noted in Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* p. 106.

⁸⁵ *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches (2980-2475 v. Chr.). Material zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1915).

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have appeared since 1900. But they are commonly too small; and even large-scale photographs cannot, if they stand alone, represent damaged areas adequately, for their illumination must come from a single direction. Nor are drawings alone sufficient. As Davies says: "Outline drawings, even the most accurate, are but a poor substitute for the beauty of surfaces in relief."⁸⁶ Again, where color remains, neither photographs nor drawings can express its quality; yet on account of expense it has been infrequently and on the whole unrealistically reproduced in color plates. Moreover, such publications as exist deal with only a part of the material already known.

Under such circumstances the participation of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has been invaluable. He has made possible for the first time the adequate reproduction of the sculptures of even a single tomb. The mastaba of Mereruka is, as already indicated (pp. xiv-xvi), one of the most important at Sakkarah and at the same time one of those heretofore least available to scholars. In complexity of layout it represents the height of mastaba development. The mastaba as a whole consists of three sections, the largest assigned to the chief justice and vizier Mereruka himself, the others to his wife Wa'tetkhetor and his son Meriteti. The smaller, relatively unimportant portions belonging to the wife and the son are not reproduced here, but are described by Professor Duell in his Introduction.

The Oriental Institute has sought to do justice to both the artistic and the archeological value of Mereruka's painted sculptures. Our folio plates include all three kinds of reproductions discussed above: photographs, paintings, and drawings. The scales have, we hope, been kept large enough throughout to facilitate study and to exhibit the artistry of the ancient sculptor. Details of special interest are repeated on larger scales. Important survivals of color have been carefully copied by our artists and splendidly reproduced in colored collotypes by the well known firm of Jaffé in Vienna. The photographs and the drawings are given in monotone collotypes which do credit to the Meriden Gravure Company, of Meriden, Connecticut. Wherever necessary, photo-

graphs have been supplemented or replaced by drawings based on them and completed by repeated collation with the walls themselves. Besides Mr. Nims and Mr. Seele, Professors Breasted and Nelson participated in the work of collation.

The principles followed in obtaining the records from which the plates are made are essentially those on which the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey has based its procedure in recording temples at Thebes. As stated in the Foreword to *Medinet Habu*, Volume I, "the ideal recording system . . . must unite in one record three things: the speed and accuracy of the camera, the reading ability of the experienced orientalist, and the drawing skill of the accurate draftsman."⁸⁷ The technique by which this union is achieved is described by Professor Harold H. Nelson in that same volume.⁸⁸ The fundamental point in securing accuracy of our drawings is that they are actually delineated by the draftsman on enlarged photographs, which, after the results of thorough collation of both scenes and inscriptions by trained Egyptologists and modern artists have been duly entered, are bleached, so that only the finished drawing remains as copy for the printer.

The reader should note that, where several registers of scenes appear one above another, the lowest register is normally described first, since that register commonly represents the foreground. In the drawings line numbers have been added wherever necessary to facilitate references to the hieroglyphic inscriptions. On Plates 58-59 and 65 several such numbers appear without the corresponding texts. In those cases the inscriptions (titles alone or titles plus names) were merely painted, not carved, and the remaining traces are too faint to permit definitive readings.

Professor Duell and his staff are to be congratulated on the successful completion of these volumes.

†JAMES HENRY BREASTED
THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN

CHICAGO
January 29, 1936

⁸⁷ "Oriental Institute Publications" VIII xi.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 10.

† Deceased.

⁸⁶ *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep* I 3.

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INTRODUCTION

The mastaba of Mereruka is one of the most noted in an imposing group lying to the north of the pyramid of Teti at Sakkarah.¹ It is reasonable to believe that these tombs commemorate nobles who served in various official capacities under that king. Though they show considerable variation in both plan and construction, they each contain a series of chapels, corridors, and storerooms, the walls of the chapels and corridors being decorated with scenes in painted relief sculpture. However, like the mastabas of preceding dynasties, they consist to a considerable degree of solid masonry or filled area. The mastaba of Mereruka is unusual in that the entire structure is occupied by chambers of various sorts, the scenes on their walls forming an unrivaled area of decorated wall surface depicting life and activity in the Pyramid Age.

CONTENTS OF THE MASTABA

The mastaba (see plan facing Pl. 2) contains three tombs, belonging respectively to the vizier Mereruka, whose "good name" was Meri (Section A), to his wife Wa'tetkhethor, whose "good name" was Seshseshet (Section B), and to a son Meriteti, whose "good name" was Meri (Section C).²

THE TOMB OF MERERUKA: CHAMBERS A 1-21

The tomb of Mereruka, which constitutes the bulk of the mastaba, is entered at its south end; it consists of the following parts: ten decorated rooms (A 1, A 3-4, A 6, and A 8-13), the serdab (A 7), and a passage (A 14+A 16) leading to a series of storerooms (A 17-21). Chambers A 2, A 5, and A 15 also, which are without decoration, appear to have been storerooms. Chapel A 8 contains a false door and an offering-table at its west end. Centered on the same line with this, a false door is built into the west end of Chapel A 11; before its offering-table is the shaft descending to the tomb chamber, which was constructed under Chapel A 8. The opening to the serdab pierces the west wall of Chamber A 6.

The scenes depicted on the walls of the ten decorated rooms of Mereruka are represented by the plates of these volumes. In the relatively small tombs of Wa'tetkhethor and Meriteti the scenes are, with few exceptions, similar to those in Mereruka's portion. Hence in the following descriptions of the scenes on their room walls the reader is referred for comparison to plates that show similar scenes. The scenes on the doorjambs between the rooms are all similar to those in Mereruka's portion (Pls. 189-97).

THE TOMB OF WA'TETKHEȦOR: CHAMBERS B 1-6

This tomb is entered by a doorway from Chamber A 1 of Mereruka's portion. It contains the following parts: three decorated rooms (B 1, B 3, and B 5), the serdab (B 4), the shaft (B 6) leading down to the tomb chamber, and a staircase (B 2). From the west wall of Chapel B 5 extends a

large niche filled at its end by a false door with an offering-table; the north and south walls of the niche are decorated. The opening to the serdab appears in the west wall of Chamber B 3. In Chamber B 1 the east wall bears no decoration, and the scenes on the north and south walls continue for only a short distance at the west end of each; it is likely that the piers in this chapel bore no decoration on their sides.

CHAMBER B 1

South wall.—The wall consists of two adjacent scenes, beginning at the west end with Scene 1 and extending somewhat more than two meters. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the left. Scene 1 shows Wa'tetkhethor, accompanied by her son Meriteti, receiving mortuary offerings from her estates and villages of Lower and Upper Egypt. Scene 2 shows the offerings being brought (cf. Pls. 57-59 and 65).

West wall.—The wall consists of three scenes, beginning at the north end with Scene 1 and extending to the doorway. Scene 3 is directly above Scene 2, and both adjoin Scene 1 at the left. Scene 1 shows Wa'tetkhethor, accompanied by her son Meriteti and her daughter Ibneitnub; behind her are servants, some of whom hold her palanquin in readiness. The side of the palanquin is ornamented with the figure of a lion.³ She is watching fishermen haul in a large seine while men in reed boats bring the fish catch and other offerings. These activities are shown in Scene 2 (cf. Pls. 42-45 and 55). She is also watching servants attending the breeding of cattle and the birth of a calf; one milks a cow, while others are engaged in the roping and throwing of cattle for slaughter, as shown in Scene 3 (cf. Pls. 20-21).

North wall.—The wall consists of two adjacent scenes, beginning at the west end with Scene 1 and extending somewhat more than two meters. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the right. Scene 1 shows Wa'tetkhethor, accompanied by Meriteti, receiving mortuary offerings from her [estates and] villages.⁴ The offering-bearers appear in Scene 2 (cf. Pls. 57-59 and 65).

CHAMBER B 3

South wall.—The wall consists of three scenes, beginning at the west end. Scene 3 is directly above Scene 2, and both adjoin Scene 1 at the left. Scene 1 shows Wa'tetkhethor, accompanied by Meriteti, watching servants (Scene 2) cutting haunches from oxen as offerings (cf. Pls. 54, 109 A, and 110); she is also receiving mortuary offerings being brought from her estates and villages, as shown in Scene 3 (cf. Pls. 57-59 and 65).

West wall.—The wall consists of four adjacent scenes, beginning at the south end with Scene 2, at the left of Scene 1; Scene 3, at the north end of the wall, is adjoined by Scene 4 at the left. Scene 1 shows Wa'tetkhethor, accompanied by Meriteti, receiving fattened antelopes and oxen (Scene 2) led in as mortuary offerings (cf. Pls. 50-51). Scene 3 shows Wa-

¹ For plans of this group of mastabas see Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* II, Pl. 51, and Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* III 128.

² The mastaba sections and chambers are identified in these volumes by the designations used in the earliest plan, published by Daressy in his "Le mastaba de Mera," *Institut égyptien, Mémoires* III⁶ (1898).

³ Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* III (1936—) Tafel 11 A.

⁴ This and other statements containing brackets are based on inscriptions accompanying the reliefs. The brackets indicate losses in the individual inscriptions concerned.

THE MASTABA OF MERERUKA

tetkhethor, accompanied by Meriteti, receiving mortuary offerings of food from women (Scene 4) who represent her villages and estates in Lower and Upper Egypt (cf. Pl. 49).

North wall.—The wall consists of two adjacent scenes, beginning at the east end. Scene 1 is over the doorway, and Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the left. Scene 1 shows Wa^ctetkhethor, seated in a chair, watching girls dance while others beat time by clapping hands (Scene 2).⁵ Similar scenes are reproduced on Plates 86–87 and 164–65.

East wall.—The wall consists of four adjacent scenes, beginning at the south end with Scene 2, over the doorway, at the right of Scene 1; Scene 3, at the north end of the wall, is adjoined by Scene 4 at the right. Scene 1 shows Wa^ctetkhethor, accompanied by Meriteti, receiving mortuary offerings (Scene 2) from her estates [and villages in Lower and Upper Egypt]. Scene 3 shows Wa^ctetkhethor, accompanied by Meriteti, viewing the presentation of offerings (Scene 4) from her estates and villages (cf. Pls. 57–59 and 65).

CHAMBER B 5

South wall.—The wall consists of two adjacent scenes, beginning at the west end and extending to the doorway. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the left. Scene 1 shows Wa^ctetkhethor, accompanied by Meriteti, receiving offerings (Scene 2) from her mortuary priests (cf. Pl. 23 A).

West wall.—The wall is divided by the niche into two parts. Each part consists of two similar scenes, which begin on the south and north walls of the niche, at either side of the false door,⁶ extend around the corner, and continue to the left and to the right respectively along the west wall. Scene 1 in each case shows Wa^ctetkhethor seated before an offering-table (cf. Pls. 57 and 63–64). Long lines of offering-bearers approach, while lector priests perform purification rites (Scene 2, on the west wall proper; cf. Pls. 57–59, 61 C, 65, and 67).

North wall.—The wall consists of two scenes; Scene 1 is directly over Scene 2. Scene 1 shows Wa^ctetkhethor, accompanied by Meriteti, borne in a palanquin by female servants and accompanied by attendants, three dogs, and a monkey.⁷ The palanquin, its side ornamented with the figure of a lion, is probably the same one depicted on the west wall of Chamber B 1. Scene 2 shows female servants carrying vases, personal effects, and chests containing clothing and ointment.

East wall.—The wall consists of three scenes, beginning at the north end with Scene 1 and extending to the reveal. Scene 3 is directly above Scene 2, and both adjoin Scene 1 at the right. Scene 1 shows Wa^ctetkhethor, accompanied by Meriteti, watching servants (Scene 2) cutting haunches from oxen as offerings (cf. Pls. 54, 109 A, and 110); she is also receiving offerings from her mortuary priests, shown in Scene 3.

THE TOMB OF MERITETI: CHAMBERS C 1–5

The tomb of Meriteti is entered by a doorway cut through the rear wall of Chapel A 13 of Mereruka's portion. It con-

tains the following parts: three decorated rooms (C 1 and C 3–4), the serdab (C 5), and a storeroom (C 2). A false door fills the west end of Chapel C 3, while the opening into the serdab is found in the west wall of Chamber C 4. The tomb chamber has not been excavated.

CHAMBER C 1

South wall.—The wall consists of two adjacent scenes, beginning at the west end. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the left and extends above the doorway. Scene 1 shows Meriteti, accompanied by [his son] Ihimsaf, receiving offerings from his estates and villages. Scene 2 shows the offerings being brought (cf. Pls. 57–59 and 65).

West wall.—The wall consists of three scenes, beginning at the north end. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the left, its lower portion continuing on the left side of the doorway; Scene 3, above the doorway, adjoins the upper portion of Scene 2 at the left. Scene 1 shows Meriteti, accompanied by Ihi(msaf) and attended by servants, receiving animals (Scene 2) led in as offerings (cf. Pls. 50–51); he is also viewing a hunt (Scene 3; cf. Pls. 24–25).

North wall.—The wall consists of three scenes, beginning at the west end. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the right; Scene 3, over the doorway, adjoins Scene 2 above and at the right. Scene 1 shows Meriteti, accompanied by his wife Nebetpernesut, viewing the presentation of offerings from his estates and villages in Lower and Upper Egypt. The offering-bearers appear in Scene 2 (cf. Pls. 57–59 and 65). Scene 3 shows Meriteti borne in a palanquin, accompanied by an escort (cf. Pls. 157–58).

East wall.—The wall consists of three scenes. Scene 1 is directly over Scenes 2 and 3, the latter adjoining Scene 2 at the right. Scene 1 shows Meriteti, accompanied by a woman (probably Nebetpernesut), being borne in a palanquin.⁸ Scene 2 shows servants bringing fatted animals as mortuary offerings (cf. Pls. 50–51). Scene 3 shows servants forcibly feeding poultry and scattering grain to other fowl in an inclosure (cf. Pls. 52 and 53 B).

CHAMBER C 3

South wall.—The wall consists of two adjacent scenes, beginning at the west end and extending across the wall and above the doorway. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the left. Scene 1 shows Meriteti seated before an offering-table (cf. Pls. 57 and 63–64). He is receiving offerings from his estates and villages in Lower and Upper Egypt while lector priests perform funerary rites. The offering-bearers and the ceremonies are shown in Scene 2 (cf. Pls. 57–59, 61 C, 65, and 67).

West wall.—False door (cf. Pl. 62).

North wall.—The wall consists of two adjacent scenes, beginning at the west end and extending across the wall and above the doorway. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the right. The subjects are identical with those on the south wall.

East wall.—The wall consists of three scenes. Scene 2 is directly over Scene 1, and Scene 3 is over Scene 2. Scene 1 shows servants cutting haunches from oxen as offerings (cf. Pls. 54, 109 A, and 110). Scene 2 shows servants bearing offerings for Meriteti (cf. Pls. 57–59 and 65), and Scene 3 shows food offerings (cf. Pl. 61 A).

⁸ *Ibid.* Tafel 8 A.

⁵ Wreszinski, *op. cit.* Tafel 29.

⁶ For a small photograph of the lower central portion, showing the representation of the double door, bolt, and lower pivots, see Somers Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (London, 1930) Fig. 187. For a similar false door with the colors restored see N. de Garis Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqareh I*, Pls. XIX–XX A; another, in the tomb of the noble Djadjam'ankh at Abusir, is reproduced in colors in L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re* (Leipzig, 1907) Blatt 24.

⁷ Wreszinski, *op. cit.* Tafel 11.

INTRODUCTION

CHAMBER C 4

South wall.—The wall consists of three adjacent scenes, beginning at the west end with Scene 2 and extending to the doorway. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the right, and Scene 3 adjoins Scene 1 at the left. Scene 1 shows Meriteti, accompanied by his wife Nebet(pernesut), receiving offerings given him by the king. Their presentation is shown in Scene 2 (cf. Pls. 69–70 and 74) and in Scene 3 (cf. Pls. 72 and 74–75).

West wall.—The wall consists of two adjacent scenes, beginning at the south end. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the right. Scene 1 shows Meriteti receiving offerings given him [by the king]. Their presentation is shown in Scene 2 (cf. Pls. 70 and 75).

North wall.—The wall consists of three adjacent scenes, beginning at the west end with Scene 2. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the left, and Scene 3 adjoins Scene 1 at the right. Scene 1 shows Meriteti, accompanied by Nebet(pernesut), receiving offerings given him by the king. Their presentation is shown in Scene 2 (cf. Pls. 69–70 and 74) and in Scene 3 (cf. Pls. 70 and 75–76).

East wall.—The wall consists of two adjacent scenes, beginning at the north end. Scene 2 adjoins Scene 1 at the right. Scene 1 shows Meriteti, accompanied by his son Ihimsaf, viewing the presentation (Scene 2) of offerings given him by the king.

THE FAMILY

Mereruka, as vizier, held the highest office under the king in the realm of Upper and Lower Egypt. He bore also numerous civil and religious titles, among them “inspector of the priests attached to the pyramid of Teti,” “palace steward,” “scribe of the divine books,” “chief lector priest,” “overseer of the king’s record-scribes,” and “overseer of every work of the king.” Wa^ctetkhethor, holding various religious titles, is described in Mereruka’s Chamber A 12 and in her own rooms as “the king’s eldest daughter, of his body.” It appears, then, that she was the eldest daughter of Teti or of some predecessor of his and therefore a princess. Meriteti is described in Mereruka’s chambers as “the king’s eldest son, of his body,” but once (Pl. 88) as Mereruka’s “eldest son”; in the chambers of Wa^ctetkhethor he is always described as “her eldest son, her beloved, . . . whose good name is Meri.” In his own rooms he bears forty-one of the titles of Mereruka and eight others that the latter did not have, including “the king’s eldest son, of his body,” “lector priest of his father,” and “inspector of the priests attached to the pyramid of Pepi.”⁹

Wa^ctetkhethor is depicted in each of Mereruka’s decorated rooms and accompanies him in thirty-nine of the forty-six principal scenes. Meriteti is depicted in six of Mereruka’s rooms (once in each; see Pls. 8, 23 C, 46, 48 C, 88, and 177) and in each of the decorated rooms of Wa^ctetkhethor, where he appears eleven times altogether, accompanying her in all the principal scenes except three in which she appears alone. A daughter also is depicted once in Wa^ctetkhethor’s portion; she is described as “her daughter, her beloved, Ibneitnub.”

⁹ In the following discussion of the members of Mereruka’s family I have drawn freely on an article by Charles Francis Nims, “Some Notes on the Family of Mereruka,” which will appear shortly in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. The evidence was collected by Dr. Nims during his season with the Expedition as epigrapher, and I am indebted to him for allowing me to make use of the material before its publication. *JAOs* LVIII (1938) 639–47.

It is likely this daughter who is depicted once in Mereruka’s tomb, but there the name is lost (Pls. 127–28).

In Mereruka’s chambers other members of the family are represented who do not appear in the portions of Wa^ctetkhethor and Meriteti. Mereruka’s mother, Nedjetempet, whose “good name” was Tiyet, appears three times (Pls. 149–50, 159, 161, and 166–67) and is described as a “king’s intimate” (or “relative of the king”?), a designation which could mean a granddaughter. Also, besides Meriteti, five other sons are depicted, whose names are Memi, Khenti, ‘Apre^cf, Khenu, and Nefer. Memi appears in four chambers, altogether six times (Pls. 23 A, 65 A, 88, 104, 127–28, 154–55, and 171–72), and is described as Mereruka’s “eldest son, his beloved, sole companion, lector priest,” and “scribe of the divine books”; where the reliefs remain intact he is shown as an adult with a beard (except in Pl. 65 A). Khenti is depicted as an adult once in each of two chambers (Pls. 88 and 158) and is described as Mereruka’s son, “the judge and scribe.” ‘Apre^cf appears once, as an adult but beardless, supporting Mereruka (Pls. 104, 154, and 156), and is described as a “sole companion and lector priest.” He is not called a son; but his appearance in this important scene with the eldest son Memi, one at each side of Mereruka, would seem to indicate that relationship. Khenu is depicted once, as an adult with a beard (Pl. 7), and is described as Mereruka’s son, a priest of the pyramid of Teti, and a “lector priest and scribe of the divine books.”¹⁰ Nefer appears once, as an adult (Pl. 158), and is described as Mereruka’s “youngest(?) son.”

A scene similar to that showing Mereruka with Memi and ‘Apre^cf is reproduced on Plate 138. Unfortunately, however, the upper portion of the scene, including the inscriptions, is lacking, and the figure at the right has been obliterated—a fate which has befallen no other figures of sons throughout the tomb. Whereas in the analogous scene Memi and ‘Apre^cf reach almost the full height of Mereruka, the two sons in this scene could have had scarcely more than half his height. It seems unlikely that either of them would be Memi or ‘Apre^cf, since the important scene in which those two appear is carved on an adjoining wall of the same chapel; again, it seems improbable that either one would be Meriteti, since if he had been thus depicted in a principal scene which was part of the original decoration there would have been no reason for the insertion of his figure at a small scale on a pier of the same chapel (Pl. 177). However, these figures may have represented any two of the remaining three sons of Mereruka, namely Khenti, Khenu, and Nefer.

Various brothers, priests, and minor functionaries to the number of about a hundred are also mentioned in Mereruka’s chambers. Their names appear either as parts of the original sculpture or as painted additions. Unfortunately the painted names (on Pls. 58–59, 65, and 157–58) have in some instances almost entirely disappeared and are illegible. Of this wealth of personal names of the period only a few, mostly common ones, are found in neighboring mastabas.¹¹

¹⁰ It is likely that the tomb and offering-place in the name of Khenu at the west end of the temenos (Pl. 219 B) belong to this son; they are discussed in Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I* 26 f. Although Firth speaks of the relief of Khenu shown in our Pls. 6–7 as “inserted,” its appearance does not wholly convince one that this was so, especially since the composition of the scene seems arranged to include the figure.

¹¹ Nims, *op. cit.*

THE MASTABA OF MERERUKA

In one instance three sons—Memi, Meriteti, and Khenti—appear in the same scene (Pl. 88), and Memi and Meriteti are each called Mereruka's "eldest son." Both are shown as adults, but Memi is bearded and precedes Meriteti. In this scene only is Meriteti depicted as an adult. In his other five appearances in Mereruka's chambers he is depicted as a youth with sidelock, and in none of these scenes is he called Mereruka's son. In two cases (Pls. 8 and 23 C) he is described as "the king's eldest son, of his body, his beloved, worthy in the presence of his father and of the great god." In a third case (Pl. 46) the inscription is the same, but the "worthy . . ." formula is missing. In each of these three inscriptions the clause "whose good name is Meri" has been erased, although traces of it are visible. In the first of the two remaining cases (Pls. 48 C and 177) only the name Meriteti survives, and in the second he is "the king's eldest son, of his body, his beloved"; but in both of these cases the clause "whose good name is Meri" was never present. In Wasetekhethor's chambers Meriteti is shown in each instance as a youth with sidelock and in each case is called her "eldest son," with no reference to the king.

In only one of the six scenes where Meriteti appears in Mereruka's chambers does his figure seem to have been a part of the original decoration, and it is only in this instance (Pl. 88) that Meriteti is depicted as an adult and called Mereruka's "eldest son." This occurrence is in Chamber A 10, which, along with Chamber A 12, was most likely decorated later than the other rooms and certainly by a different group of artists. In the remaining instances the figure is found once each in the five chambers A 1, A 3-4, A 6, and A 13, appearing in each case to have been added to the original decoration. Its intrusion seems especially clear in A 6 and A 13 (Pls. 48 C and 177), where the clause "whose good name is Meri" was never present. In view of the five examples of later insertion, it would seem that the intention had been to add the figure of Meriteti in one of the principal scenes in each chamber where space would permit. Equivalent space and similar location are still available in several other scenes in Chambers A 3 and A 4, but the only available space in Chamber A 6 was thus utilized; in Chambers A 8, A 9, A 11, and A 12 no space in a principal scene was available for the adding of a figure; and in Chapel A 13 the only possible space was on a pier. Meriteti, however, may, like Memi in Chapel A 8 (Pl. 65 A), have been named as one of the offering-bearers there or in Chapel A 11; but, if so, the evidence has been lost.

In view of the mention of only one of the several sons of Mereruka in the tomb of Wasetekhethor, it would seem that he had been married before and that Memi was the eldest of his sons by the former marriage. Memi's figure is in all instances a part of the original decoration. Of the six times he appears he is called "eldest" in three out of five instances where the inscriptions remain legible; in the five instances where the reliefs survive he is shown four times as a bearded adult. It will be recalled that he accompanies Apref in a principal scene with Mereruka and is of almost the same stature as his father. In one instance (Pl. 65 A) he leads the procession of offering-bearers. In the scene where he stands with Meriteti and Khenti, though all are depicted as adults, Memi alone is shown with a beard, and he precedes the other two brothers. It is only in this last-named scene (Pl. 88) that

Memi's name has remained intact. As stated above, this scene seems to have been done at a later time than the other scenes in which either Memi or Meriteti appears and, furthermore, is the only one in Mereruka's tomb in which the figure of Meriteti seems to have been part of the original decoration and in which he is shown as an adult. In the other five instances where Memi appears his name has been erased, but in almost all cases traces of the name are evident. Once the name Pepi^cankh has been inserted in paint over the erasure (Pls. 104 and 154-55); in another case faint painted traces of the cartouche and the two *p*'s of the name Pepi remain (Pl. 23 A; traces of paint not shown). In a third instance where the name Memi has been erased, it had itself replaced some earlier name (Pl. 65 A). In the other two cases (Pls. 127-28 and 171-72) the name has been imperfectly erased and the space left blank. That the name was not erased and changed in one instance (Pl. 88) was possibly owing to the fact that there the figure is merely one of a group and of relatively small importance as compared with the other figures of Memi.

In his own tomb, as it now stands, Meriteti appears as an adult with his wife Nebetpernesut and his son Ihimsaf. His rooms were all decorated at the same time except for certain portions of Chamber C 4. On the other hand, the figures of both his wife and his son appear to have been added after the initial decoration of the walls, except possibly for the scene where Meriteti and his wife(?) are being borne in a palanquin (see p. 2).

The inscriptions show that there were three different stages in the ownership of the tomb.¹² Since it is subsidiary to that of Mereruka, one may safely assume a family relationship between him and the original owner. But the latter's name was obliterated from the inscriptions; only occasional cartouches of Teti survive. These, however, unite with the accompanying titles to prove that the original owner must have been Meriteti himself.

In the second form of the inscriptions the name Pepi^cankh replaced that of the original owner, and "Meri's son" was substituted for "the king's son." At this time the west wall of Chamber C 4 and the west ends of its north and south walls were decorated and inscribed in keeping with the new version.

In the third form of the inscriptions the ^cankh of the name Pepi^cankh was erased and the Pepi cartouche was incorporated into a substituted title, "inspector of the priests attached to the pyramid of Pepi I," following which was added (sometimes varying slightly) "the king's son, count, sole companion, Meriteti." The length of the new version often made it necessary to sacrifice part of the accompanying scene. At this time both the entrance doorjambs were decorated and probably the majority, if not all, of the names of the servitors were added. It is likely that the figures of the wife (except in C 1, east wall, Scene 1; see p. 2) and the son belong to this final period. Nebetpernesut appears four times and is described as a "king's intimate" (or "relative of the king"?), that is, possibly a granddaughter. Ihimsaf is depicted three times. In one instance the inscription over his figure read originally "his eldest son, worthy in the presence of his father, lector priest of his father, Ihimsaf"; but later this was reduced to "lector priest, eldest, Ihimsaf." In the other two instances

¹² This statement and the following discussion are based on Nims, *op. cit.*

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the words "his son" were erased, though in Chamber C 4 a longer inscription took their place.

Not only was Pepi^cankh at one time in possession of the tomb of Meriteti, but his name has, as above noted, occasionally replaced that of Memi in Mereruka's tomb. In recutting the inscriptions in Meriteti's chambers Pepi^cankh substituted "Meri's son" for "the king's son"; but he often retained the term "eldest," and even in the portions of the tomb which he himself decorated he calls himself in one instance "Meri's eldest son." Likewise in his identification with the figure of Memi he is defined as Mereruka's "eldest son." It seems unlikely that Pepi^cankh could be a son of Mereruka who had remained unmentioned in the latter's tomb, but of the six sons who appear in it Memi is the only one whose name has been erased. Even though Pepi^cankh is named throughout the second stage of the inscriptions in Meriteti's tomb, he could hardly have been Meriteti; for the latter, the original owner of that tomb, would scarcely have changed his name and then reverted to the name he first bore. Moreover, Meriteti's titles accompanying his figures in Mereruka's chambers were not modified to agree with the changes made in his own tomb upon the substitution of the name of Pepi^cankh. The foregoing considerations lead one to believe that Pepi^cankh was Memi and that he changed his name when Pepi I came to the throne—a procedure which was not uncustomary. If our various conclusions are justified, it is easy to understand that there may well have been rivalry between Memi, later called Pepi^cankh, the eldest of Mereruka's sons by a former marriage, and Meriteti, the only son of Wa^ctetkhethor, and that, probably after Mereruka's death, Pepi^cankh was able to usurp temporarily the tomb of his younger half-brother.¹³

That Meriteti really was Mereruka's son is stated only once (Pl. 88); but the statement is corroborated by his five appearances at Mereruka's side, where a son would normally stand, by his later use of Mereruka's high titles, as though by hereditary right, and perhaps by the fact that the "good name" of each was Meri. His mother was unquestionably the princess Wa^ctetkhethor; and the name Meriteti, bestowed at his birth, may commemorate not only the then reigning king but his maternal grandfather. Meriteti's title "the king's eldest son" is no bar to the foregoing interpretation, for it could be borne by a grandson or perhaps even a great-grandson of a king.¹⁴

Meriteti's inheritance of Mereruka's honors, in spite of the seniority of Memi, was probably due to the fact that his own mother was a princess. It seems certain that Mereruka and Wa^ctetkhethor were married before the walls of Mereruka's chambers were decorated, for she is depicted with him in the original decoration throughout the tomb. The fact that Meriteti's figure was inserted later may mean that he was not born until after the original reliefs were com-

pleted.¹⁵ Since in his own tomb Meriteti is closely identified with the pyramid of Pepi I, which is mentioned thirty-three times while the pyramid of Teti is mentioned only three times,¹⁶ it is certain that Meriteti lived and served under Pepi.¹⁷

DATE AND HISTORY OF THE MASTABA

All three portions of the mastaba of Mereruka were, we may well believe, built and decorated during the reign of Teti. In the floor of Chamber A 9 and extending in part beneath its west wall is a block with antelopes finely carved in low relief stylistically earlier than Mereruka's sculptures and probably dating from the Fifth Dynasty. Since the mastaba to which this block belonged was evidently then being demolished and used as a quarry, Mereruka's tomb was under construction later than the Fifth Dynasty. On the other hand, it is not as early as the mastaba of Kagemni, who was a vizier under Teti, as was Mereruka, but had also lived under the last two Fifth Dynasty kings, Isesi and Unis.¹⁸ This is proved by its situation: it is built directly against the rear (west) wall of Kagemni's mastaba, which serves as the east wall for Meriteti's portion and for Mereruka's Chambers A 13, A 12, and part of A 10, so that reliefs of Mereruka and his son are carved directly upon the slightly sloping or battered outer casing blocks of Kagemni (cf. Pl. 125 B).¹⁹

That Mereruka's mastaba was built under Teti is indicated first of all by its position, close to the temenos wall of Teti's pyramid, for in death as in life courtiers sought the presence of their lord. Again, the extant portion of a list of Mereruka's estates (Pl. 49) includes villages named after Teti himself and after the Fifth Dynasty kings Ikauhor and Unis, but none named after any successor of Teti. Even in Meriteti's chapels Pepi I is not mentioned in the original inscriptions; he appears only in the second and third stages (cf. p. 4). Assignment of Mereruka's mastaba to the reign of Teti is further indicated by comparison of it with the mastaba of the vizier Khentika, also called Ikhekhi, discovered by Firth in 1923 and soon to be published by R. Macramallah.²⁰ This mastaba is on a smaller scale than that of Mereruka, but its interior, like his, is completely occupied by rooms. To judge from the style of its reliefs and from its location, northeast of Teti's pyramid but quite close to his temenos wall, it is the latest of the major mastabas of the neighborhood. Now Khentika was officially attached to the pyramids of both Teti and Pepi I. Most interesting, however, is the fact that Khentika had a son called Tetidjedi who seems to be the same as one who in the room containing his father's burial pit and on a stela of his own is called Pepidjedi.²¹ The

¹³ Mereruka's daughter(?) whose figure forms part of the original decoration (Pls. 127-28) was presumably born before Meriteti.

¹⁶ Nims, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ Other theories of relationships, based on less complete or less accurate data, have been upheld by Kurt Sethe and Walter Federn. Further points of difference may be noted in statements by Georges Daressy and Gustave Jéquier. For references and discussion see Nims, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.* Pls. 7 and 59 and p. 109.

¹⁹ It is possible that, when one mastaba adjoins another in this fashion, some family relationship is indicated. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops*, p. 406, suggests that Kagemni, whose "good name" was Memi, was perhaps the grandfather or the uncle of Mereruka's son Memi. It should be noted too that Kagemni's wife, like Mereruka's, bore the "good name" Seshseshet.

²⁰ So Lauer in Service des antiquités, *Annales* XXXVI (1936) 73.

²¹ Nims, *op. cit.*

¹³ When two "eldest" sons appear together, as do Memi and Meriteti (Pl. 88), it is usually assumed that one of them is dead. But this can hardly be the case here; for, although the scene in question appears to have been done later than the other scenes in Mereruka's tomb in which either of these two is depicted, it would seem that both sons survived Mereruka and lived into the reign of Pepi I. The succession of events appears, from the considerations discussed in the text, along with the fact that Mereruka's titles do not mention Pepi, to have been as follows: death of Mereruka; accession of Pepi I; change of eldest son's name from Memi to Pepi^cankh; usurpation of Meriteti's tomb by Pepi^cankh; recovery of his tomb by Meriteti.

¹⁴ See refs. in Nims, *op. cit.*

Federn in *Göttingen N.S.T.*
(1936) 370-84.

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most likely reason for such a change of name would have been the accession of Pepi I after the death of Teti. The decoration of Khentika's mastaba, then, was apparently begun under Teti and finished under Pepi I. This would place the building and decoration of Mereruka's mastaba earlier, probably in the middle of Teti's reign, somewhere around 2600 B.C. according to Dr. Breasted's chronology.

A vizier named Thethu, attached to the pyramid of Pepi I,²² built a mastaba much smaller than Khentika's directly against that part of Mereruka's east wall which extended south of Kagemni's west wall. The high level of the offering-place before his stela implies an accumulation of debris from humbler Sixth Dynasty tombs which had filled the gap between their imposing predecessors but were already fallen into ruin.²³ Hence a considerable interval between his time and Mereruka's must be allowed.

The age of the powerful pyramid-builders of the Old Kingdom was over, and with it that of the great nobles whose mastabas had rivaled in size the pyramid temples of the pharaohs. There followed a time of civil strife known to us as the First Intermediate Period. In those dark days, as already before the close of the Sixth Dynasty, the appropriation of available space continued; and those who could claim the right to be buried near the pyramid of Teti, either as its priests or keepers or as relatives or servitors of the great men buried in the neighboring mastabas, filled the whole area between these and the temenos wall of the pyramid with their tombs.²⁴ The great Sixth Dynasty mastabas themselves, by now partially submerged by the encroachments, fell into ruin, and some of their limestone blocks were carried away and reused among the new structures. Between the Sixth and the Tenth Dynasty Wasetekhethor's chambers contributed of their wall reliefs. One slab was defaced and recut into an offering-table which was set before the false door of Sitinteti.²⁵ Another formed part of a side wall of the small chapel or niche of Nesetwosri.²⁶ Many slabs of Mereruka's as well as of his wife's were left scattered amid the debris.²⁷

The rubble or mud-brick superstructures of the later, lesser tombs were in turn wrecked and, along with the contents of their underground burial chambers, were swept away, probably to make room for the burials of those serving Teti's pyramid and cult under the Heracleopolitans of the Tenth Dynasty and their successors. The debris was piled over the mud-brick mastabas southwest of Mereruka's mastaba, and the bodies were apparently reburied elsewhere.²⁸

Services in behalf of Teti were evidently continued into the Twelfth Dynasty, for Hotep and Ihi, each an "inspector of the priests attached to the pyramid of Teti," lived under Amenemhet I in the Middle Kingdom or Feudal Age. Their limestone halls and chapels, forming the most elaborate of the post-Old Kingdom tombs, are built against the south side of Kagemni's mastaba, from which their blocks were in part taken.²⁹

²² Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.* Pl. 61 and p. 151.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 2 and 37.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Pl. 20 C-D, p. 38, and p. 142, No. 20.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 38, n. 1 (as corrected on p. 142); p. 142, No. 19; and p. 208, No. 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 139-42, Nos. 1-18 and 21. ²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 37.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 61 and 64 f.; but cf. *ibid.* pp. 2 and 28, which make it clear that Mastaba E was the chief source.

The Tenth-Twelfth Dynasty structures themselves succumbed in due course to the forces of decay. In the sand which accumulated among and above their ruins were buried men of succeeding periods—Hyksos, Empire, Decadence, and Roman.³⁰ Meantime the ever rising tide of sand and debris gradually submerged still more deeply the lower portions of the Sixth Dynasty mastabas. Thus, though their tomb chambers had presumably long since been plundered, their walls have been in part preserved to this day.

In modern times the first excavation in the vicinity of the Teti pyramid was made by Lepsius at the northeast corner of Kagemni's mastaba.³¹ Despite Mariette's extensive clearances at Sakkarah between 1850 and 1881 the mastaba of Mereruka remained unknown until it was discovered by J. de Morgan, then director general of the Service des Antiquités, in July, 1893.³² The Service built up its walls, roofed it, and opened it to the public. Quibell excavated in 1905/6-7/8 east of the Teti pyramid, ultimately discovering the pyramid temple,³³ and in 1912-14 north and northwest of it around Mereruka's mastaba,³⁴ which had meanwhile (in 1912) had to be freed once more from encroaching sand (see p. xv). In 1920 Firth resumed work in both areas. In 1921/22 he finished investigating the space between Teti's temenos wall and the great mastabas and also cleared the tomb shafts of the latter.³⁵ In 1921 the walls and roof of Mereruka's mastaba were repaired (see p. xv).

Upon clearance the tomb chamber of Mereruka was found to have been plundered.³⁶ The robbers had dug their way down the shaft to the wall that guarded the tomb chamber. By removing the top of the wall they had reached the space in which the portcullis block slid. Thus, after cutting away a corner of the portcullis, they had gained access to the tomb chamber without having to raise the portcullis or remove the filling of the lower part of the shaft. The lid of the great limestone sarcophagus had been shifted forward, and the body of Mereruka had been broken up and scattered. His arm bones showed marks of knives which had been used to cut away the linen wrappings and the flesh so that his bracelets might be removed. Dr. Douglas Derry, professor of anatomy at the Egyptian University, who examined Mereruka's remains, reports that he died in middle age and that his skull is not typical of his period, since the face is short and wide and definitely prognathous though not otherwise negroid.

The only trace of an inner coffin was part of an alabaster eye such as would have been inlaid in wood. The wood may have been gilded and therefore worth breaking into small pieces for removal. Mereruka may, like Kagemni,³⁷ have lain on his "back and left side with the head north," his face covered by a thin plaster mask gilded and with the features painted in black.

³⁰ Roman burials were numerous just west of the mastaba of Mereruka; see Quibell and Hayter, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid, North Side*, Pl. 1 and pp. 1-3.

³¹ See Gunn in Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.* p. 108.

³² See Daressy in *Revue archéologique*, 3. sér., XXIX (1896) 319-30.

³³ Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara I-III* (Le Claire, 1907-9); on the temple see esp. III 19 f.

³⁴ Quibell and Hayter, *op. cit.* p. 1.

³⁵ Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.* p. 2. Firth's remarks on p. 1 about the work of his predecessors are somewhat inexact.

³⁶ Our following description is drawn from Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.* pp. 23-26.

³⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 21 f.

INTRODUCTION

Wa^ctetkhethor had a tomb shaft and tomb chamber of her own. Her large, uninscribed limestone sarcophagus had been plundered through a hole in its side. Within were remains of a wooden coffin and bones so large that they seemed to be those of a man. Dr. Derry, however, found them to be undoubtedly female. He states that Wa^ctetkhethor also was middle-aged. Her skull is flat-topped, typifying the head form usual in Old Kingdom reliefs.

The funerary equipment of Mereruka and his wife included canopic jars and other vessels; in his case three alabaster offering-tables and some model tools of copper were added. The plundering of the tombs had left almost all of the objects in fragments.³⁸

ARCHITECTURE AND DECORATION

Mereruka chose for his mastaba a site between the mastaba of Kagemni and what was probably a street. This was an important location, being directly across from the north-west corner of the temenos wall of the pyramid of Teti. Possibly because of some family connection with Kagemni (cf. p. 5, n. 19) Mereruka was permitted to build against the sloping west face of the former's mastaba and to utilize that surface for the east walls of some of his own chambers (cf. Pl. 125 B). Meriteti likewise, when his tomb was built behind that of Mereruka, utilized in the same way the more northerly portion of the same wall face (see p. 5).

The mastaba of Mereruka faces not eastward, as was customary, but southward. A dwarf wall bearing oft repeated the figure and names of the owner, accompanied by titles and epithets (Pls. 217–19 A), formed a forecourt in front of the façade. The tomb of Wa^ctetkhethor is an integral part of the mastaba and was planned along with the tomb of Mereruka. It unquestionably took some years to build the mastaba and decorate its walls. One may assume that work continued until Mereruka's death; even so, the decoration of his tomb chamber remained unfinished. His tomb shaft appears to have been dug first, at approximately the center of the mastaba, for a large monolith spans the north side of the opening and supports the wall above between Chapels A 11 and A 13.³⁹

Like others of its group, Mereruka's mastaba is faced within and without with limestone, that used inside being of finer texture than the rest.⁴⁰ The exterior walls have the usual batter or slope. Restorations made years ago prevent examination of cross-sections of the walls, but it is likely that the core consists of inferior blocks or rubble. The walls appear to have been laid up course by course, with the ends of the blocks cut first to fit one against another and the bedding or top faces leveled off in preparation for the next course after a complete course had been laid. The rising joints often vary from the perpendicular, the blocks having apparently

been cut as little as possible to save labor, while the horizontal or bedding joints run the length of the walls in fairly straight lines. It seems almost certain that the blocks were laid with their front or outer faces rough and that the wall was dressed as a unit after all the blocks were in place, for the rising joints at the ends of the walls seldom occur where the walls join.⁴¹ On the whole, however, the joints are irregular and the blocks certainly not close-fitting. A mortar which is presumably gypsum was used in setting the blocks and in leveling the courses; the same mortar was used also as a plaster to fill spaces between the blocks and any breaks in the surface after the walls had been dressed. The plaster varies in color, being white, gray, brown, or pink.⁴² Throughout the tomb the upper parts of the walls and piers are lost except for small portions of the north and south walls and of the north end of the east wall of Chamber A 10 which have survived to practically their full height, as have portions of the north and south walls of Meriteti's Chamber C 1.

The chamber walls and piers were covered with fine reliefs cut in the limestone surface and painted, the decoration being a combination of painting and sculpture and at the same time an integral part of the architecture. The scenes on each wall were topped by a *hkr* pattern which formed a *chevaux-de-frise* type of border (Pls. 78, 80, 85, 89, 135, and 137). There was obviously no collaboration between architect and sculptor, for joints frequently appear at unreasonable places in the reliefs. On the other hand, when the sculptor began his work the wall was quite smooth, and the plaster which filled the joints and breaks was carved along with the stone itself;⁴³ moreover, the wall was then completely painted, so that all evidence of both stone and plaster was hidden. Today, however, much of the plaster has fallen away, carrying with it portions of the figures.

The pavement is a patchwork of approximately rectangular limestone slabs. In almost all cases the slabs around the edges of the rooms pass under the walls. It appears that the slabs were laid to their full depth after the walls had been erected, those at the sides being laid in recesses cut into the foundations of the walls. The pavement was obviously dressed after the slabs had been laid, for the joints between them and the walls are frequently somewhat higher than the pavement level.⁴⁴ It is likely that the pavement was originally covered with a thick layer of hard plaster, for fragments of plaster remain at the bases of the walls.⁴⁵ It would seem that the bases of the piers were dressed along with the pavement and that their present irregularities were hidden by the plaster.

³⁸ Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* pp. 96–116, especially pp. 99 f., also Fig. 230.

³⁹ No analysis of the plaster in Mereruka's mastaba has been made, but gypsum was the characteristic mortar and plaster of ancient Egypt from early dynastic times. Lucas has found no evidence whatever of the use of lime before the Ptolemaic period; he suggests that scarcity of fuel in Egypt caused gypsum to be preferred to lime, since the latter requires for its preparation a very much higher temperature than does the former. An unusually pure gypsum used in many instances at Gizah and Sakkarah came almost certainly from a Fayyum deposit. See Lucas, *op. cit.* pp. 73 f., 76–78, 416; Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* pp. 78–83; Caroline Ransom Williams, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-nēb* (New York, 1932) pp. 4 f.; and references cited in those works.

⁴⁰ Williams, *op. cit.* p. 16.

⁴¹ Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* pp. 130 f.

⁴² Although there seems to be no evidence of plaster covering the pavements of other mastabas, it is likely that the paving blocks in the temple of Edfu were covered with a thick layer of plaster; see *ibid.* pp. 133 f. Cf. the painted plaster pavements of Tell el-Amarna (e.g. T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten* I [London, 1923] 118 f. and Pls. XXXVI–XXXIX).

³⁸ For Mereruka's equipment see *ibid.* pp. 24–26 and Pls. 12 C and 13 B; for Wa^ctetkhethor's, p. 23.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁴⁰ Egypt was particularly well endowed with good stone of many varieties. Of these limestone was until the Empire the most commonly used for building purposes. Limestone of the fine quality used for lining mastabas was quarried across the Nile just south of Cairo. On this and other building stones and on the tools and methods used for working them see A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials & Industries* (2d ed.; London, 1934) pp. 45–73 and 170–72; Somers Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (Oxford, 1930) pp. 12–33, 106, 151, and 224; references cited by the latter and by Lucas; W. M. F. Petrie, *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (Edinburgh and London, 1923) pp. 69–74 and 98–100; and illustration in Museum of Fine Arts (Boston) *Bulletin* XXVI (1928) 87.

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Though the ancient roof and the upper portions of the walls are lacking, one may reasonably believe that the roof also was constructed of limestone. It probably consisted of large slabs which in the narrower rooms would rest directly on the side walls, while in the broader ones the slabs would be carried by stone architraves which in turn would be supported by the stone piers. It is possible that the underside of the roof was carved into semicircular sections representing trunks of palm trees laid transversely across the chapels, a ceiling form which was not uncommon.⁴⁶ The tomb was probably lighted and ventilated by shallow horizontal openings cut at intervals along the tops of the walls just under the ceilings. The shafts leading to the outside may have been cut horizontally through the wall or diagonally through the roof slabs or even diagonally through both, since all three forms are known.⁴⁷ Though more sunlight would penetrate into the chambers through a diagonal shaft than through a horizontal one, the interior of the mastaba must at best have been in semidarkness.

The Egyptian tomb, even in its most primitive form, served two functions: to house the deceased and to provide means for meeting his daily needs in the hereafter.⁴⁸ In general the former function was served by a burial pit or chamber underground, the latter function by a superstructure of some sort which would mark the grave and provide an offering-place. As cultural progress brought in brickmaking and then architecture in stone, these facilities were utilized for both parts of the tomb. The walling-in of the mound heaped above the grave produced the type of superstructure which we know by its Arabic name of *maṣṭabah*, "bench." Offering-niches in the retaining walls came to be supplemented by exterior chapels, at first open to the sky, later roofed, and then by chapels constructed within the mass of the filling. Food and other supplies for the dead were presented at the niches, which developed into stelae or false doors recessed into the east wall of the mastaba, with offering-tables placed before them. Since the interior chapels had grown out of deepening of the niches with a view to better protection of the offering-place and the offerings, the false doors, shifted inward in the process, stood regularly in their west walls. Through them communication with the realm of the dead was maintained. From a single interior chapel the tomb plan became elaborated to include other chapels, a pillared ceremonial hall, corridors, and storerooms for enlarged supplies of offerings.

Mereruka's mastaba represents the culmination of this type of tomb development, being completely filled with chambers of various sorts. His storerooms were grouped along a corridor in the northwest corner of his tomb, well out of the way. Storeroom A 15 has the remains of a stone shelf along its east side. Chapels A 8 and A 11, along with the serdab (A 7) and its approach (A 6), center about the tomb shaft, contained in Chapel A 11, to form the nucleus of

the tomb. Since there was no exterior stela, a false door was provided in the west wall of Chapel A 8 to allow the entrance of Mereruka's ka⁴⁹ into the mastaba; thence it could continue in a direct line through the second false door, at the west end of Chapel A 11, and enter the tomb shaft and the tomb chamber itself. The serdab, adjoining Chapel A 8, once contained statues of Mereruka, provided as reserve bodies which his soul might occupy at need;⁵⁰ a small opening for ceremonial purposes connects the serdab with Chamber A 6.

Chambers A 1, A 3, A 4, and A 6 may be regarded as corridors leading to the offering-tables in Chapels A 8 and A 11 and also to the engaged statue of Mereruka enshrined above an alabaster altar in the large, six-piered ceremonial or cult chapel A 13. The inlaid eyes and eyebrows of the statue, which must have given it a striking appearance, have been gouged out.⁵¹ The shrine was closed by two pivoted doors, probably of wood, which have likewise disappeared. These doors may have been carved and painted.⁵² Like the false doors, the shrine doorway was presumably crowned by a cavetto cornice;⁵³ but that of the false door of Meriteti is the only one of all these that has survived in this mastaba. The jambs of the doorways connecting Mereruka's corridors and chapels depict offering-bearers. These scenes may be regarded as transitional, leading from one corridor to another and on into the chapels. The offering-bearers are continued on the side walls of Chapels A 8 and A 11, advancing toward the offering-tables before the respective false doors, while other offering-bearers appear on the jambs of the doorway between Chapels A 11 and A 13 through which one reaches the altar before the statue of Mereruka.⁵⁴ The statue is placed off axis; in fact, it would seem that the doorways of Chapel A 11 were staggered purposely to let the statue become visible only as one was actually entering the pillared hall.

⁴⁹ The ka was an individual guardian spirit charged with providing for and protecting his earthly counterpart after death; see J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1912) pp. 52-55, and cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1927) pp. 172 f. and refs. there cited.

⁵⁰ Cf. Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 69. According to Daressy, "Le mastaba de Mera," p. 535, the serdab had been plundered in antiquity and only a foot of a wooden statue had survived.

⁵¹ The eyes may have been similar to those of the famous 5th dynasty wooden statue known as the "Sheikh el-Beled" (Cairo 34), thus described by Lucas, *op. cit.* p. 394: "The eyes are inlaid, the rim being copper, the white of the eye-ball opaque quartz, and the cornea transparent quartz (rock crystal) with the pupil represented by means of a small circular hole at the back of the cornea filled in with a black material." Borchardt in the *Cairo Catalogue général* states that the pupil is a wooden nail.

⁵² See Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* pp. 162-64, where the illustrations include a finely carved wooden door from the 5th or 6th dynasty mastaba of Kamheset at Sakkarah (Cairo J 47749). Inscriptions tell us of many *temple* doors that were overlaid with gold or electrum.

⁵³ Wreszinski, *op. cit.* Tafel 20.

⁵⁴ A stone ring is imbedded in the floor of A 13 between Piers 2 and 5 (Pls. 124 A and 126). It is possible that animals for sacrifice were actually tied to this ring, as suggested by Davies, *op. cit.* II 4, since live animals are depicted in the scenes as being carried to the offering-tables. Such a ring was found, though not *in situ*, in the mastaba of Ptahhotep; but it seems not to have been a feature in other mastabas, and there is some question as to whether the actual sacrifices took place within the mastaba itself. The late Cecil Firth expressed the opinion that the ring in A 13 was a block used in building construction and that the robbers who plundered the tomb had set it into the floor for the purpose of tying their rope. A hole cut through the base of the south wall of this chapel opens into the tomb shaft from beneath the long block that bridges its north edge (cf. Pls. 124 A and 105 A), and it is possible that the robbers did enter the shaft in this manner. This would seem a roundabout way to enter the shaft; but we have no way of knowing the condition of the mastaba when the tomb was robbed, at which time the walls may have been to some extent buried.

⁴⁶ See N. de Garis Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqarah* I 4 and Pl. II. Besides the ceiling of this type in the chapel of Ptahhotep, Davies cites one "somewhat similar . . . in a rock-hewn tomb" at Gizah. Stone ceilings of this form were used already in the entrance colonnade and in Temple T of the 3d dynasty pyramid complex of Zoser at Sakkarah; see J. P. Lauer, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: La pyramide à degrés: L'architecture* (Le Caire, 1936) I 120-22 and 150 and II, Pls. XLI-XLIII, XLV, and LXX 2.

⁴⁷ See Davies, *op. cit.* I 5 and Pl. II, also *ibid.* II 5 and Pl. II; Lauer, *op. cit.* I 150; and Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* pp. 170 f.

⁴⁸ For detailed discussion of early tomb forms see Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops*.

INTRODUCTION

The afore-mentioned chambers—A 1, A 3, A 4, A 6, A 8, A 11, and A 13—all appear to have been decorated at the same time and by the same group of sculptors. This same original stage of decoration is represented on the connecting doorjambs and the piers in Chapel A 13, along with the exterior of the tomb and the low dwarf wall at the front. The artists concerned were able craftsmen, and their work is equal, if not superior, to that found in any of the neighboring mastabas. Though lacking the grace and finesse displayed in earlier mastabas, the sculptures are characterized by a masculine strength and dignity, while the heroic relief of Mereruka supported by two sons (Pls. 104 and 154) is one of the finest products of the Old Kingdom. The most important scenes adorn Chapel A 13. Some of its reliefs show great delicacy in the handling of detail; examples are the animals in the threshing scene (Pl. 169) and the charming little figures of the women mourning for Mereruka (Pl. 131). It appears that the scenes in this chapel were done by the best sculptors of the group. The same is true of the principal scenes showing Mereruka and Wasetekhethor throughout Mereruka's tomb and likewise of the principal scenes in the tombs of Wasetekhethor and Meriteti.

Chambers A 2, A 5, A 9, A 10, and A 12 are outside the direct line of passage from the entrance of the tomb to the chapels—A 8, A 11, and A 13—and may be regarded as subsidiary. The walls of Rooms A 2 and A 5 are without decoration, while Chambers A 9, A 10, and A 12 were decorated later than the others. The small doorway leading to Room A 2 was cut through the wall of Chamber A 1 after the decoration of the latter had been completed. The walls of the added room are of undressed stone, and one is led to believe that it was hollowed out as an afterthought from what had been a corner of solid masonry; its floor is a step higher than that of the rest of the tomb. Although its entrance was cut through an important relief, there seems to be no reason for this room unless one regards the plan of the mastaba as representing that of a house, where this would be the anteroom for the doorkeeper, adjoining the vestibule. One of the jambs of the doorway leading into Room A 5 is decorated; but, although the walls of the room itself are of dressed masonry, for some reason or other any idea of decoration was abandoned.

The decoration in Chamber A 9, though stylistically not dissimilar to the work found in the rooms representing the original decoration, is nevertheless technically inferior and certainly appears to have been executed by a different group of artists, most likely at a later time. Furthermore, the plaster which was used to fill breaks in the stone differs in quality and color from that used in any of the other chambers. After the decoration had been completed, a doorway was cut through the north wall into Storeroom A 15,⁵⁵ possibly to give the ka of Mereruka access to Chapel A 13 and its altar through the doorway in its west wall.

The decoration in Chambers A 10 and A 12 is contemporary, was executed by a still different group of artists, and dates, one is led to believe, to a time well after all the other chambers had been finished. It will be recalled that it is only

⁵⁵ Another doorway seems to have been cut through the west wall into Storeroom A 20, again after the decoration had been completed; stones now occupying the lower part of the opening would indicate that it was blocked again in antiquity. A fragment of a relief near this point (Pls. 68 B and 73 A) was apparently fixed in the wall at the time of restoration and does not necessarily belong where it appears today.

in Chamber A 10 that Meriteti is depicted as an adult (Pl. 88). The work is crudely if not hastily done and is inferior to any of the other work in Mereruka's tomb. The figures on the walls are reliefs only in the sense that the background immediately adjoining their outlines has been cut away to a slight depth; the decoration on the sides of the piers in Chamber A 10 was incised or sunk instead, in a rather careless manner. The jambs of the doorway leading into Chamber A 10 from Chamber A 4 bear no decoration; those of Chamber A 12 show offering-bearers advancing into Chapel A 11.⁵⁶

Chamber A 10 is larger than any other room in Mereruka's tomb except the ceremonial chapel A 13. Its roof is supported by four piers. Directly opposite these piers are vertical sections of approximately the same width imbedded in the east wall. The evidence is best seen in Piers 1 and 2 and in the sections opposite them, for the upper portions of Piers 3 and 4 are lost and only the lower courses of the south end of the east wall remain *in situ*. The horizontal joints of these sections bear no relationship to those of the wall areas between them, whereas in the other chambers the horizontal joints of the courses extend the full length of the walls. There would seem to have been no point in building this particular wall with such vertical sections. It appears obvious that they were standing independently before the wall was built; and the fact that they are opposite the four piers indicates that they are the remains of some abandoned feature of Mereruka's mastaba rather than remains of the mastaba of Kagemni, which incorporates this wall. Owing to the restoration of the mastaba, examination of this wall is at present impossible; but in his plan published in 1898 Daressy, who presumably had examined the structure before its restoration, shows these vertical sections as actual piers imbedded in the wall. On the other hand, the four piers have bases, while the sections do not. Again, the surviving Piers 1 and 2 are practically monoliths, while the sections opposite them are not. But further evidence of some change in plan is given by the doorway between Chambers A 10 and A 4. Like the present entrance doorway in the south wall of the mastaba, it has narrow jambs and deep reveals, the latter being intended for the doors to swing back against. No other doorway between any of the chambers is of this form, all having wide jambs decorated with offering-bearers. There is, then, some ground for accepting these vertical sections as originally freestanding piers and for believing that Chamber A 10 was once a portico, supported by eight piers, which formed the original entrance to the mastaba from the east.

The fact that Kagemni's storerooms and the mastaba of Thethu cover the area directly to the east of Chamber A 10 would at first seem to make such a portico impossible. But the mastaba of Thethu was a later structure (see p. 6), doubtless built against the east wall of Mereruka's mastaba many years after the portico had been abandoned and the spaces between the outer piers had been filled in. The mastaba of Kagemni, on the other hand, was standing when Mere-

⁵⁶ An opening between Chambers A 3 and A 10 was cut after the decoration of both rooms had been completed. This opening seems hardly to have been intended for a doorway and was likely cut in modern times. After the mastaba had fallen into ruin A 10 seems to have been occupied by fellahin, who lit their fires in its northeast corner and calcined the walls, turning the red ocher of the figures to a purplish hue. The fellahin were probably also responsible for mutilation of reliefs on some of the piers of A 13, in this case due to religious or superstitious motives.

THE MASTABA OF MERERUKA

ruka built his mastaba; but Kagemni's storerooms begin at a point about opposite Pier 1 in Chamber A 10. May not Kagemni's mastaba have stopped originally at the vertical section of wall opposite Pier 1, so that his storerooms, like the mastaba of Thethu, were built against Mereruka's east wall after the portico had been abandoned and the space between the outer piers filled in to form a solid wall? The differences in thickness of Kagemni's rear wall in Chambers A 12 and A 13 as compared with A 10 are difficult to account for; they may indicate further changes made by Kagemni in his mastaba at those points.

If the foregoing evidence can be so interpreted, the area south of the line where Kagemni's storerooms begin would have been open space when Mereruka began his building, and it is entirely possible that the vertical sections imbedded in the east wall of Chamber A 10 are the inner faces of piers that formed a portico. Such an eastern entrance would not only fulfil the requirements of tradition but also correspond to the columned entrance halls found in Wa'tetkhetor's section and in other mastabas of Sakkarah. The eastern entrance may have been abandoned in favor of a southern entrance for the sake of easy access to Wa'tetkhetor's tomb or to provide space in which Kagemni might build his storerooms. It is not unlikely that Kagemni was finishing his mastaba at the time when Mereruka was beginning his, and there must have been some understanding between them regarding Mereruka's use of Kagemni's rear wall. In return for this favor Mereruka may have made additional space available to Kagemni by shifting his entrance from the east to the south wall of the new structure. The adjustment was evidently made not long after Mereruka's mastaba was begun, for the reveals of the southern entrance are incorporated in the adjoining walls of Chamber A 1. Furthermore, the important relief on the east wall of this chamber showing Wa'tetkhetor at Mereruka's side as he enters his tomb indicates that the entrance to the tomb was from the south when the decoration was executed.

Mereruka's tomb chamber⁵⁷ is as usual west of the tomb shaft; it lies under Chapel A 8, with its floor approximately 14.5 meters beneath that of the mastaba. It is a large rectangular room the walls of which are lined with closely fitting fine white limestone blocks, while the ceiling is the natural rock. A great limestone sarcophagus occupies the west end of the chamber, entirely filling the space between the side walls. An inclined plane, carefully paved, leads up from the floor level to the top of the sarcophagus; it was used to place the massive lid in position. The opening made between the shaft and the tomb chamber to permit passage of the sarcophagus was afterward closed by a wall of large limestone blocks. The chamber is entered through a low doorway in this wall; the "door" was a portcullis slab of limestone. It is obvious that the security of the tomb depended not upon the strength of the portcullis but rather upon the depth and filling of the shaft. The chamber is perfectly preserved, but its decoration was left unfinished. The representations and lists of offerings beautifully drawn in black outline on the side walls were intended to be filled in with color, but only on the east wall was this accomplished. Likewise the inclined plane was not removed after the lid had been put on the sarcophagus.

⁵⁷ Description based on Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.* pp. 23 f.

The tomb of Wa'tetkhetor is entered properly from the east immediately to one's left upon entering the mastaba. The street which seems to have bounded the mastaba on the west may account for the facts that her false door and its offering-table were recessed deeply into the wall and that her serdab is contained within the wall itself. Wa'tetkhetor's tomb shaft occupies a central position in her tomb, directly in line with her false door. There is a large entrance hall, which was probably supported originally by four piers, though only two remain. The roof was reached by a staircase, a feature which all the mastabas of this group seem to have in common. It appears that the decoration in the chambers was contemporary; but the entrance hall (B 1) was left until the last, and the decoration of its walls was never finished. On the whole the work is inferior to the best found in Mereruka's tomb and seems to have been done by a group of artists different from any that Mereruka employed. Aside from the principal figures, those of Wa'tetkhetor and Meriteti, the reliefs were somewhat carelessly done but show considerable animation and freedom of movement. Stylistically the decoration of this tomb may be placed later than that of most of Mereruka's rooms, but before that of his Chambers A 10 and A 12. The tomb shaft, now closed, ends in a roughly cut, undecorated chamber containing a large uninscribed limestone sarcophagus.⁵⁸

The tomb of Meriteti is an independent addition at the rear of the mastaba. It is entered by a doorway cut through the rear wall of Mereruka's tomb after the decoration of the wall had been finished. The added tomb was probably built soon after Mereruka's chambers had been decorated. Its own decoration was begun but not entirely finished by Meriteti, for the west wall of Chamber C 4 and the west ends of its north and south walls were decorated by the usurper Pepi-ankh (see p. 4). Aside from some of the figures of Meriteti himself, the work is technically bad and inferior to anything in Mereruka's or Wa'tetkhetor's chambers; that contributed by Pepi-ankh consists only of ragged gouges. Meriteti's tomb shaft has not been discovered.

PIGMENTS

Throughout antiquity painting and sculpture went hand in hand, each artist contributing his own part, and it is most likely that those who carved the reliefs were not responsible for the painting. Today, however, the colors in the mastabas have to a very great extent disappeared, and the work of the painter is represented by scenes in which the color is either only partially preserved or survives in mere traces. In any event, few of the colors which remain today have their original values. There is sufficient evidence, however, to show that the complete palette of colors used by the artists of the Old Kingdom is represented in Mereruka's mastaba. The colors are best preserved on portions of the north and east walls of Chapel A 13, of the west wall of Chamber A 10, and of the north wall of Chamber A 1.⁵⁹ The walls of all the other chambers are almost totally without color except for slight traces here and there in the scenes and for more extensive remains of the wainscots.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁵⁹ All the scenes which from the standpoint of both color remains and archaeological interest warranted copying in color are so reproduced in these volumes. The originals of Pls. 1, 45, 95, and 104 were copied in water color; those of Pls. 11, 148, 152-53, 159, 168-70, and 183 were copied in tempera.

INTRODUCTION

The principal colors are red, yellow, brown, blue, and green; white and black also are represented, along with a dark gray and a blue-gray, both of which were used for backgrounds only. The white appears to have been laid over the walls as a whitewash or priming before the colors were applied. There are various shades of the red, yellow, and brown, the red often having a distinctly purplish hue. The pigments⁶⁰ are naturally occurring earths or minerals or were made from mineral substances. The crude substances were finely ground and probably mixed with some kind of gum or size as a binding medium and, with the possible exception of the blue and green colors, were diluted with water in order to thin the mixture and make it flow from the brush.⁶¹ The colors, having been thus prepared, would last for any length of time and when hardened would need only softening with water to become ready for use. The red, yellow, and brown colors are earth ochers, and their various shades were obtained by calcining or heating these colors and probably also by mixing resulting shades together; the purplish hue was most likely obtained by calcining red ocher.⁶² The blue is probably the well known artificial frit made by heating together silica, some copper compound, calcium carbonate, and natron, forming a crystalline substance which was then reduced to a powder.⁶³ The green is most likely powdered malachite,

⁶⁰ For studies of Egyptian pigments and their composition and use the reader is referred to Lucas, *op. cit.* pp. 282–99; Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 20–37; A. P. Laurie, *The Materials of the Painter's Craft* (London and Edinburgh, 1910) pp. 16–32.

⁶¹ Owing to the difficulty of distinguishing chemically one from another the various vehicles, altered by age and present only in small quantities, the binding medium (or media) generally used by Egyptian artists has not been determined. In one instance, however, Laurie found upon analysis that gum had been employed as a binding medium in connection with a pigment of the 19th dynasty. The acacia tree, which grows freely in Egypt, supplies gum arabic, which needs only to be dissolved in water to form a convenient medium. Since glue also was known, Lucas has suggested that size may have been used with whitewash. White of egg also may have been used. In the Empire both resins and beeswax were employed in connection with Egyptian wall paintings, but chiefly as varnishes (Nina M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* [Chicago, 1936] III xliii; Laurie, *op. cit.* pp. 27–31; Lucas, *op. cit.* pp. 299–302). Whereas beeswax was available, resins had to be imported; but the latter were used for a variety of purposes. A single known case where wax was employed as a binder (in connection with malachite) is a relief in Munich. For discussions of binding media see Lucas, *op. cit.* pp. 292–95; Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 31 f.; Laurie, *op. cit.* pp. 21 f.; and references cited in those works.

⁶² The red color could also have been obtained by calcining yellow ocher. Though this method was certainly in use, it would seem unnecessary, since red ocher itself occurs plentifully in Egypt, a good quality of a deep shade occurring in several localities. In fact, red ocher from Egypt is mentioned by Vitruvius. Yellow ocher also occurs plentifully, and a good quality of brown ocher was available. On red and brown see Lucas, *op. cit.* pp. 289 f. and 287.

⁶³ The pigment is of a brilliant blue color and appears to have a granular crystalline structure similar to the frit. The color is brightest where the surface is either broken away or has disappeared; in several instances where the surface remains intact it appears to be covered with a brownish crust which may be an organic fixative or varnish to protect this particular pigment (cf. Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 32 f.). There had, however, been some use of azurite (chessylite), a naturally occurring basic carbonate of copper, finely ground. One example was contained in a shell from Maidum which had served as a painter's palette; possible other cases of the use of azurite as a pigment are uncertain (Lucas, *op. cit.* p. 283). The earliest blue used in painting seems to be known from a single occurrence (not analyzed) in the 3d dynasty tomb of Hesire at Sakkarah. The fact that azurite turns green, malachite being the end product of copper minerals, leads one to believe that in some instances what was once azurite is now malachite. Egyptian blue (the frit), however, seems to have been in use as early as the 4th dynasty, and the pigment has with certainty been identified in the ruined 5th dynasty sun temple at Abu Gurob and in the tomb of Perneb of the close of the 5th dynasty. No chemical analysis has been made of the blue color in Mereruka's mastaba; but both its appearance and the fact that this pigment had been in use for some years make it seem likely that it is the well known frit. This pigment became the universal and apparently the single blue used throughout antiquity. It disappears from the artist's palette early in the Christian era,

a naturally occurring carbonate of copper.⁶⁴ The black is likely some form of carbon, probably soot; the white is most likely either whiting (carbonate of lime) or gypsum (sulphate of lime). The dark gray was probably obtained by mixing white with black; the latter might in this case be powdered charcoal.⁶⁵ The blue-gray was probably obtained by mixing white with blue. In this instance the blue was most likely powdered azurite, since the mixture was used as a background over large areas; the frit at this time was used only sparingly and was unquestionably rather expensive.⁶⁶

The red, yellow, and brown colors, along with their shades, are the best preserved today owing to the fact that these pigments are natural earths colored by oxides of iron. The blue and green colors, however, have to a great extent disappeared, seemingly for the reason that they each consist of a rather thickly applied granular substance which has not ad-

whereas azurite ultimately found its most successful use as a pigment in illuminated manuscripts and tempera pictures of the Renaissance (Laurie in *Archaeologia* LXIV [1913] 317 f.). The discovery of Egyptian blue came about probably in the course of development of copper glazes. The pigment is mentioned by Vitruvius, who calls it *caeruleum* and says that it is made by fusing together sand, soda, and copper, that it was originally made in Alexandria, and that its production was fostered by Vestorius in Puteoli, after whom the blue was called "Vestorian." Theophrastus *De lapidibus* 55 apparently refers to it as an artificial *kyanos* and says it was the invention of an Egyptian king. Pliny mentions Egyptian *caeruleum*; but his references are somewhat obscure, and he seems to refer to the same pigment under different names. In modern times the composition of the pigment has been investigated by chemists, and specimens have been produced synthetically, especially by Professor Laurie. The pigment has recently been examined in America with a view to its manufacture for artists' use, but it was found that while the pigment has remarkable characteristics of permanence it is inferior to modern blues in other qualities and would be impractical for use today. For summaries of the history and the scientific investigations of Egyptian blue see Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 26–31, and Lucas, *op. cit.* pp. 284 f.; for chemical analyses of the pigment see Lucas, *op. cit.* p. 432.

⁶⁴ The green does not seem to be a mixture of blue and yellow. Malachite was known in the earliest predynastic period, long before the acquisition of a blue pigment, and was used as an eye paint. In the predynastic wall paintings of Hierakonpolis green color appears, the pigment being probably a granular layer of crushed malachite laid over white. In the Old Kingdom instances of the use of malachite as a pigment are known at Maidum, in the sun temple at Abu Gurob, and in the tomb of Perneb. However, by the 18th dynasty an artificial pigment, a frit analogous to the blue, had been developed; in fact Lucas found green frit as a pigment in a 6th dynasty tomb. For references see Lucas, *op. cit.* pp. 79 and 287 f., and Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 25 f.

⁶⁵ The microscopical appearance of samples from the tomb of Perneb suggested, though it did not prove, that the black pigment of the finer details is soot, the gray of the background a mixture of gypsum and charcoal (Williams, *op. cit.* p. 25). As Mrs. Williams has pointed out (*ibid.* p. 41, n. 19), soot, being a finely divided and comparatively pure form of carbon, lent itself to delicate work as charcoal with its content of silica could not.

⁶⁶ As already stated, the pigments discussed in the text represent the artist's palette in the Old Kingdom. In the course of time, however, other pigments appear. Orpiment, a naturally occurring sulphide of arsenic, was another source of yellow. This mineral, which seems not to occur in Egypt, was probably imported from Persia, though it occurs in Armenia and Asia Minor also. Its use as a pigment in Egypt has not been traced earlier than the 18th dynasty; it was likely introduced into the country through the eastern conquests of Thutmose III. The related mineral realgar, of a red-orange color, may also have been used as a pigment; but that color could have been obtained by gently heating orpiment. A bag containing pieces of orpiment was found in the tomb of Tutenkhamon. A red pigment of Ptolemaic or Roman date, identified as red lead, a naturally occurring red oxide of lead, has in a few instances been reported; it was well known to the Romans and was probably introduced by them into Egypt. A pink of the Ptolemaic or Roman period consists of madder dye fixed on a gypsum base by a mordant to form an opaque lake (see Laurie, *op. cit.* pp. 24–26, and Lucas, *op. cit.* p. 289). Since the madder plant is a native of Greece, its use may well have been introduced into Egypt by the Greeks in Hellenistic times. Madder appears to be the first organic material used for a pigment in ancient times, all those antedating the Ptolemaic period having been prepared from earths and minerals. A vegetal yellow lake also has been reported (Laurie, *op. cit.* pp. 25, 32, 44). The pink lake is not to be confused with another pink, found in 18th and 19th dynasty work, which was unquestionably derived from red ocher.

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hered to the stone.⁶⁷ The white color, where it remains, is scarcely distinguishable from the natural color of the walls. The black color has remained fairly well, especially on the wainscots. The dark gray color of the backgrounds has in almost all instances completely disappeared, while the blue-gray color, also used for backgrounds, has remained fairly well.

In Mereruka's chambers, aside from the blue backgrounds of the marsh scenes, the remains on the walls and piers in Chapel A 13 and traces on the walls in the other rooms would indicate that the backgrounds of all the reliefs were dark gray except in Chamber A 10, where the backgrounds are blue-gray, and most likely also in Chamber A 12, which was decorated at the same time and by the same artists. It also appears, without much question, that the wainscots of all the chambers were black with an upper red and yellow border edged with black lines. The bodies of the men were red, and those of the women were yellow; in scenes where interlocking figures of men occur, such as fishing scenes, the alternate figures were painted a brownish red to differentiate them. It appears that the hair and wigs were painted black. The costumes of the men were white; the same applies to the kilt of Mereruka except that where he appears as a priest a faint yellow hue is discernible over his leopard skin. In one instance some blue remains on Wa^ctetkhethor's dress, but on the whole the garments of both Wa^ctetkhethor and Nedjet-empet are without color except for the remains of lines of decoration on the shoulder straps; it is likely, however, that the women's garments were in most cases white. Traces of color, or rather stains indicating color, represent strands of beads in the collars and also in the bracelets and anklets. The animal figures have retained their hues of various yellows and browns along with black or red markings.

The walls and piers in Chapel A 13 were framed at the sides by a border of colored rectangles, only traces of which remain. In the cover vignette an attempt has been made to restore this border in its original colors. Of the *chevaux-de-frise* decoration at the tops of the walls, only traces of colors remain (Pl. 135). The ceiling of the tomb chamber is painted red with black dots to imitate granite. The piers in Chamber A 10, without wainscots, seem to have been painted in the same fashion; but only the red, considerably faded, has remained. The ceiling, if its underside was carved in imitation of palm trunks, would most likely have been painted red, a conventional color for wood;⁶⁸ if its underside was flat, it would probably have been painted red with black dots, like the ceiling of the tomb chamber, in imitation of granite. The sunken hieroglyphs framing the statue niche of Mereruka in Chapel A 13 were painted blue.

The painted decoration in the tomb of Wa^ctetkhethor is similar to that in Mereruka's tomb, though rather carelessly done and on the whole no better preserved. The walls of Meriteti's rooms appear not to have been painted; but the

underside of the lintel of the doorway leading into his tomb is painted red with black dots to imitate granite. The same seems to have been true of his false door or stela, which today bears a faded red coloring.

TECHNIQUE

There is little evidence on the walls today which would indicate the various stages of the sculptors' or the painters' work by which the decoration was accomplished. The unfinished scenes on the north and south walls of the tomb chamber (see p. 10) show a red preliminary line of the original drawing under a final or correcting black outline; but here only painters were at work. In a few of the scenes in Wa^ctetkhethor's tomb traces of red lines painted around the figures in a sketchy manner are apparently remains of guide lines for either the sculptors or the painters; but the workmanship here is careless (cf. above and p. 10), and it is difficult to determine with certainty their exact purpose. On the reliefs in Meriteti's tomb, which appear not to have been painted at all and the carving of which on the whole is technically bad (cf. above and p. 10), no traces of guide lines could be found; if there were preliminary lines of any kind, one feels that they must have been of a very simple nature. However, in other tombs of the period the procedure followed both in carving and in painting the walls is well illustrated,⁶⁹ and the same method will unquestionably have been followed in Mereruka's tomb also.

It has already been pointed out (see p. 7) that, when the walls of the chambers were laid up, the front or outer faces of the blocks were left rough and that each wall was dressed as a unit after all the blocks were in place; furthermore, that the mortar used between the blocks was used also as a plaster to fill any breaks in the surface after the walls had been dressed. Since the reliefs to be carved were low, it is likely that the masons gave the walls a certain smoothness before the artists began their work.⁷⁰

The method of procedure in decorating the walls consisted of three stages: the laying-out of the design in outline, the carving of the reliefs, and the painting of the reliefs.

It seems reasonable to believe that it was the painters, or painter-draftsmen, who laid out the design; if we judge by the preliminary lines already mentioned, they did this by means of fine brushes dipped in red ocher.⁷¹ Presumably horizontal and vertical lines had first been ruled over the wall⁷² in order to mark the height of the wainscot and to define the areas of the principal scenes as well as the heights of adjacent registers and the spaces for the vertical inscriptions. For long rows of figures, such as offering-bearers or servants, horizontal guide lines were ruled across the wall within each register so that the figures might be drawn in accordance with some canon of proportion; to maintain proper spacing a

⁶⁹ For a technical discussion of the methods employed in decorating the walls of mastabas of this period and incidentally those of later tombs the reader is referred to Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 3-25 and 33-37, and to literature cited there.

⁷⁰ A representation of the dressing of stone building blocks appears in the tomb of Rekhmire^c (18th dynasty); cf. Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* p. 106, Fig. 113, and also pp. 100 and 198 f.

⁷¹ Cf. Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 5 f. and nn. 13-15 and Pl. II (esp. *b*).

⁷² *Ibid.* p. 7. Guide lines appear to have been ruled at this period, but in the 18th dynasty it was the common practice to make the lines by snapping a stretched string dipped in pigment against the wall; cf. Nina M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* III xxxii-xxxv, and Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* p. 48. For a photograph of artists' brushes tied together with a string dipped in pigment see Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* Fig. 265.

⁶⁷ It seems reasonable to believe that the same binding medium was not used for all the pigments employed. The natural earth ochers, which could be finely ground, differed entirely in character from the blue frit and malachite, which were granular. The ochers could be laid directly on the stone or on a film of whitewash, while the coarser-grained blue and green might need to be imbedded in an intervening layer of plaster in order to be united adequately with the stone (see Williams, *op. cit.* p. 33).

⁶⁸ For a comprehensive study of color conventions used by the Egyptians see Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 38-74; the color conventions in Perneb's decoration (objects to color and color to objects) are listed *ibid.* pp. 85-87.

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vertical line was drawn to indicate the position of each figure. From the practice employed in other tombs of the period it may be inferred that horizontal guide lines were ruled (1) at the level of the knees, (2) at the base of the buttocks, (3) at the level of the lowest ribs or at the level of the elbows, (4) at the level of the armpits, (5) at the base of the neck, and (6) at the top of the forehead where the hair or the wig began.⁷³ In addition to these six horizontal guide lines there were possibly two others, one at the crown of the head and the other halfway between the knees and the ground.⁷⁴ The long rows of figures of offering-bearers in our mastaba line up with considerable accuracy at the levels of the first-mentioned six horizontal guide lines, and the crowns of the heads are so much in line that one feels there may have been a guide line at that point also. Since the proportions of the figures were estimated from the ground up, the vertical guide lines did not necessarily extend from the top to the bottom of the registers. These perpendiculars generally take off from an upper point determined by eye rather than measurement, pass downward just in front of the ear, and continue midway between the legs at the lower edge of the kilt and through the fore part of the rear foot; as a rule, they do not exactly bisect the body.⁷⁵ Such lines seem to have been used in our mastaba for figures of Mereruka (Pls. 149, 159, 176, 179–80, and 183) and for some offering-bearers (Pl. 60 *A*). In a register where only a few figures occur in a row it is possible that the horizontal guide lines were dispensed with, the divisions being indicated merely by dots or points along the vertical guide lines.⁷⁶ For the principal scenes also one would assume guide lines; but in many instances the draftsman dispensed with them in the principal scenes as he did in the registers, and even when they were present he did not always follow them with great accuracy.⁷⁷ On the whole, the guide lines were intended principally to assist in maintaining long rows of figures at the same height, proportion, and posture, and at a proper distance apart; and in the case of objects, such as vases and stands, vertical lines would have assisted in drawing symmetrical outlines.⁷⁸

The registers were generally laid out independently of those above or below and with a pleasing variety of scene and variation in the posture of the figures.⁷⁹ In the chambers which represent the original stage of decoration (cf. p. 9) a conscious effort was made to avoid vertical alignment of the figures where rows of offering-bearers or servants come one above another, but there are instances where the draftsman apparently extended the vertical guide lines through two or more registers (cf. Pls. 23 *B*, 27, 41, 49, 167). This latter method appears to have been used on practically all of the doorjambs (Pls. 189–94, 196, and 197 *B*). In Chamber A 9, which represents a later decoration (cf. p. 9), there are but few instances of such vertical alignment (Pls. 75–76), while in Chamber A 10, which represents both a later and an inferior decoration (cf. p. 9), the figures are frequently in

vertical alignment (Pls. 82, 85, 88, and 96). Unlike the figures on the other doorjambs, those on the jambs leading into Chamber A 9 (Pl. 195) are without vertical alignment; moreover, the offering-bearers are carrying oils, in accordance with the scenes depicted on the walls, and not food offerings. It seems certain that these doorjambs are contemporary with the decoration in this chapel.

The figures of men appear to have an approximate height of six foot-lengths from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head.⁸⁰ This seems to hold true especially for several of the figures of Mereruka (Pls. 149, 154, 159, 175, and 179–81); the distance from the sole to the lower edge of the kilt is approximately two foot-lengths (Pls. 149, 159, and 179–80). In one instance (Pl. 176) his figure is somewhat more than six foot-lengths, and in another (Pl. 183) it is somewhat less. The figures on the piers in Chamber A 10 show considerable variation because of the rather careless carving. In some registers also the foot-length varies from figure to figure, but in more careful carving (e.g. Pl. 60 *A*) the foot-length is, on the whole, uniform, and the figures appear to be approximately six foot-lengths in height. The height of the female offering-bearers is somewhat less than that of the men in the same scene (Pl. 49), the crowns of their heads being approximately on a line with the point where the wigs of the men begin; also, as is usual, the feet of the women are closer together.⁸¹

The guide lines and the preliminary outlines of the design, including the figures and objects themselves as well as smaller details of the composition, were most likely drawn by assistant draftsmen; this was probably the case with a certain amount of inner drawing also. The outline, essentially a preliminary sketch in red ocher, was then gone over in black pigment by master painters or draftsmen, who modified and corrected the drawing and likely added to the inner painting. The north and south walls of the tomb chamber (e.g. Pl. 202) are excellent examples of this. Here a red preliminary sketch, based on red vertical and horizontal guide lines, is modified and corrected throughout by a master hand in black line. On the limestone walls of the chapels such a black outline would have stood out and could easily have been followed by the sculptors.⁸²

The limestone was not difficult to cut and when first quarried was perhaps considerably softer than it is today; but despite the fact that it has probably hardened with time it can still be cut with a knife. Most of the carving was probably done by means of copper chisels struck by wooden

⁷³ For a comprehensive discussion of the guide lines used in the Old Kingdom, with references to the tombs of the period, see Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 5–13 and Pls. III and VI–X. Pl. X shows a tentative restoration of the lines used on a wall of the tomb of Perneb, worked out by Mr. Lindsley F. Hall following the practice observable in sketches surviving elsewhere.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 8 f. and n. 26.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 9 and 13 and n. 37, also Pls. VI–VIII and X.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 9 and 11 f. along with Pls. VII and VIII.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 13–15. ⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 10. ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Although the figures in the registers possibly had a horizontal guide line along the crowns of the heads, calculations at this period were generally made from the ground to the top of the forehead where the hair or the wig began (cf. above and n. 73). In the tomb of Ptahhotep, where a line at the crown of the head is present on the walls, the length of the foot, according to N. de Garis Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhotep and Akhetetep at Saqqarah II* 22 f., was taken as the unit of measurement, and the figures are six foot-lengths in height from the sole of the foot to the top of the forehead, the intermediate horizontal guide lines being spaced as follows: sole to knee, two foot-lengths; knee to buttock, one length; buttock to elbow, one length; elbow to armpit, five-sixths of a length; armpit to shoulder, one-half of a length; shoulder to forehead, two-thirds of a length. The distance from the forehead to the crown of the head is given as an additional one-fourth of a foot-length. It is stated that the proportions in this instance do not differ by more than 1 per cent from those in the tomb of Manofer given in Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien . . . Text I* (Leipzig, 1897) 233. Mrs. Williams, *op. cit.* p. 13 and n. 39, doubts that the ancient Egyptians employed the foot-length as the unit of measure. On the subject of the early and later Egyptian canons of proportion, with references to various publications, see Williams, *op. cit.* p. 11, n. 32.

⁸¹ Cf. Williams, *op. cit.* p. 12 and n. 35.

⁸² See also *ibid.* pp. 14 f. and Pls. III and VI.

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mallets,⁸³ but some of the work was likely done by chisels and hand pressure only. If we judge from extant examples of unfinished work, a logical procedure was followed in carving the reliefs, the sculptor beginning by cutting along the black outlines of the figures and objects.⁸⁴ The ground was then cut away or lowered around the figures to a depth of about one-eighth of an inch, the figures standing out on the ground square-edged in flat relief.⁸⁵ The lowering of the ground itself was on the whole very slight, and its depth around the figures varied in proportion to the size of the figures themselves. Lastly, the figures, objects, and details of the composition were worked over and their contours rounded.⁸⁶

In Mereruka's tomb the modeling of the human figures is confined principally to the legs, the arms, and the face; on the smaller figures in the registers there is a minimum amount of modeling. To give sharpness to the reliefs the ground was cut deeper along the contours; in some instances this cutting was a definitely V-shaped incision (Pls. 38, 42, 44-45, and 146). The curls of the wigs of the men are worked in detail, and there are many instances where considerable effort was expended on the details of birds, fishes, animals, and hieroglyphs. This is particularly true in the chambers representing the original decoration (Pls. 10-12, 19-20, 24, 42, 50, 129, 152-53, and 168-70). In the principal scenes the ground was cut away to a greater depth around the larger figures, and the details of faces, hands, and feet were delicately executed, the muscles of the legs often being very skilfully and almost imperceptibly modeled. This can be observed in the chambers representing the original decoration (Pls. 15-16, 151, 154-56, and 184). When the figures of the decoration had all been completed and the ground had been lowered to the desired depth, there were no remains of guide lines, either the preliminary red lines or the final black ones, unless they appeared on the reliefs themselves either where the red one varied from the black or where the sculptor did not follow the final line, which was sometimes the case.

As has already been stated, the plaster which filled the joints between the blocks and breaks in the wall was carved along with the stone itself (cf. p. 7). There are many examples of this, owing to the fact that the joints are irregular and do not fit closely together (Pls. 18, 31-32, and 146). But before turning the decoration over to the painters, the sculptors remedied again in plaster any defects in the reliefs or in the ground due to accidental chipping or breakage during the work. This appears especially where the supplementary plaster filling the joints did not withstand the carving. In the case of reliefs, the defective parts were filled and the plaster modeled while still in a soft state.⁸⁷ In some instances considerable portions of the figures of men and objects are mod-

eled in plaster alone, as in Chamber A 9 where the plaster was probably of an inferior grade (cf. p. 9 and Pls. 68 A and 75).

As one might expect, the extant unfinished examples show that two or more stages of work on the same wall went on simultaneously.⁸⁸ This was probably due to a division of labor, each man or group of men doing only one kind of work, assistants cutting around the figures and lowering the ground while master sculptors rounded the figures and executed the details. Owing probably to the fact that the decoration was to be entirely painted, the sculptors did not finish their work to the point of removing all marks of their tools (cf. Pls. 31-33); in any event the plaster filling the joints and breaks in the wall and likewise the repairs of the reliefs themselves were obvious enough. However, since the painted decoration has to a considerable extent disappeared, it is principally this stage of the work, showing the art and the technique of the sculptor, that one sees today.

As a first step in painting the reliefs the artists seem to have laid a thin coat of whitewash over the walls (cf. p. 11), completely covering the sculptured decoration. There appear to be traces of this on the walls of Chamber A 12 in the form of a thin powdery layer (Pls. 111 and 119).⁸⁹ The whitewash served as a priming, filling the pores of the stone and its supplementary plaster to prevent absorption of the colors; furthermore, it gave a uniform and smooth white surface upon which to paint.

Since the tomb must at best have been in semidarkness (cf. p. 8), it would have been difficult for the painters, in applying the bright body colors, to follow with any certainty the contours of the low reliefs, especially after their sharpness had been lost to some extent under the whitewash. In the previous stages of the work it was likely possible, even in semidarkness, for the draftsmen to draw the original preliminary sketch in red on the white limestone walls and also for the sculptors to follow the final black lines. To overcome their difficulty the painters apparently followed a similar procedure. Extant examples show that they outlined the carving as a whole, or in part, in red ocher upon the white ground, thus making in fact a second sketch.⁹⁰ However, some kind of artificial light must have been used at this stage of the work, if not in the previous processes.⁹¹

In Mereruka's chambers there are no traces of a second sketch, but it is possible that such lines were lost if the body colors were carefully applied. There are instances, however, where the edges of the body colors do not coincide with the contours of the reliefs; here the sketch may have varied from the carving. If we judge by extant examples, the second sketch often departed considerably from the sculptured outlines, and it appears that the painter or draftsman responsible for the second sketch did not always endeavor to follow the contours of the reliefs exactly but used them only as guides. Furthermore, in applying the body colors the painters did not always keep within the outlines of the second sketch. The greatest difference, however, lies between the

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 18 f. and Pls. IV-V.

⁸⁹ The whitewash was possibly a high grade of calcined gypsum; cf. *ibid.* pp. 20-22.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 22 f. and Pls. XIV-XVI.

⁹¹ Small oil lamps may have been used; see Nina M. Davies, *op. cit.* pp. xliii f., also Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* p. 201.

⁸³ Cf. p. 7, n. 40. There is little reason to believe that at this period the tools were other than of copper (cf. Lucas, *op. cit.* pp. 177 f.). Bronze was introduced in the Middle Kingdom, and the tools were then either of copper or of bronze until the advent of iron at a comparatively late date. A notable exception is the hunting dagger of Tutankhamon, which is of iron with a decorated gold handle. Although ancient copper tools are no longer of any great hardness, it is possible that they were originally tempered by hammering and heating, though at the expense of constant resharpening. For actual examples of copper chisels and wooden mallets see Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* Figs. 36, 61, and 264; cf. also Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 15 f. and n. 2.

⁸⁴ See Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 15 f. and Pl. IV.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 16 f. and Pl. V.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 17 f. and Pls. IX and XIV.

⁸⁷ Cf. *ibid.* pp. 19 f. and n. 17.

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contours of the reliefs and the lines of the second sketch.⁹² It is apparent that the outlines of the design were not definitely established at the beginning and maintained consistently throughout the stages which followed. The work of each group of artists varied to some extent from the lines laid down by their predecessors, sometimes by way of correction, but at other times to the sacrifice of superior work.

What remains of the painting in Mereruka's tomb (cf. p. 12) is evenly and carefully done, with the exception of that in Chamber A 10 (cf. p. 9). The pigments, mixed with some binding medium (see p. 11, n. 61), were applied to the walls *a tempera*,⁹³ the customary method of wall painting in ancient Egypt. Since the colors were opaque, one could have been applied over another when the latter had dried, either by way of making alterations or for adding inner details. The colors were applied to the various figures of the composition in flat tones, without shading of any kind,⁹⁴ and similarly to the background for filling the spaces of design and defining the silhouettes of the reliefs. There were also many details added by way of inner painting, not only to the human figures and the objects but to the birds, fishes, animals, and hieroglyphs as well. Again, as with the carving of the reliefs, two or more stages of the work probably went on simultaneously. The brushes used by the artists and draftsmen were presumably of the usual Egyptian type—sticks of fibrous wood of various thicknesses, the ends of which were frayed out and cut either round or in the shape of a wedge. It appears that each brush was kept for its own particular color.⁹⁵

The pigments in general could probably be applied without difficulty, but it is likely that the granular blue and green colors required some special medium (cf. p. 12, n. 67) and also a special method of application. The blue and the green being the most precious pigments of the palette, it is possible that they were the last of the colors to be applied. Unlike the other pigments, both stand out in some relief from the wall. A good instance of this is the fragment of blue on the lower part of Wasetekhethor's dress (Pl. 28), where the thick granular substance appears to have been applied by a spatula rather than by a brush.⁹⁶

In arranging his composition the Egyptian artist selected only the essential elements of the scene and depicted what was immediately interesting; he made no attempt to show everything in the field of vision. The method of representation was primarily two-dimensional, the elements being delineated separately in direct elevation without regard for their actual spacial relationship or for conformity to a uniform scale. The more or less unco-ordinated elements were usually accompanied by hieroglyphic inscriptions integrated with the scenes, pictorial representation and text together

conveying the essential information. The various elements of a scene together with the inscriptions were arranged to form a decorative pattern, and the composition as a whole was left to the imaginative understanding of the observer.

This mode of drawing had both advantages and disadvantages; but the artist usually had no difficulty in conveying his meaning. Since perspective was not the aim of the artist, it is apparent that the rows of offering-bearers and servants depicted in registers one above another are to be understood as approaching Mereruka side by side, and those in attendance upon him are to be understood as preceding him or as following him in rows, while those accompanying him in a palanquin are probably to be understood as proceeding at either side. Similarly, when Mereruka is depicted as surveying scenes of agriculture and animal husbandry, fowling and fishing, or dancing and playing of games, these activities in each instance are to be understood as taking place over an area before him. However, the absence of perspective in the arrangement of the elements of a scene was a real disadvantage. For instance, aside from the rigid postures of the dancers and the participants in games, the actual formation of a dance is difficult to determine, and the point of a game sometimes remains in doubt. An example is the scene (Pls. 162–63) showing two seated youths, one above the other, each with legs and arms stretched out before him, the right heel resting on the toes of the left foot, the spread fingers of the right hand resting on those of the left, while three other youths run toward them. We know that the seated youths are to be understood as confronting each other, their outstretched legs and arms forming a hurdle over which the others are to jump.⁹⁷ But the mode of drawing employed by the artist did not lend itself to depicting the actual arrangement; a desire to economize space may also have played a part in leading him to place the seated youths one above the other instead of facing each other.

The disregard for scale is sometimes surprising. The convention of showing the leading figure (Mereruka) at a much greater scale than the subsidiary figures can well be understood, likewise the fact that the fish he is harpooning (Pls. 9–10) are shown at a scale in keeping with his figure. But in a detail of the same scene (Pls. 12–13), which shows Mereruka's attendants harpooning hippopotami, the men, animals, and fishes are all out of scale with one another, and the grasshoppers are vastly exaggerated, being almost half the length of the hippopotami. And yet, despite the fact that the various elements represented are not at uniform scale and that the heroic scene of Mereruka is, in part, superimposed upon that of the subsidiary figures, the scene, when viewed as a whole, forms a pleasing decorative pattern, and the absence of scale is not disturbing.

The direct representation of objects aimed at by this mode of drawing has, of course, certain advantages also. In the scene showing Mereruka painting a panel picture (Pls. 6–7)⁹⁸

⁹² Williams, *op. cit.* p. 24 and Pls. XI–XIII.

⁹³ There appear to be no examples in ancient Egypt of true fresco painting, the technique of which consists in applying colors mixed with lime and water to a damp lime plaster, with the surface of which they become incorporated on drying. In fact, it would seem that the obtaining of lime by calcining limestone was unknown before the Ptolemaic period; cf. p. 7, n. 42, also Williams, *op. cit.* p. 31 and n. 59.

⁹⁴ Shading as a means to express modeling seems to have been unknown before the Empire; see Nina M. Davies, *op. cit.* pp. xi f.

⁹⁵ For a discussion of brushes and the various articles used by the painter see Lucas, *op. cit.* pp. 132–34; also N. de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (Archaeological Survey of Egypt, "Memoir" XXI [London, 1913]) pp. 5 f. and Pl. XVII; Nina M. Davies, *op. cit.* pp. xxxii f.; and Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* Fig. 265. For brush strokes see Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 35 f. and Pls. XVII–XVIII.

⁹⁶ Cf. also Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 33 f. and n. 73.

⁹⁷ This has been admirably demonstrated by Miss E. S. Eaton in Museum of Fine Arts (Boston) *Bulletin* XXXV (1937) 54 f., where she shows an actual photograph of Arab boys in Transjordan engaged in this game; cf. also Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, "Verbesserungen und Zusätze" to pp. 25 and 42 [Tafeln 16 and 22] preceding p. 49.

⁹⁸ This highly interesting scene is one of the earliest representations of an artist painting an easel or "studio" picture. Although wall paintings and painted relief sculptures are well known in ancient times, there is but scant record of actual easel painting. In this scene Mereruka is sitting on a stool before the easel; on a stand at his side is a cup, presumably holding water; in his right

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all the elements are presented in profile or in elevation, and as a result the easel is so clearly portrayed that it can be reconstructed without difficulty. It consists of two uprights, one of which is shown in front of and the other behind Mereruka, while the panel itself extends across them. The subject of the painting, however, is confined to the area directly before him. The panel rests upon horizontal pegs projecting from the uprights, the upper edges of the pegs being notched to hold the panel in place and also to permit its being placed at an angle. Two other pegs, lower down on the uprights and projecting in the opposite direction, are no doubt meant to serve when a larger panel is used, in which case the pegs or perhaps the uprights would be turned to bring the lower pegs to the front and the upper ones to the rear. Another example illustrating the advantage of direct representation is the niche containing the statue of Mereruka (Pls. 39 and 97 *A*). On Plate 39 the statue is shown in profile while the niche itself, crowned by a cavetto cornice and with doors on pivots open at either side, is shown in front elevation. This is unquestionably a representation of the actual shrine in Chapel A 13 and serves admirably today as an aid in reconstructing the latter (see p. 8). Further illustrations of this method of representation are given on Plates 63–64, where objects lying flat are raised to a vertical position and depicted in elevation, likewise on Plate 114, where the mat upon which men beating time are sitting has been represented by the artist as a circle⁹⁹ around them.

In depicting animals, birds, and fishes the Egyptian artist reveals an exceptionally keen eye for nature, executing his figures with a high degree of accuracy and vivacity. His peculiar way of drawing the human figure with its mannered stiffness is therefore undoubtedly due not to a lack of artistic ability but to generally accepted canons governing the representation of the human figure in painting or in relief. The head is always shown in profile¹⁰⁰ with a full-face eye; the shoulders are brought squarely forward, the female figure having one breast shown in profile; the body from the waist to the soles of the feet is shown in side view, one leg being brought slightly before the other. By this method the figure is rather fully indicated, being partly in front and partly in side elevation. Both feet are shown with the large toe on the side facing the beholder; and the hands, when not holding objects, are usually depicted alike. In general, when figures face to the left, hands not holding objects are depicted as right hands (e.g. Pls. 18, 35, 41, 154, 157–58, and 181); and when figures face to the right, hands not holding objects are depicted as left hands (e.g. Pls. 26–28, 63–64, 120, and 160). But there is no consistency in the way hands are shown when holding objects. This applies to the figures of Mereruka himself as well as to the subsidiary figures. In the figures of Mereruka facing to the left and holding a staff in the

right hand and either a handkerchief(?) or a mace in the left the hands are usually reversed (e.g. in Pls. 46, 149–50, 175, 178, and 183), and the mace is depicted behind the figure as though it were held in the right hand. Again, in one figure holding a staff in the right hand (Pl. 14) the hand is correctly drawn, while in a similar figure (Pl. 181) the right hand holding the staff is depicted as a left hand; in both these instances the left arm, hanging at the side, is, as usual, depicted with what appears to be a right hand. There are instances, however, where both hands are correctly shown (e.g. Pls. 88 and 94–95). In the figures of Mereruka facing to the right and holding a staff in the left hand and either a handkerchief(?) or a mace in the right, both hands are usually depicted correctly (e.g. in Pls. 26–27, 83, 96, 117, 159, 176–77, and 179–80), and the mace in these instances is properly placed in front of him. But in one figure of Wa^ctetkhethor (Pl. 160) the left hand is depicted as a right hand, while in a similar figure (Pl. 28) the left hand is shown correctly; in both these instances the right arm, hanging at the side, is, as usual, depicted with what appears to be a left hand.


Aside from the work of the several groups of artists already mentioned (p. 9), one finds difficulty in recognizing the work of any individual artist. Throughout the chambers representing the original decoration (see p. 9) the sameness of workmanship is remarkable. This is possibly due to the fact that the reliefs were carved successively by several sculptors, each doing a certain stage of the work and no one artist being responsible for any scene from the beginning to its completion (cf. pp. 14 and 15).¹⁰¹ But it is probably owing even more to the fact that tomb sculpture was strongly traditional and the artist not free to express his own ideas of form or to display any individual technical ability. He was, above all, an admirable copyist and followed closely the traditions of his craft. The subjects for tomb sculpture were, moreover, limited and by this time had become highly conventionalized. In the tombs of the period one usually finds the same scenes, one copy of a given scene differing from another only in the arrangement of its elements. But for the most part each of these various scenes unquestionably harks back to some original composition painted or sculptured in the remote past. The artists who worked in the mastaba of Mereruka signed none of their work, and they have in every way remained anonymous.¹⁰²

THE SUBJECTS OF THE RELIEFS

The whole decoration of the mastaba of Mereruka, like that of other tombs of the period, was apparently designed to sustain the dead in felicity. The tomb was the house of

hand is a brush; his left hand holds a shell which serves as a palette. Such a shell, containing azurite, was in fact found at Maidum; cf. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892) p. 29 and Pl. XXIX 17.

⁹⁹ As a matter of fact, the mat is not exactly circular. The Egyptian artist appears regularly to have preferred a form somewhat flattened to the true circle itself.

¹⁰⁰ Although Egyptian sculptors were masters in representing the human body in the round, one finds in the reliefs and paintings that the head, except in the hieroglyph , is always depicted in profile. It was not until the Empire that the face was depicted in front view, and then only in the case of people of comparatively low station or of foreigners. See Nina M. Davies, *op. cit.* pp. xxx f.

¹⁰¹ There are many instances of marks in the form of a cross cut on the wainscot just below the lower line of the scenes (e.g. Pls. 10, 36, 75–76, and 171). For the most part, these marks appear to be arbitrary and to bear no relationship to the scenes themselves. One would assume that some of them defined lengths of wall area that were assigned to different sculptors.

¹⁰² Comparatively little is known of Egyptian artists, and only rarely were they permitted to sign their work. One work to which the artist added his name is the wooden door from the mastaba of Kamheset (cf. p. 8, n. 52), where the sculptor is named Ithu (see Gunn in *Service des antiquités de l'Égypte, Annales XXVI* [1926] 193); another is a statue of Zoser, where, however, the name of the artist is now lost (Gunn, *op. cit.* pp. 192 f.). An artist's identity might also be less formally indicated; see Adolf Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (Tübingen, 1923) pp. 503 f. If we judge by the tombs of artists in the Theban necropolis, the artists seem to have been from the middle classes; cf. Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 201, also N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series" IV [New York, 1925]) pp. 13 f.

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the deceased, where he continued his earthly existence, pursued his daily activities, and received the offerings which, while living, he had been so anxious to assure for himself. The scenes of daily life, joyous events, and bringing of offerings were thus presumably meant not only to provide pleasant surroundings but also to insure the perpetual enjoyment of the things portrayed, the depictions, in some magical or mystical way similar to that assumed later in the case of ushabtiu and model boats, making real and permanent the things depicted.¹⁰³ Naturally, the scenes most important to the departed were those of offerings in Chapels A 8 and A 11 (see p. 8). On either side of the false door in A 8 Mereruka is portrayed as seated before an offering-table, the accompanying inscription giving his name and titles along with a list of food offerings (Pls. 57, 61 *A*, and 63–64); at the side of the secondary false door in A 11 he is depicted as standing (Pl. 108). Servants and priests of the mortuary estate are shown bearing offerings to him (Pls. 57–60, 65–66, 106, and 109 *B*), while other servants are engaged in cutting haunches from oxen as offerings (Pls. 61 *B*, 109 *A*, and 110), and lector priests are ritually presenting the food (Pls. 61 *C* and 67). Scenes showing the bringing of food offerings are also depicted in Chambers A 1, A 3–4, and A 6 (Pls. 8, 14, 23 *A*, 39, 49–51, and 54), which serve as corridors leading to Chapels A 8 and A 11, as well as in Chambers A 10 and A 12 (Pls. 79–82, 89–90, 115–16, and 121–22). The scenes of bearers with food offerings depicted on the doorjambs (Pls. 189–94 and 196–97) serve as transitions from one corridor to another and on into Chapels A 8, A 11, and A 13.

These depictions were evidently intended to supplement or replace, in case of need, actual offerings and ceremonies expected or hoped for from the living, upon whom the deceased was so dependent. But a preference for real offerings seems indicated by the fact that before the false doors, through which the spirit had access to the chapels, stood offering-tables upon which actual food was to be laid (see p. 8), presumably after having been consecrated by the priests. By virtue of the tomb endowment the dead had a vital and almost legal interest in the culture of the land, and the scene showing Mereruka painting a picture of the seasons (Pls. 6–7) is in itself an invocation to the seasonal gods he is depicting to protect his crops. It is from the estates and villages of his tomb endowment in Upper and Lower Egypt that the food offerings, including fishes and birds carried by his fishermen and fowlers (Pls. 41–45 and 55), are portrayed as being brought for his welfare. Mortuary priests in ceremonial procession are shown presenting offerings before his statue while dancers perform (Pls. 84–87 and 97 *A*), thus representing the actual ceremonies which Mereruka intended should take place in Chapel A 13 before his statue enshrined above the altar.

But food supplies alone did not suffice for happiness. The thought that the departed would continue in the life beyond the grave the life which he had enjoyed on earth led to the depiction for Mereruka of a great variety of secular

scenes. Some show various phases of agriculture (Pls. 20–21 and 168–70) and animal husbandry (Pls. 20–21, 52, 53 *B*, and 152–53); others depict boats¹⁰⁴ journeying up and down stream with Mereruka aboard (Pls. 140–45). One scene shows craftsmen busy in their shops on his estate, while statues of Mereruka, intended possibly for the serdab (p. 8), are being dragged on sledges¹⁰⁵ along the street between the shops, an accompanying mortuary priest meantime offering incense to one of them (Pls. 29–30). Another scene portrays hunting within a fenced inclosure (Pls. 24–25); and another shows village headmen being brought before local tax officials for nonpayment of taxes (Pls. 36–38).¹⁰⁶ Naturally, scenes depicting Mereruka in the enjoyment of family, household pets, and recreation abound also (e.g. Pls. 46, 146, and 157–58). Accompanied by his wife and his mother he watches children dancing and playing games (Pls. 159–65). His wife plays the harp before him (Pls. 94–95). With his wife seated beside him he plays draughts with a son(?) (Pls. 171–72); elsewhere the couple view the preparation of their bed by wardrobe officials (Pls. 91–93). Some scenes show Mereruka receiving royal gifts of oils, linens, and jewelry for his personal adornment (Pls. 72–73 *A*, 75–76, 97 *B*–99, and 195);¹⁰⁷ others picture his prowess as a fowler and as a fisherman (Pls. 9–10 and 15–18).¹⁰⁸ Though the subjects of such scenes seem far removed from any religious theme, accompanying inscriptions suggest their primary purpose, namely to make sure that the life and activity of Mereruka's estates shall continue to sustain him in the tomb and that he shall continue to enjoy his personal activities, pleasures, and associations with his family in the life beyond. The scenes depicted may therefore be regarded as both retrospective and prospective.

¹⁰⁴ The boats shown are important for an understanding of Egyptian vessels, but the manner of drawing does not make clear the arrangement of the rigging. For a line drawing of a boat under full sail see Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sâhu-rê II* (Leipzig, 1913) 135, Abb. 13. The Egyptians could build boats to carry great weights, also seagoing ships, of which there are records as far back as the time of King Snefru of the 4th dynasty. Expeditions were constantly being sent by water to Palestine and Syria and around the eastern Mediterranean. The bodies of boats were constructed from small pieces of wood joined together, probably owing to the lack in Egypt of trees which could provide long planks; but whether all boats were built on the patchwork principle or not is uncertain in the light of present knowledge. Cf. Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* pp. 34–45.

¹⁰⁵ There is no instance of wheel or pulley depicted in the tomb; heavy objects are always shown as being drawn on sledges by groups of men. The wheel was, however, known, as is evidenced by its occurrence in the 5th dynasty tomb of Kamheset, where a ladder is shown mounted on wheels (Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* Fig. 83).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus xxii. 16. 23: "Anyone of them [the Egyptians] would blush if he did not, in consequence of refusing tribute, show many stripes on his body." This interesting scene is an early example of the execution of law and order. The whipping post (Pl. 38) is probably not shown here at the proper relative scale. On top of the post appear two human heads which may have been merely decorative features; if they are meant as actual heads, they are drastic evidence of capital punishment at this time. Records of cruelty or of punishment are, however, rare in the Old Kingdom; cf. Klebs, *op. cit.* pp. 24 f.

¹⁰⁷ The walls of Chamber A 9, along with the jambs of the doorway (Pl. 195), as also Chambers A 10 and A 12, show offerings from the king. It will be recalled that these three subsidiary rooms appear to have been decorated later than the others (cf. pp. 9 and 13).

¹⁰⁸ The wild life in these magnificent marsh scenes is especially well depicted, e.g. the fish otter (Pl. 129) and the mongoose (Pl. 19); cf. photographs of a mongoose fighting a cobra in India in the *Illustrated London News* XCIX (1936) 877. Unfortunately the upper portions of our scenes are lost; they terminated above in a row of papyrus flowers over which hovered a flock of birds. For more complete examples of such scenes see N. de Garis Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqarah II*, Pls. XIII–XIV; Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, Pls. 113–14; and R. Macramallah, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: Le mastaba d'Idout* (Le Caire, 1935) front.

¹⁰³ Cf. Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt* ("Theban Tombs Series" I [London, 1915]) pp. 19–21 and 66 f. For commentaries on the scenes themselves as depicted in Old Kingdom tombs the reader is referred to Pierre Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire*, and Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches* (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, "Abhandlungen" III [Heidelberg, 1915]); for this and later periods see also Nina M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* III, and Wreszinski, *op. cit.*

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The various subjects depicted in the different chambers of the mastaba are arranged in a very logical order and with a fine sense of fitness. On the east wall of the entrance chamber (A 1) Mereruka is depicted as proceeding into the tomb while his wife holds his hand and servants carry his empty palanquin (Pl. 14). In Chambers A 1 and A 3-4 (which may be regarded as corridors) the figures of Mereruka on the side walls, except in the cases noted below, face along the line of passage to Chapel A 11, which contains the tomb shaft; and those on the side walls of Chamber A 6 (also a corridor) face along the line of passage from the false door in Chapel A 8 to the second false door in Chapel A 11 above the tomb shaft (cf. p. 8). The figures of Mereruka on the end walls of these chambers face either toward the doorways between them or in the direction of the two offering chapels. There are several instances where the figure of Mereruka faces not toward but away from the tomb shaft, but in each case this is for a special reason. Thus on the east wall of Chamber A 3 (Pls. 26-27) Mereruka is watching his statues being dragged along the line of passage, perhaps to the serdab (cf. p. 17). At the north end of the west wall of Chamber A 4 (Pl. 40 *A*) and on the east wall of Chamber A 6 (Pl. 48 *D*) the direction is according to a general rule that when a principal scene occurs at the end of a wall the figure faces away from the corner; both figures, moreover, face toward the doorway. Finally, the composition showing Mereruka painting a panel picture, in which Mereruka faces toward the entrance of the mastaba, is on the deep reveal of the entrance doorway and not actually on the wall of the entrance chamber (A 1) and, being the first scene to meet the eye of a person entering the mastaba, was thus appropriately made to face the visitor.

In Chambers A 9 and A 12 also the principal scenes are as far as possible arranged with relation to the offering chapels. On the side walls of A 9 the figures of Mereruka face toward Chapel A 8; that on the north wall, through which a doorway was cut into A 15 (cf. p. 9), faces east. In A 12 the figures on the side walls face toward Chapel A 11; that on the west wall faces toward the doorway; and that on the east wall faces south. In Chamber A 10, owing to its location, no definite relationship with the chapels could be maintained. On the east wall Mereruka faces south toward a ceremonial scene before his statue in a niche depicted at the opposite end, and on the west wall the principal scenes face away from the central harp scene in opposite directions. On the north wall Mereruka faces west; on the south wall he faces east. On the piers the figures of Mereruka on the north

and south sides face to the west, on the east side to the north, and on the west side to the south.

The large ceremonial chapel A 13, with the statue of Mereruka in a niche, contained Mereruka's autobiography and lengthy series of his epithets and titles (Pls. 132-33, 135, and 137) as also the principal representations of his wife Wasetekhethor and of other members of his family (see Pls. 127-28, 138, 149-50, 154-61, 166-67, and 171-72, and cf. p. 3). On its north wall some of the figures of Mereruka face to the right and some to the left from the statue, while on the east and west walls Mereruka is shown facing from either end a scene of agriculture and one of ships respectively, in each of which action takes place in both directions. The greater part of the south wall is devoted to depiction of his funeral; the principal scene at the east end of that wall faces toward the doorway leading into Chapel A 11. On the piers the figures on the north and south sides face toward the line of axis of the statue, while those on the east and west sides face north, that is, toward the statue itself.

The funeral scenes on the south wall of Chapel A 13 (Pl. 130) proceed westward as did the actual funeral procession. We see women mourning for Mereruka (Pl. 131), the progress of his coffin to the funeral barge, its transportation by water, and its arrival at the mastaba, before the doorway of which it is being welcomed with ceremonial dancing and other ritual observances. In the tomb chamber mats or awnings stretched on frames are depicted on the walls opposite the ends of the sarcophagus (Pls. 201 *A* and 204); similar mat designs in the form of false doors are painted at either side of the ramp on the east face of the sarcophagus itself (Pls. 200 *A* and 209). These mats probably represent the funerary tent which surrounded the coffin on its journey to the tomb¹⁰⁹ and which appears to be indicated in the scene showing the funerary barge (Pl. 130 *B*). Apart from these and some chests of linens and vases of oils (Pl. 203), only food offerings (Pls. 202, 205 *B*, and 206-8) and lists of such (Pls. 201 *B* and 205 *A*) appear in the tomb chamber; there is in it, except for a few of the hieroglyphs, especially of birds, no representation of Mereruka or of any living thing, owing perhaps to dread of having such depictions, which might magically attain life, present in the chamber which contained the mummy itself.¹¹⁰

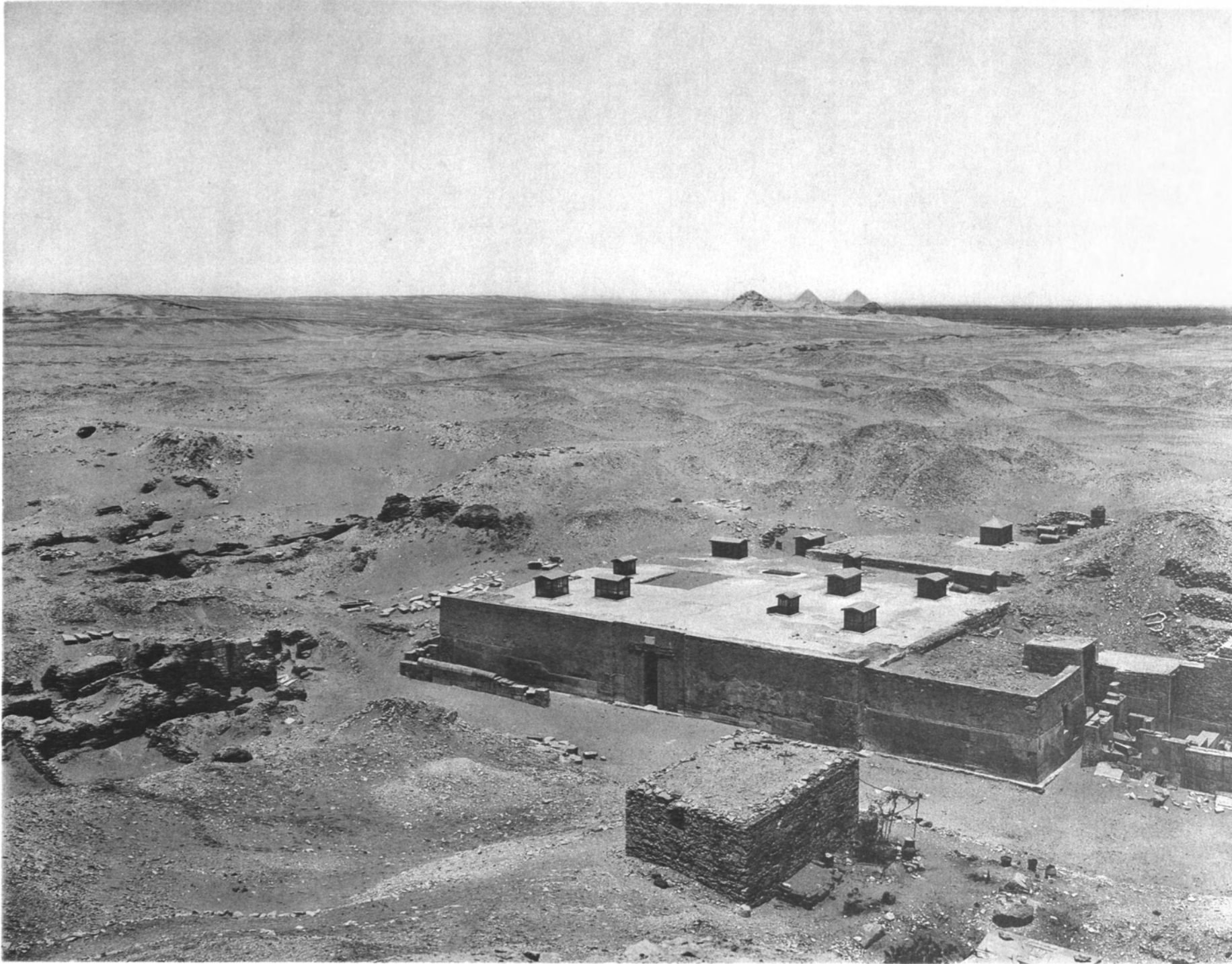
PRENTICE DUELL

¹⁰⁹ Firth in Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.* I 24.

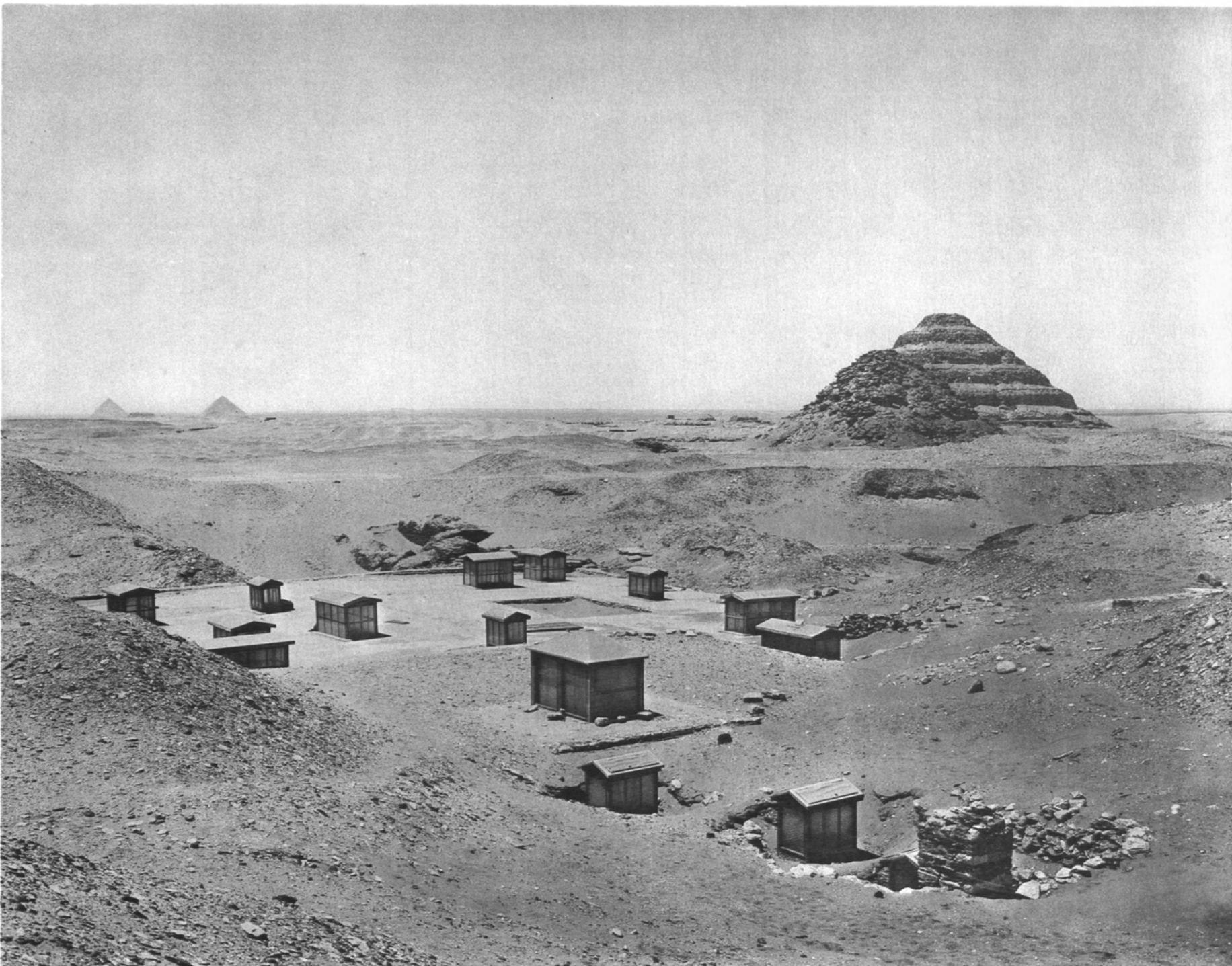
¹¹⁰ Gunn in Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.* I 175-77.

PLATES

The numbers along the walls and at the doorways are those of the plates which reproduce the corresponding scenes or inscriptions; the numbers with arrows are those of plates showing interior views. The walls of Chambers A 2, A 5, A 7 (scrdab), and A 14-21 are without decoration. Scale, 1:125



A. VIEW NORTHWARD FROM THE PYRAMID OF TETI WITH THE MASTABA OF MERERUKA IN THE FOREGROUND AND THE PYRAMIDS OF ABUSIR AND GIZAH IN THE DISTANCE



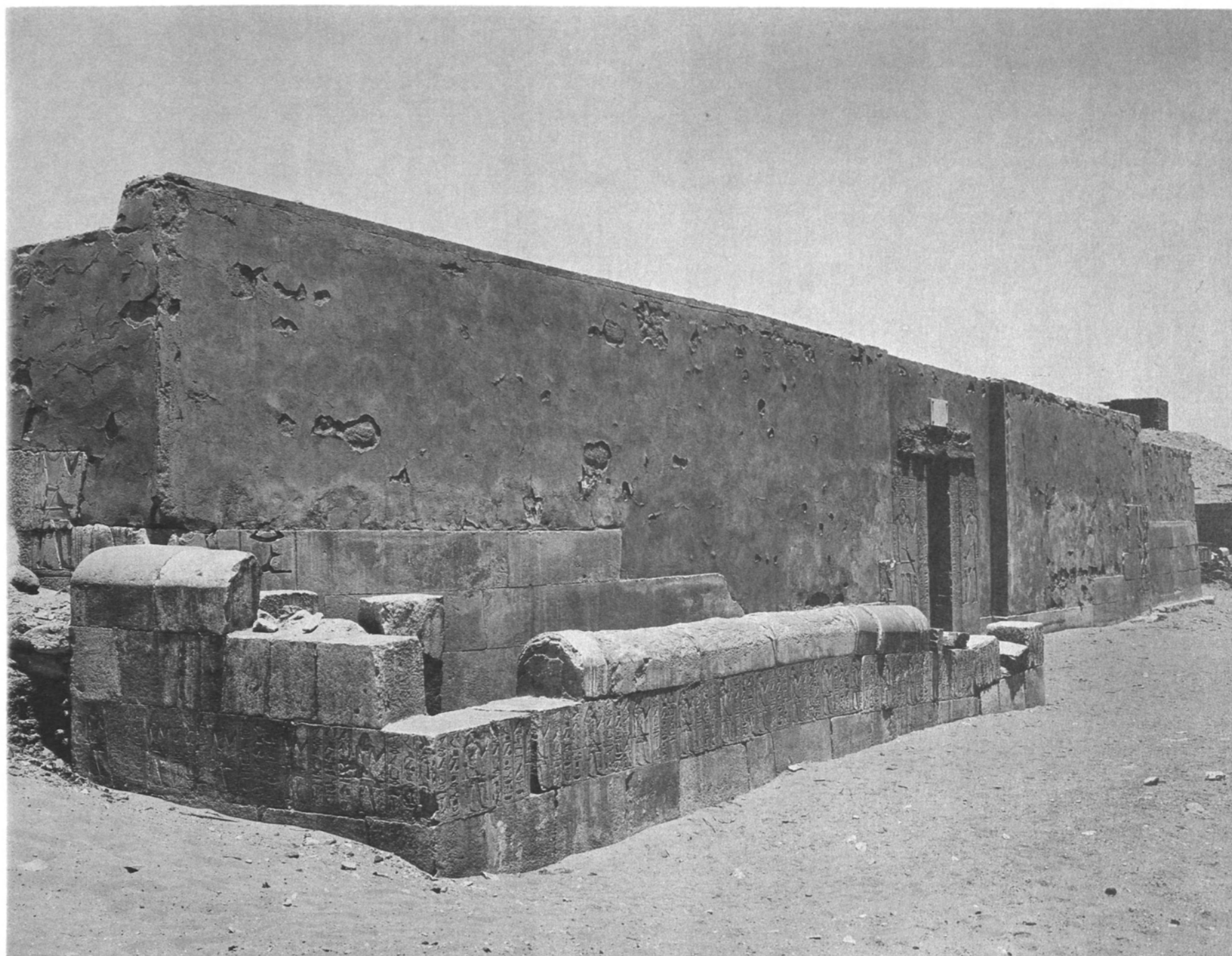
B. VIEW SOUTHWARD OVER THE MODERN ROOF OF THE MASTABA OF MERERUKA WITH THE STEP-PYRAMID AT RIGHT AND THE PYRAMIDS OF DAHSHUR IN THE DISTANCE AT LEFT



A. MASTABA OF MERERUKA FROM SOUTHEAST



B. MASTABA OF MERERUKA FROM SOUTHWEST

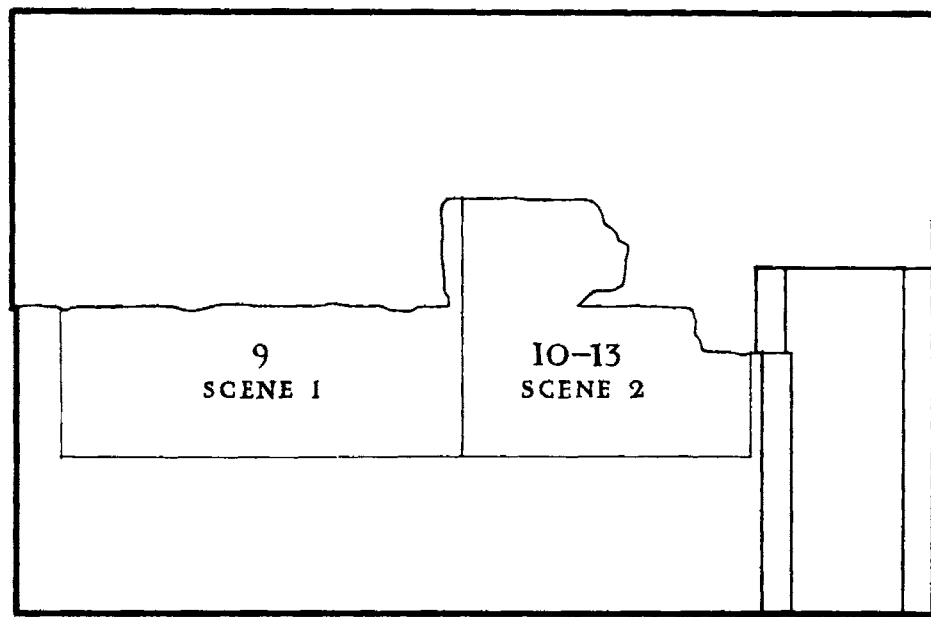


A. VIEW FROM SOUTHWEST SHOWING REMAINS OF INSCRIBED DWARF WALL WHICH EXTENDED ACROSS THE FRONT OF THE MASTABA AT EITHER SIDE OF THE ENTRANCE

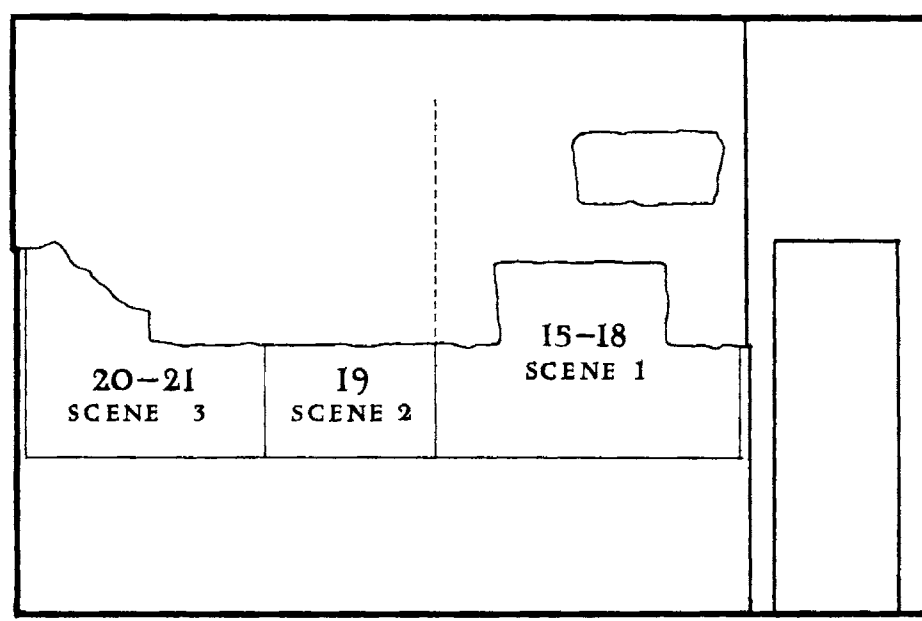


B. ENTRANCE TO THE MASTABA

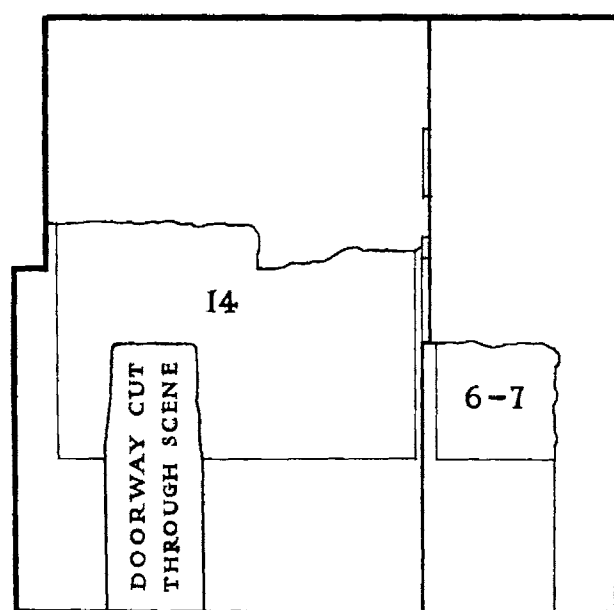
CHAMBER A 1



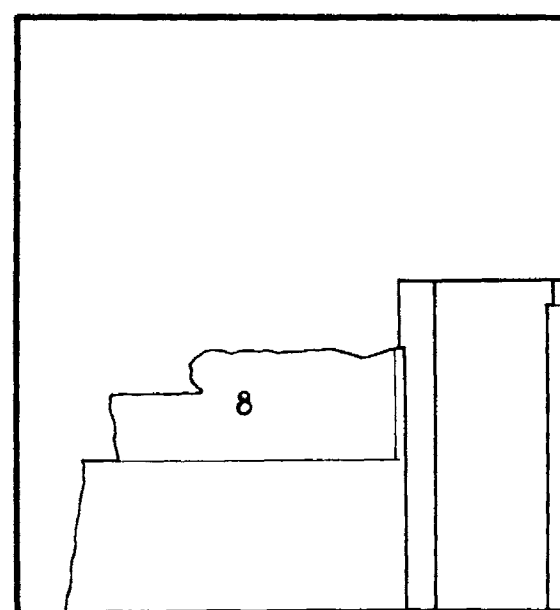
NORTH WALL



SOUTH WALL



EAST WALL



WEST WALL



CHAMBER A 1

ELEVATIONS OF THE WALLS, SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF SCENES

The numbers correspond to those shown on the plan facing Plate 2 and refer to plates of this volume. Scale, 1:50



A. INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST



B. INTERIOR, LOOKING WEST



MERERUKA, SEATED AT AN EASEL, PAINTING A PANEL PICTURE REPRESENTING THE SEASONS. BEFORE HIM STANDS HIS SON KHENU

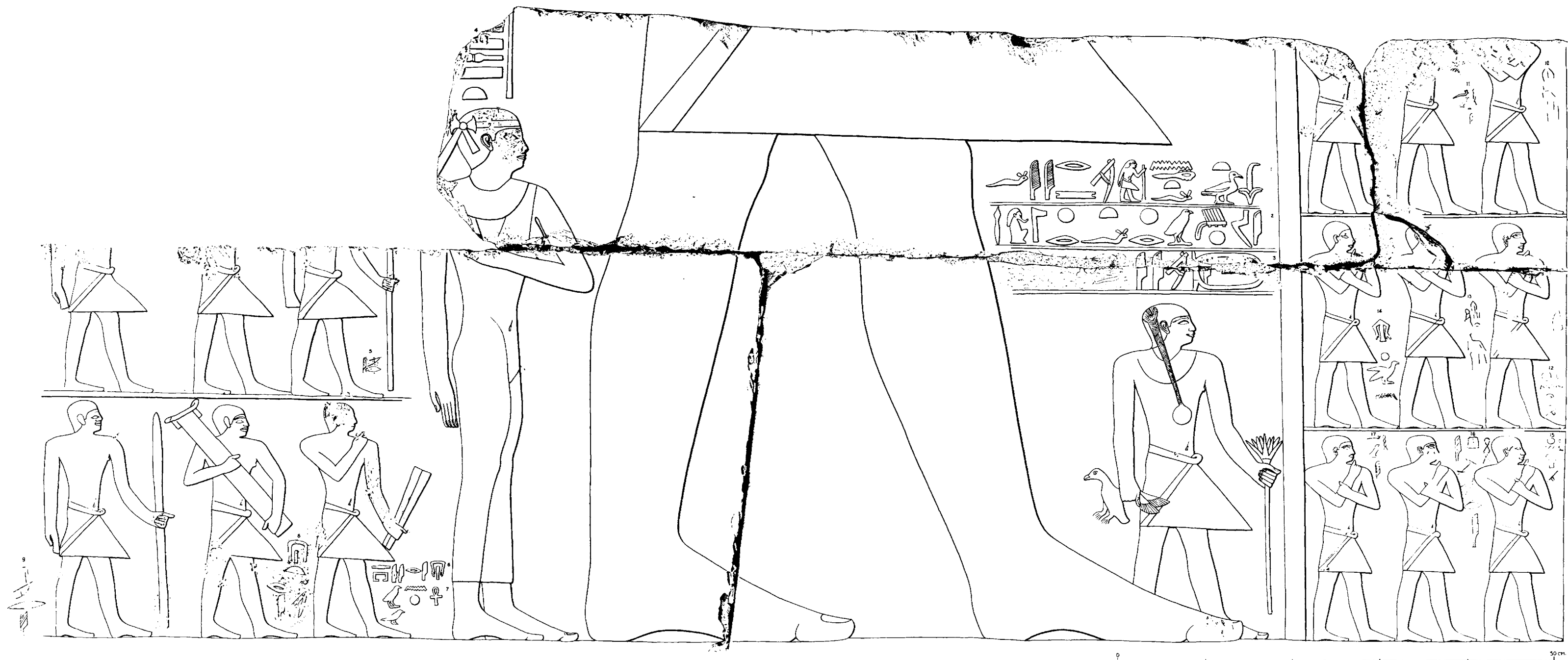
ENTRANCE PASSAGE, EAST WALL

COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 7



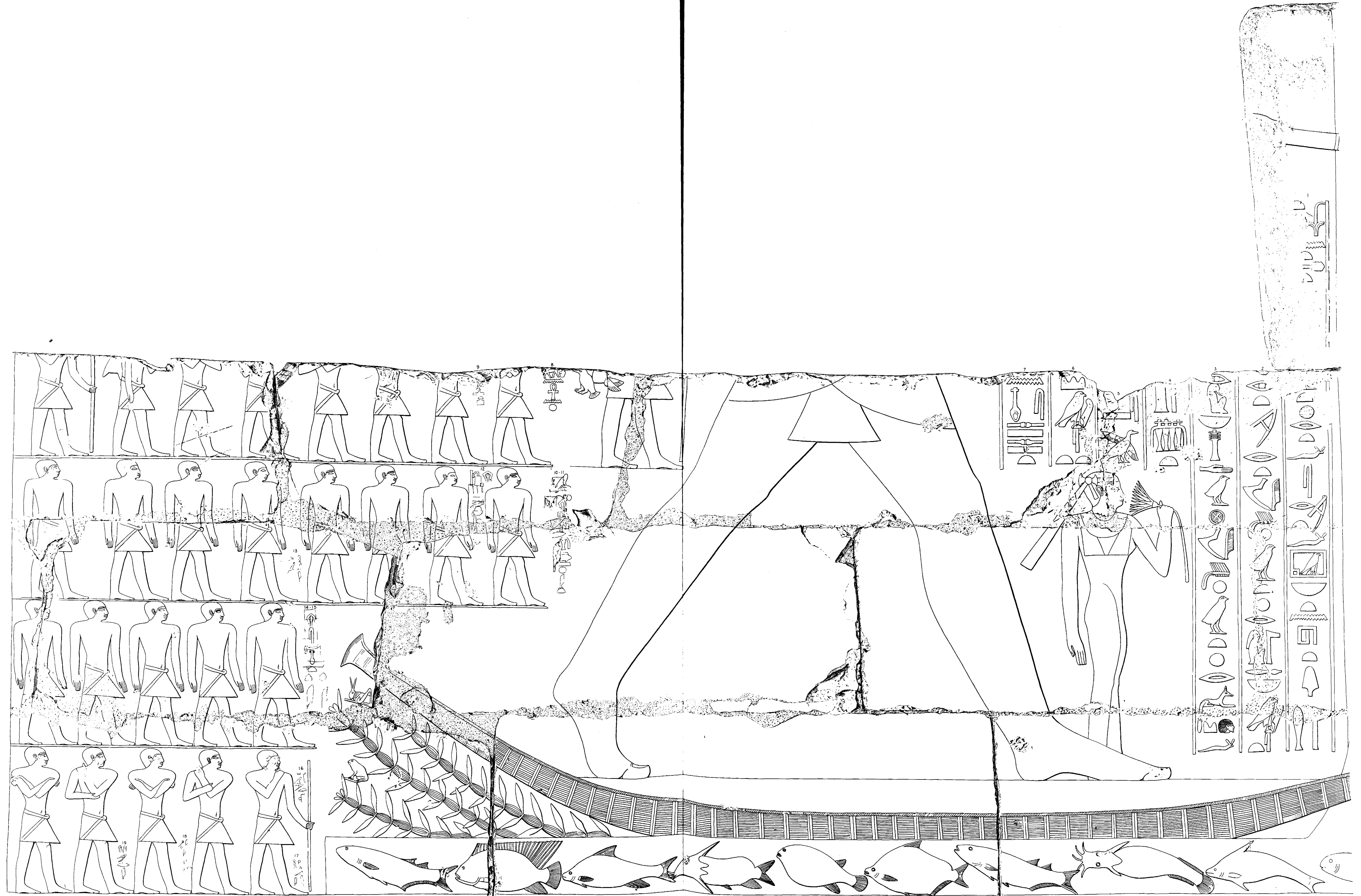
MERERUKA, SEATED AT AN EASEL, PAINTING A PANEL PICTURE REPRESENTING THE SEASONS. BEFORE HIM STANDS HIS SON KHENU

ENTRANCE PASSAGE, EAST WALL



MERERUKA, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE WA'TETKHETHOR AND HIS SON MERITETI, VIEWING MORTUARY PRIESTS BRINGING OFFERINGS

WEST WALL



MERERUKA IN A REED BOAT, ACCOMPANIED BY WATETKHEȚHOR, SPEARING FISH IN THE MARSHES
NORTH WALL, SCENE 1

0 50 CM.



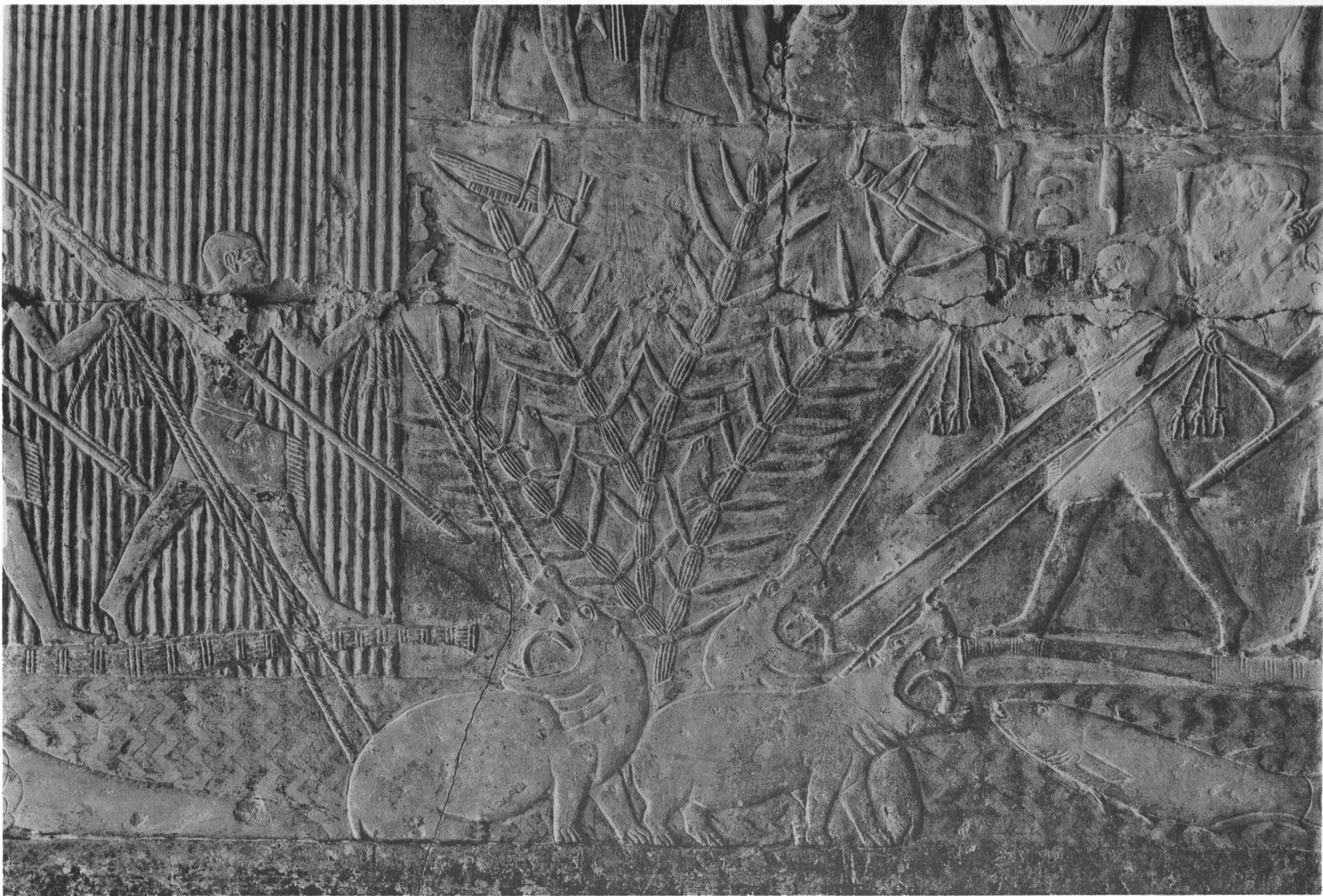
FISHING AND HUNTING IN THE MARSHES
NORTH WALL, SCENE 2
COMPARE PLATES 11-13



PRINTED IN AUSTRIA

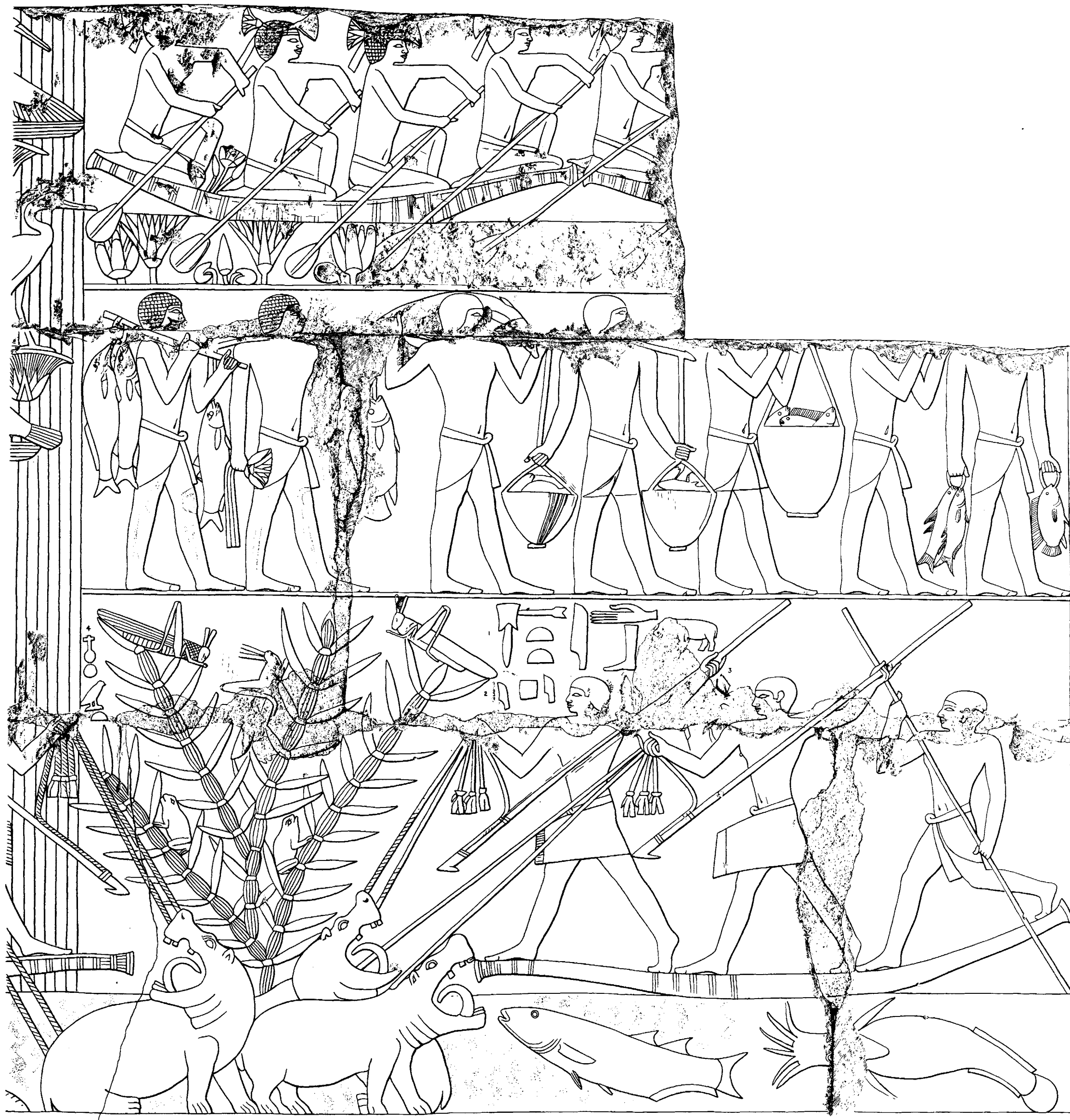
MARSH LIFE
DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 10

0 50 CM.



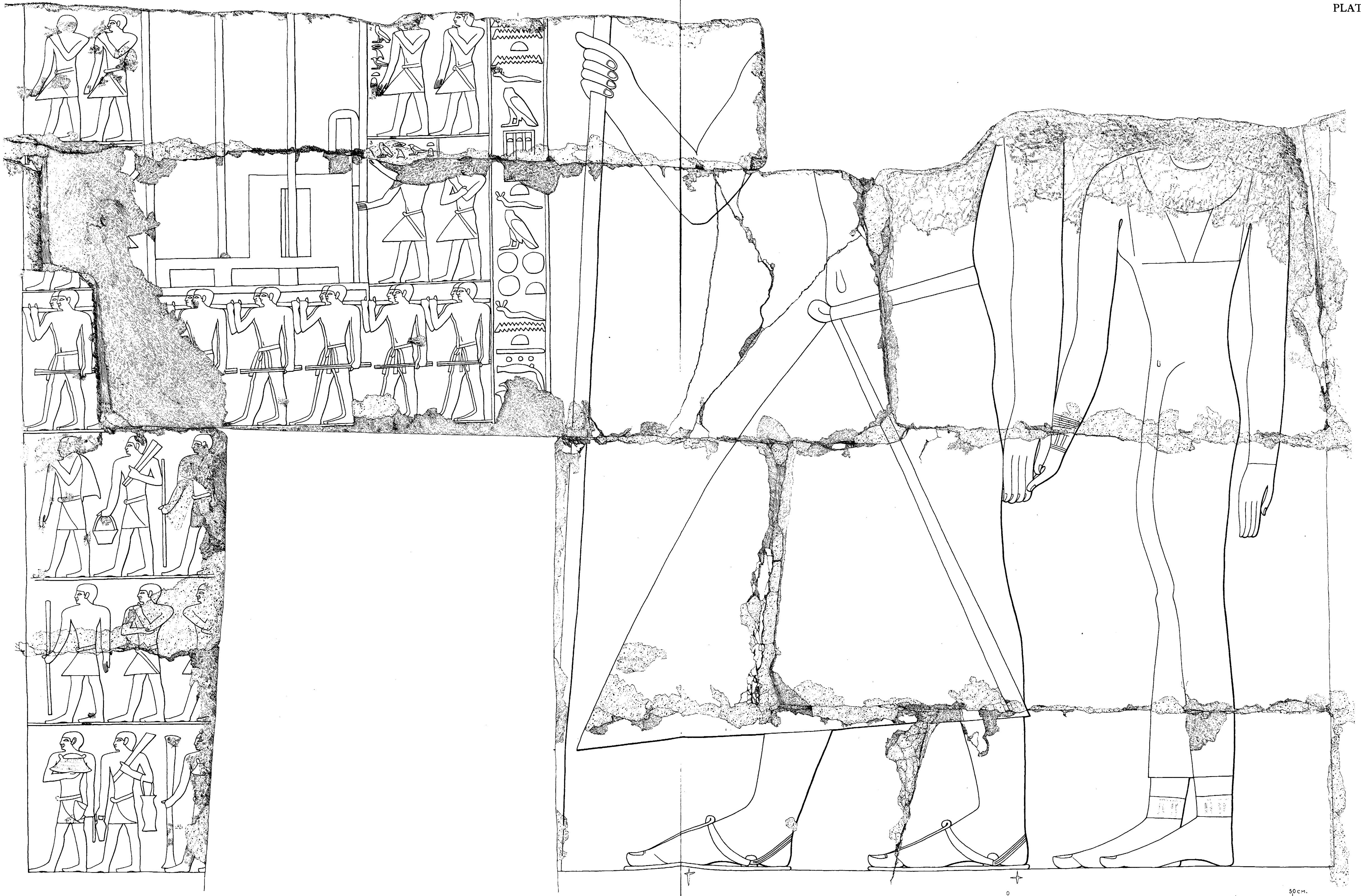
ATTENDANTS HARPOONING HIPPOPOTAMI

DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 10



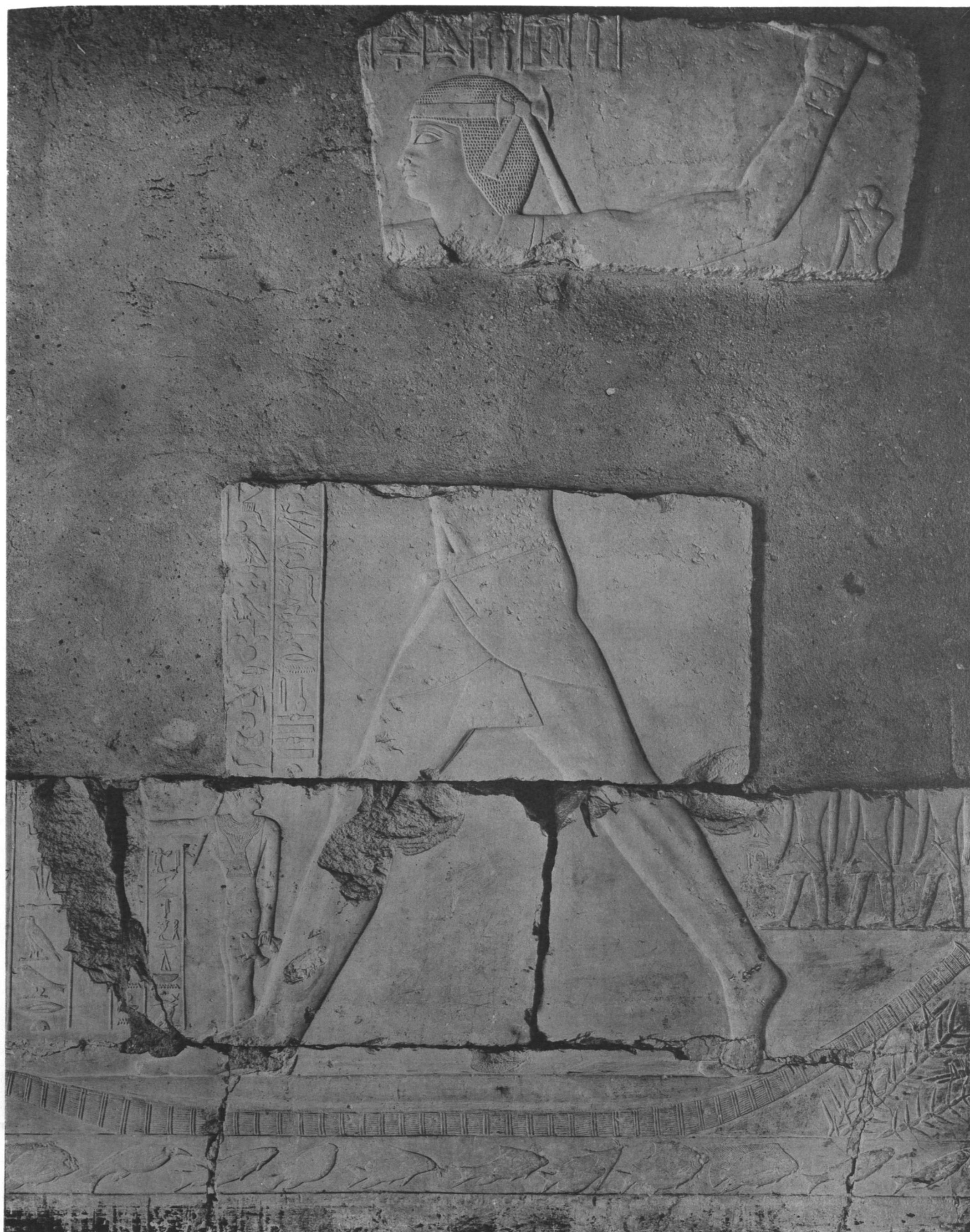
ATTENDANTS HARPOONING HIPPOPOTAMI; SERVANTS CARRYING THE FISH CATCH; MEN PADDLING
ABOUT AMONG THE LOTUS PLANTS

DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 10



MERERUKA AND WATETKHETHOR ENTERING THE TOMB, WHILE ATTENDANTS BEAR HIS EMPTY PALANQUIN AND SERVANTS BRING OFFERINGS FROM HIS ESTATES

EAST WALL
COMPARE PLATE 35



MERERUKA IN A REED BOAT, FOWLING WITH A BOOMERANG, ACCOMPANIED BY WADJETKHETHOR

SOUTH WALL, SCENE 1
COMPARE PLATES 16-18



HEAD OF MERERUKA
DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 15

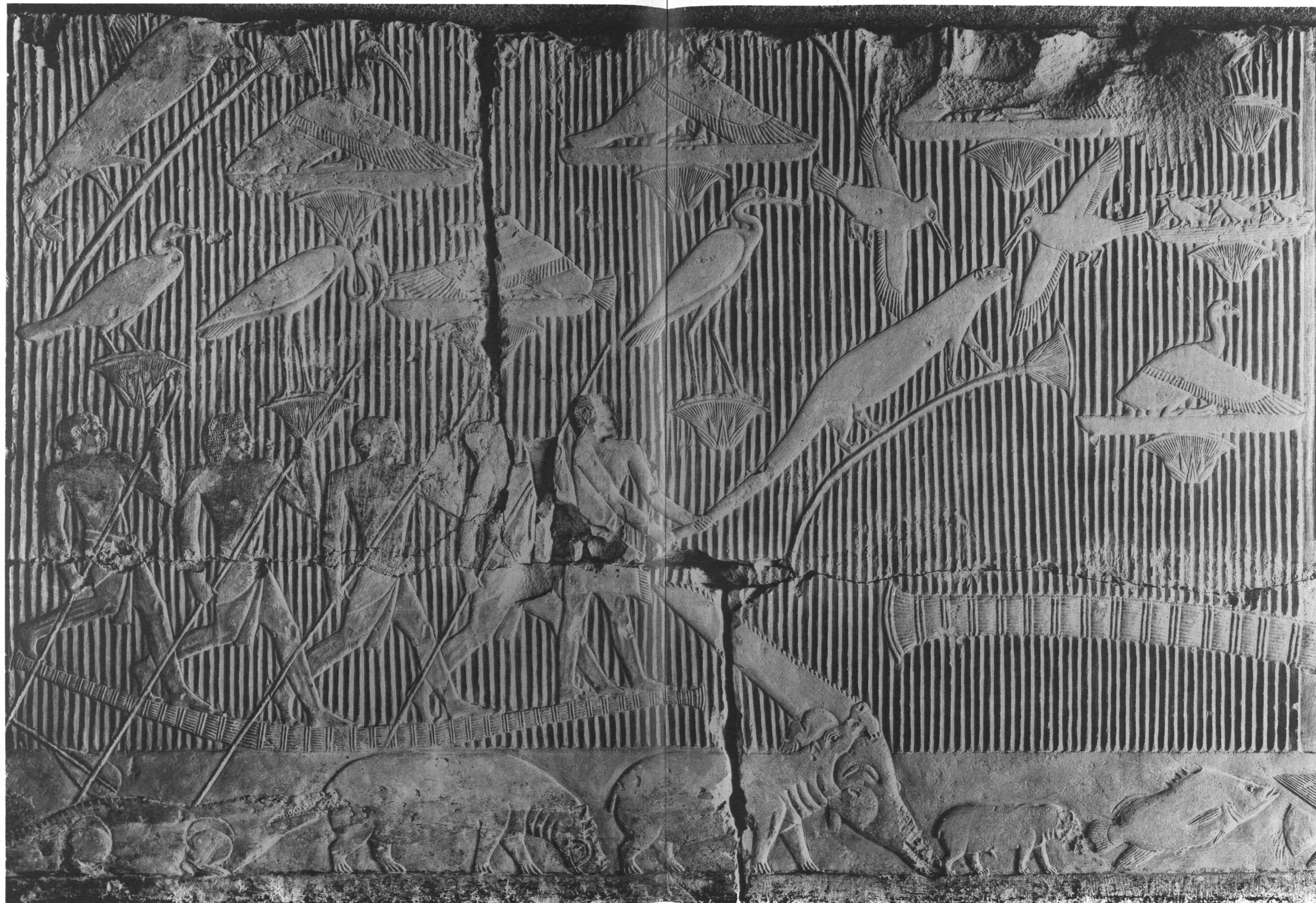


WASETEKHETHOR WEARING ORNAMENTS SIMILAR TO THOSE BEING MADE BY THE
METAL-WORKERS SHOWN ON PLATES 29-30

DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 15



ATTENDANTS OF MERERUKA
DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 15



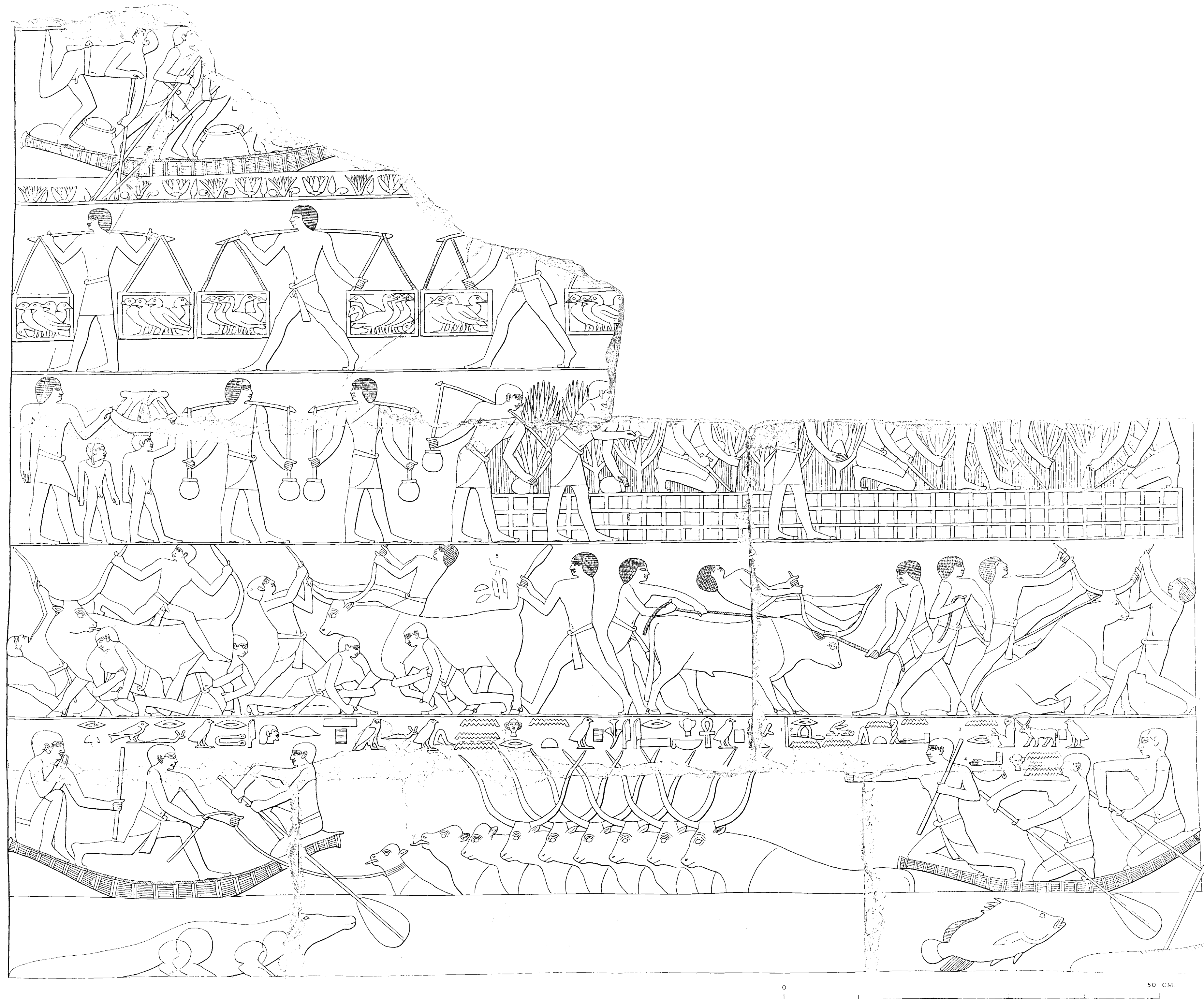
MARSH LIFE
SOUTH WALL, SCENE 2



BRINGING CATTLE THROUGH THE MARSHES; ROPING AND THROWING CATTLE FOR SLAUGHTER; PLANTING AND WATERING A GARDEN; CARRYING FOWL; BOATING

SOUTH WALL, SCENE 3

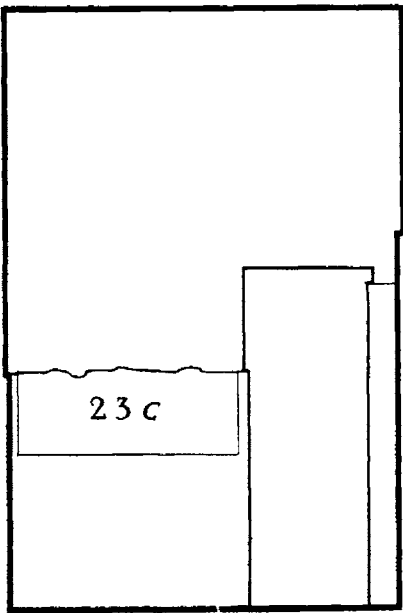
COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 21



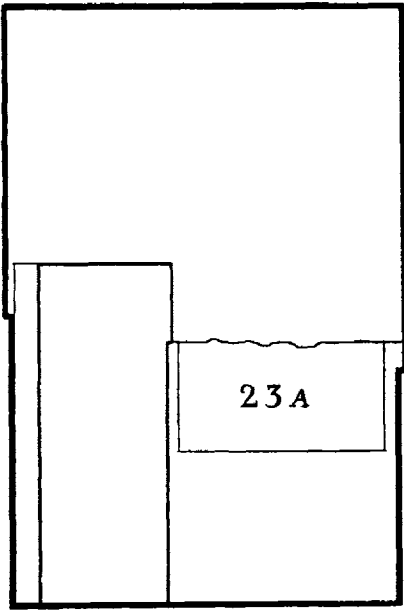
BRINGING CATTLE THROUGH THE MARSHES; ROPING AND THROWING CATTLE FOR SLAUGHTER; PLANTING AND WATERING A GARDEN; CARRYING FOWL; BOATING

SOUTH WALL, SCENE 3

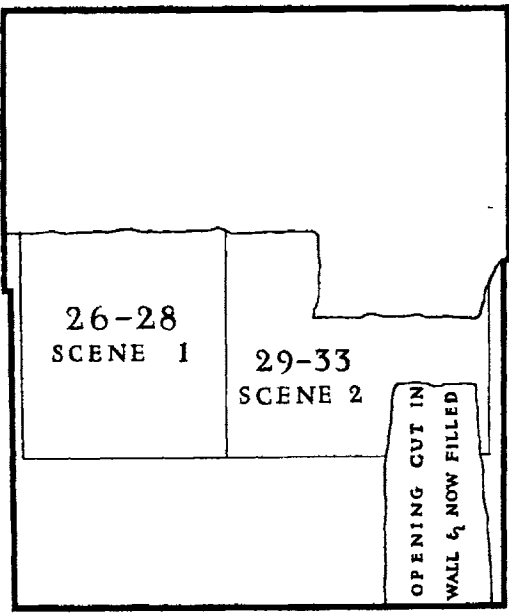
CHAMBER A 3



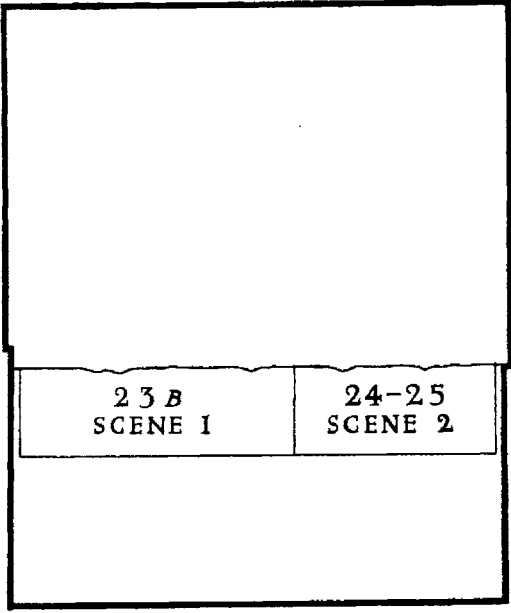
NORTH WALL



SOUTH WALL



EAST WALL



WEST WALL



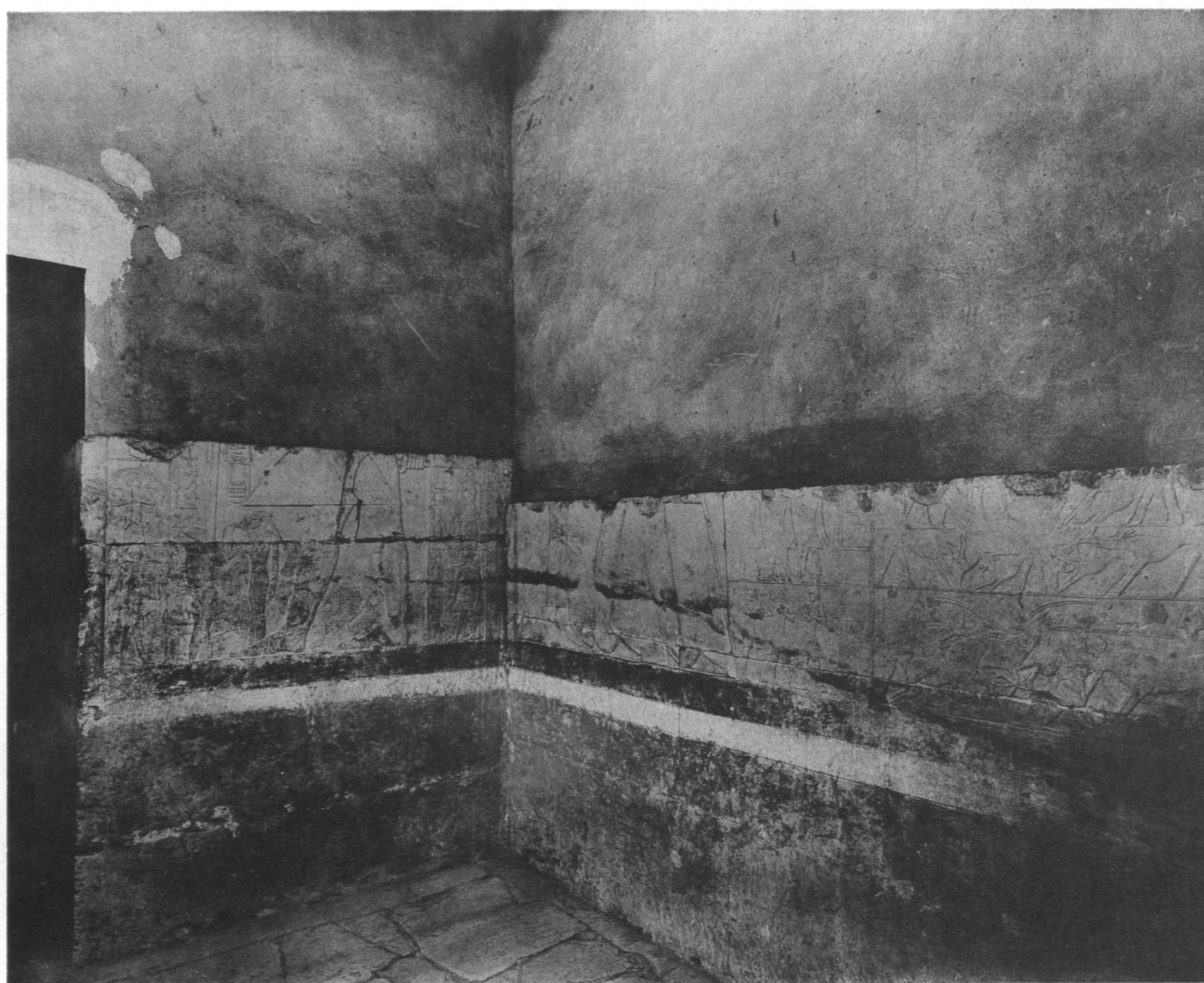
CHAMBER A 3

ELEVATIONS OF THE WALLS, SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF SCENES

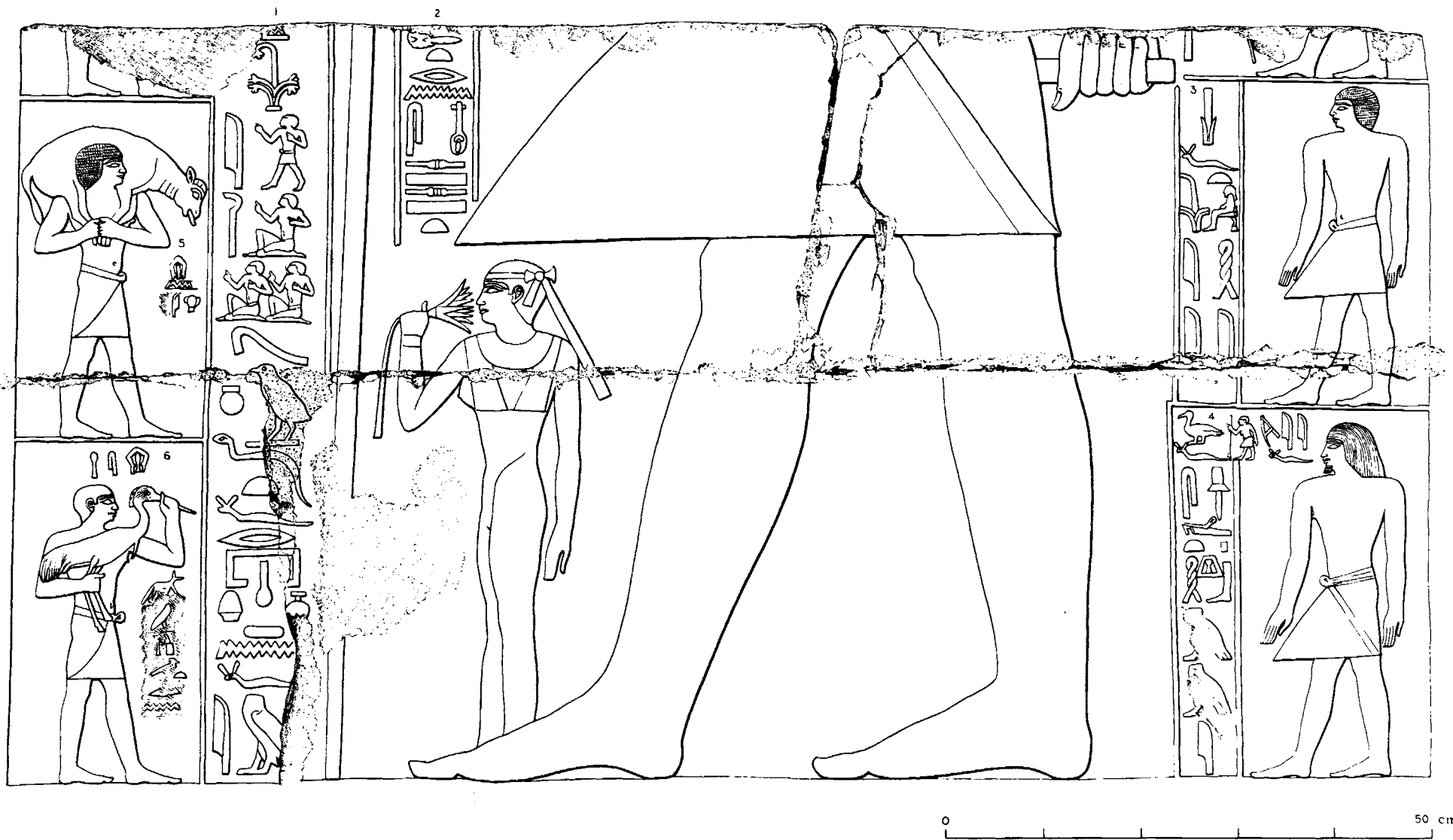
The numbers correspond to those shown on the plan facing Plate 2 and refer to plates of this volume. Scale, 1:50



A. INTERIOR, LOOKING NORTH

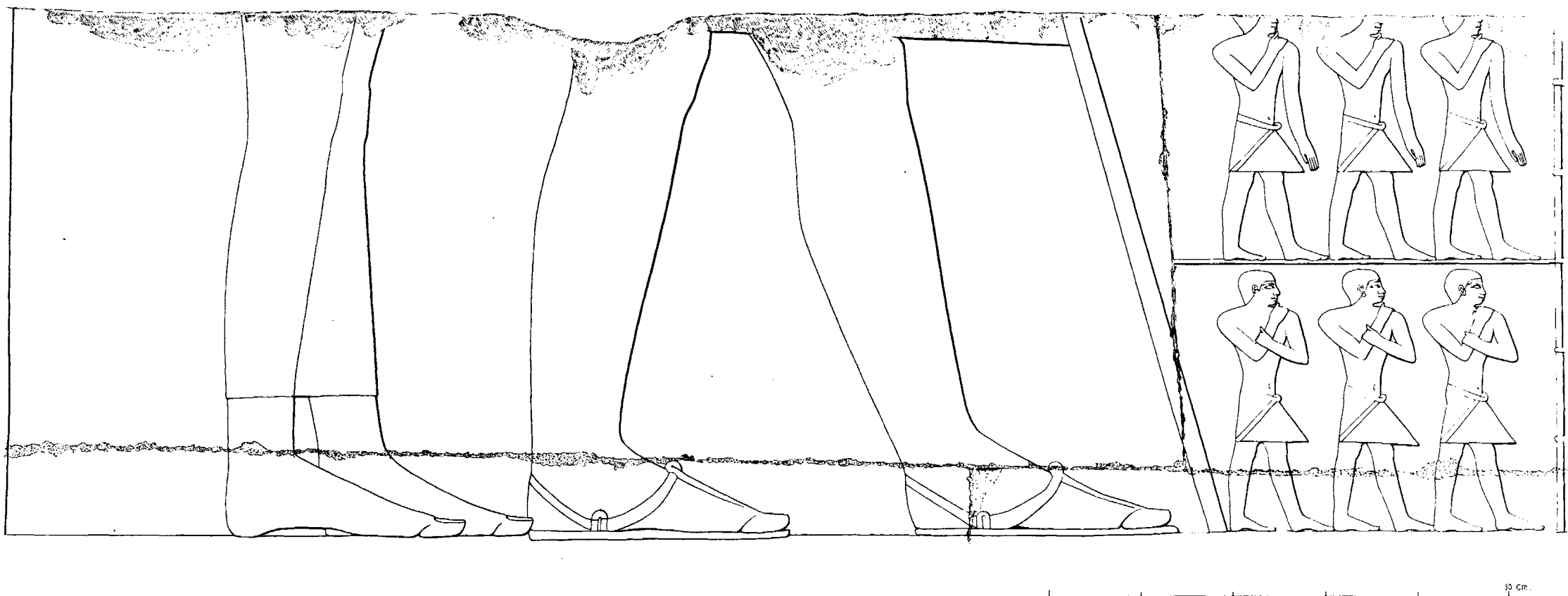


B. INTERIOR, LOOKING SOUTH



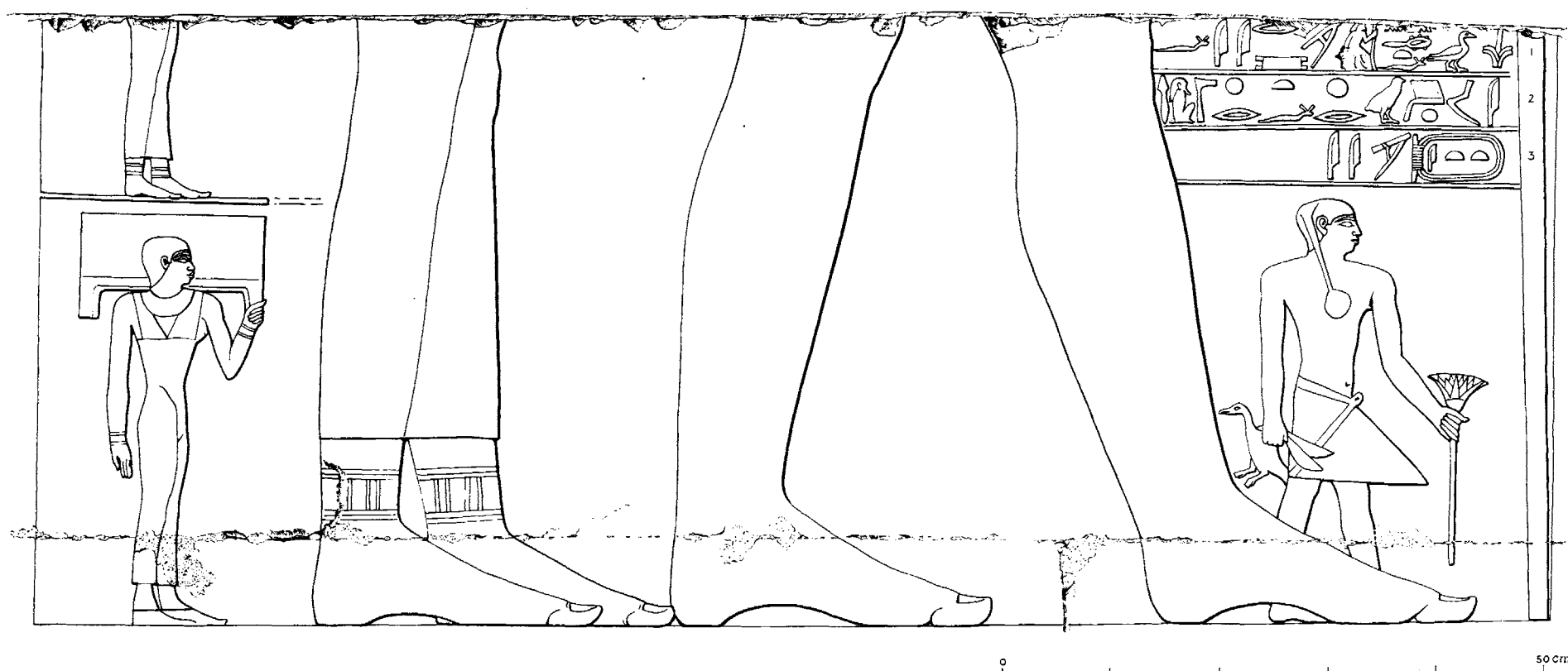
A. MORTUARY PRIESTS BRINGING OFFERINGS TO MERERUKA FROM HIS ESTATES; BEHIND HIM
HIS BROTHER IHI (ABOVE) AND HIS SON MEMI (BELOW)

SOUTH WALL



B. MERERUKA AND WADJETHKHETHOR WITH ESCORT VIEWING HUNTING SCENE
SHOWN ON PLATES 24-25

WEST WALL, SCENE 1



C. MERERUKA, WADJETHKHETHOR, AND MERITETI WITH FEMALE SERVANTS

NORTH WALL

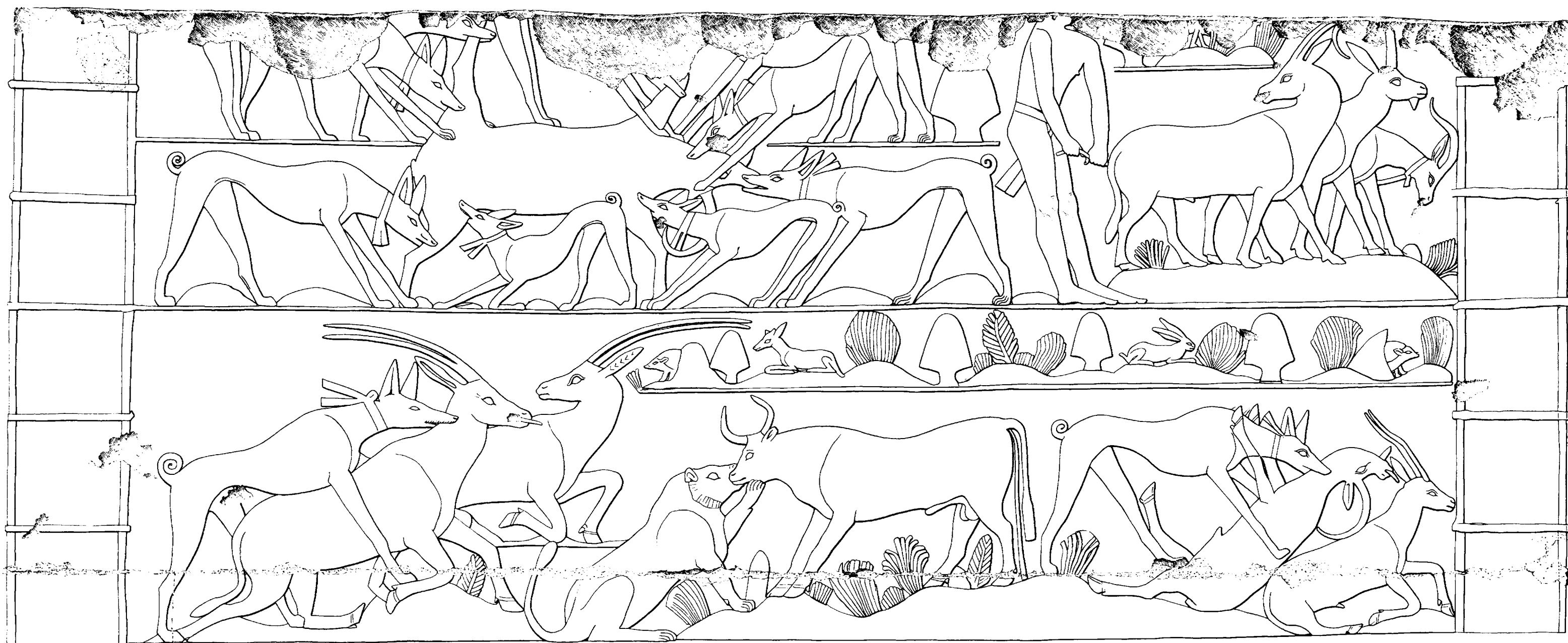
CHAMBER A 3



HUNTING SCENE WITHIN A FENCED INCLOSURE: DOGS ATTACKING ANTELOPES AND A LION ATTACKING A BULL

WEST WALL, SCENE 2

COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 25



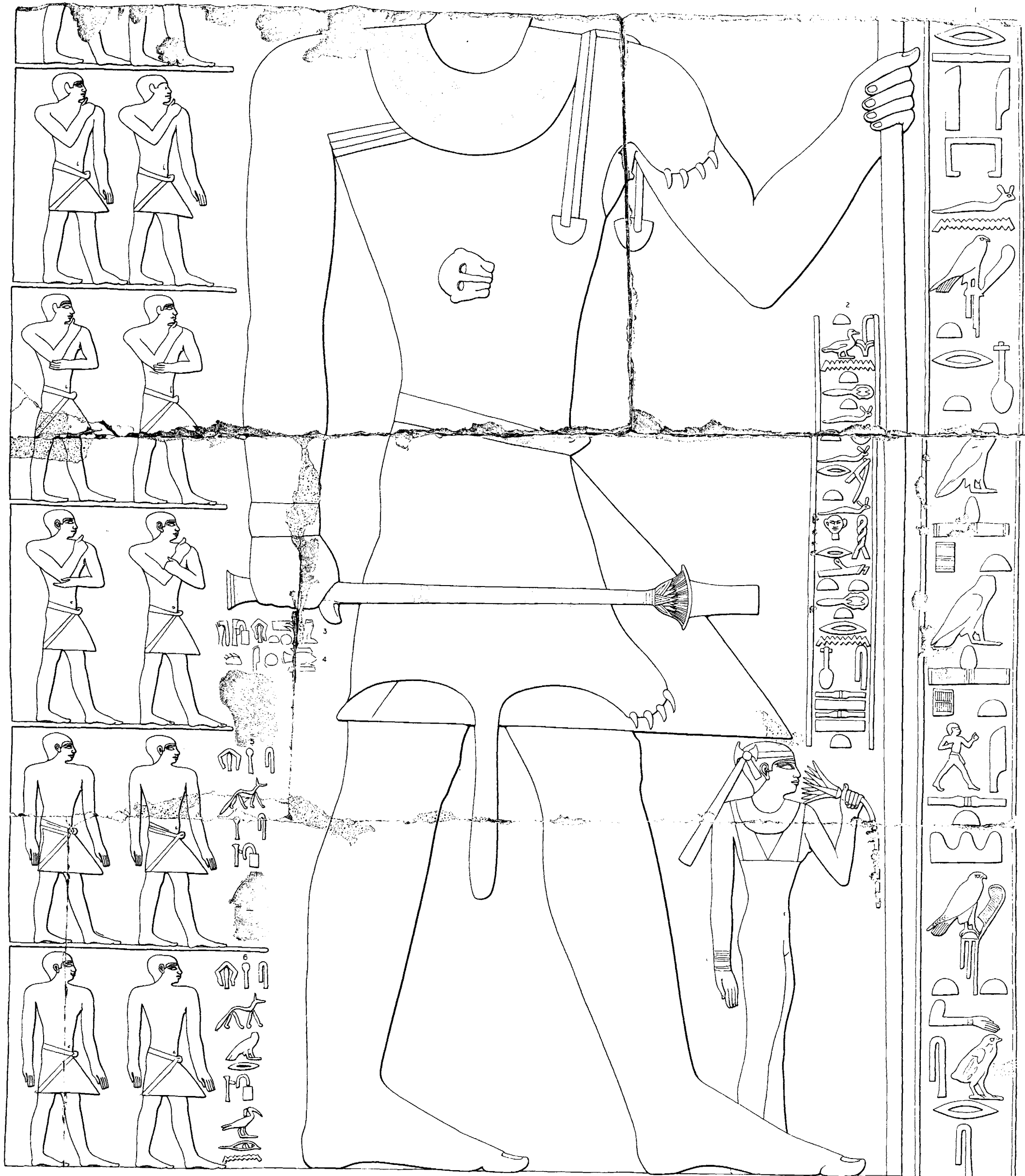
HUNTING SCENE WITHIN A FENCED INCLOSURE: DOGS ATTACKING ANTELOPES AND A LION ATTACKING A BULL

WEST WALL, SCENE 2



MERERUKA, WITH WADJETHKHETHOR, ATTENDED BY OFFICIALS, WATCHING CRAFTS.
MEN SHOWN ON PLATES 29-30

EAST WALL, SCENE 1
COMPARE PLATES 27-28

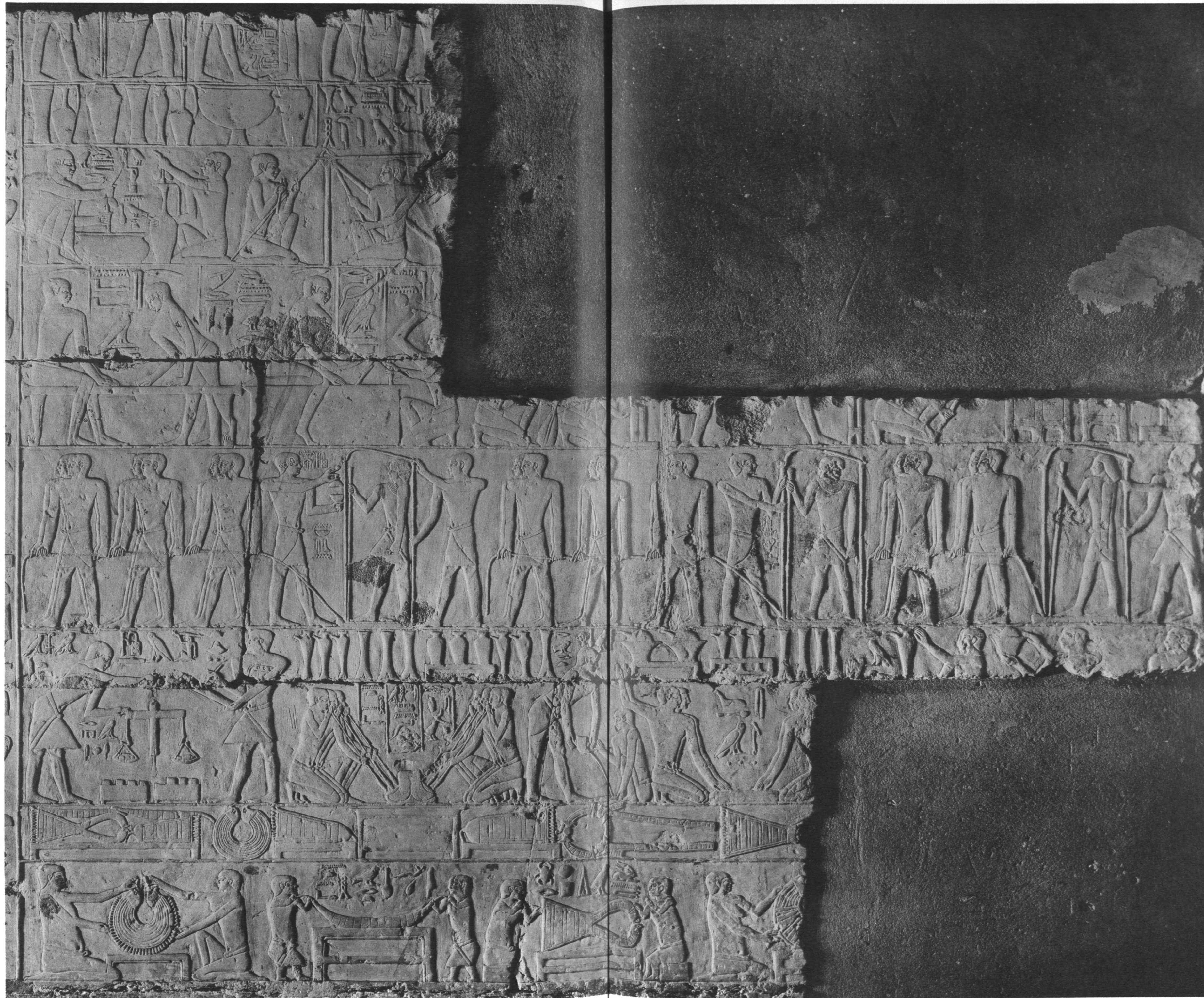


MERERUKA, WITH WA'TETKHEȚHOR, ATTENDED BY OFFICIALS, WATCHING CRAFTS.
MEN SHOWN ON PLATES 29-30

EAST WALL, SCENE 1



WADJETKHETHOR, WIFE OF MERERUKA
DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 26

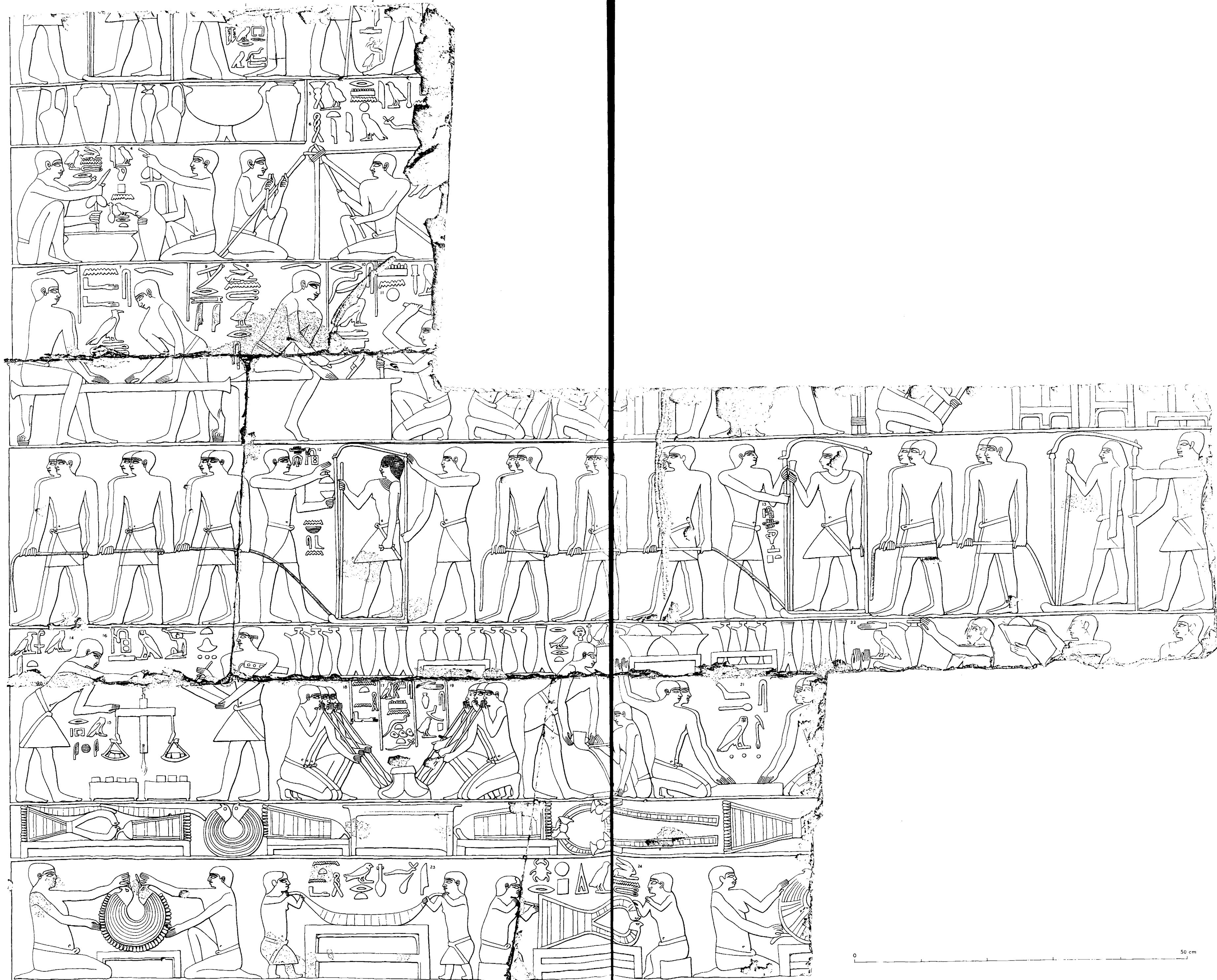


A. METAL-WORKERS WEIGHING AND SMELTING ORE, POURING MOLTEN METAL, BEATING OUT GOLD FOIL, AND MAKING COLLARS AND PECTORALS. FINISHED OBJECTS ON ONE SHELF INCLUDE A HEADDRESS, PECTORALS, AND COLLARS SUCH AS ARE WORN BY WATETKHETHOR (COMPARE ESPECIALLY PLATE 17); ON THE OTHER SHELF ARE VASES AND VASE-STANDS

B. CARPENTER MAKING A BED, A DOOR, AND OTHER OBJECTS; MEN DRILLING STONE VESSELS; SCULPTORS MAKING STATUES

C. STATUES OF MERERUKA BEING DRAGGED TO HIS TOMB ON SLEDGES ALONG THE STREET BETWEEN THE SHOPS

EAST WALL, SCENE 2
COMPARE PLATES 30-33

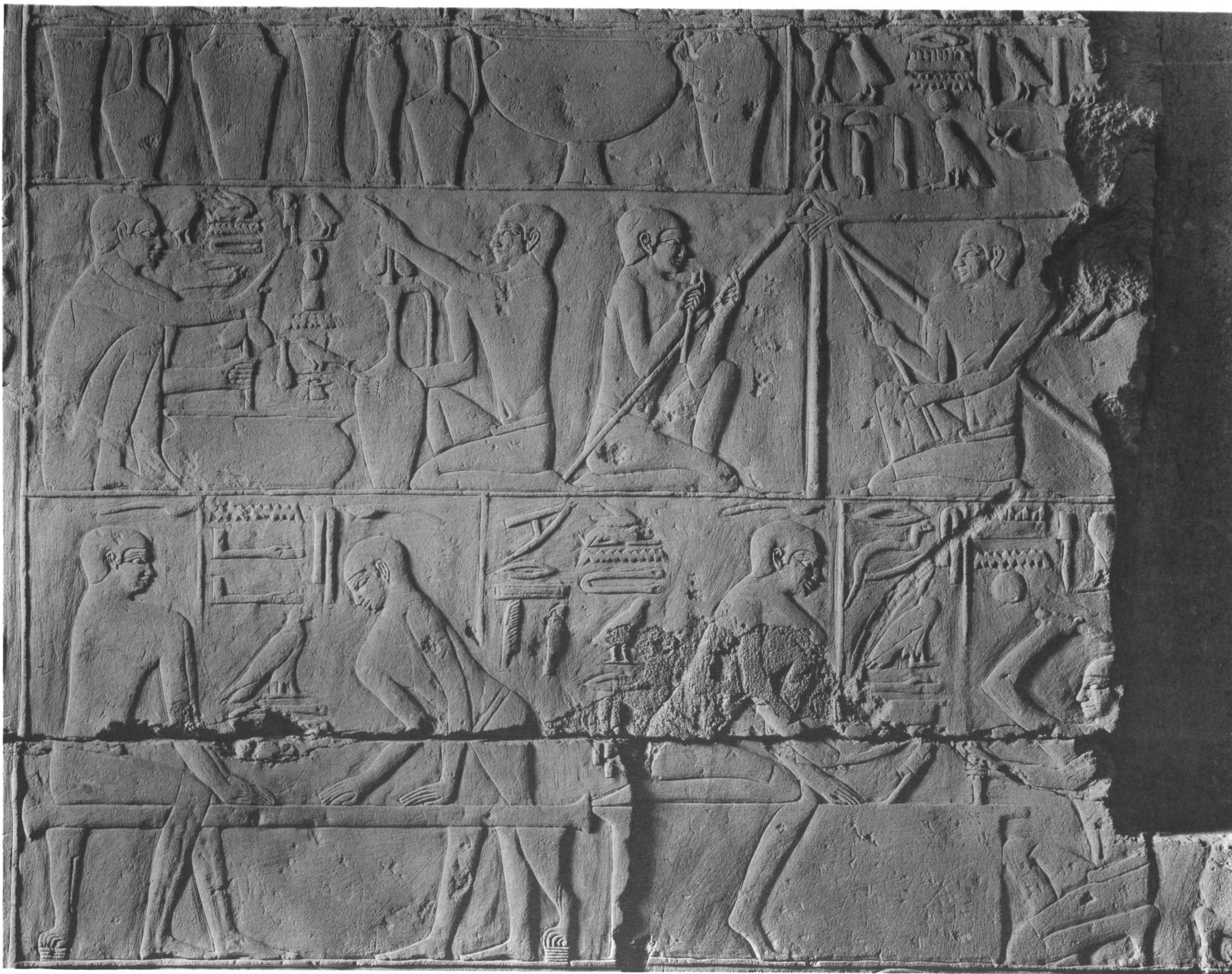


A. METAL-WORKERS WEIGHING AND SMELTING ORE, POURING MOLTEN METAL, BEATING OUT GOLD FOIL, AND MAKING COLLARS AND PECTORALS. FINISHED OBJECTS ON ONE SHELF INCLUDE A HEADRESS, PECTORALS, AND COLLARS SUCH AS ARE WORN BY WATETKHETHOR (COMPARE ESPECIALLY PLATE 17); ON THE OTHER SHELF ARE VASES AND VASE-STANDS

B. CARPENTER MAKING A BED, A DOOR, AND OTHER OBJECTS; MEN DRILLING STONE VESSELS; SCULPTORS MAKING STATUES

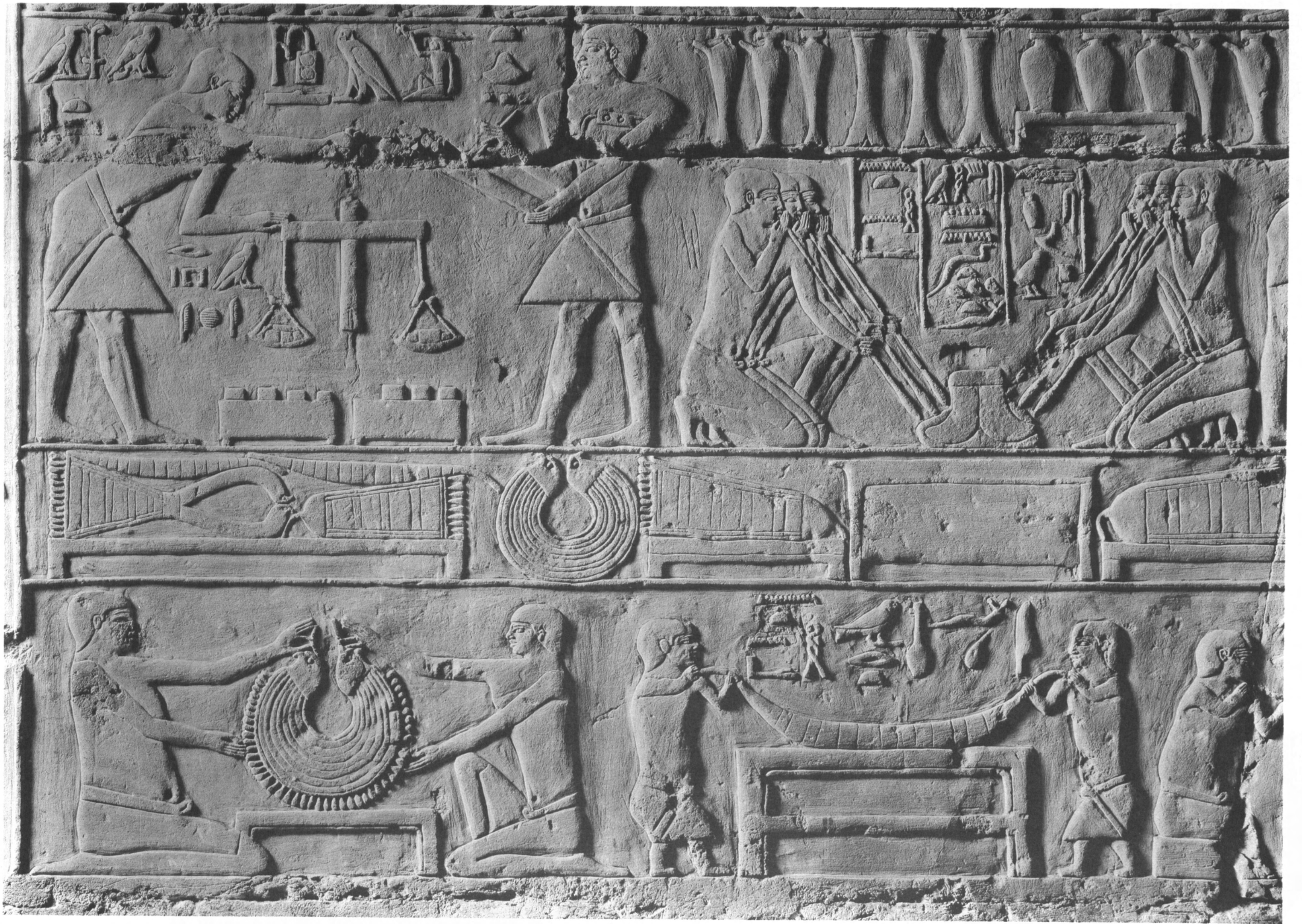
C. STATUES OF MERERUKA BEING DRAGGED TO HIS TOMB ON SLEDGES ALONG THE STREET BETWEEN THE SHOPS

EAST WALL, SCENE 2



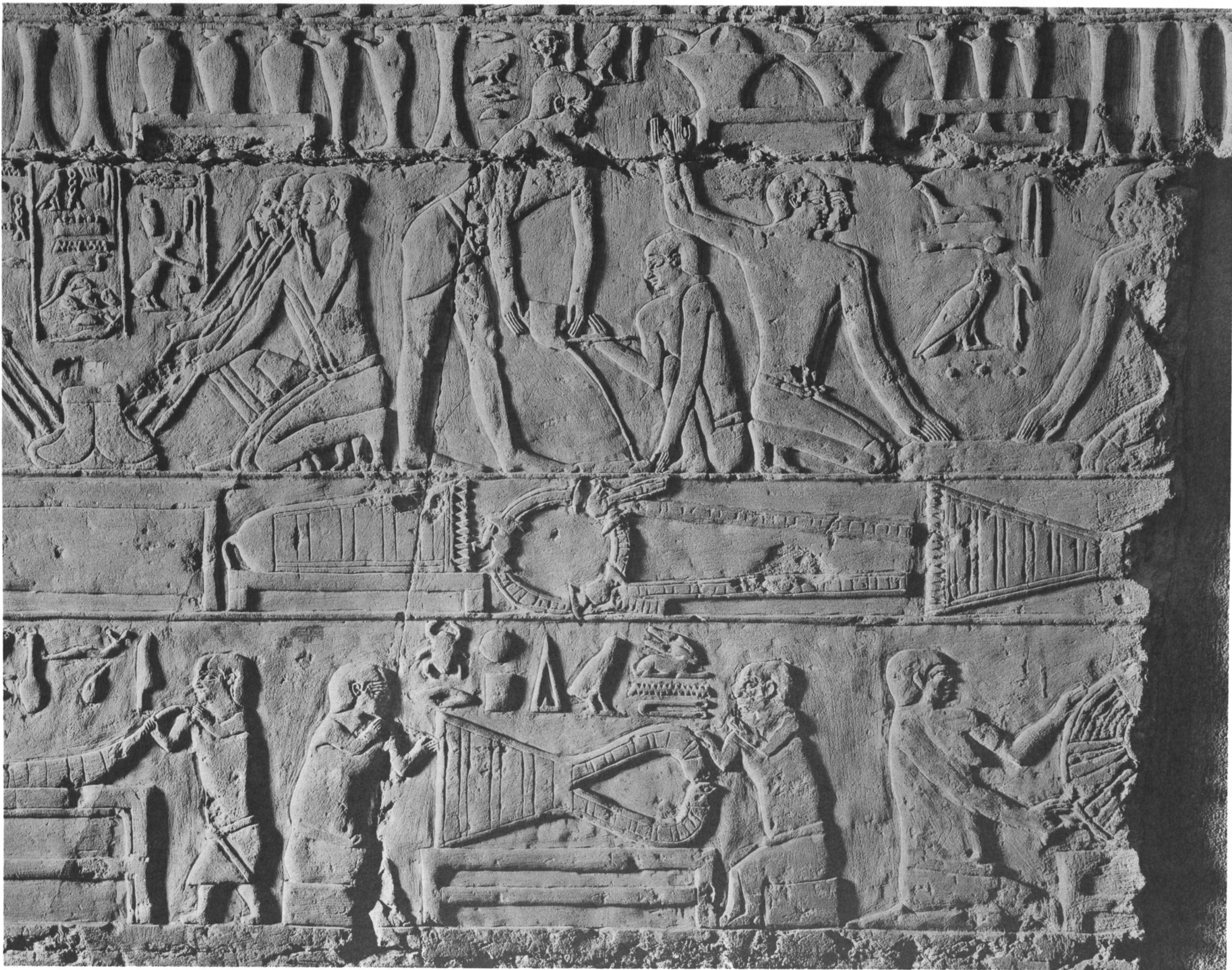
CARPENTERS, VASE-MAKERS, AND SCULPTORS

DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 29



METAL-WORKERS

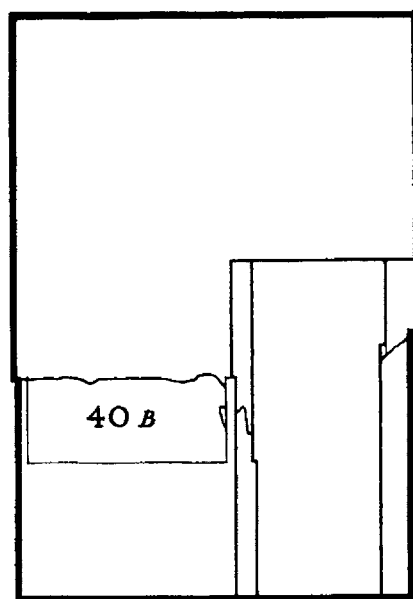
DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 29



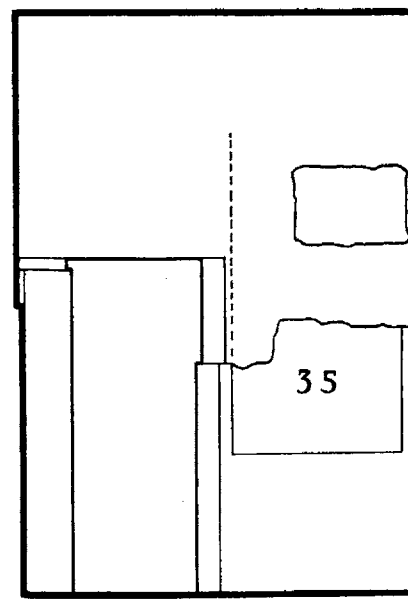
METAL-WORKERS

DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 29

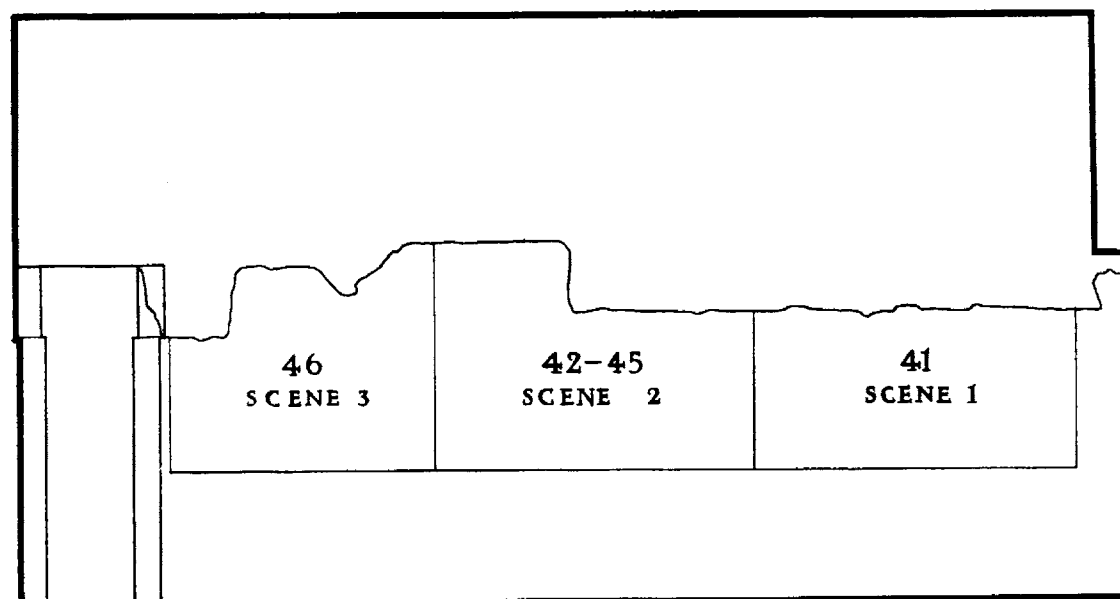
CHAMBER A 4



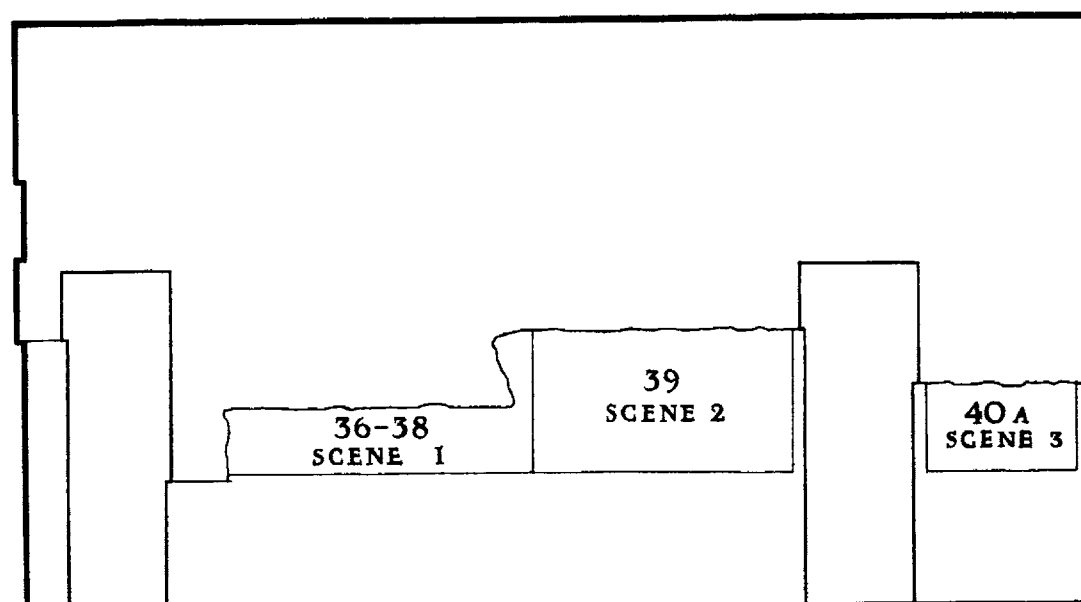
NORTH WALL



SOUTH WALL



EAST WALL



WEST WALL



M E T E R S

CHAMBER A 4

ELEVATIONS OF THE WALLS, SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF SCENES

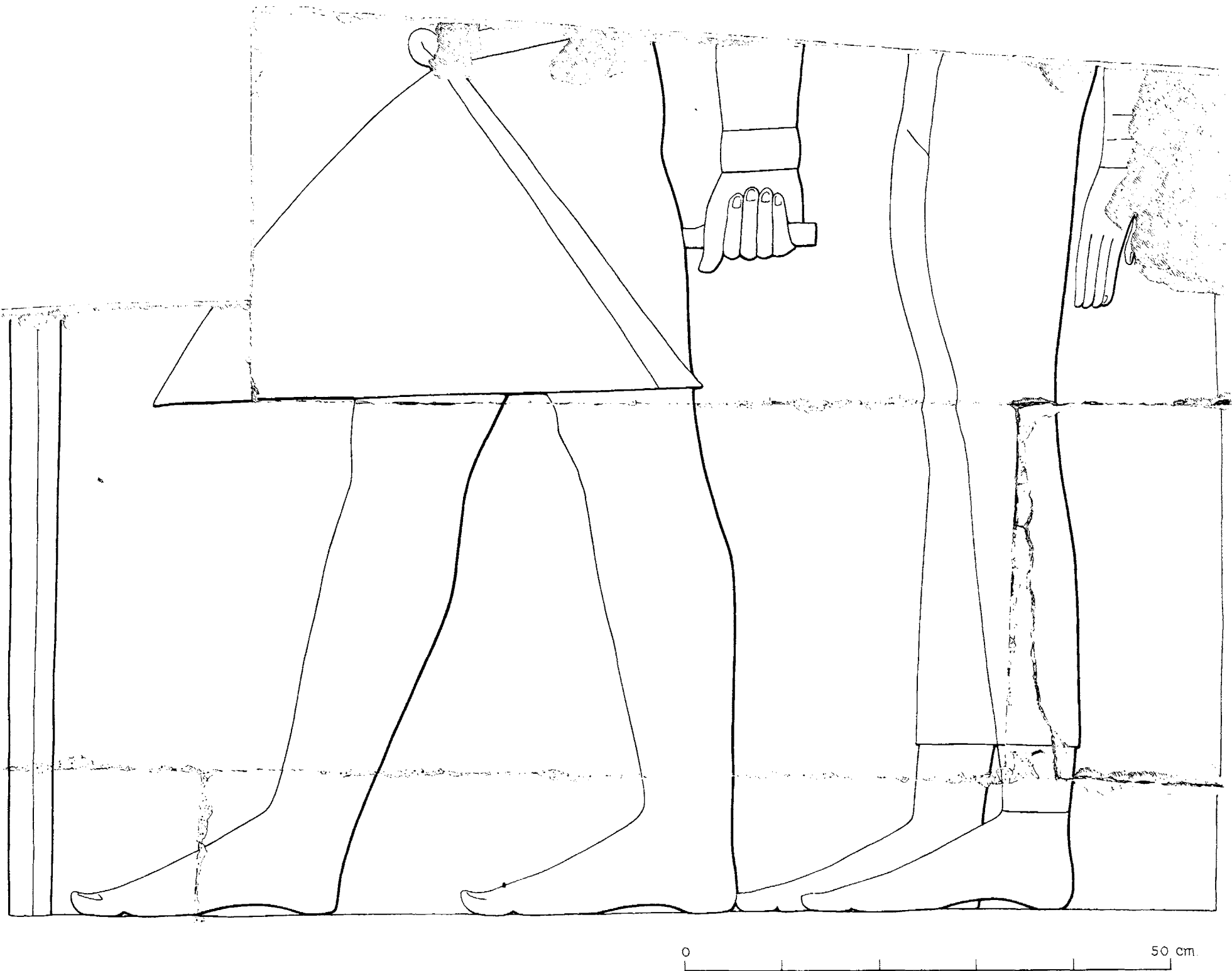
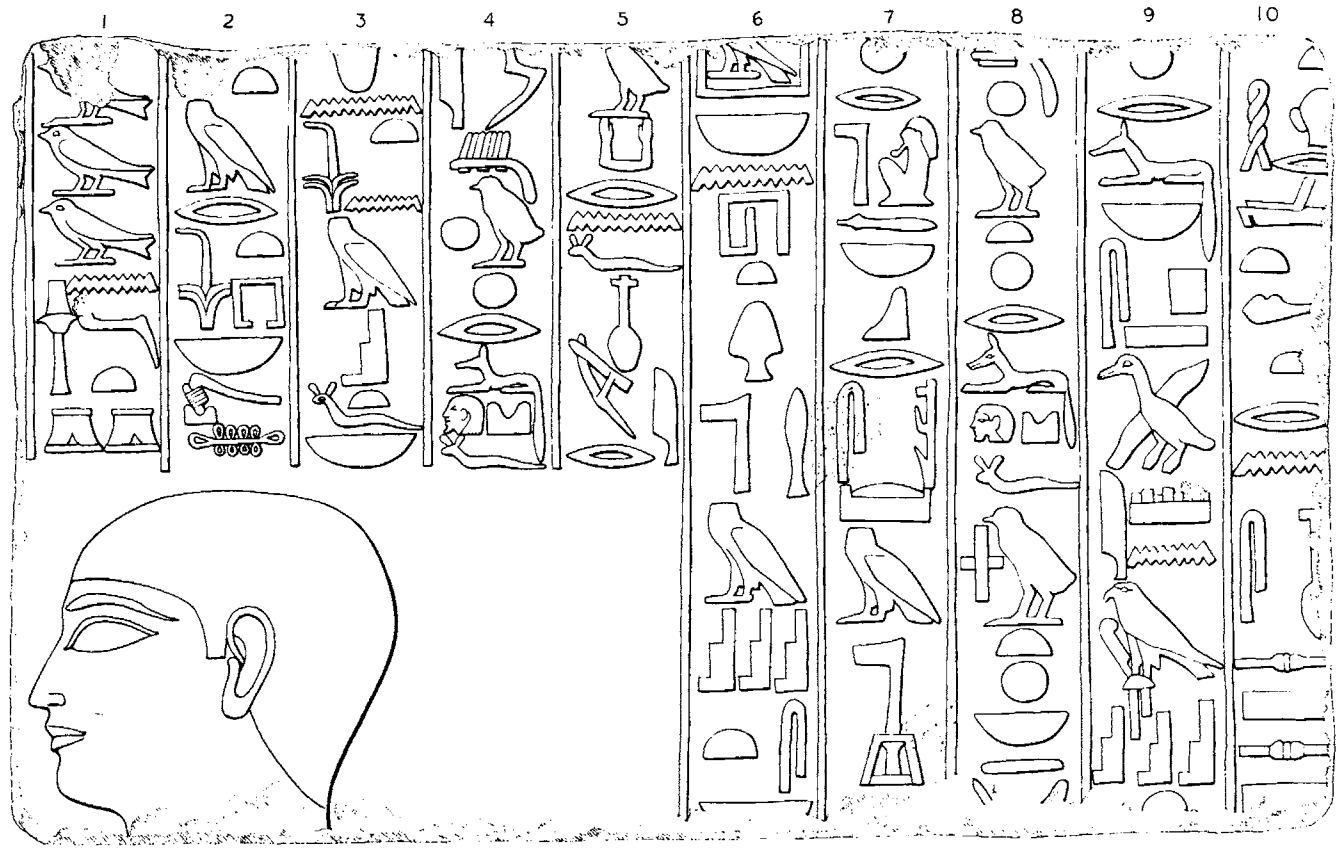
The numbers correspond to those shown on the plan facing Plate 2 and refer to plates of this volume. Scale, 1:50



A. INTERIOR, LOOKING NORTH



B. INTERIOR, LOOKING SOUTH

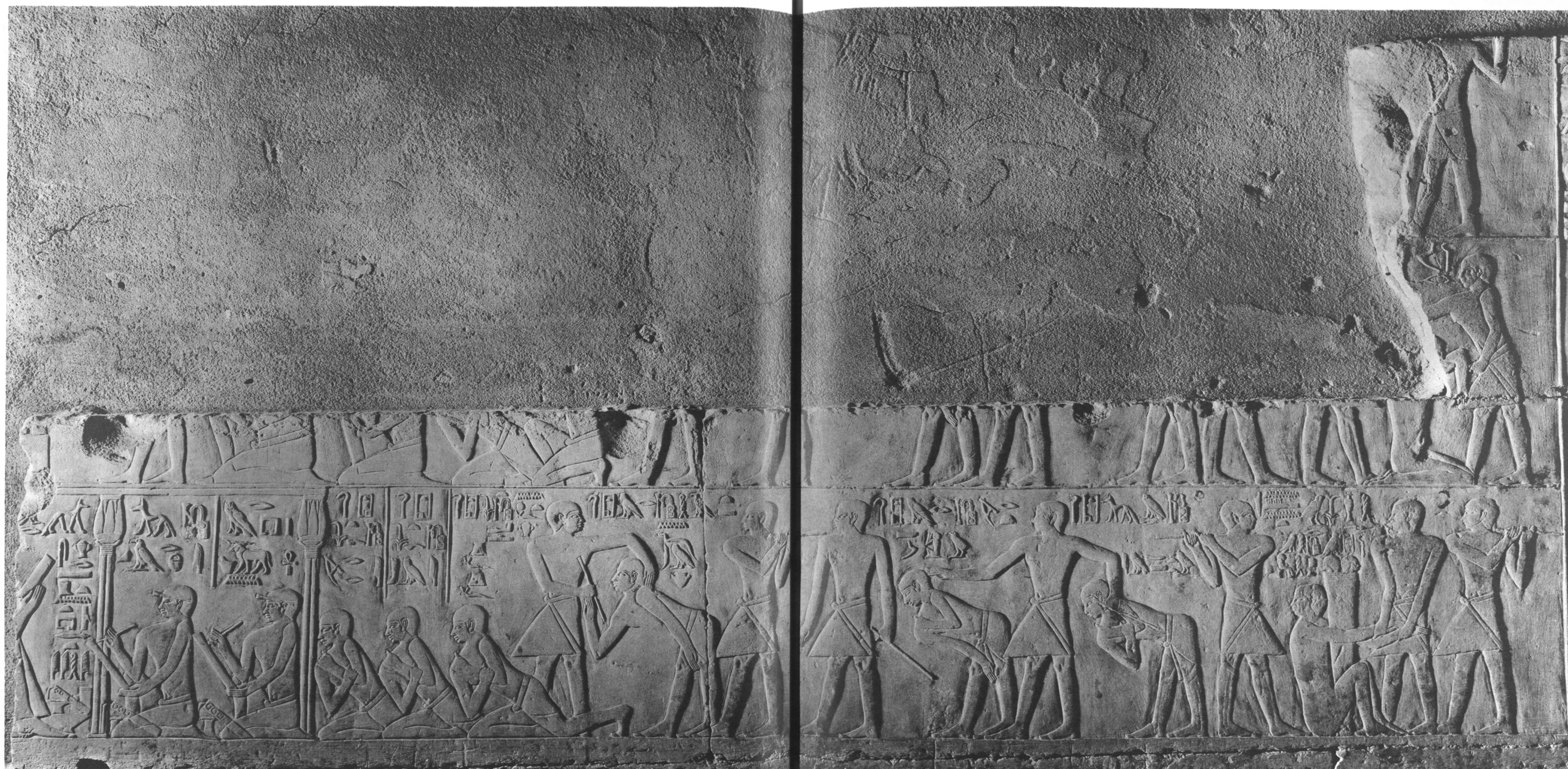


MERERUKA AND WA'TETKHETHOR

SOUTH WALL

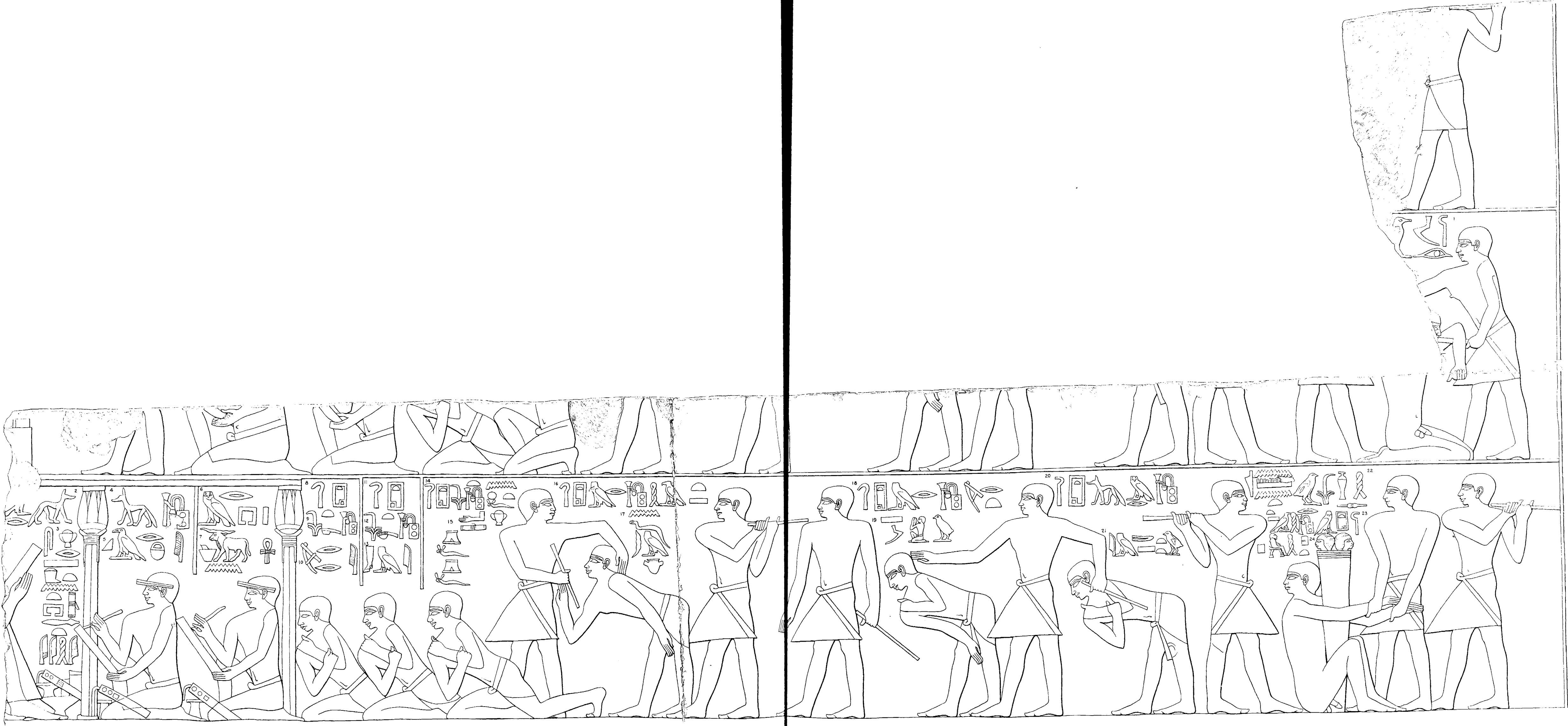
It is possible that the upper block, with head and titles of Mereruka, belongs to the scene shown on Plate 14

CHAMBER A 4



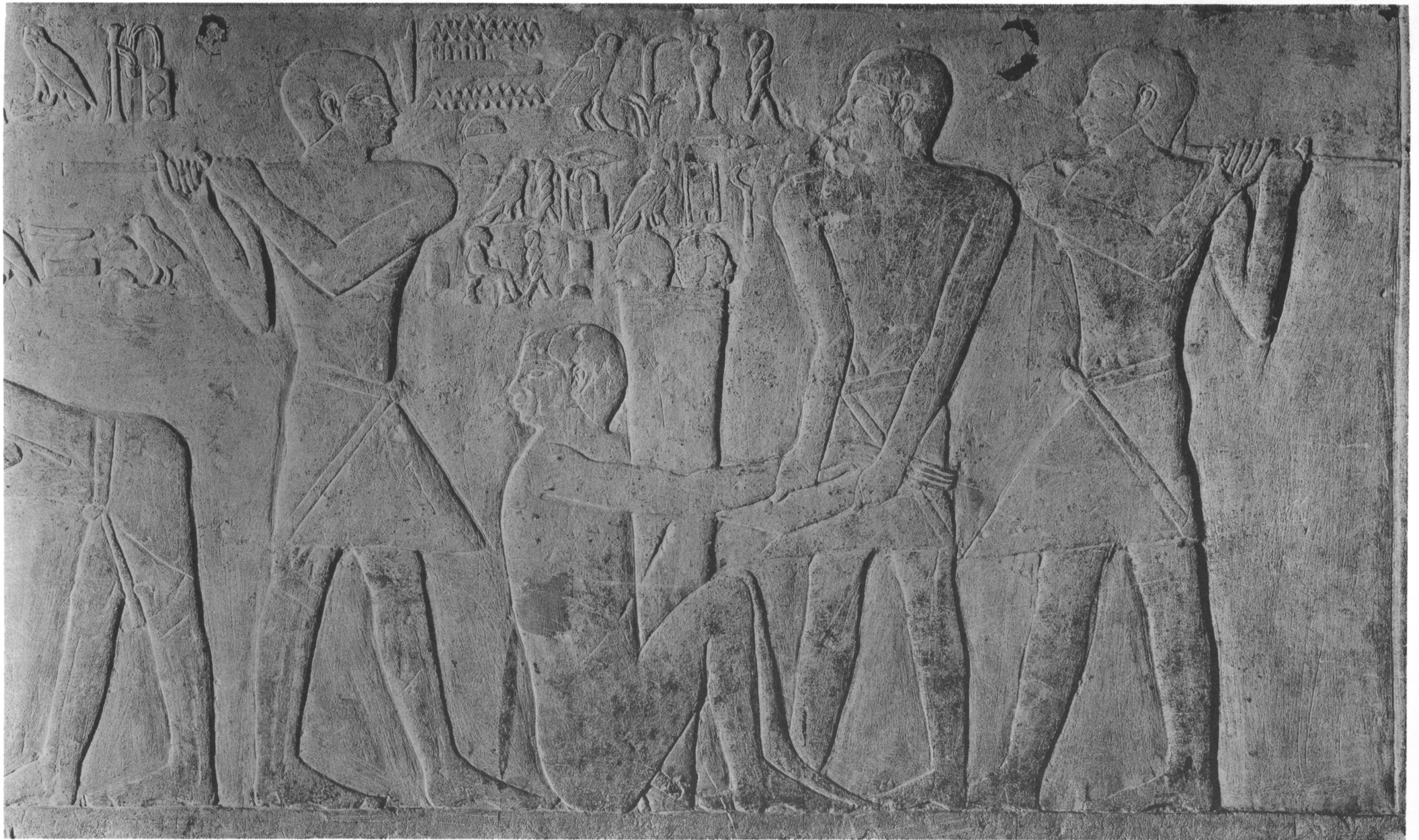
VILLAGE HEADMEN BEING BROUGHT BEFORE LOCAL TAX OFFICIALS AND FLOGGED AT A WHIPPING POST FOR NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES. SCRIBES RECORD THE EVIDENCE; THE ACTION TAKEN PLACE IN A COLUMNED HALL

WEST WALL, SCENE 1
COMPARE PLATES 37-38



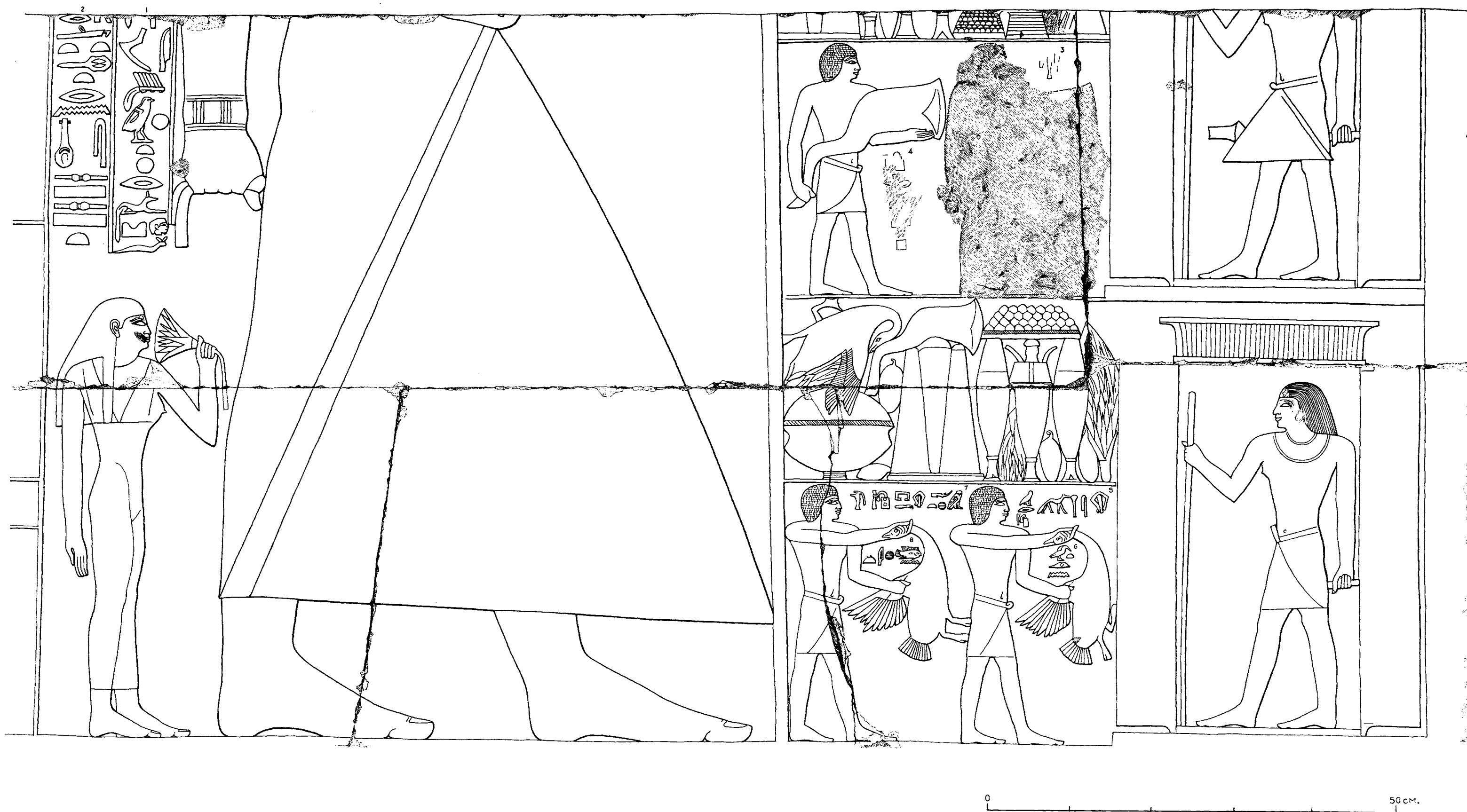
VILLAGE HEADMEN BEING BROUGHT BEFORE LOCAL TAX OFFICIALS AND FLOGGED AT A WHIPPING POST FOR NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES. SCRIBES RECORD THE EVIDENCE; THE ACTION TAKES PLACE IN A COLUMNED HALL

WEST WALL, SCENE 1



A VILLAGE HEADMAN BEING FLOGGED AT A WHIPPING POST

DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 36

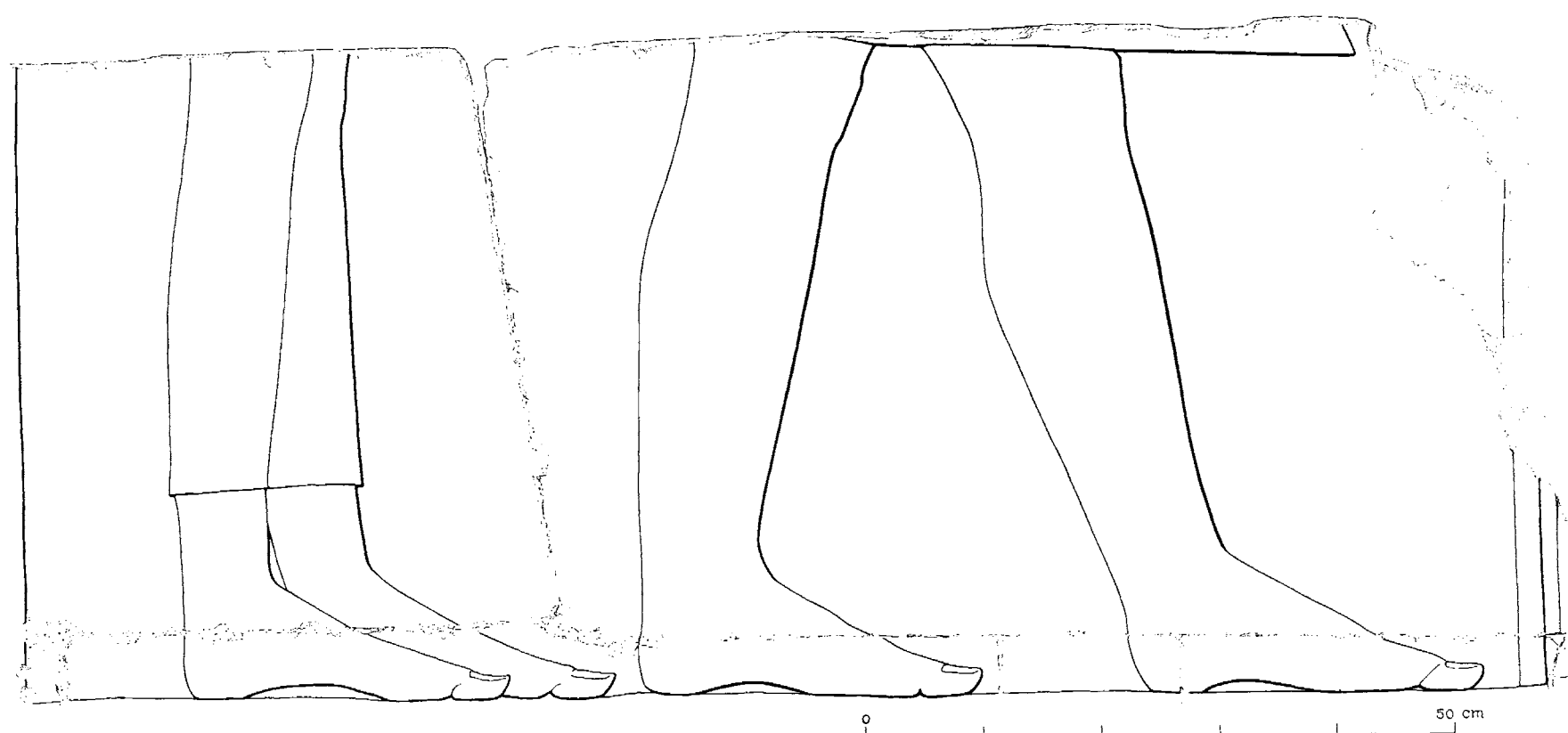


MORTUARY PRIESTS OFFERING FOOD BEFORE THE STATUES OF MERERUKA, WHILE MERERUKA AND WA'TETKHETHOR LOOK ON

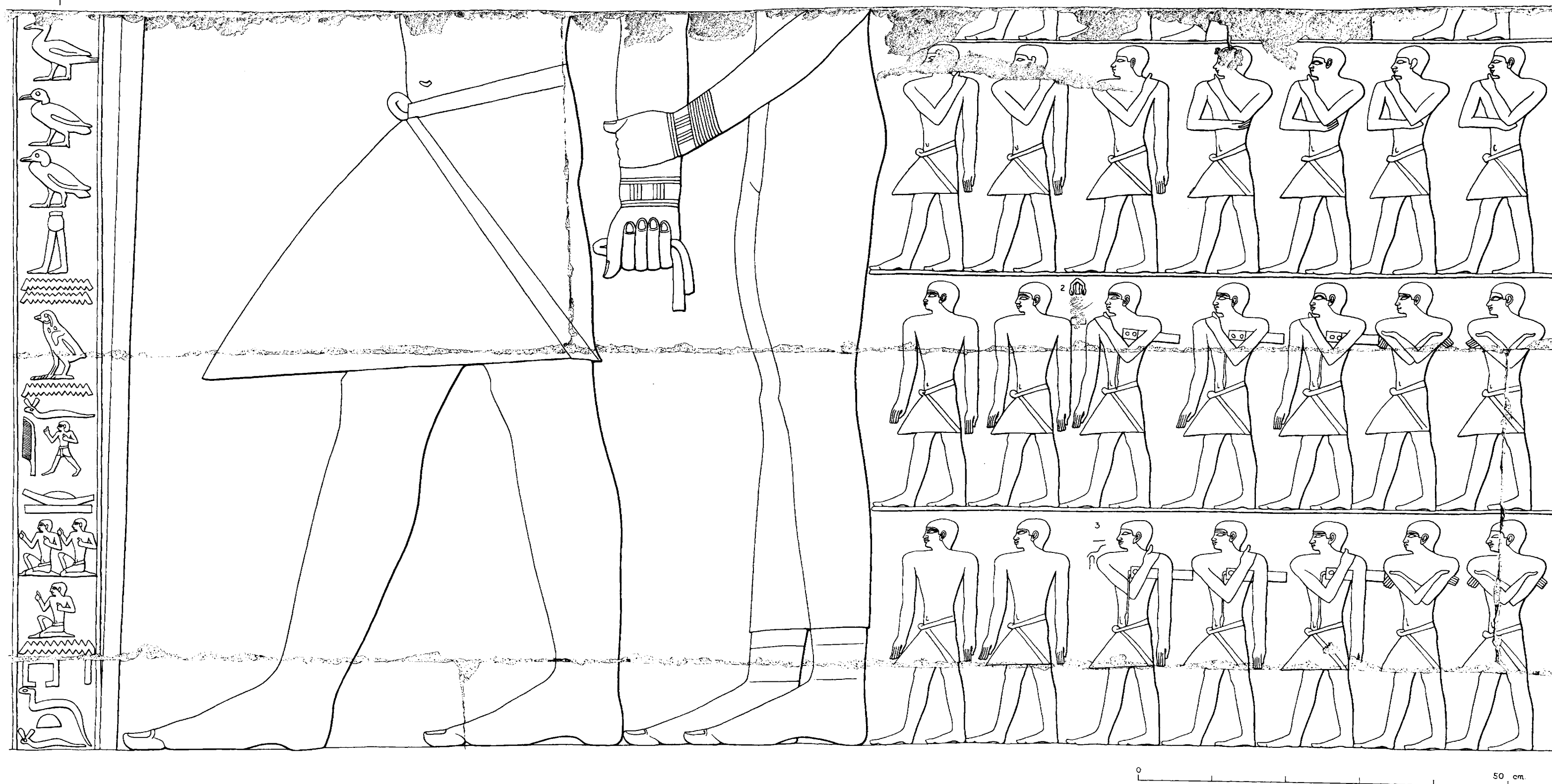
WEST WALL, SCENE 2



A. MERERUKA AND WATETKHETHOR
WEST WALL, SCENE 3

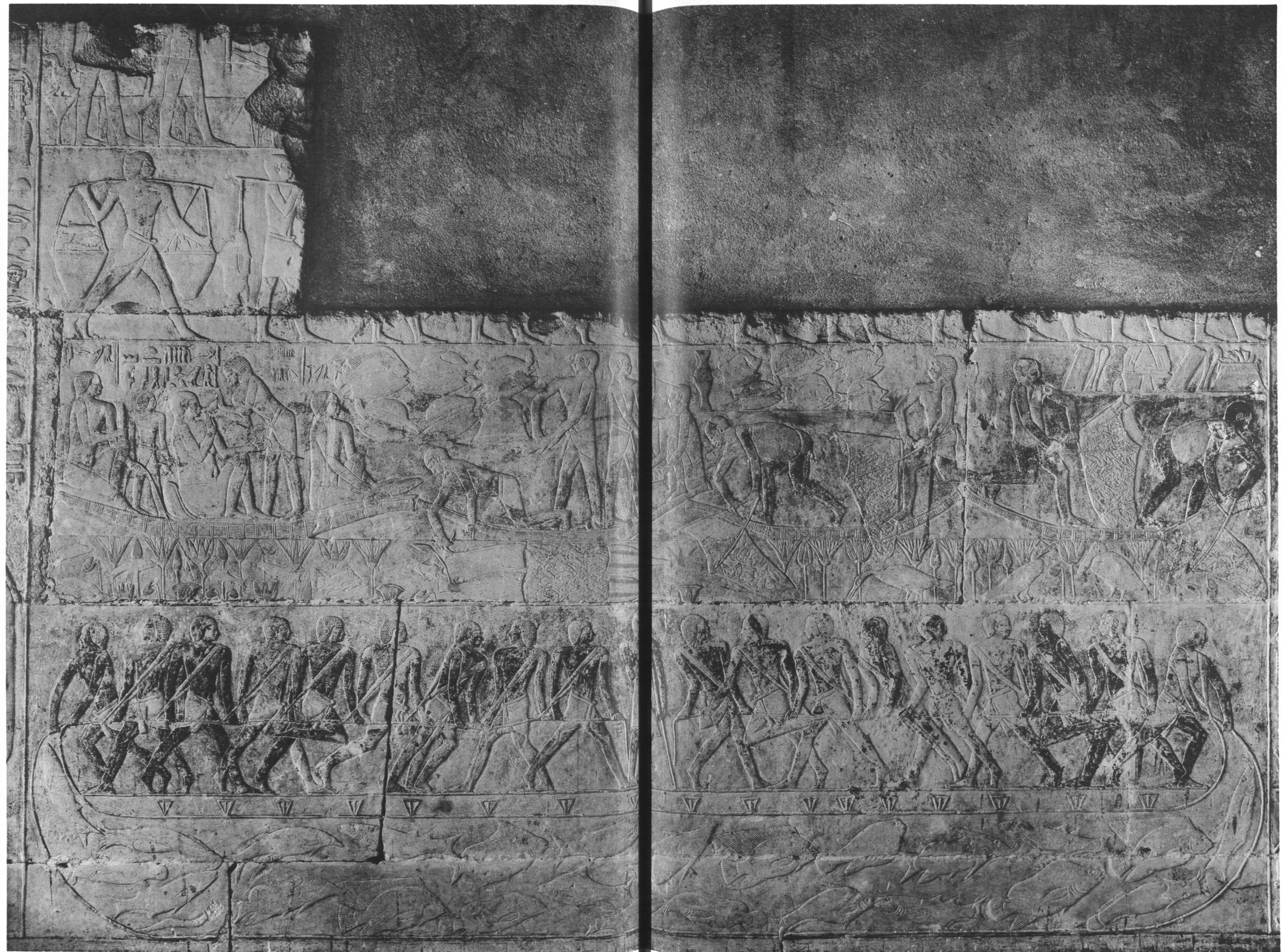


B. MERERUKA AND WATETKHETHOR
NORTH WALL



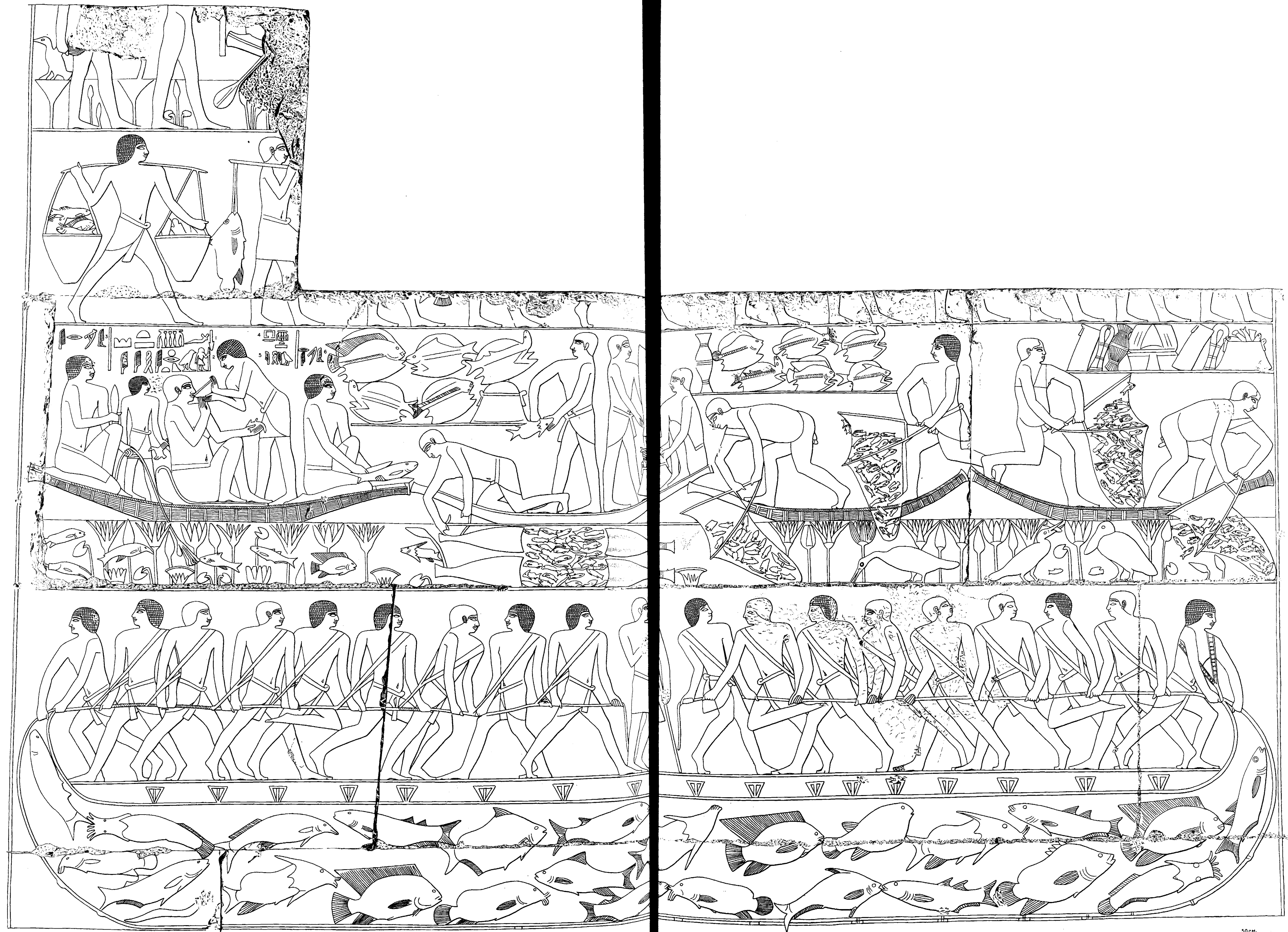
MERERUKA AND WAṯETKHETHOR, ATTENDED BY SCRIBES AND SERVANTS, RECEIVING FISH AND BIRDS BROUGHT BY THE FISHERS AND FOWLERS ATTACHED TO HIS TOMB ENDOWMENT, SHOWN ON PLATE 42

EAST WALL, SCENE 1



FISHERMEN HAULING IN A LARGE SEINE; MEN IN REED BOATS FISHING WITH HOOK AND LINE, HAND NETS, AND FISH TRAPS; MERERUKA'S ELDEST BROTHER
 IHI LUNCHING ON A FOWL AND DRINKING FROM A BOWL HELD BY AN ATTENDANT; SERVANTS CARRYING FISH AND THE BIRD CATCH

EAST WALL, SCENE 2
 COMPARE PLATES 43-45



FISHERMEN HAULING IN A LARGE SEINE; MEN IN REED BOATS FISHING WITH HOOK AND LINE, HAND NETS, AND FISH TRAPS; MERERUKA'S ELDEST BROTHER
 IHI LUNCHING ON A FOWL AND DRINKING FROM A BOWL HELD BY AN ATTENDANT; SERVANTS CARRYING FISH AND THE BIRD CATCH

EAST WALL, SCENE 2



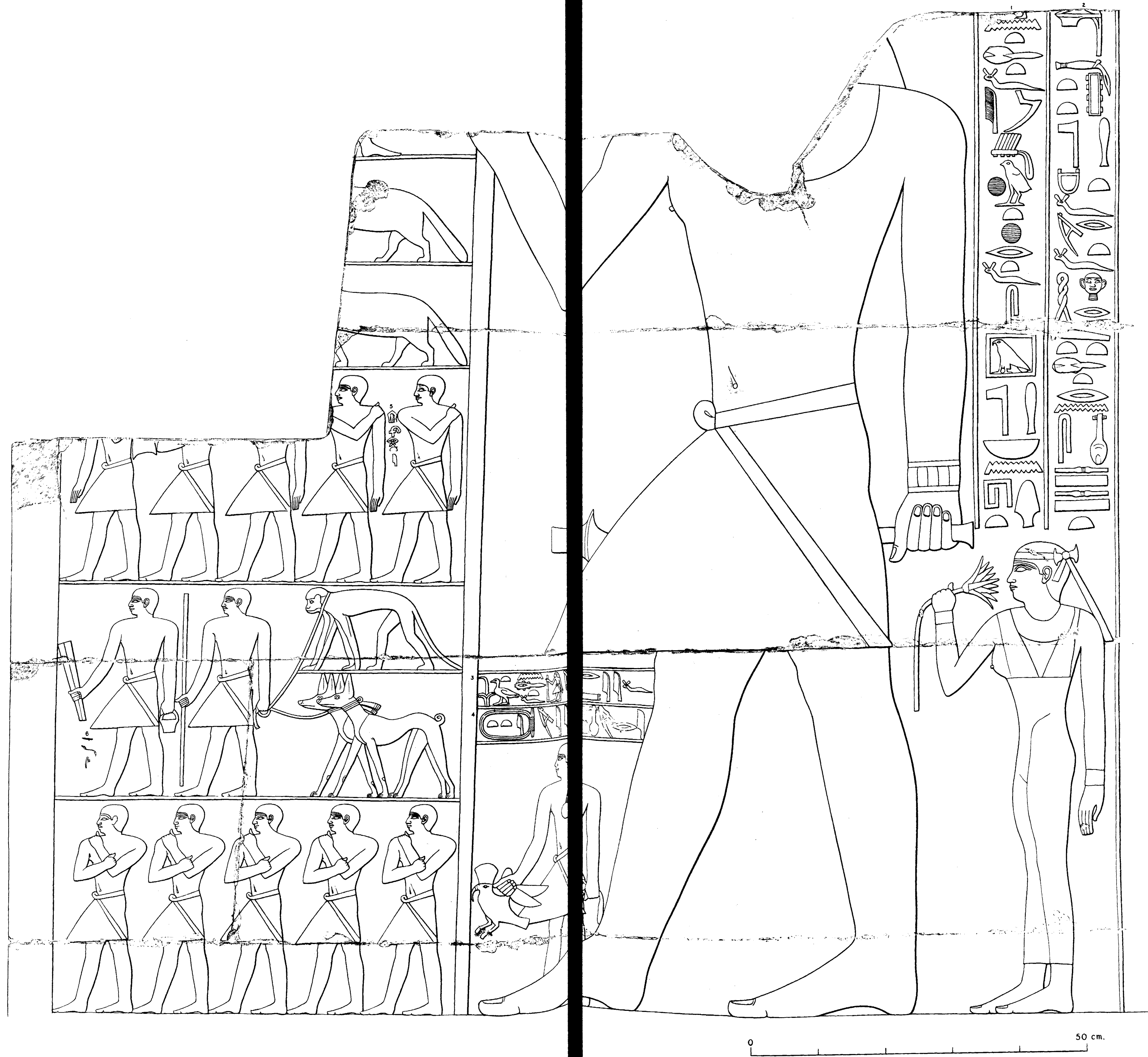
IHI LUNCHING ON A FOWL AND DRINKING FROM A BOWL HELD BY AN ATTENDANT

DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 42



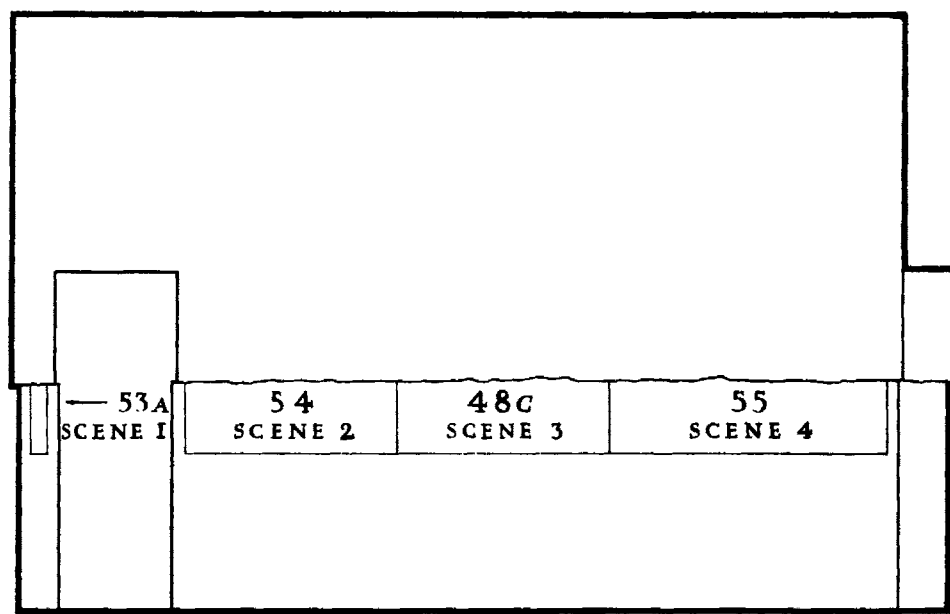
PRINTED IN AUSTRIA

MEN IN REED BOATS FISHING WITH HAND NETS
DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 42

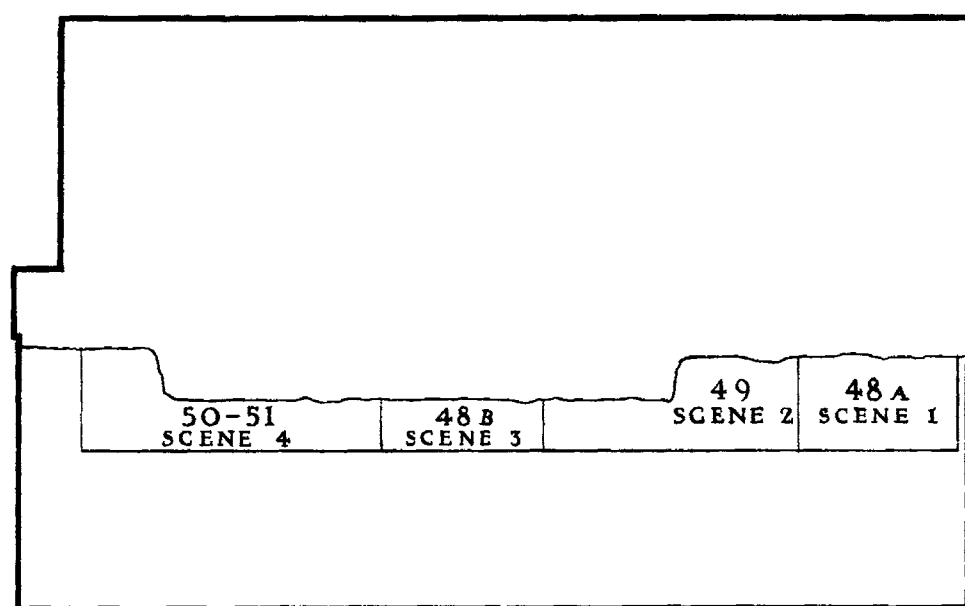


MERERUKA, ACCOMPANIED BY WATETKHETHOR AND MERITETI AND ATTENDED BY SERVANTS, ONE OF WHOM IS LEADING A BABOON AND TWO DOGS

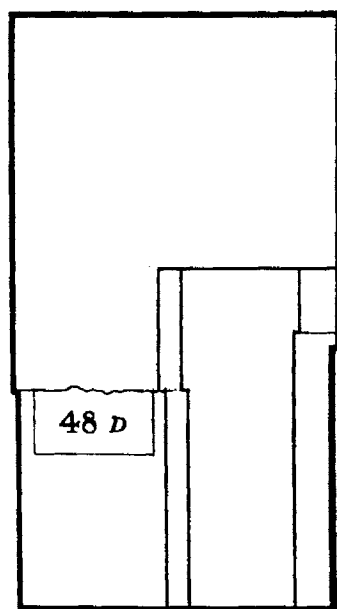
CHAMBER A 6



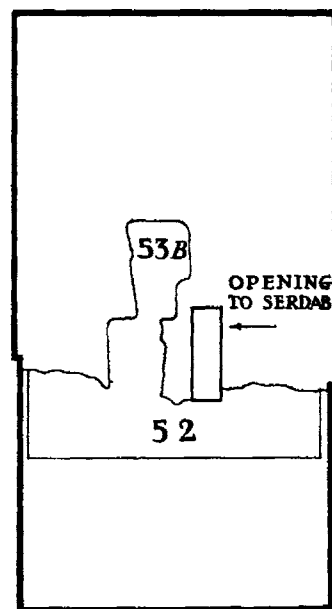
NORTH WALL



SOUTH WALL



EAST WALL



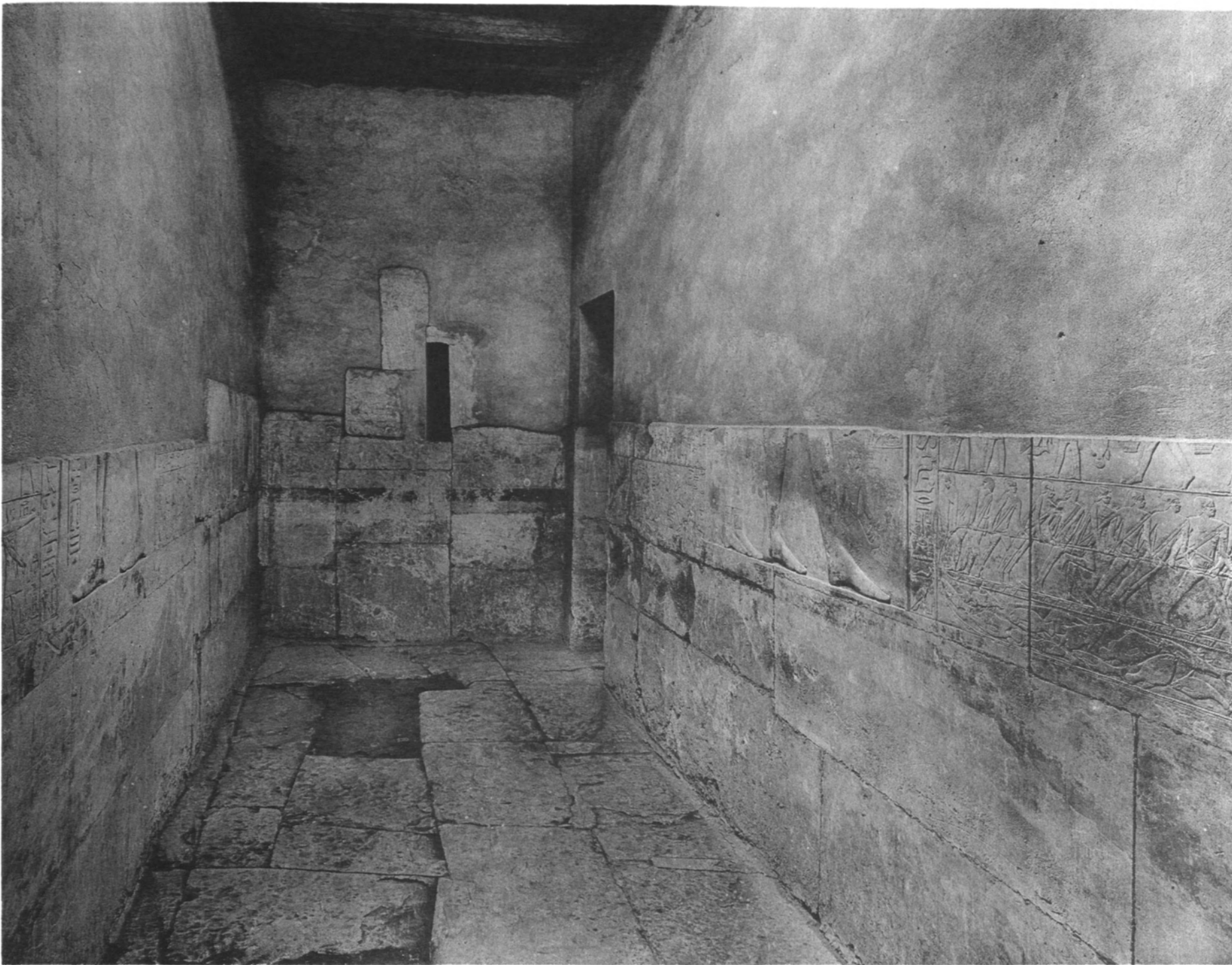
WEST WALL



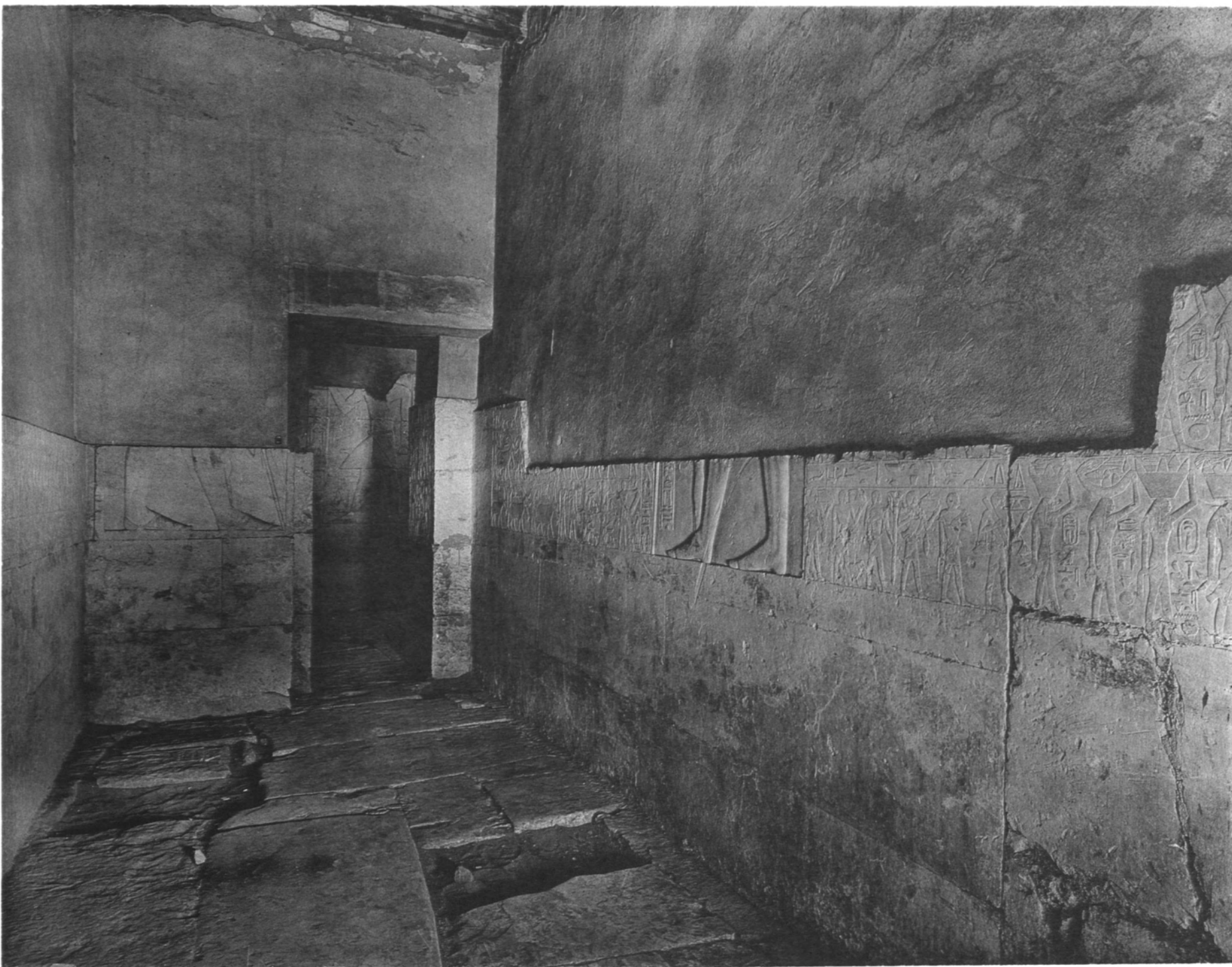
CHAMBER A 6

ELEVATIONS OF THE WALLS, SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF SCENES

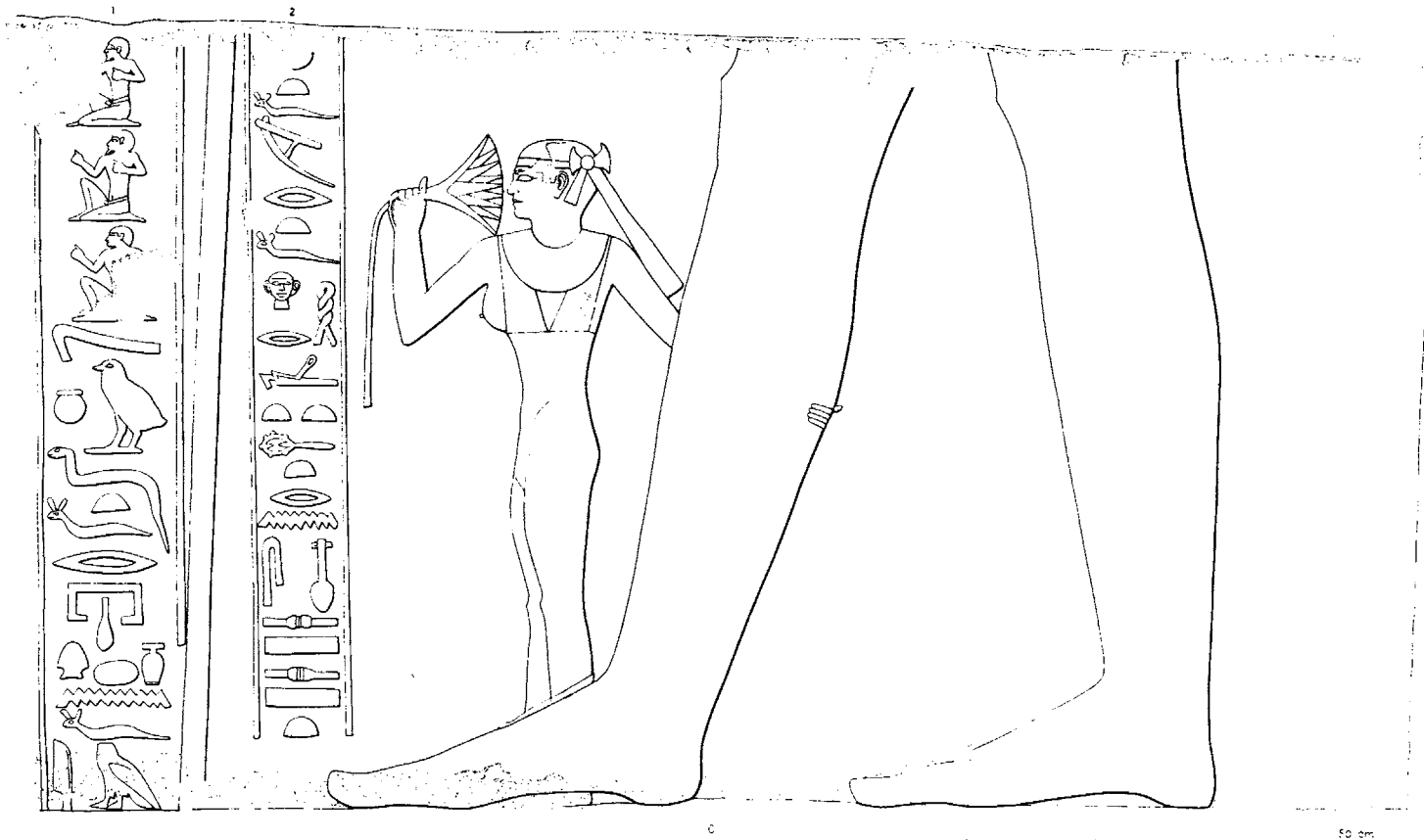
The numbers correspond to those shown on the plan facing Plate 2 and refer to plates of this volume. Scale, 1:50



A. INTERIOR, LOOKING WEST

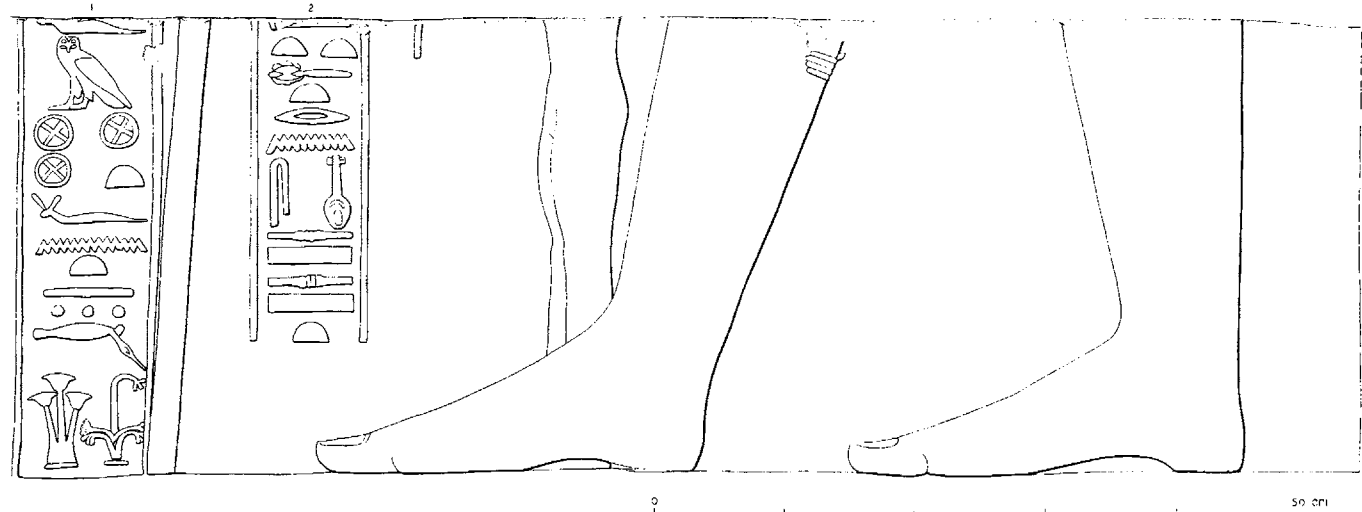


B. INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST



A. MERERUKA, ACCOMPANIED BY WADJETH, RECEIVING FIRST FRUITS AS MORTUARY OFFERINGS (SHOWN ON PLATE 49)

SOUTH WALL, SCENE 1



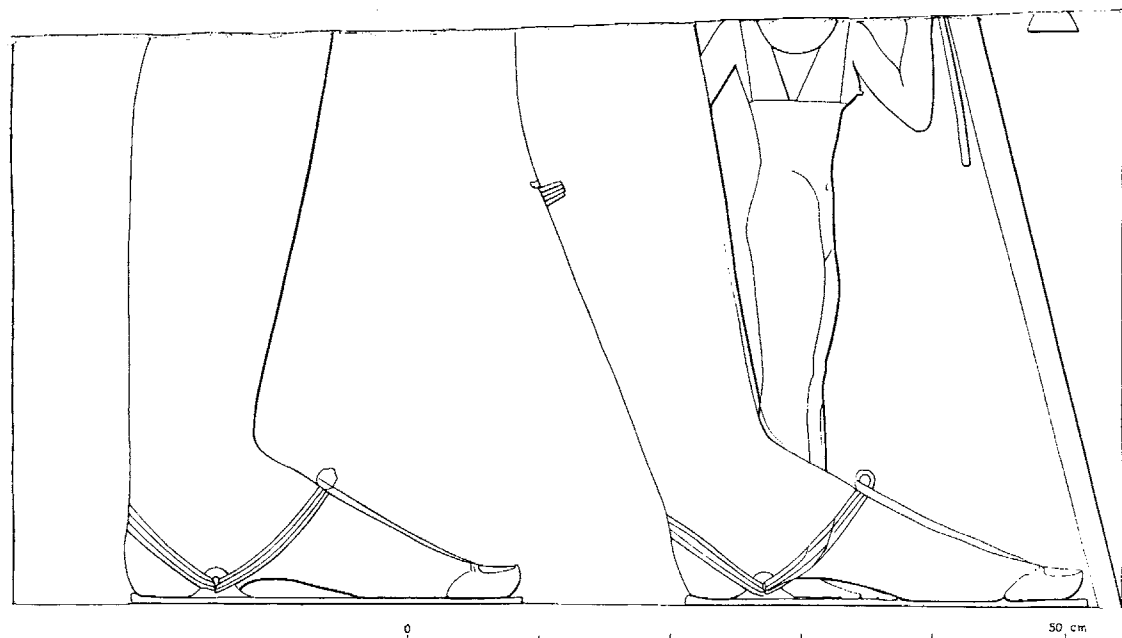
B. MERERUKA, ACCOMPANIED BY WADJETH, RECEIVING ANIMALS LED IN AS MORTUARY OFFERINGS (SHOWN ON PLATES 50-51) FROM HIS VILLAGES

SOUTH WALL, SCENE 3



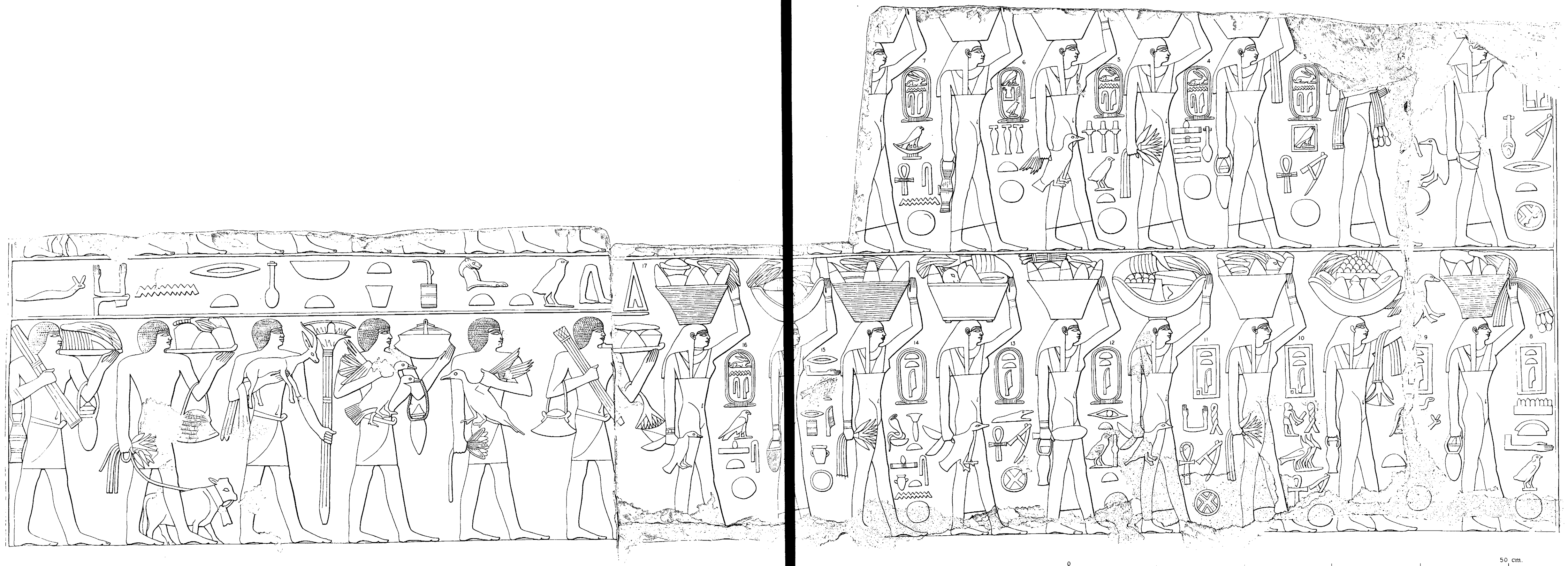
C. MERERUKA AND WADJETH, ACCOMPANIED BY MERITETI, WATCHING THE SEINING OF FISH AND RECEIVING FISH AS MORTUARY OFFERINGS (SHOWN ON PLATE 55)

NORTH WALL, SCENE 3

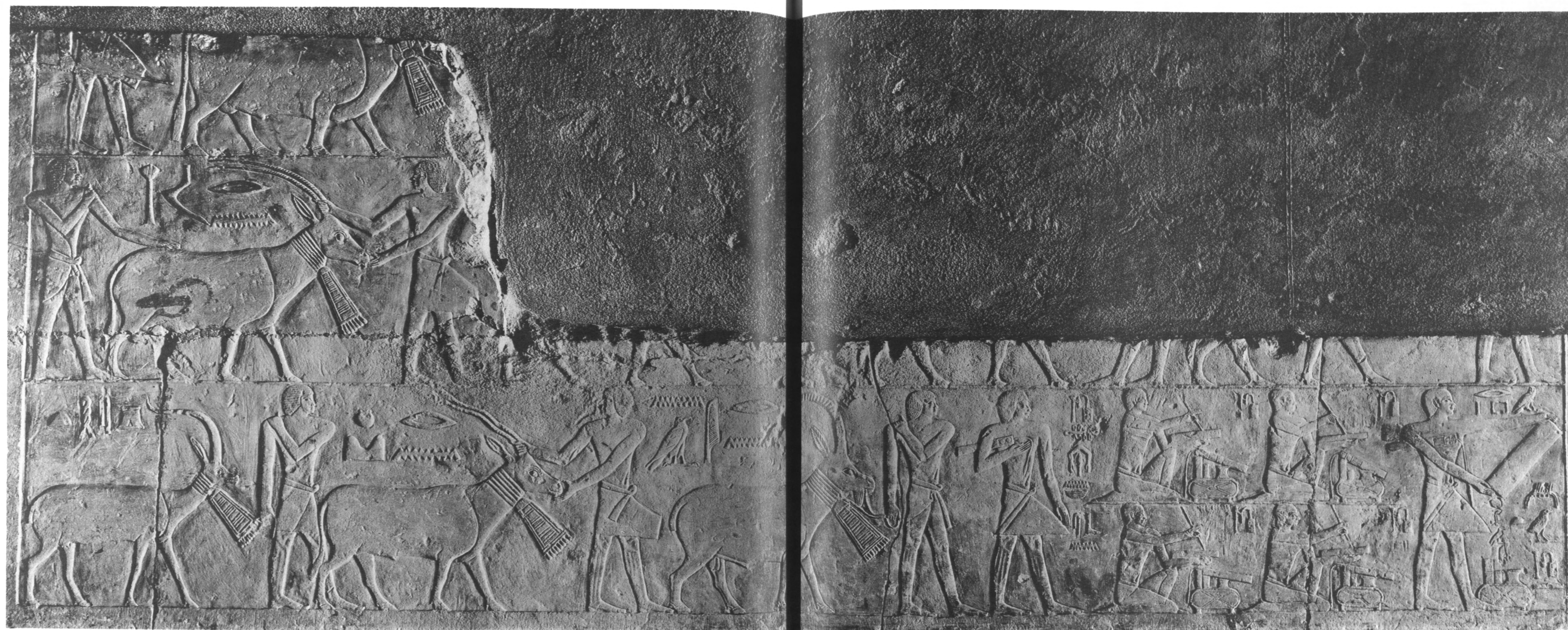


D. MERERUKA AND WADJETH

EAST WALL



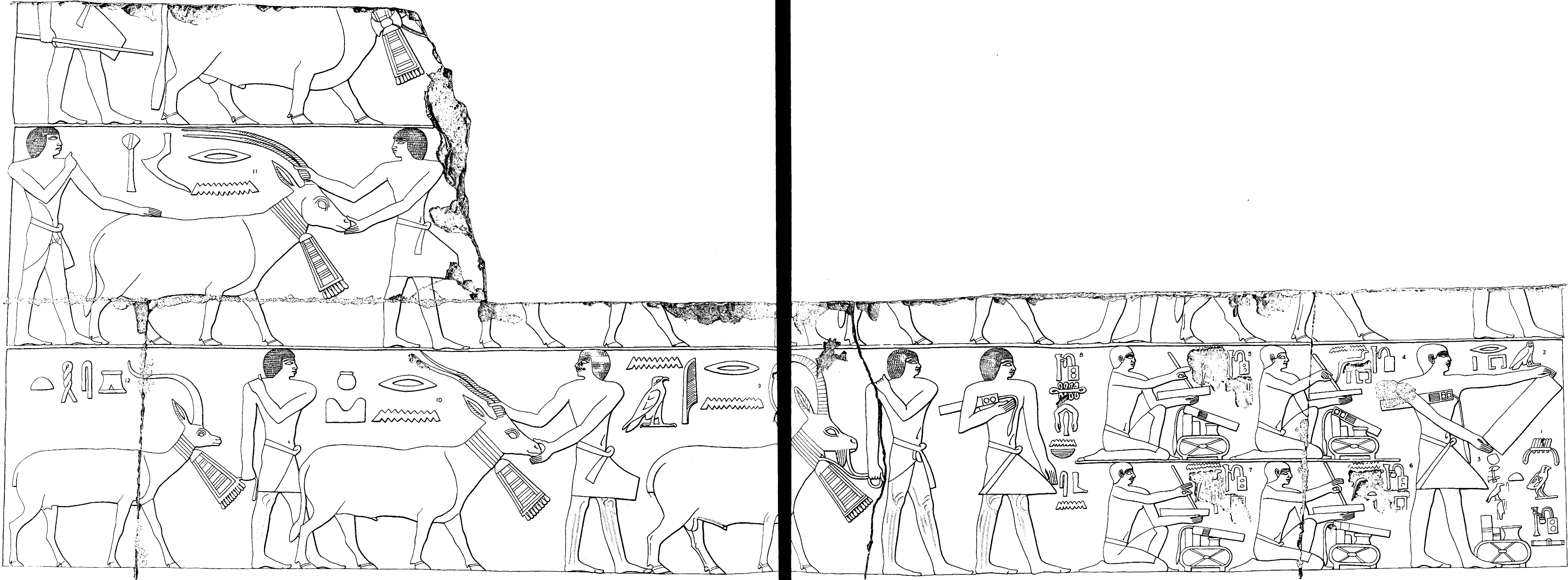
WOMEN AND MEN BEARING FIRST FRUITS AS MORTUARY OFFERINGS. THE WOMEN REPRESENT THE VILLAGES AND ESTATES COMPRISED IN THE
ENDOWMENT OF MERUKA'S TOMB
SOUTH WALL SCENE 2



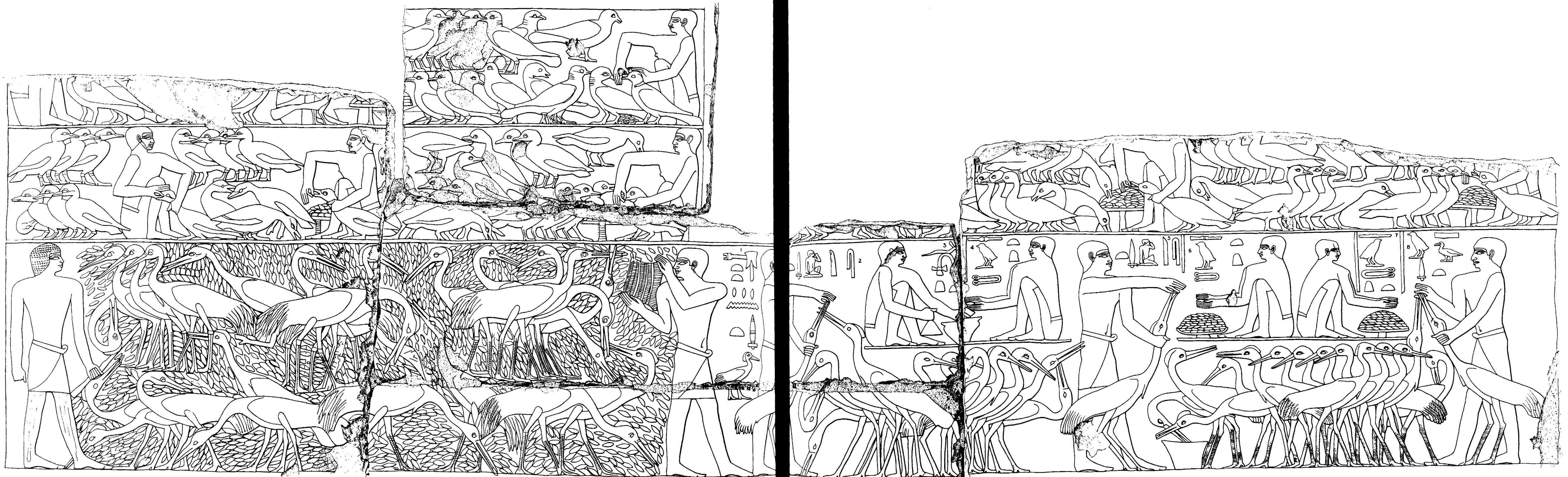
SCRIBES RECORDING AND THE STEWARD PRESENTING THE LIST OF KILLED ANIMALS BROUGHT TO MERERUKA AS MORTUARY OFFERINGS

SOUTH WALL, SCENE 4

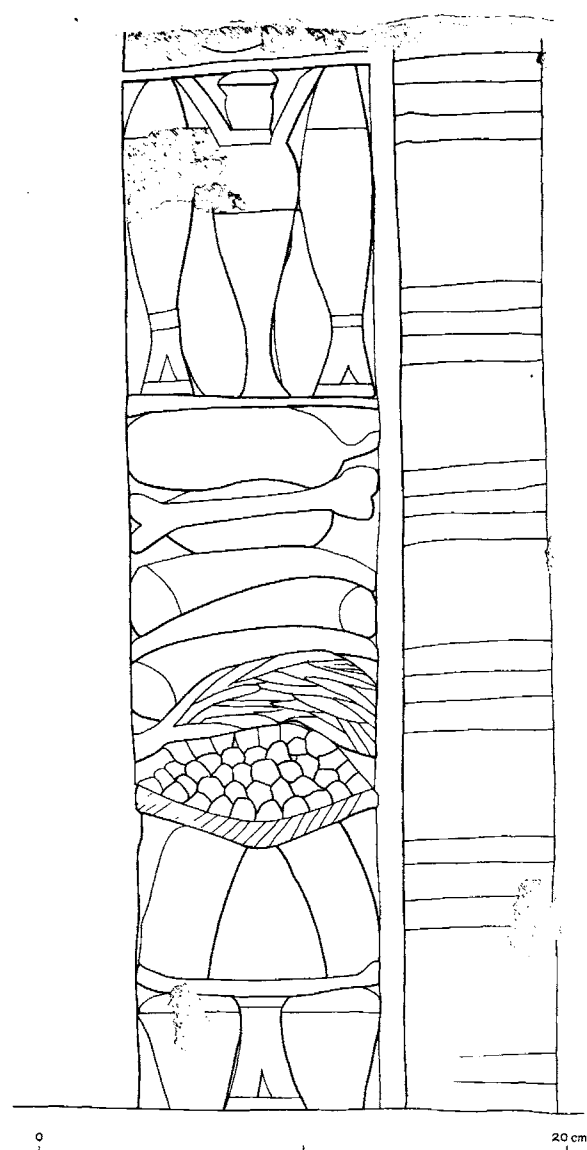
COMPARE DUBOIS, PLATE 51



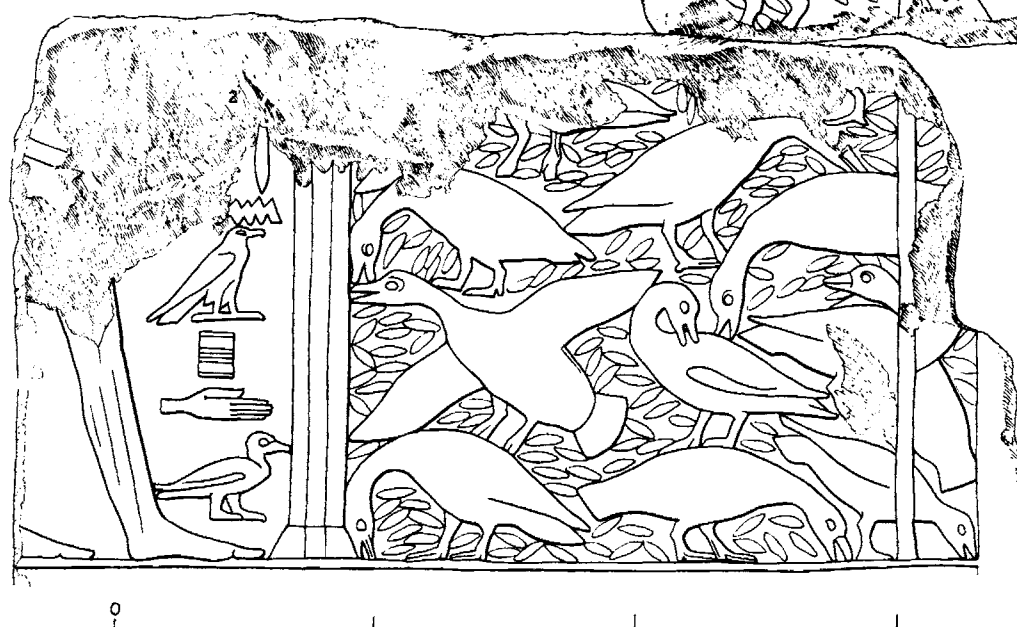
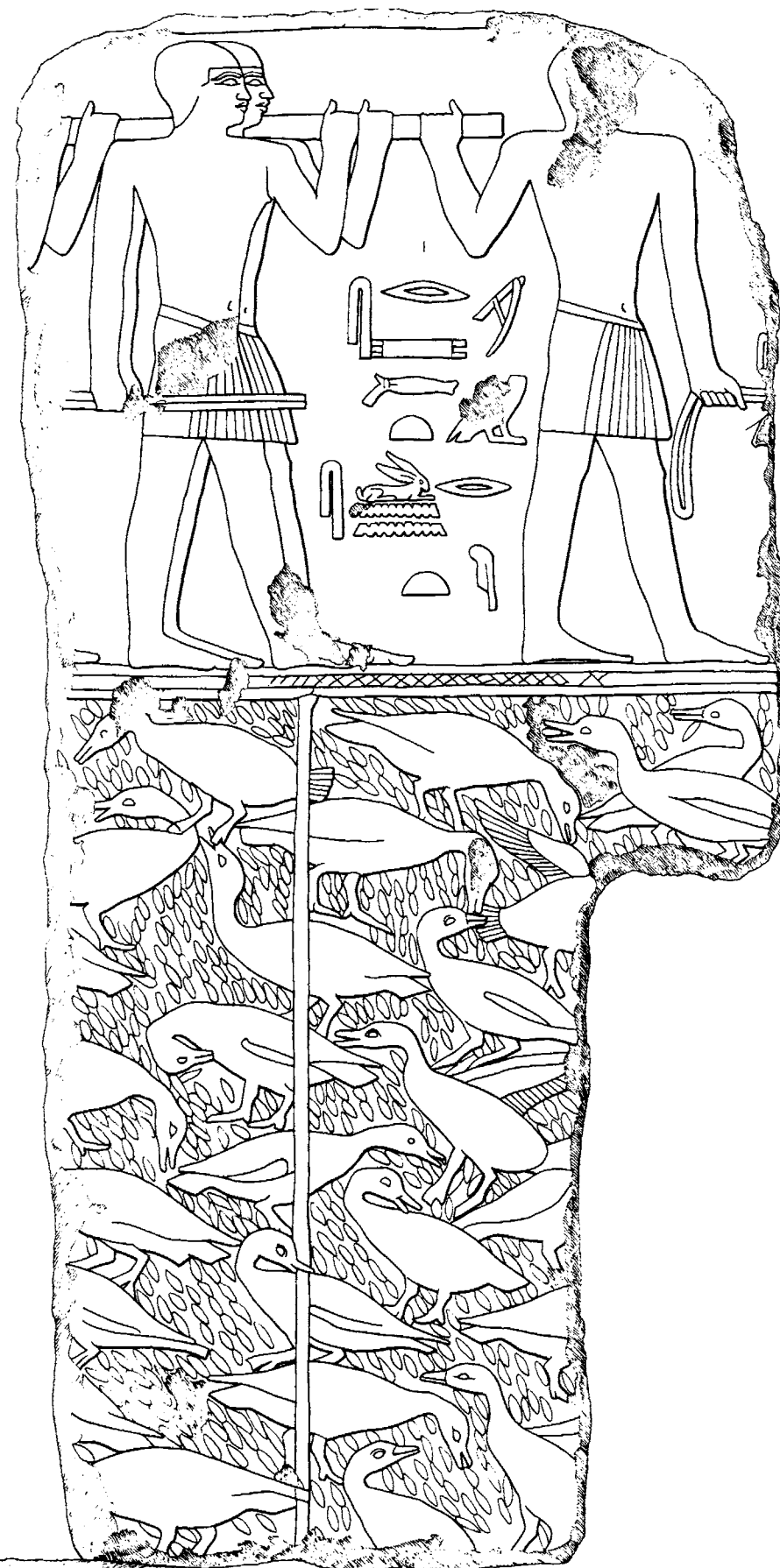
SCRIBES RECORDING AND THE STEWARD PRESENTING THE LIST OF OFFERED ANIMALS BROUGHT TO MERERUKA AS MORTUARY OFFERINGS
SOUTH WALL SCENE 4



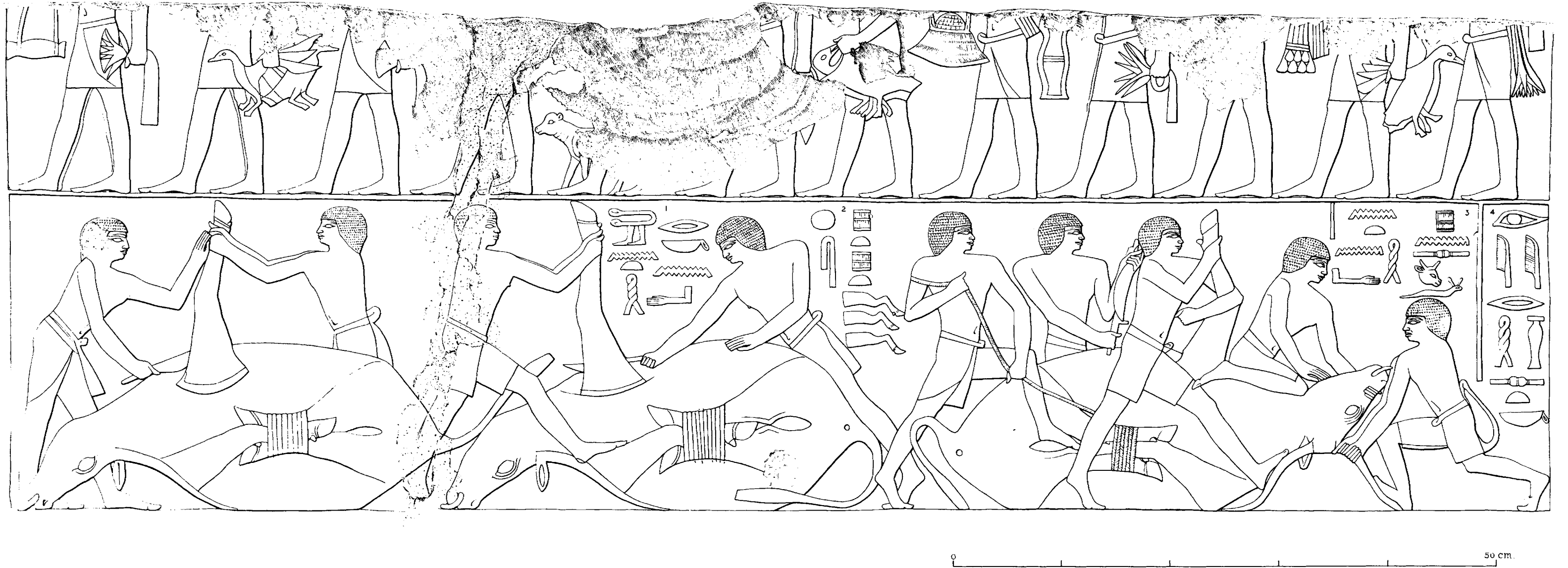
SERVANTS FORCIBLY FEEDING AND SCATTERING GRAIN TO CRANES AND OTHER FOWL
WEST WALL (CONTINUED ON PLATE 53 B)



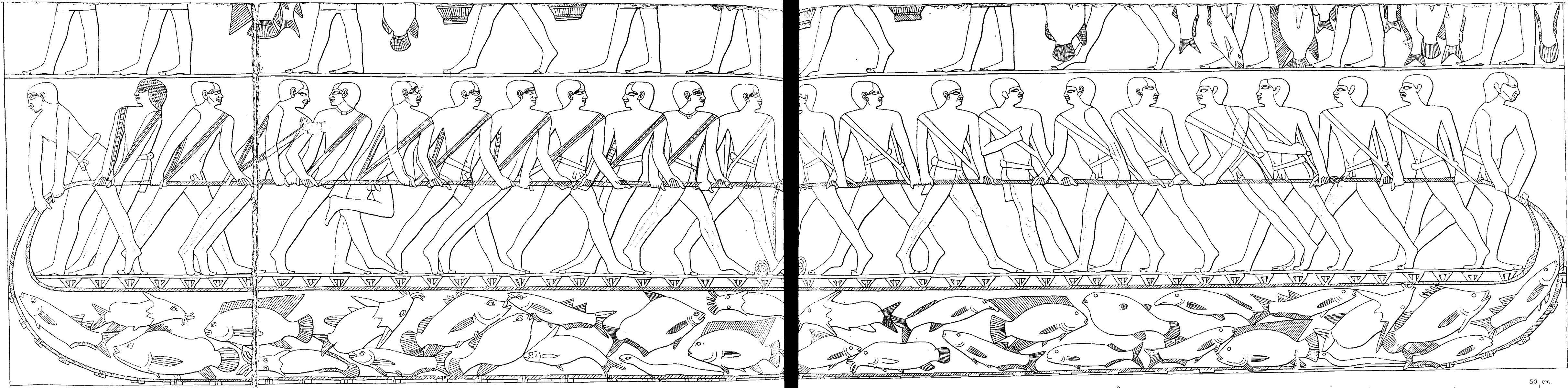
A. FOOD OFFERINGS
NORTH WALL, SCENE 1



B. SERVANTS SCATTERING GRAIN TO FOWL IN AN INCLOSURE;
OTHERS BEARING A PALANQUIN
WEST WALL (CONTINUED FROM PLATE 52)

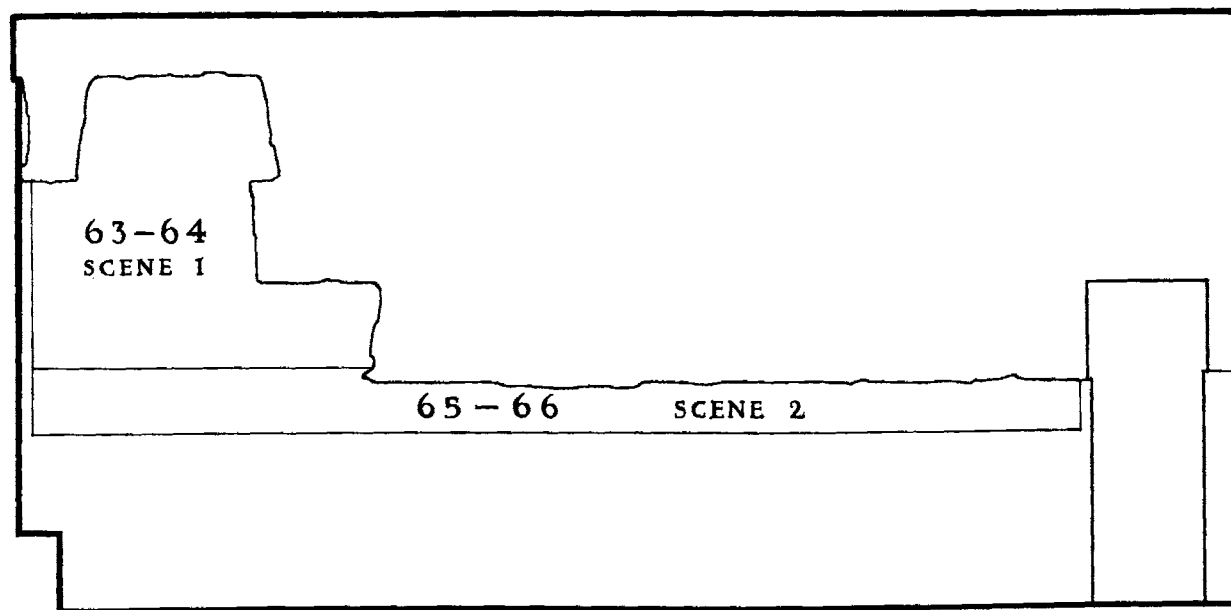


SERVANTS CUTTING HAUNCHES FROM OXEN AS OFFERINGS FOR MERERUKA; OTHERS BEARING OFFERINGS
NORTH WALL, SCENE 2

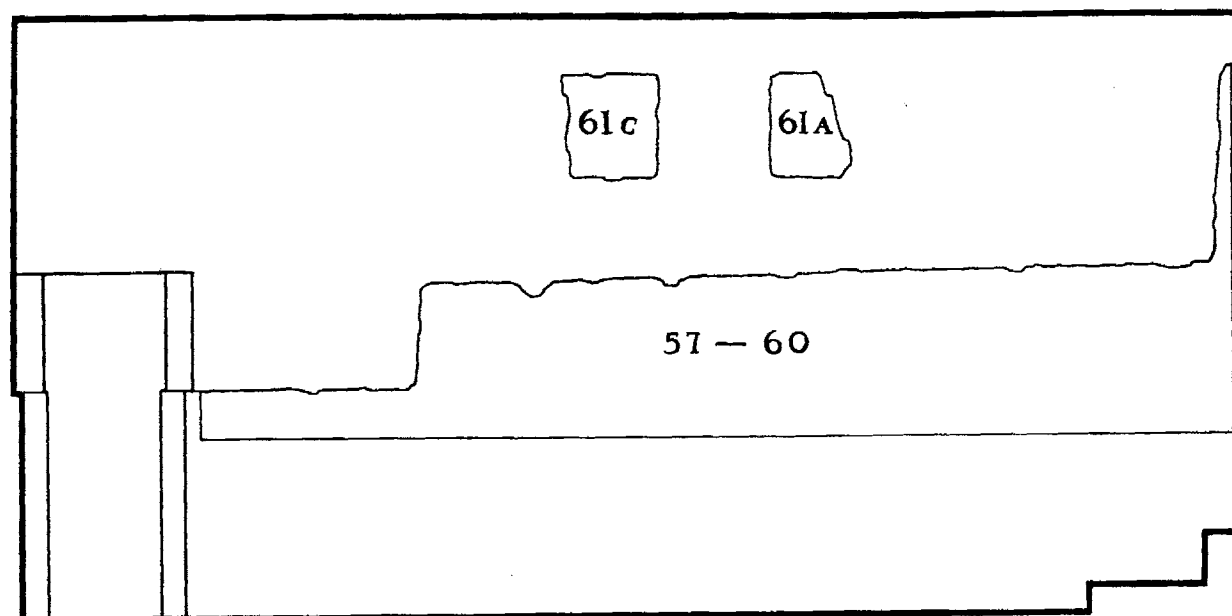


FISHERMEN HAULING IN A LARGE SEINE; SERVANTS CARRYING THE FISH CATCH AS AN OFFERING TO MERERUKA
NORTH WALL SCENE 4

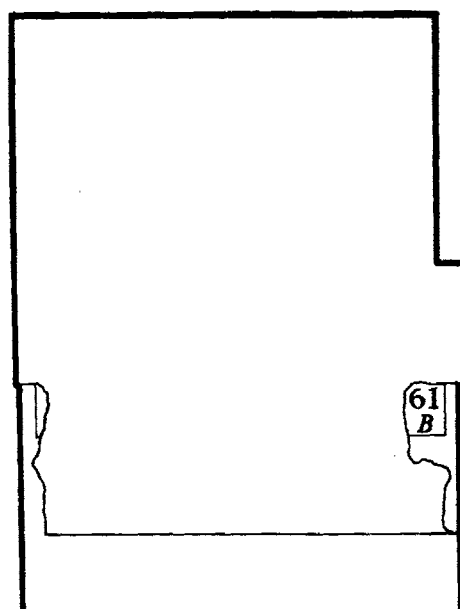
CHAMBER A 8



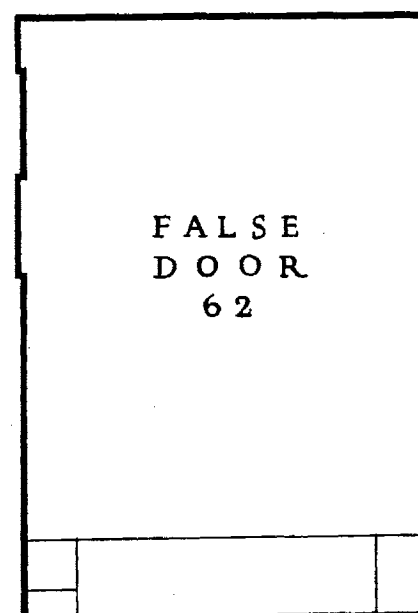
NORTH WALL



SOUTH WALL



EAST WALL



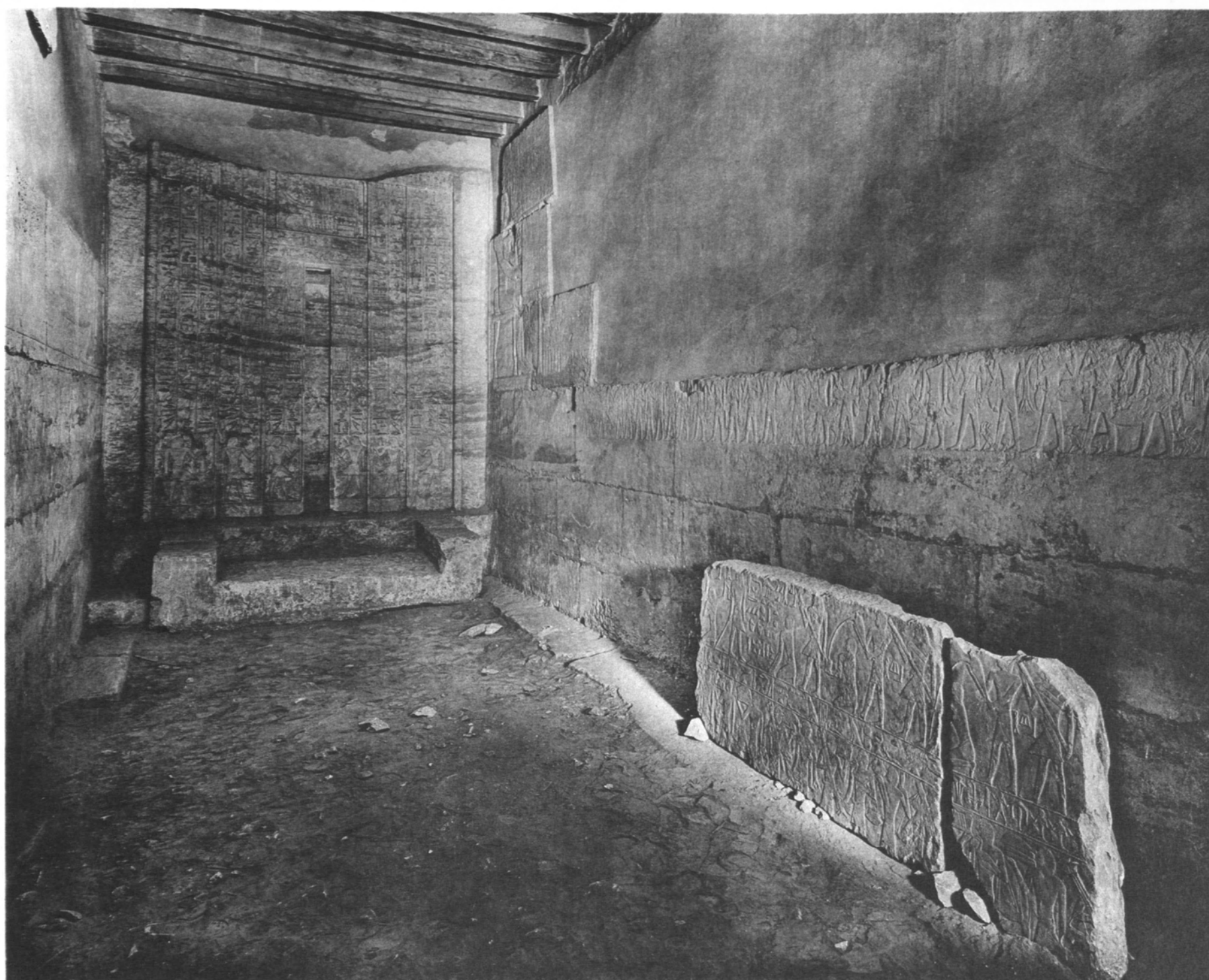
WEST WALL



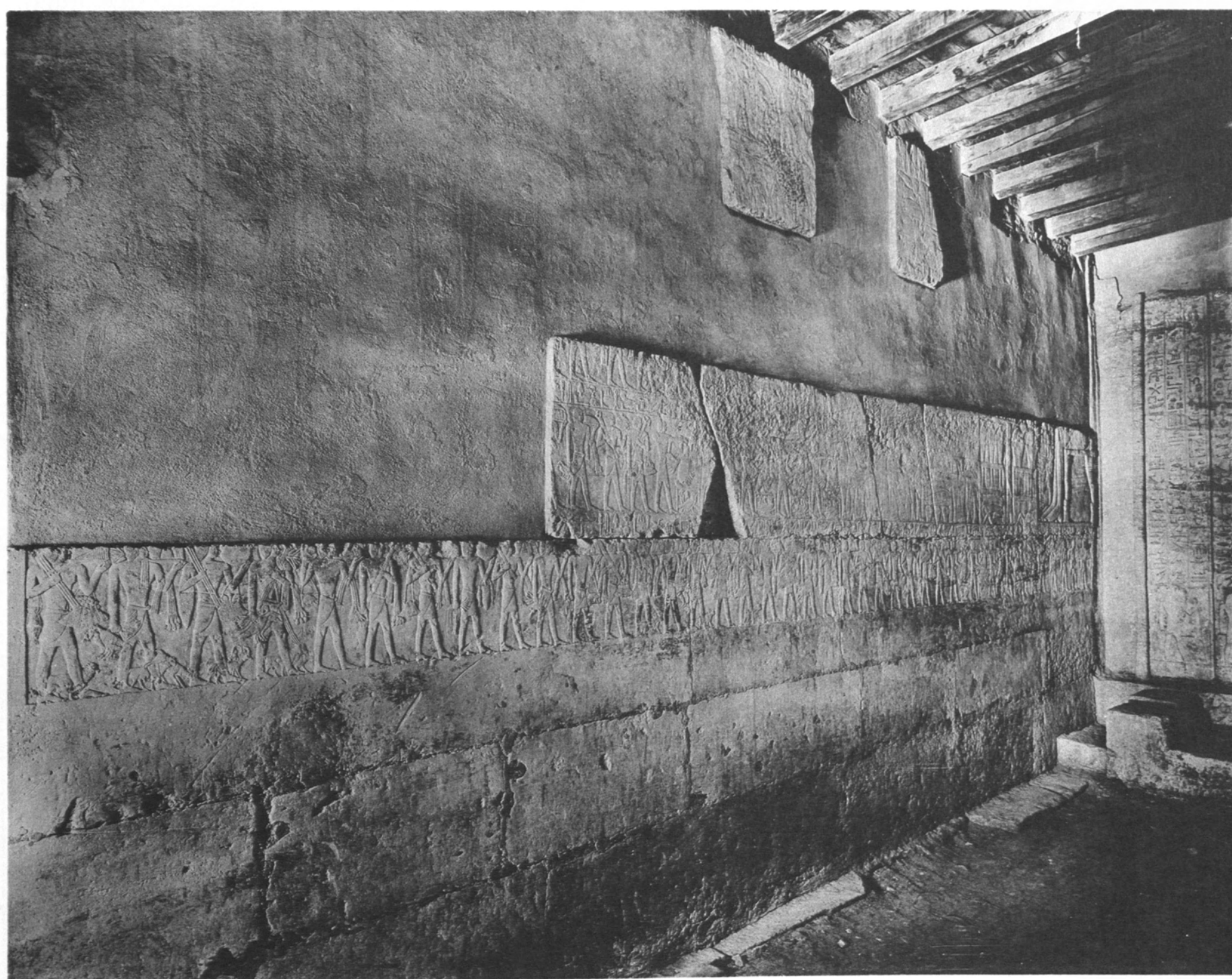
CHAMBER A 8

ELEVATIONS OF THE WALLS, SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF SCENES

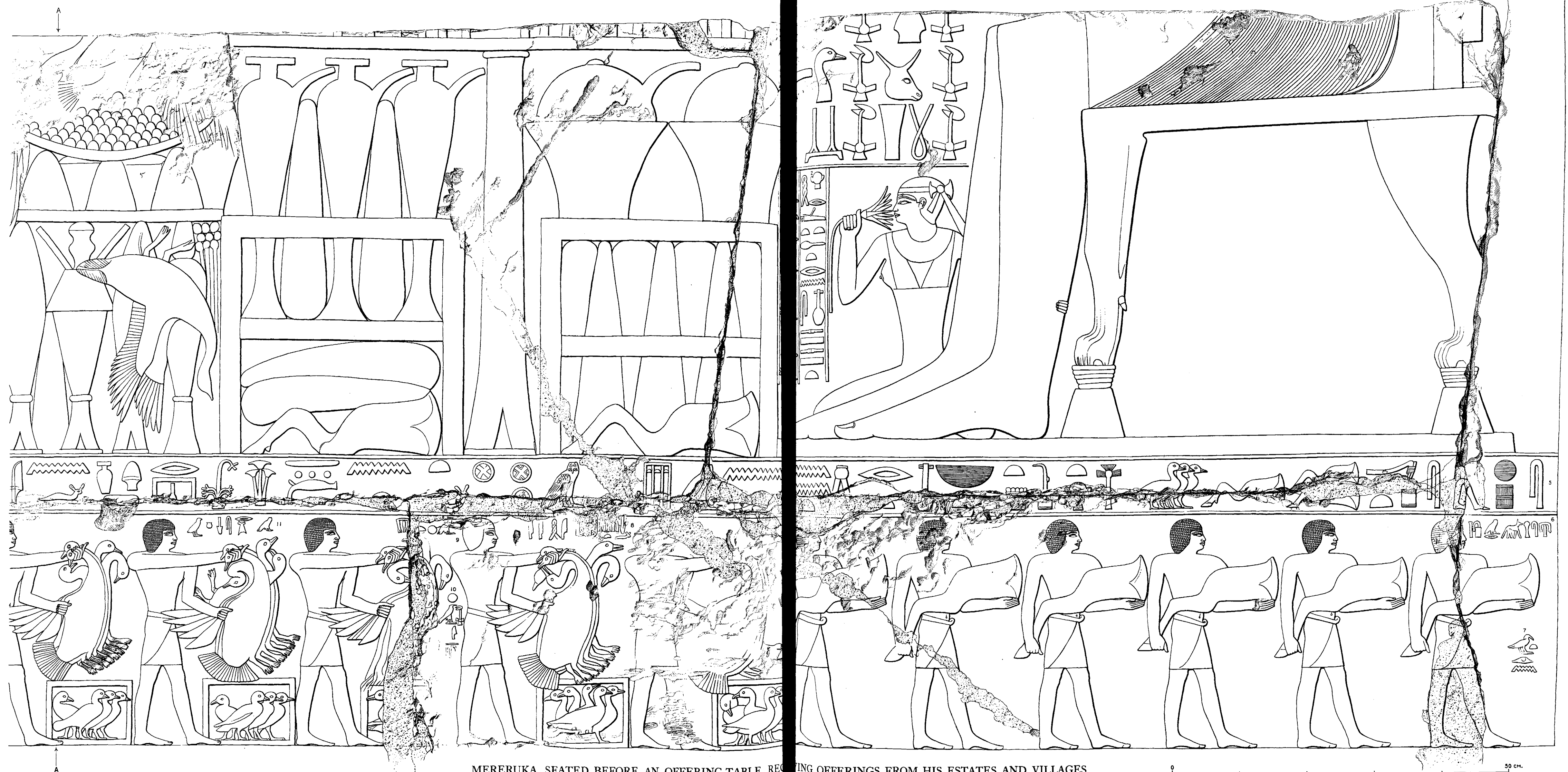
The numbers correspond to those shown on the plan facing Plate 2 and refer to plates of this volume. Scale, 1:50



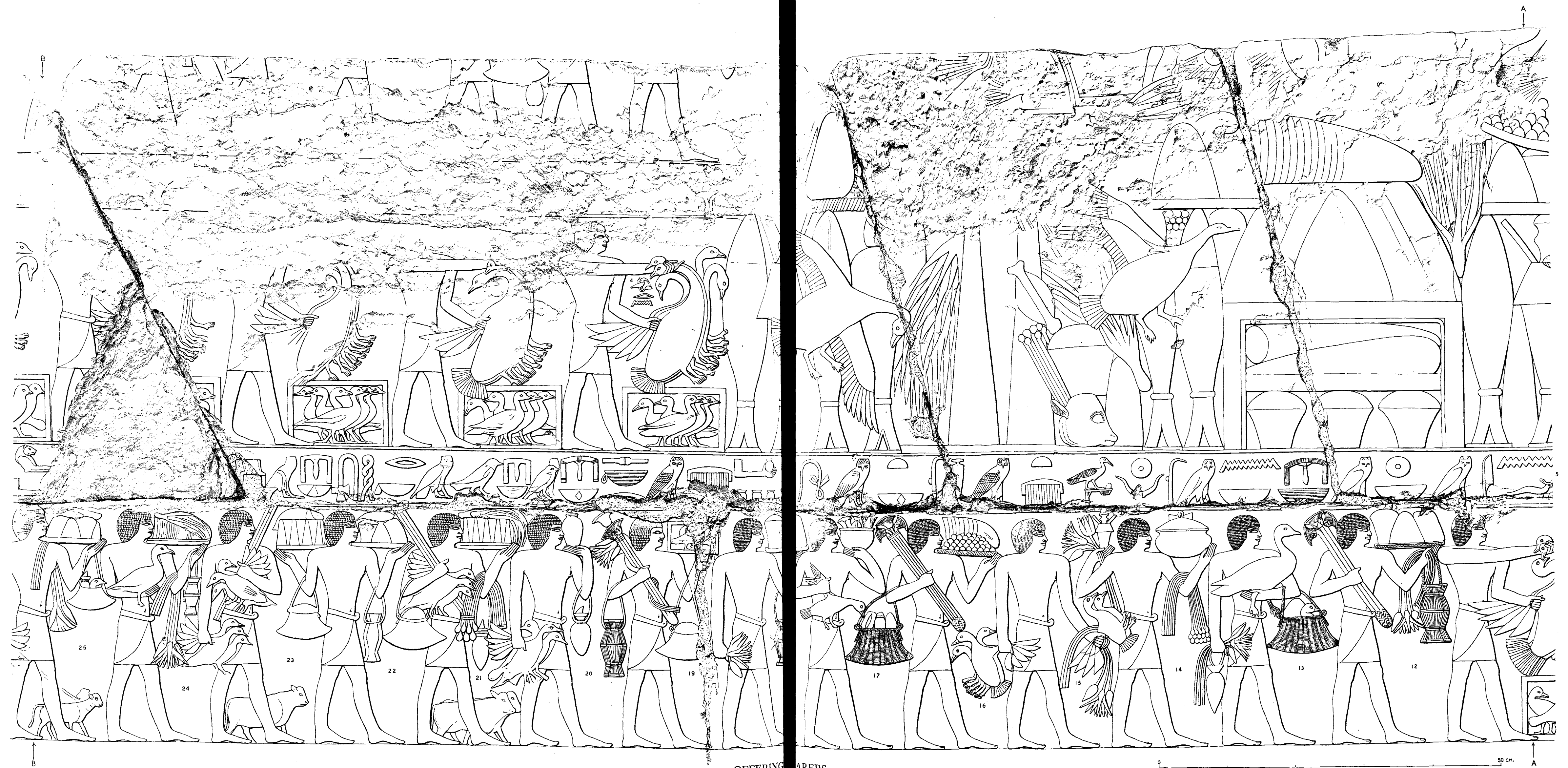
A. INTERIOR, LOOKING WEST BY NORTH
THE DETACHED FRAGMENT AT RIGHT (SEE PLATE 67) BELONGS TO THE NORTH WALL



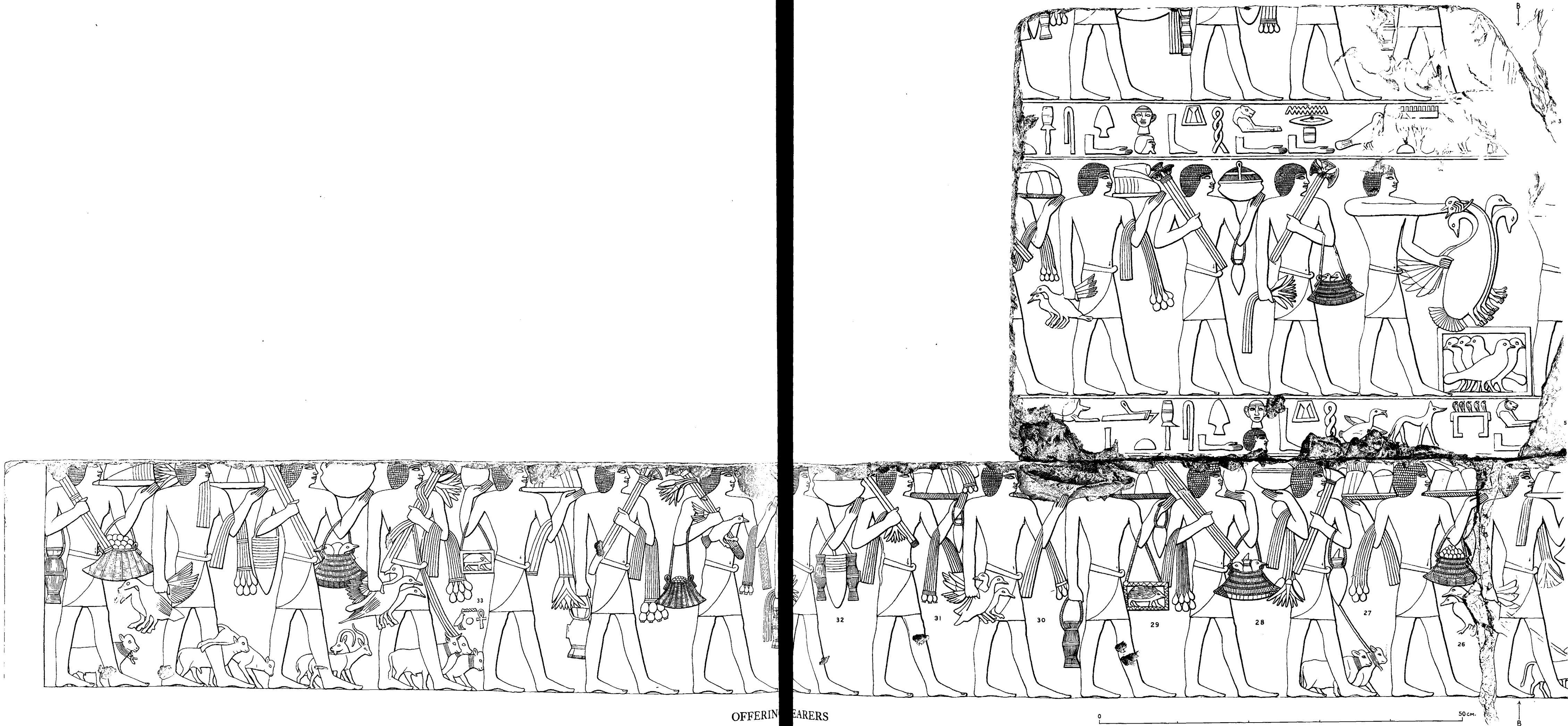
B. INTERIOR, LOOKING WEST BY SOUTH



MERERUKA, SEATED BEFORE AN OFFERING-TABLE, RECEIVING OFFERINGS FROM HIS ESTATES AND VILLAGES
SOUTH WALL (CONTINUATION OF PLATES 58-59)
COMPARE PLATE 60 A

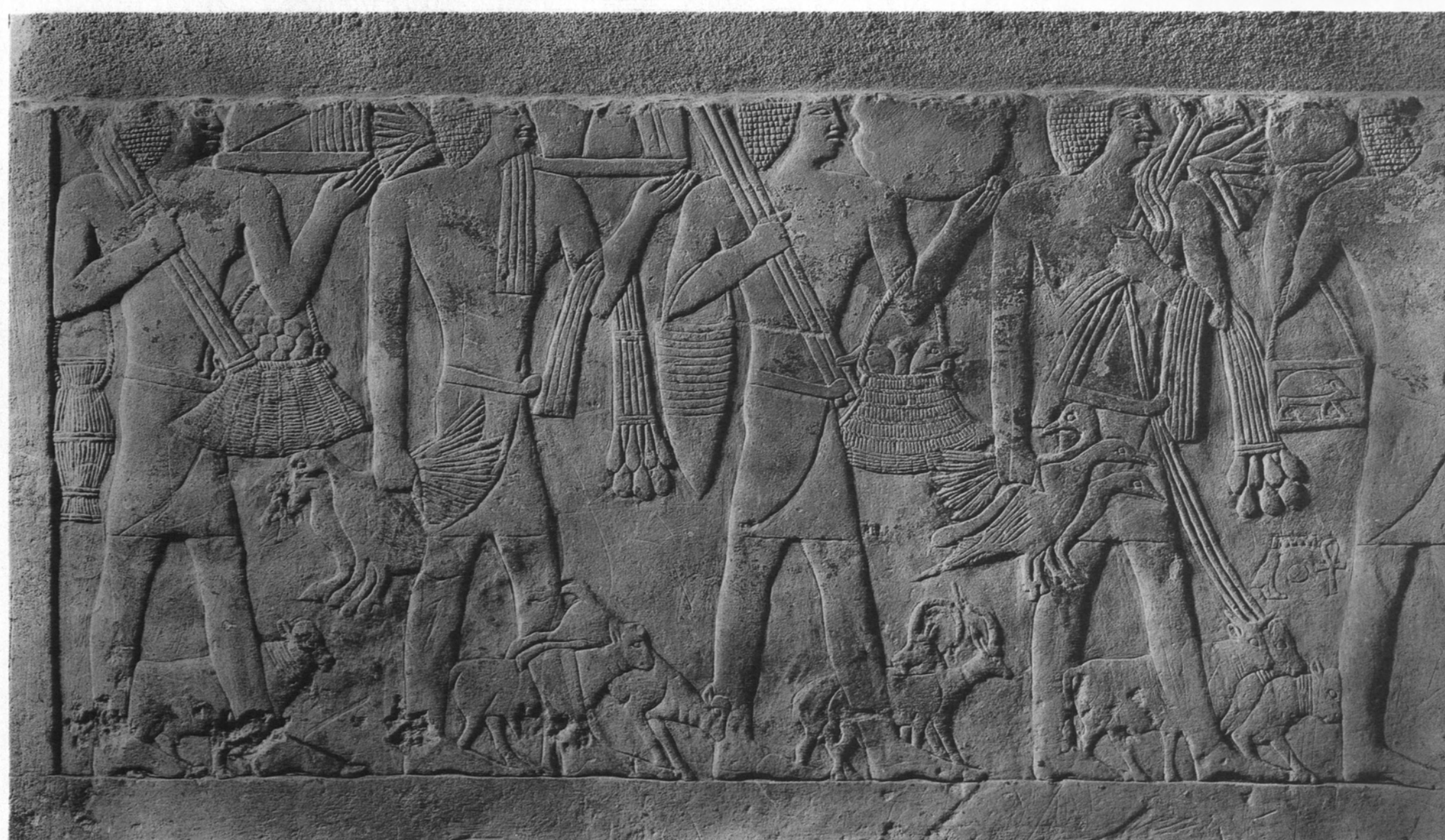


OFFERING
SOUTH WALL (CONTINUED FROM PLATE 57)
The numbers standing alone refer to traces of painted inscriptions

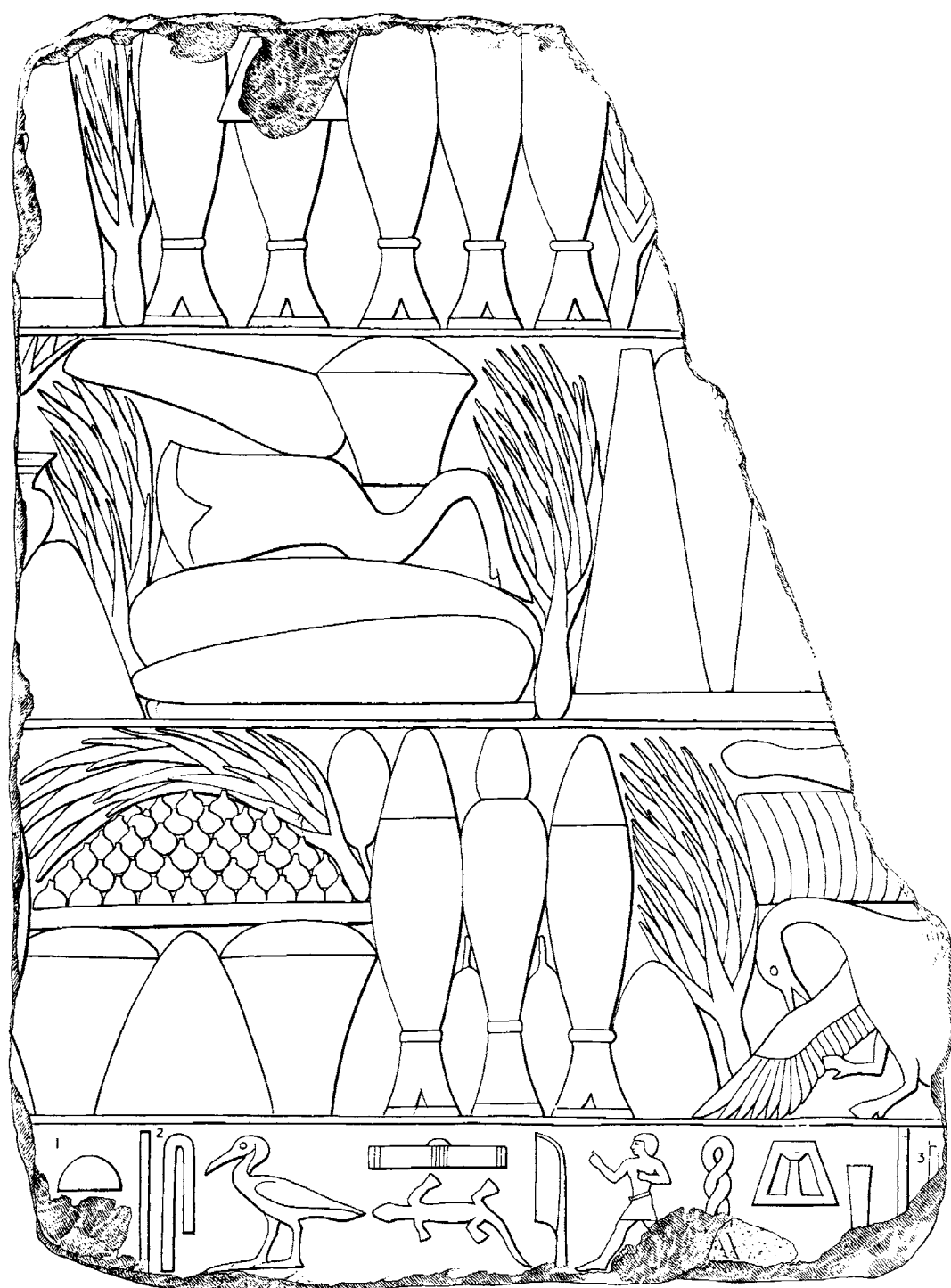




A. MEN WITH GEESE
DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 57



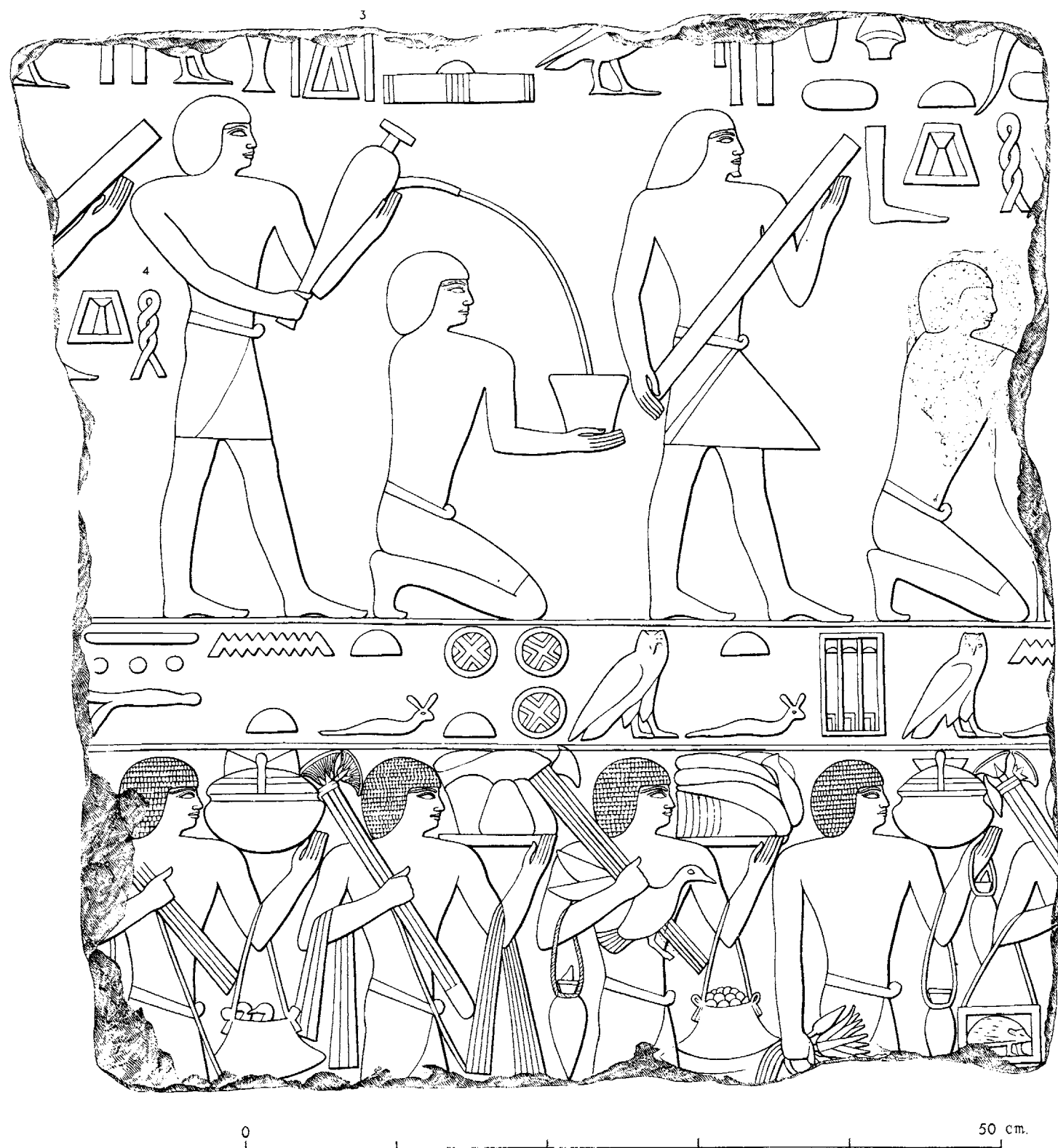
B. MEN WITH ANIMALS
DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 59



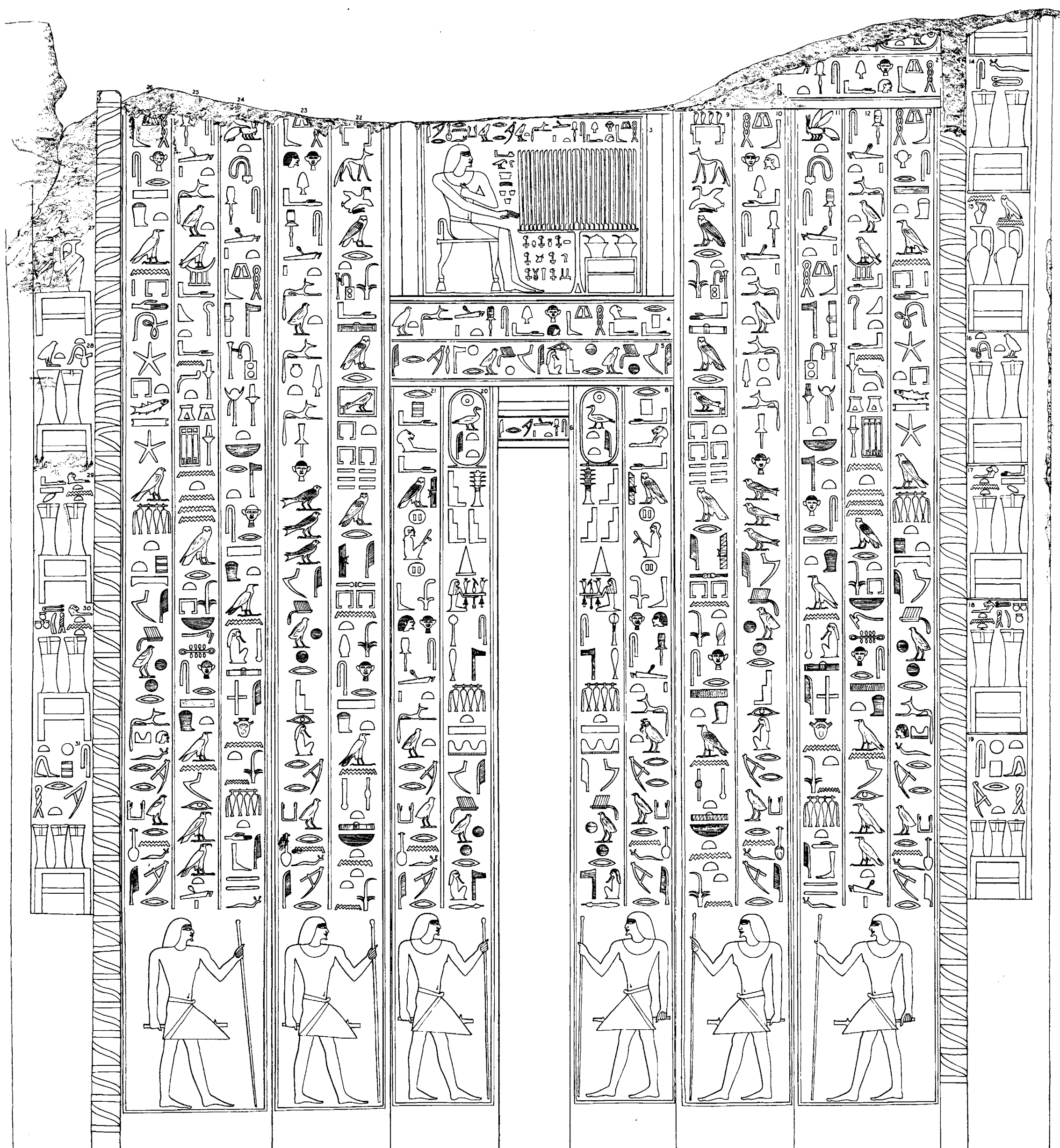
A. FOOD OFFERINGS
FRAGMENT BELONGING TO NORTH WALL BUT NOW FIXED IN
UPPER PORTION OF SOUTH WALL



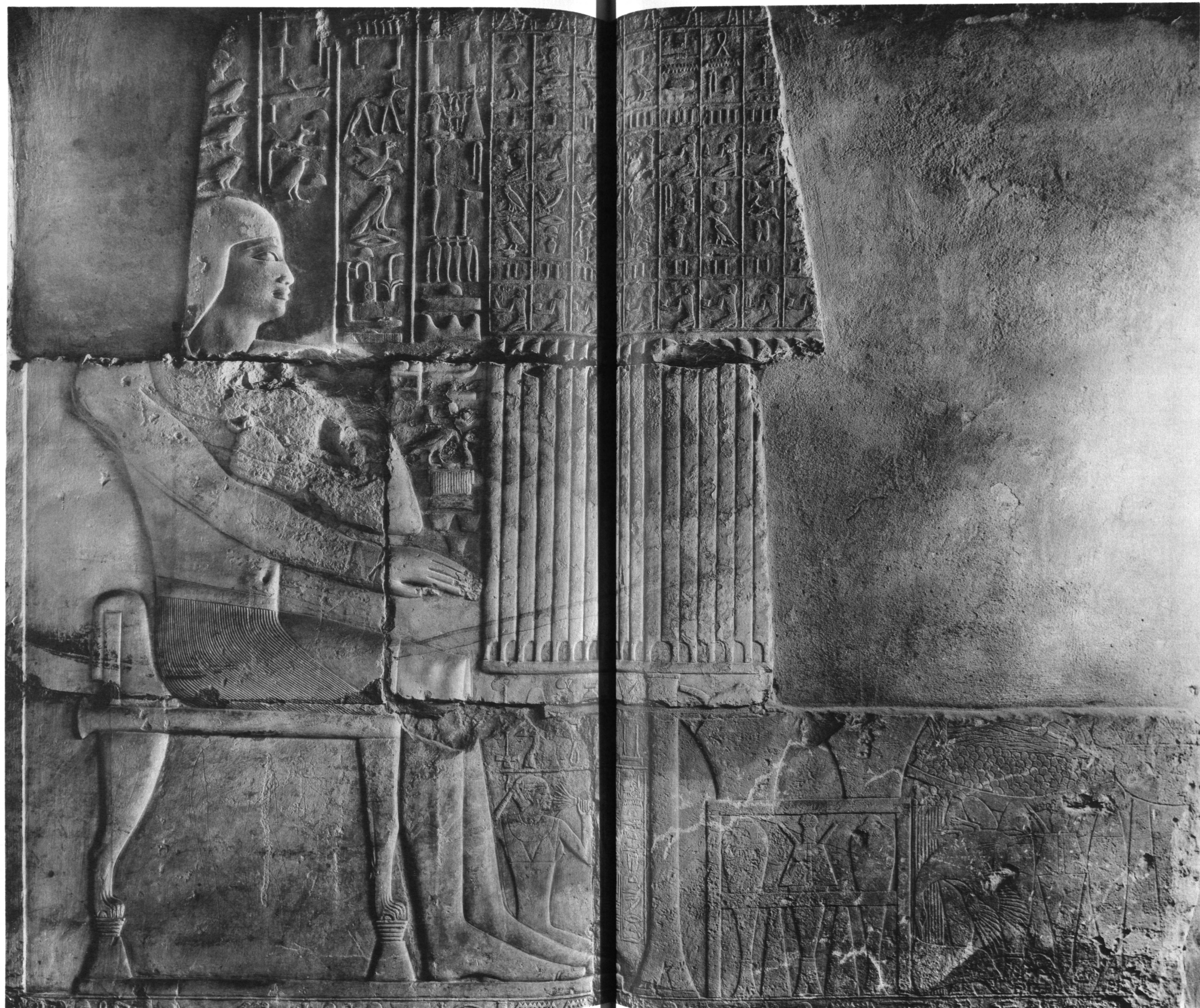
**B. FRAGMENT OF A BUTCHERING
SCENE**
EAST WALL



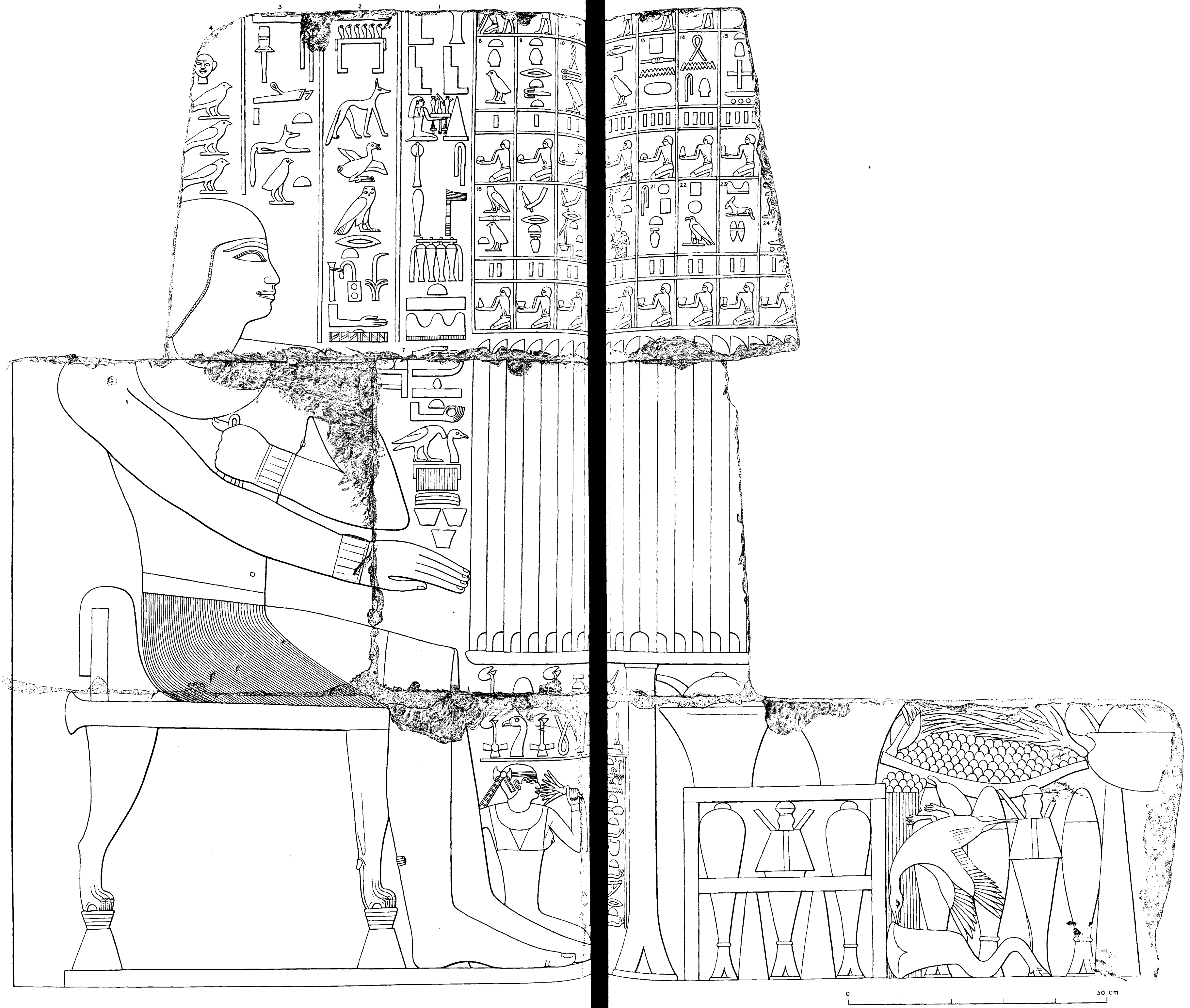
C. OFFERING-BEARERS; LECTOR PRIESTS PERFORMING FUNERARY RITES
FRAGMENT BELONGING TO AND NOW FIXED IN UPPER PORTION OF SOUTH WALL



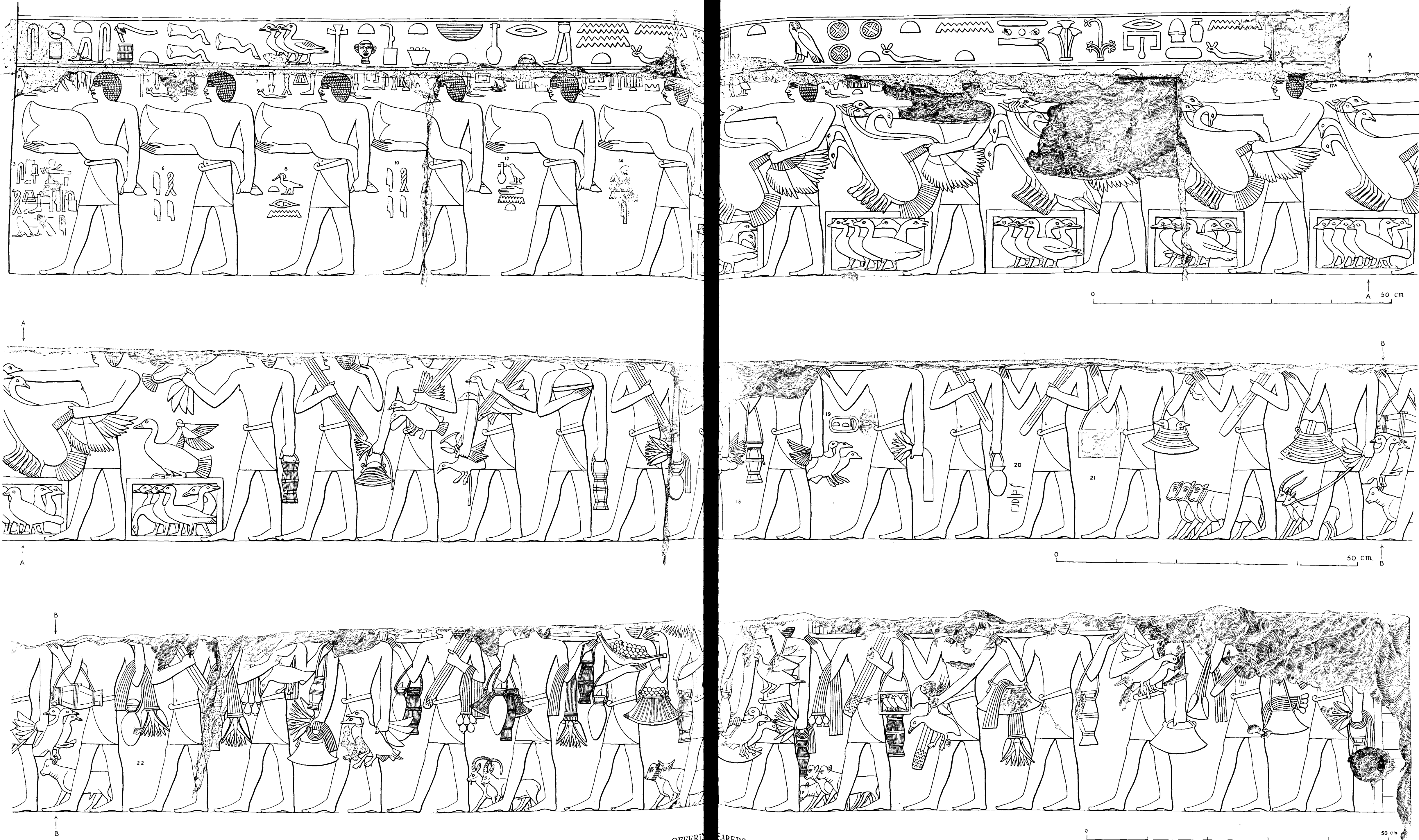
FALSE DOOR
WEST WALL



MERERUKA, SEATED BEFORE AN OFFERING-TABLE, RECEIVING OFFERINGS (SHOWN ON PLATE 65) FROM HIS ESTATES AND VILLAGES
NORTH WALL SCENE 1
COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 64



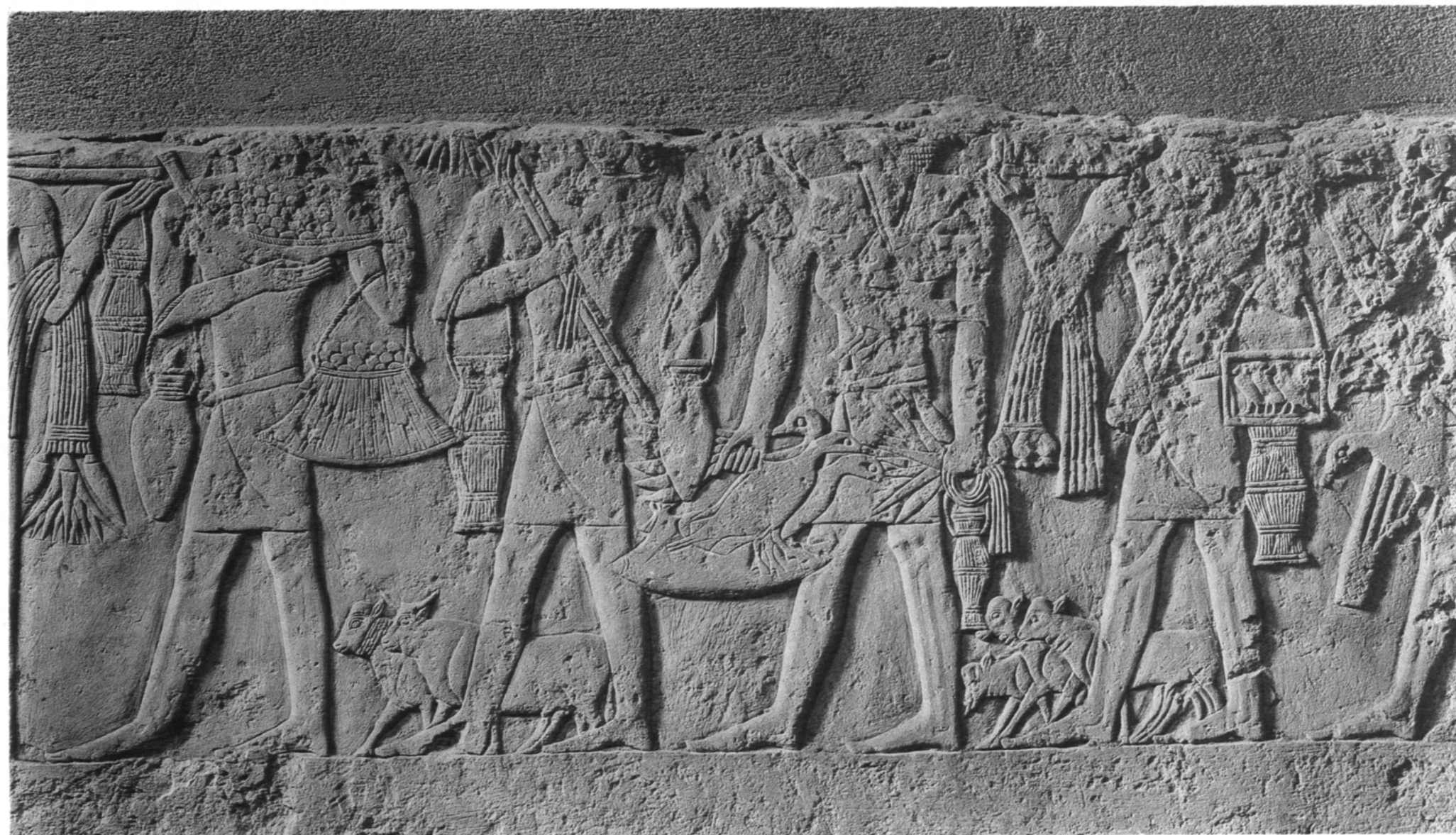
MERERUKA, SEATED BEFORE AN OFFERING-TABLE, RECEIVING OFFERINGS (SHOWN ON PLATE 65) FROM HIS ESTATES AND VILLAGES



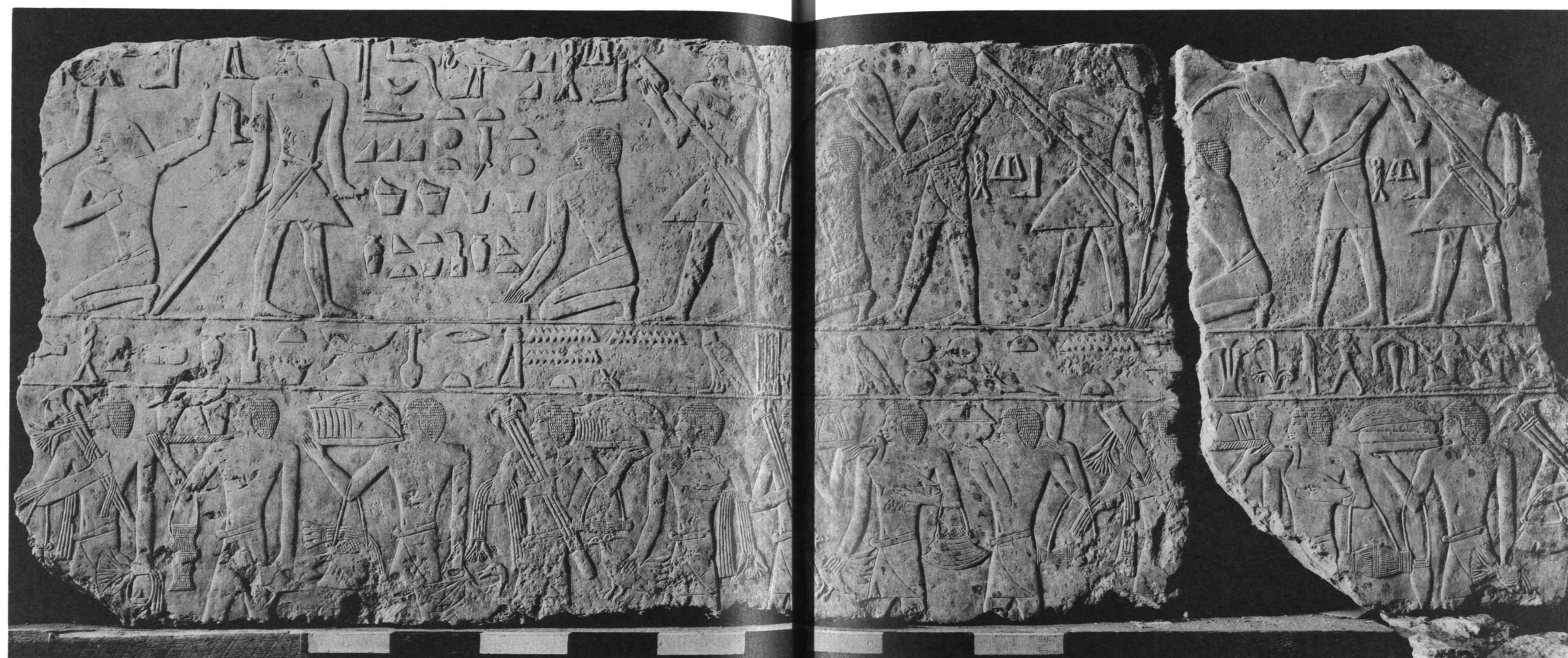
OFFERING BEARERS
NORTH WALL SCENE 2
The numbers standing alone represent traces of painted inscriptions



A. MEN WITH ANIMALS
DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 65 *B*



B. MEN WITH ANIMALS
DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 65 *C*

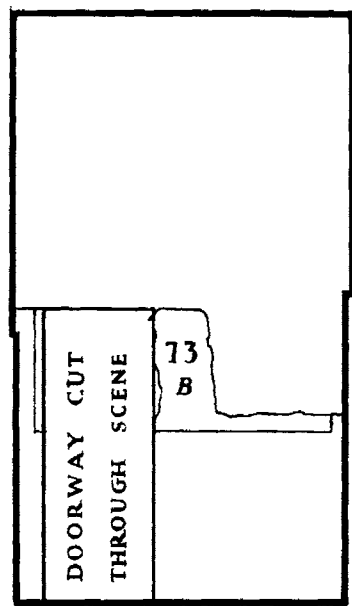


OFFERING-BEARERS; LECTOR PRIESTS PERFORMING FUNERARY RITES

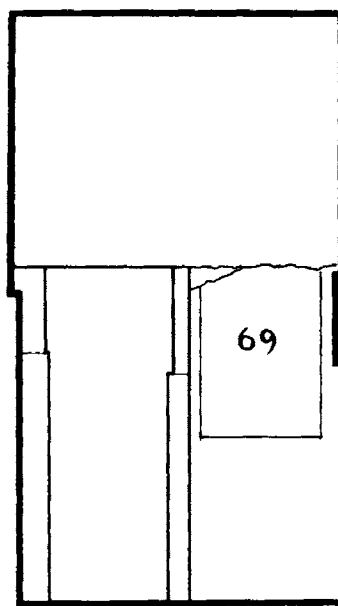
FRAGMENT BELONGING TO NORTH WALL, NOW LYING ON FLOOR

.

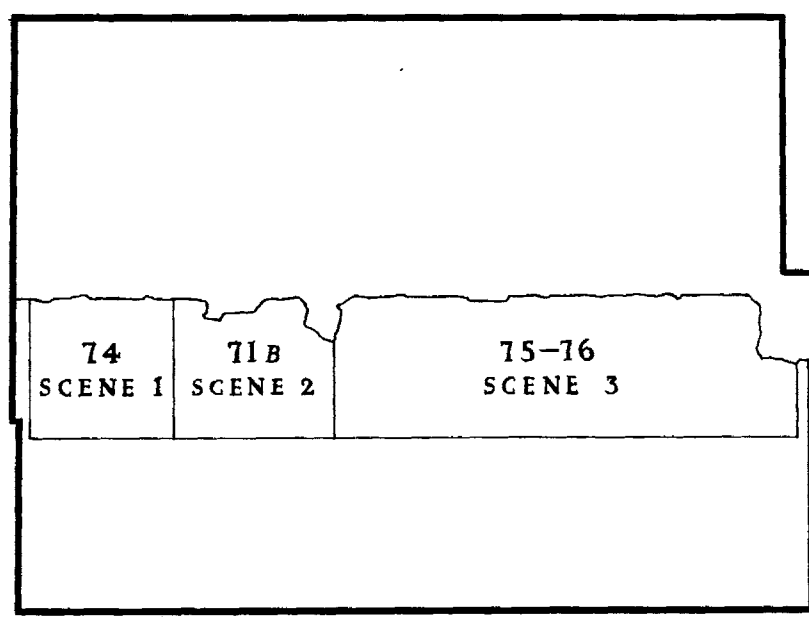
CHAMBER A 9



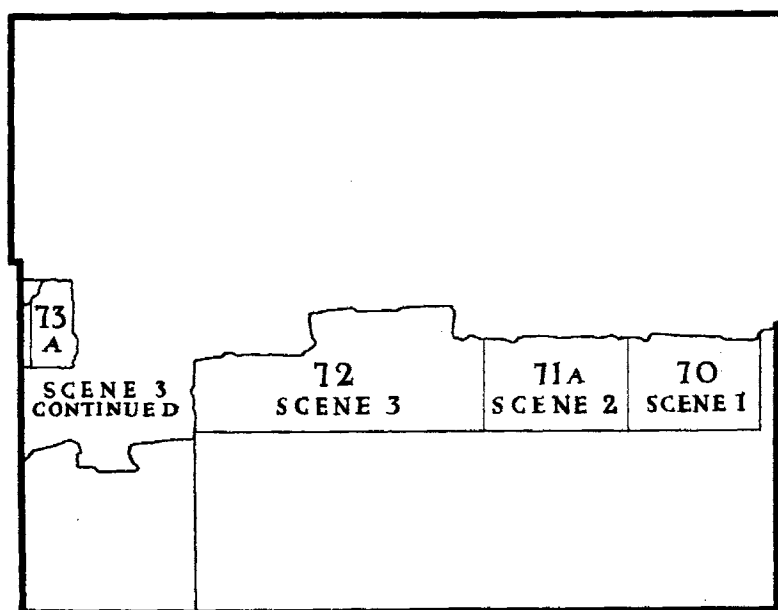
NORTH WALL



SOUTH WALL



EAST WALL



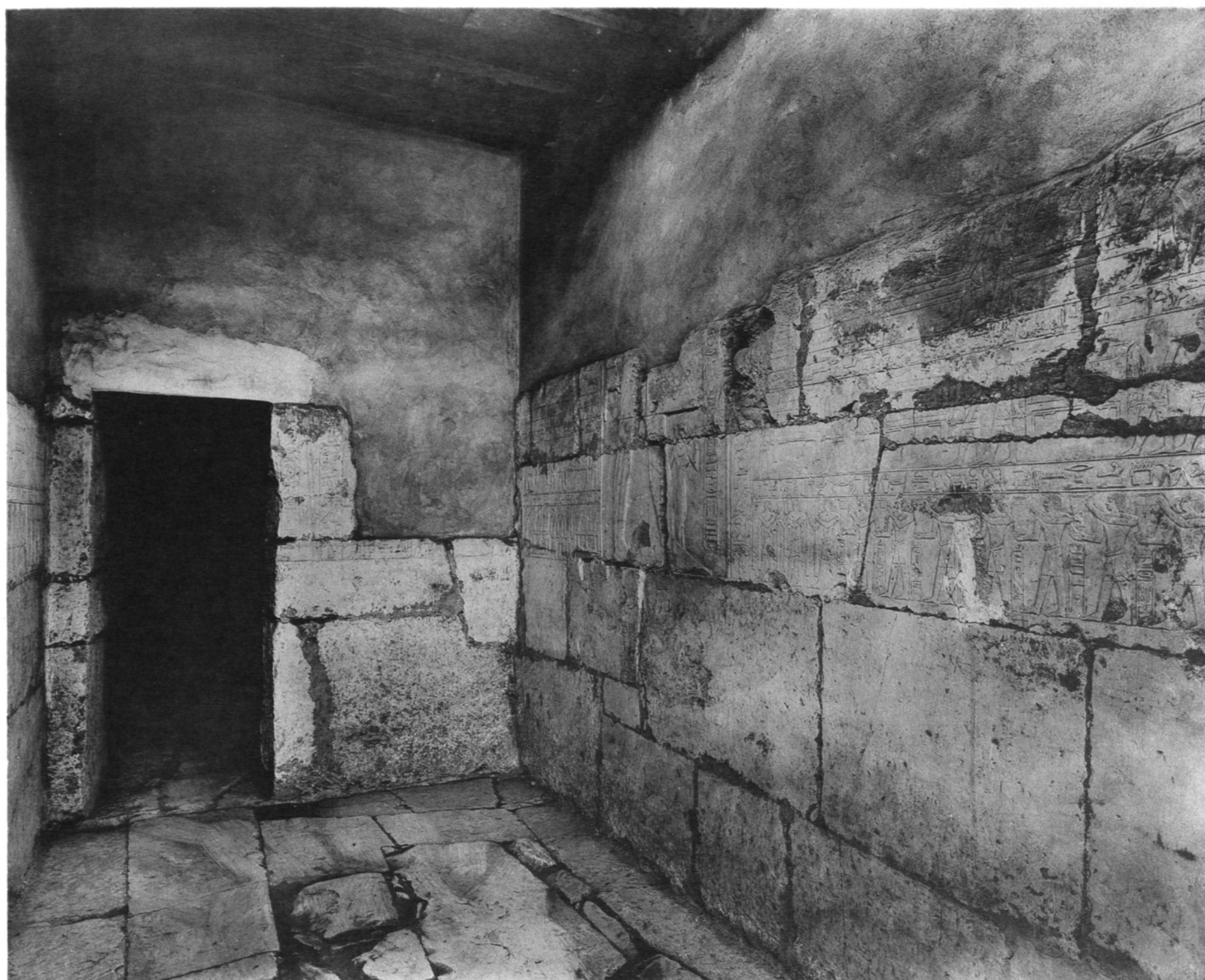
WEST WALL



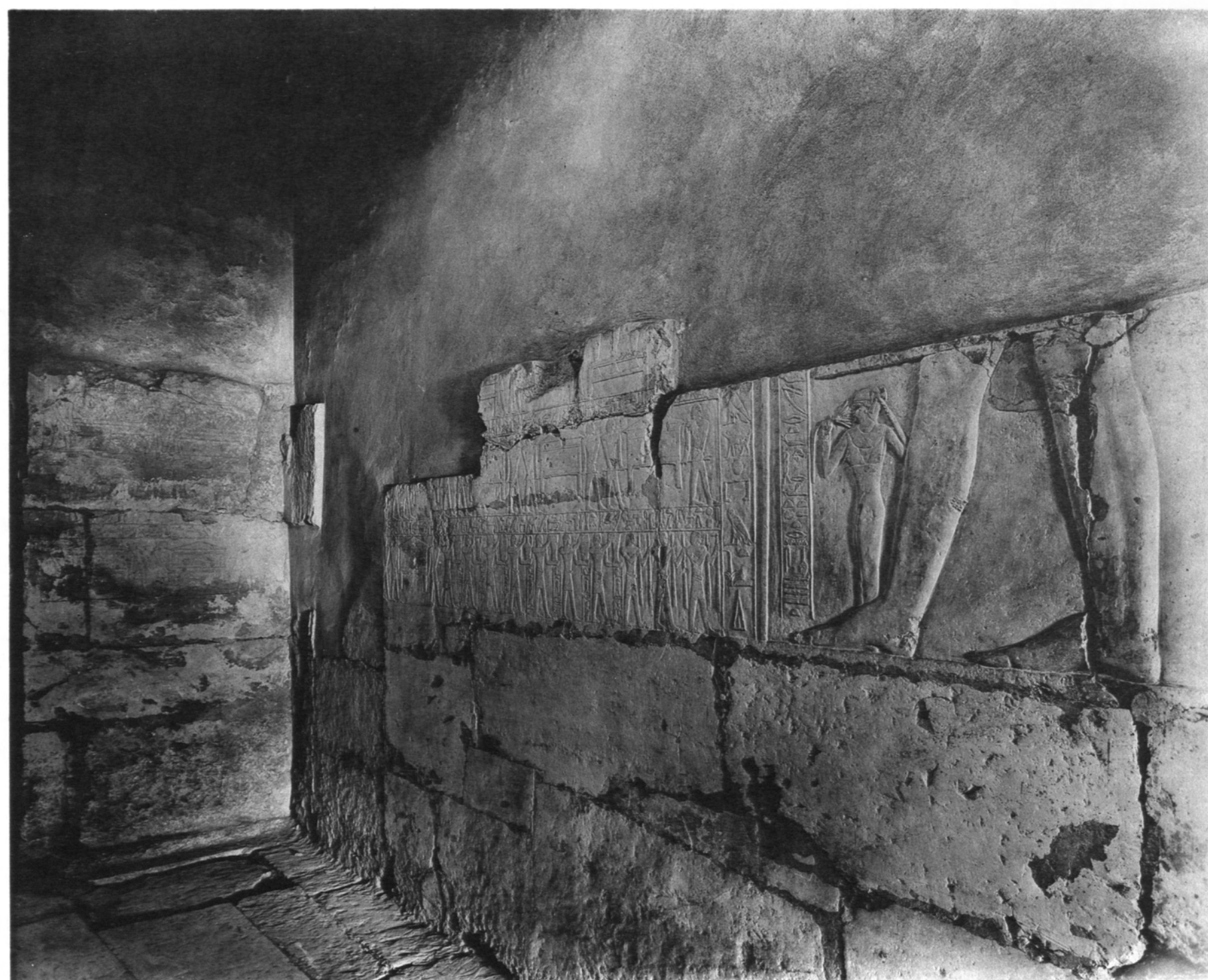
CHAMBER A 9

ELEVATIONS OF THE WALLS, SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF SCENES

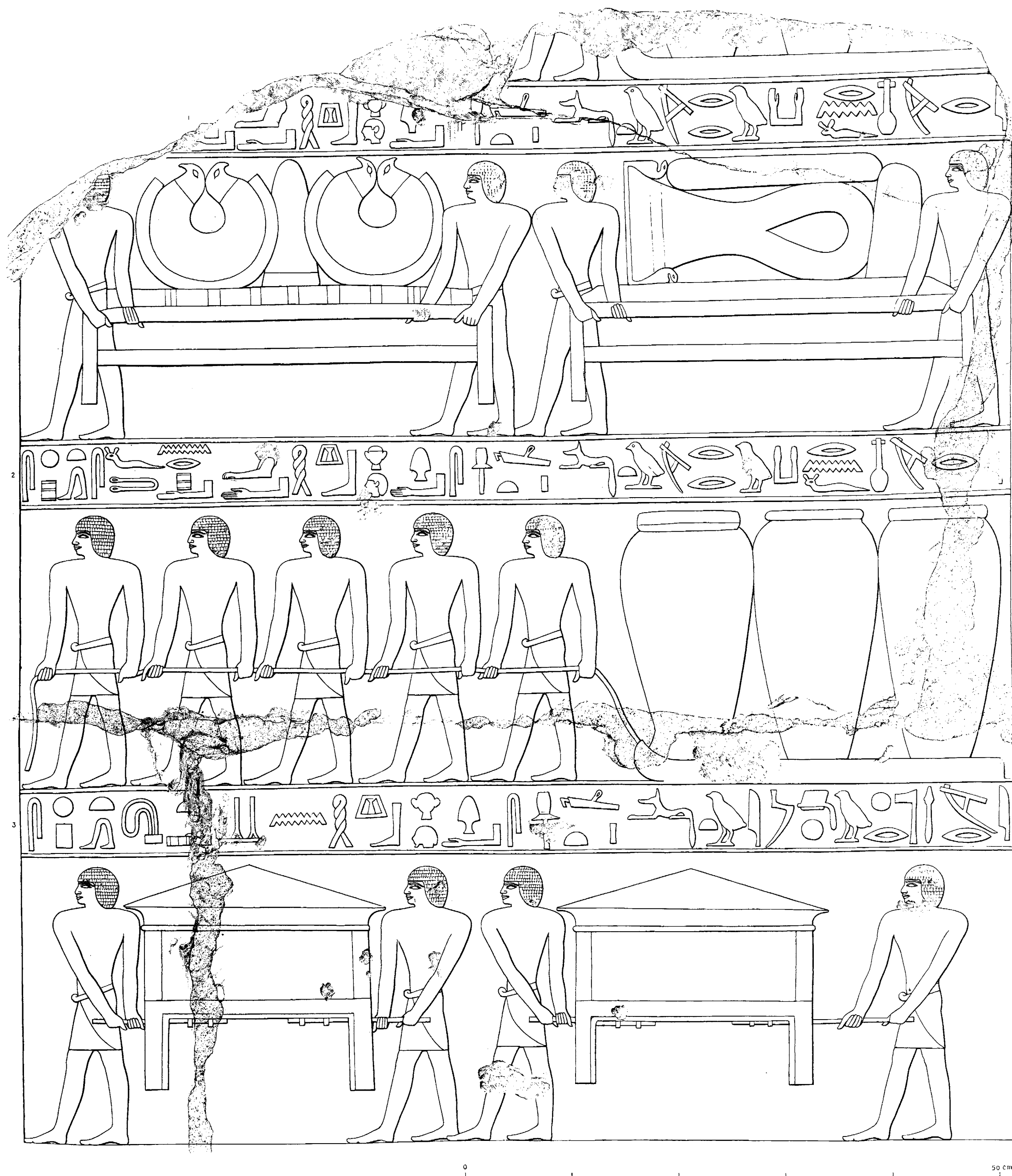
The numbers correspond to those shown on the plan facing Plate 2 and refer to plates of this volume. Scale, 1:50



A. INTERIOR, LOOKING NORTH

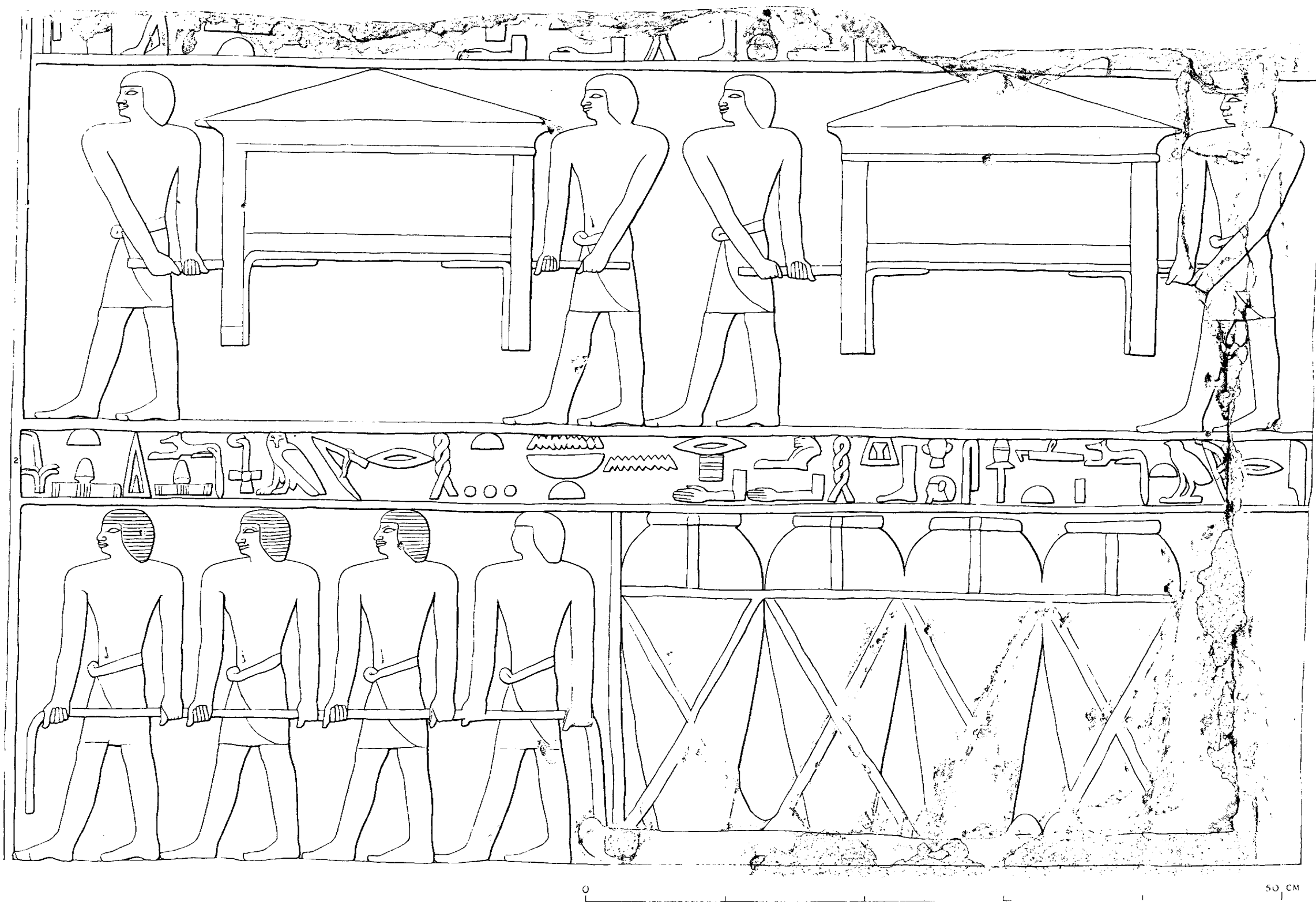


B. INTERIOR, LOOKING SOUTH

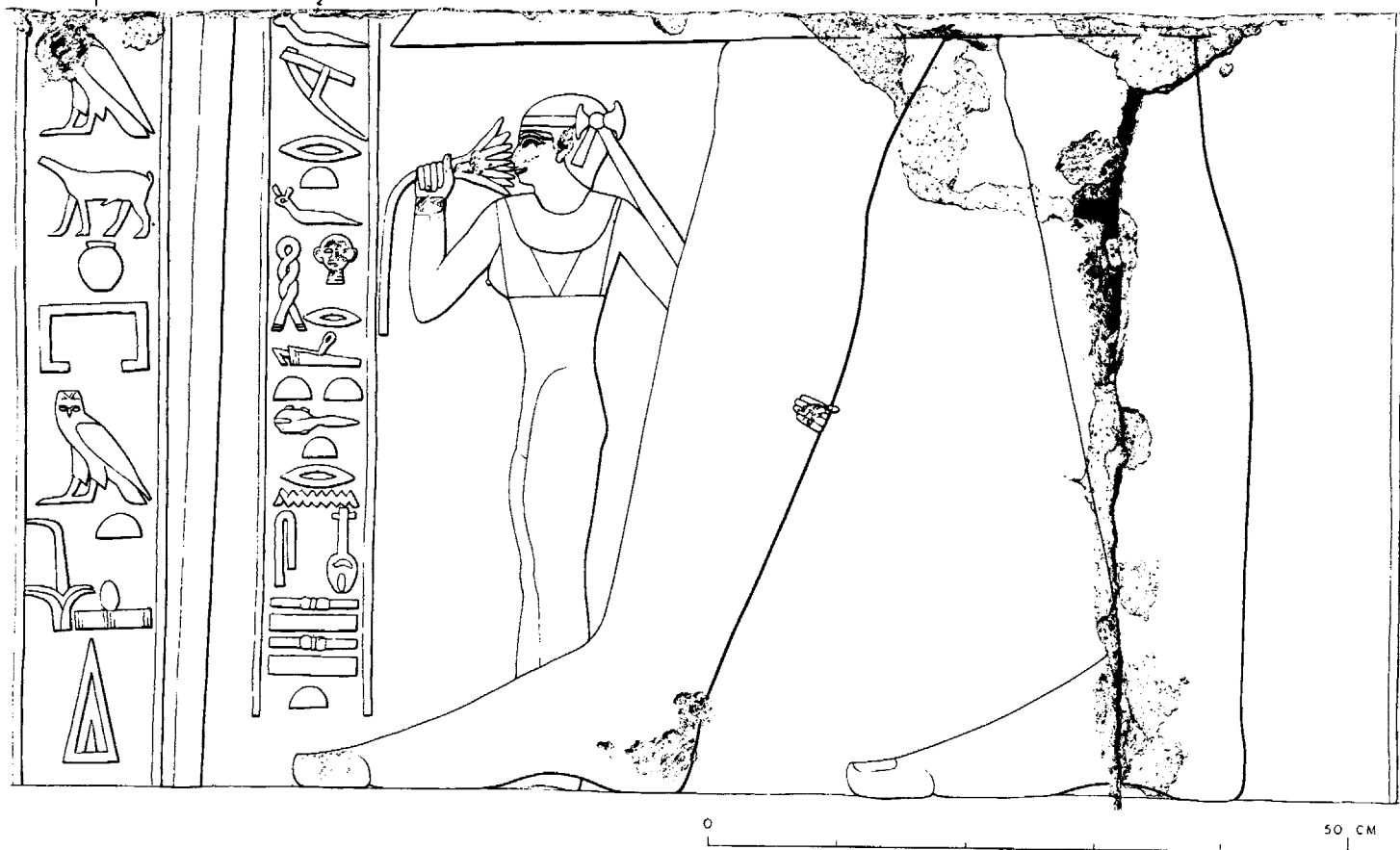


SERVANTS CARRYING CHESTS OF LINEN AND STANDS HOLDING NECKLACES AND PECTORALS;
OTHERS DRAGGING JARS OF OIL ON SLEDGES

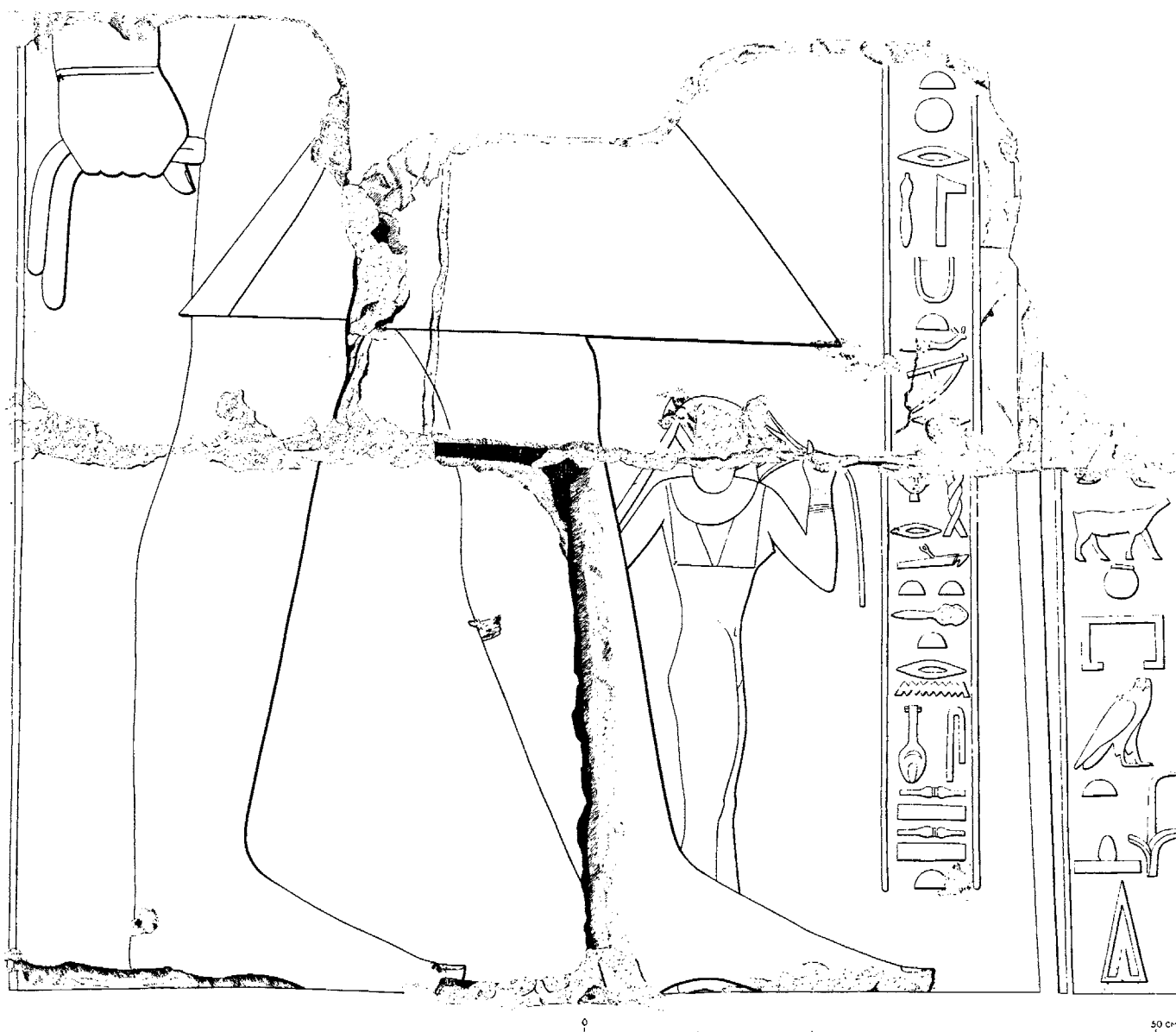
SOUTH WALL



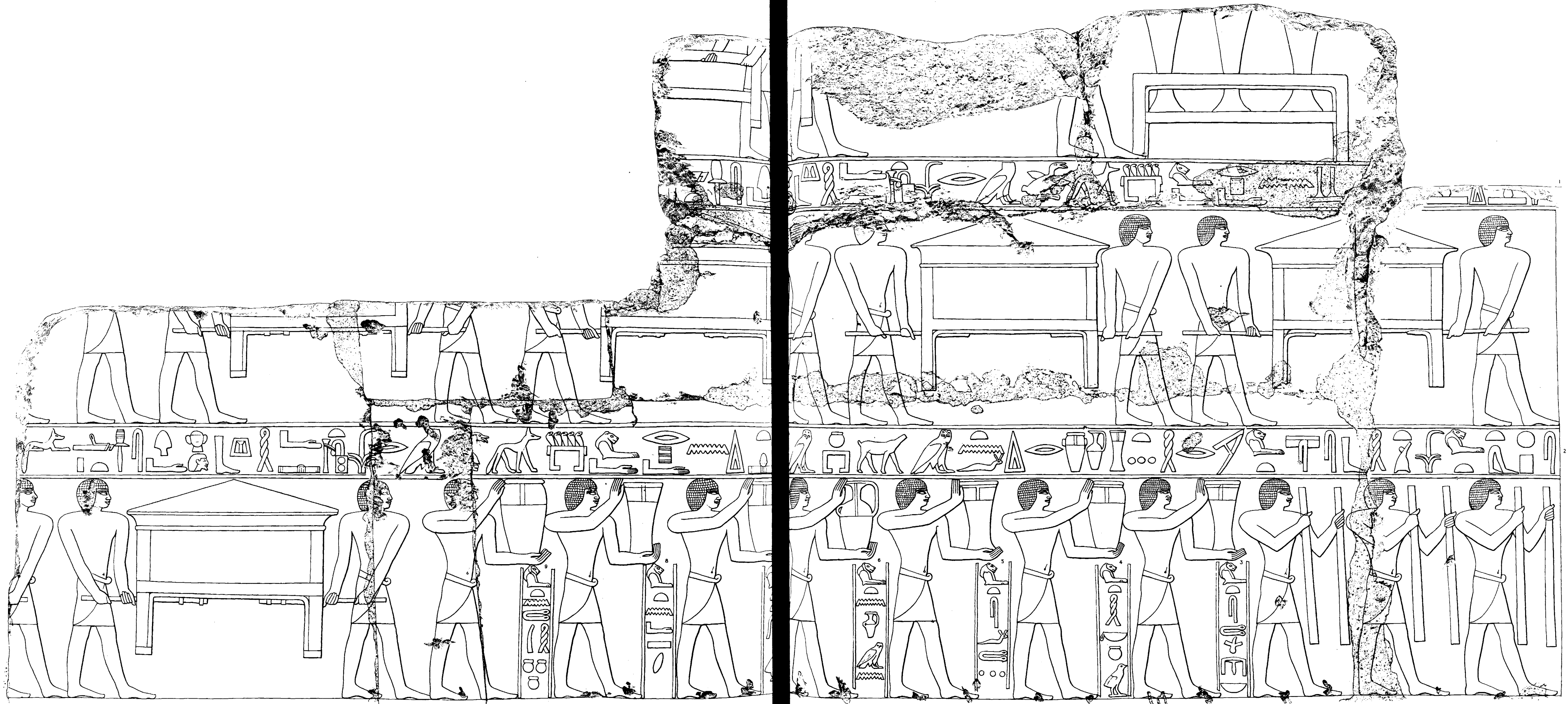
SERVANTS DRAGGING JARS OF OIL ON A SLEDGE; OTHERS CARRYING CHESTS OF LINEN
WEST WALL, SCENE 1



A. MERERUKA, ACCOMPANIED BY WATETKHETHOR, RECEIVING OFFERINGS
(SHOWN ON PLATES 72-73 A) GIVEN HIM BY THE KING
WEST WALL, SCENE 2



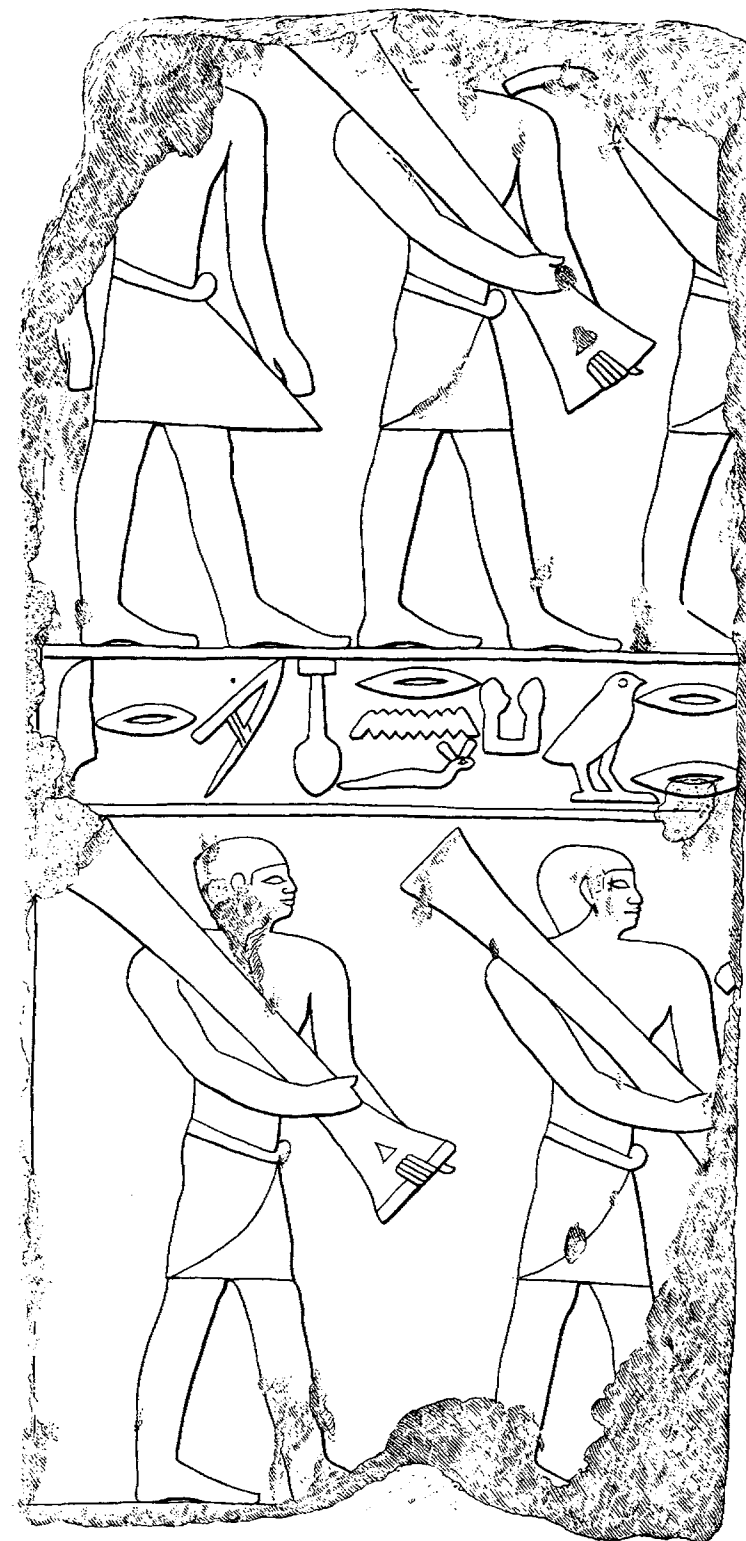
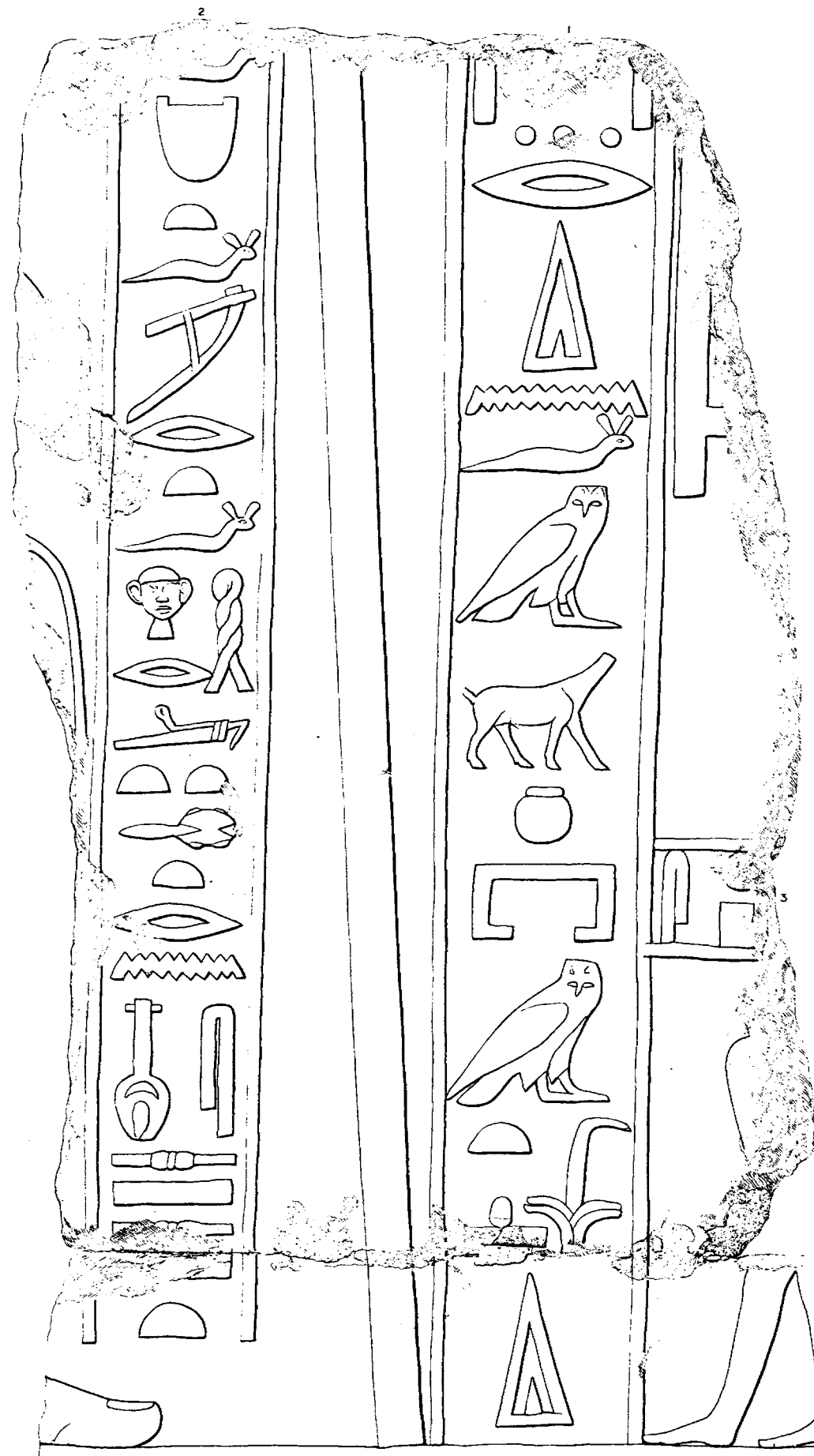
B. MERERUKA, ACCOMPANIED BY WATETKHETHOR, RECEIVING OFFERINGS
(SHOWN ON PLATES 75-76) GIVEN HIM BY THE KING
EAST WALL, SCENE 2



SERVANTS BEARING OFFERINGS OF
WEST WALL, SCENE 3

AND LINEN GIVEN BY THE KING
CONTINUED ON PLATE 73 A)

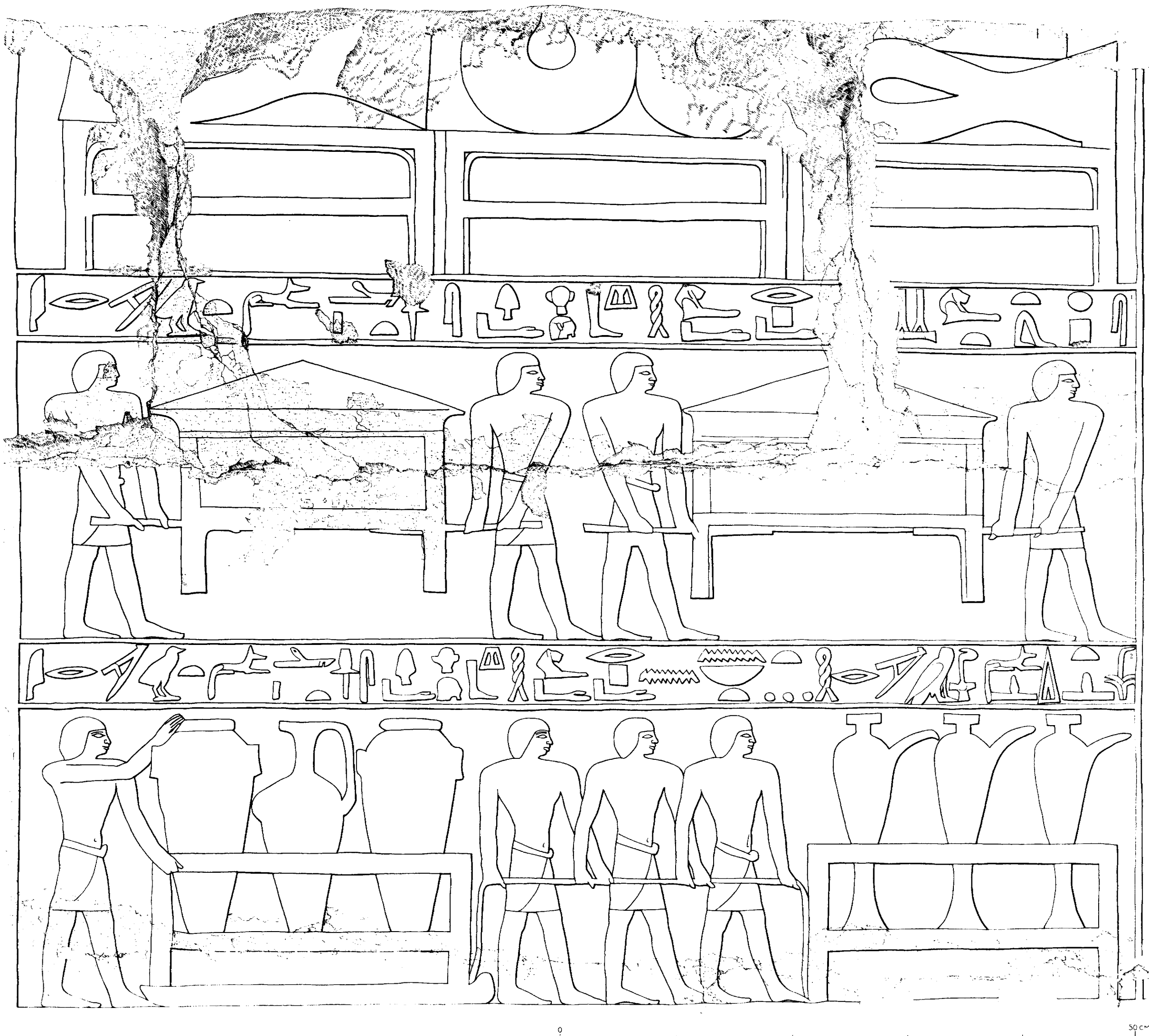
50 CM



A. SERVANTS BEARING OFFERINGS GIVEN BY THE KING
WEST WALL, SCENE 3 (CONTINUED FROM PLATE 72)

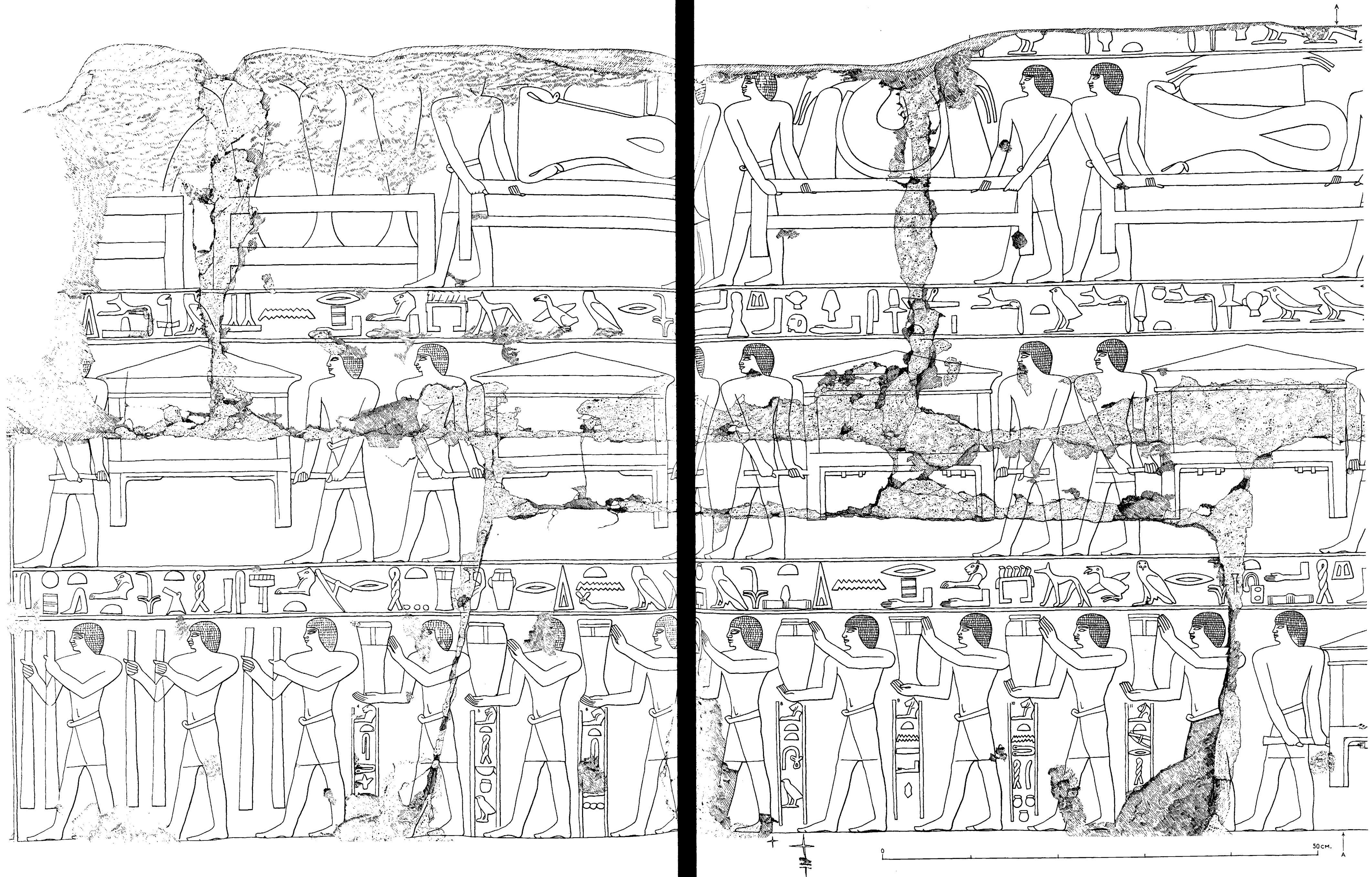


B. MERERUKA, ACCOMPANIED BY WADJETHKHETHOR, RECEIVING OFFERINGS GIVEN HIM BY THE KING
NORTH WALL

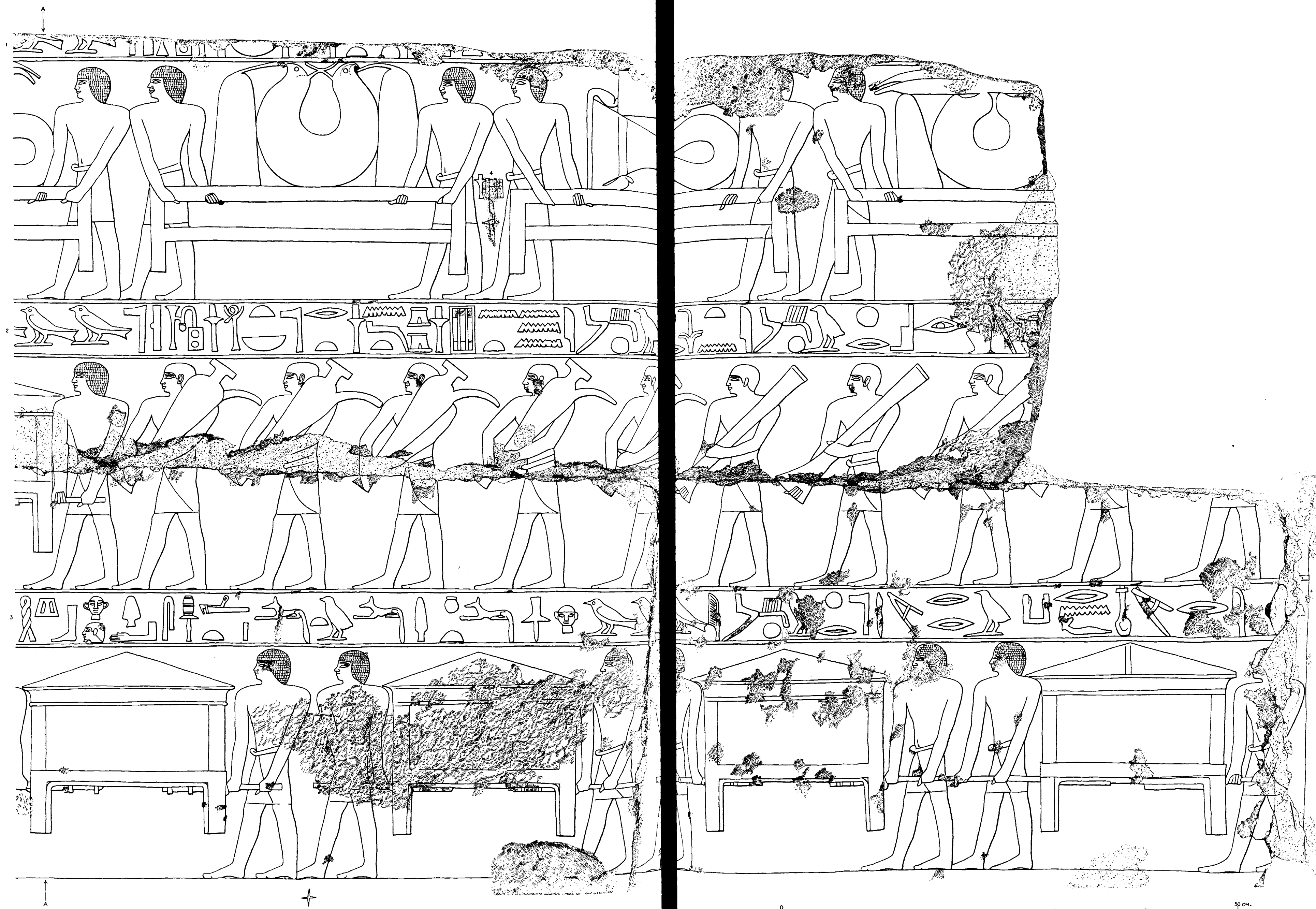


SERVANTS DRAGGING JARS OF OIL ON A SLEDGE; OTHERS CARRYING CHESTS OF LINEN. LIBATION-
VASES, PECTORALS, AND COLLARS ON STANDS HAVE BEEN BROUGHT IN AND SET DOWN

EAST WALL, SCENE 1

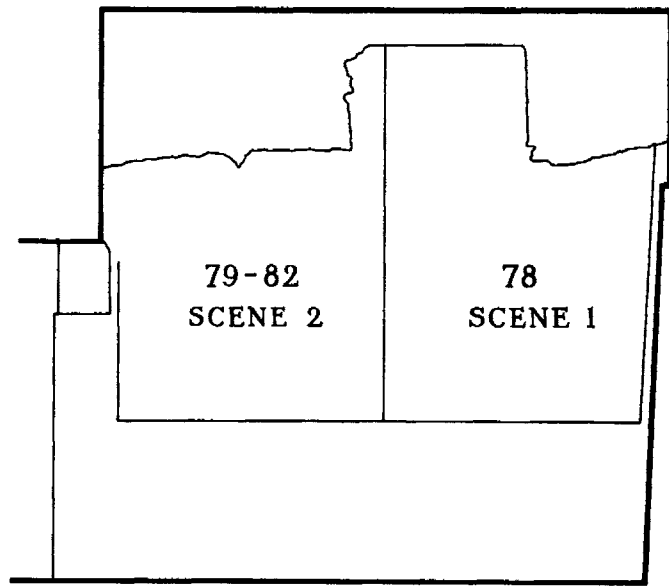


SERVANTS BEARING OFFERINGS OF OIL, ^{AND} JEWELRY GIVEN BY THE KING
EAST WALL, SCENE ^(CONTINUED ON PLATE 76)

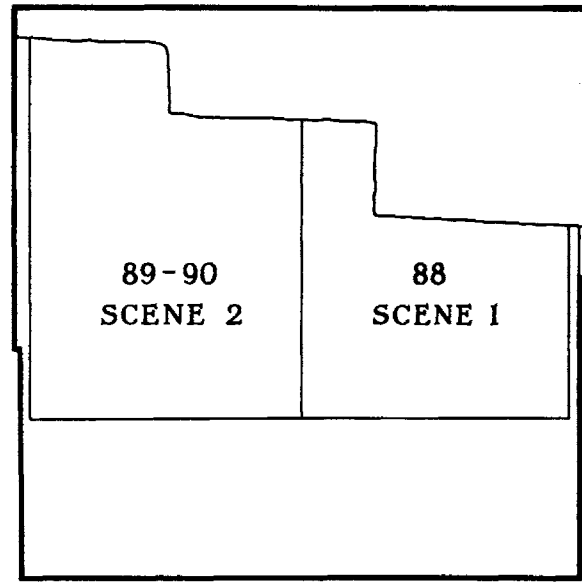


SERVANTS BEARING OFFERINGS OF LINEN IN CHILIBATION-VASES, VASE-STANDS, AND JEWELRY
EAST WALL, SCENE 3 (CONTINUED FROM PLATE 75)

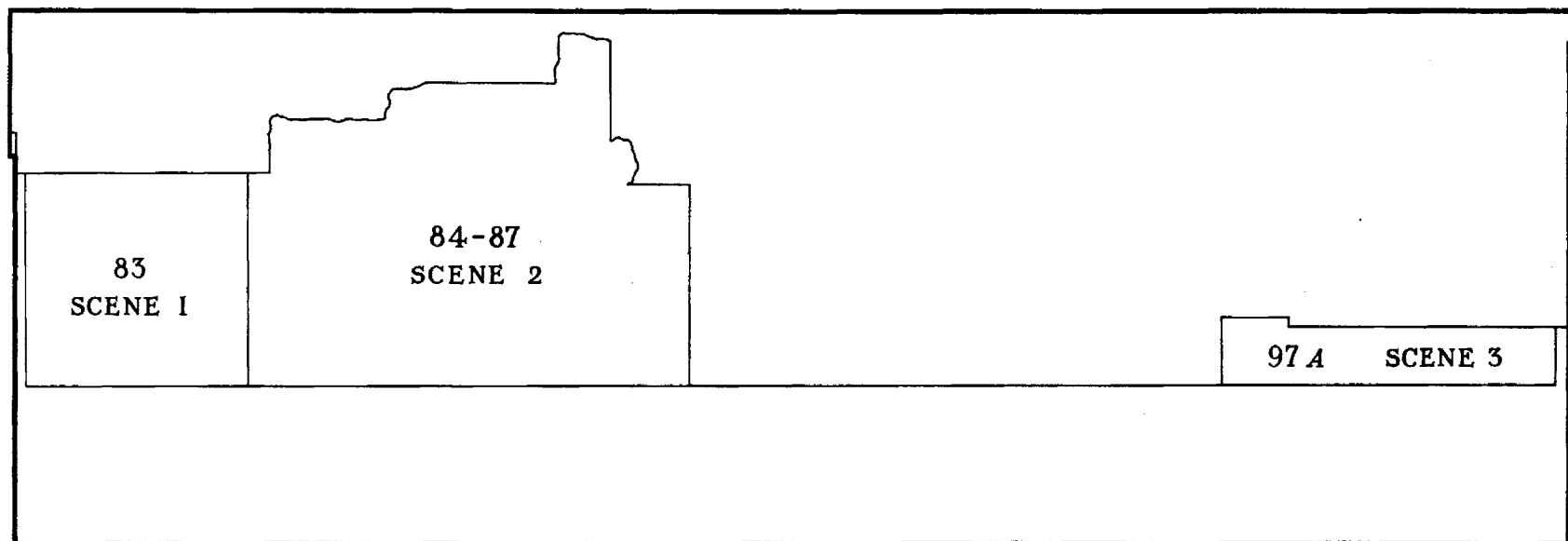
CHAMBER A 10



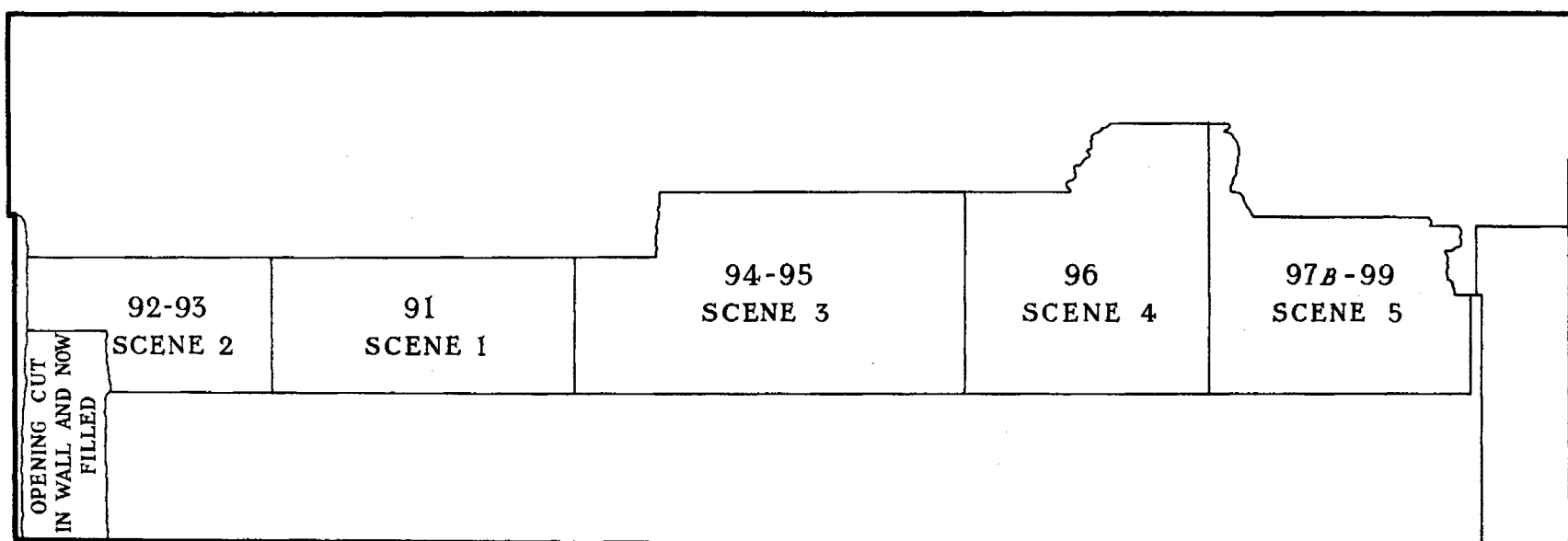
NORTH WALL



SOUTH WALL



EAST WALL



WEST WALL



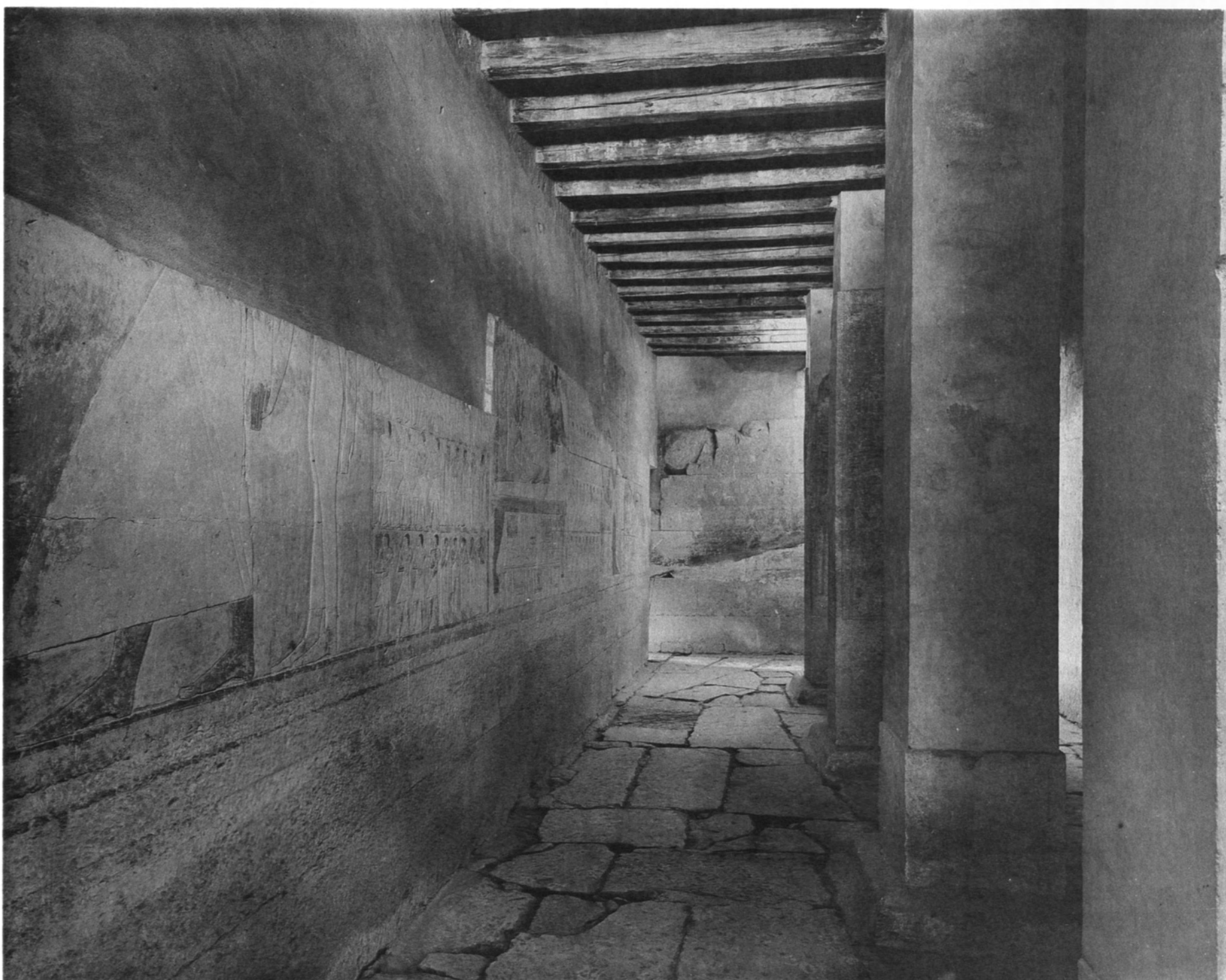
CHAMBER A 10

ELEVATIONS OF THE WALLS, SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF SCENES

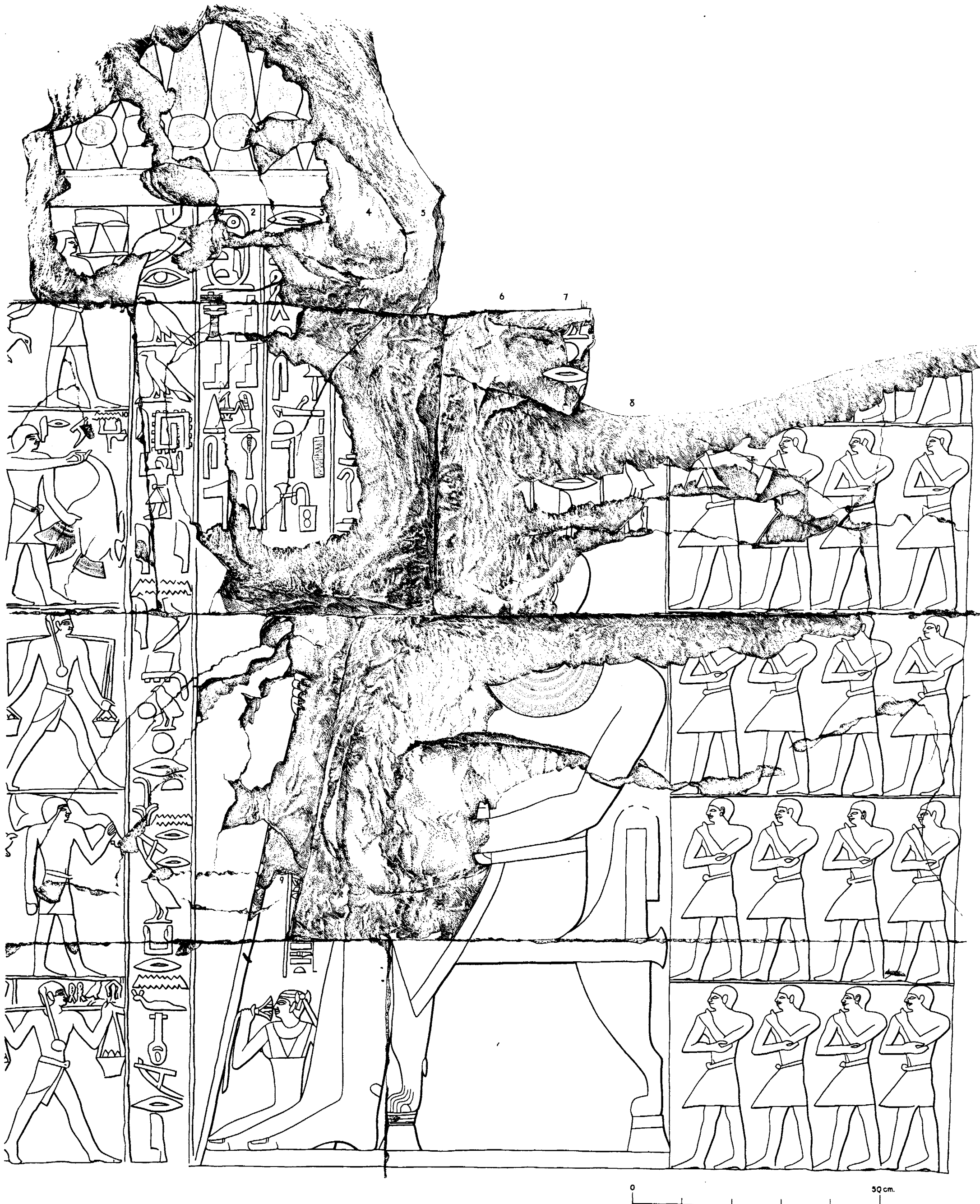
The numbers correspond to those shown on the plan facing Plate 2 and refer to plates of this volume. Scale, 1:50



A. INTERIOR, LOOKING SOUTH



B. INTERIOR, LOOKING NORTH



MERERUKA, WITH WADJETH, ATTENDED BY SERVANTS, VIEWING THE PRESENTATION OF OFFERINGS
NORTH WALL, SCENE 1



PLATE 80
SERVANTS BEARING FOOD OFFERINGS
NORTH WALL, SCENE 2
COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 80

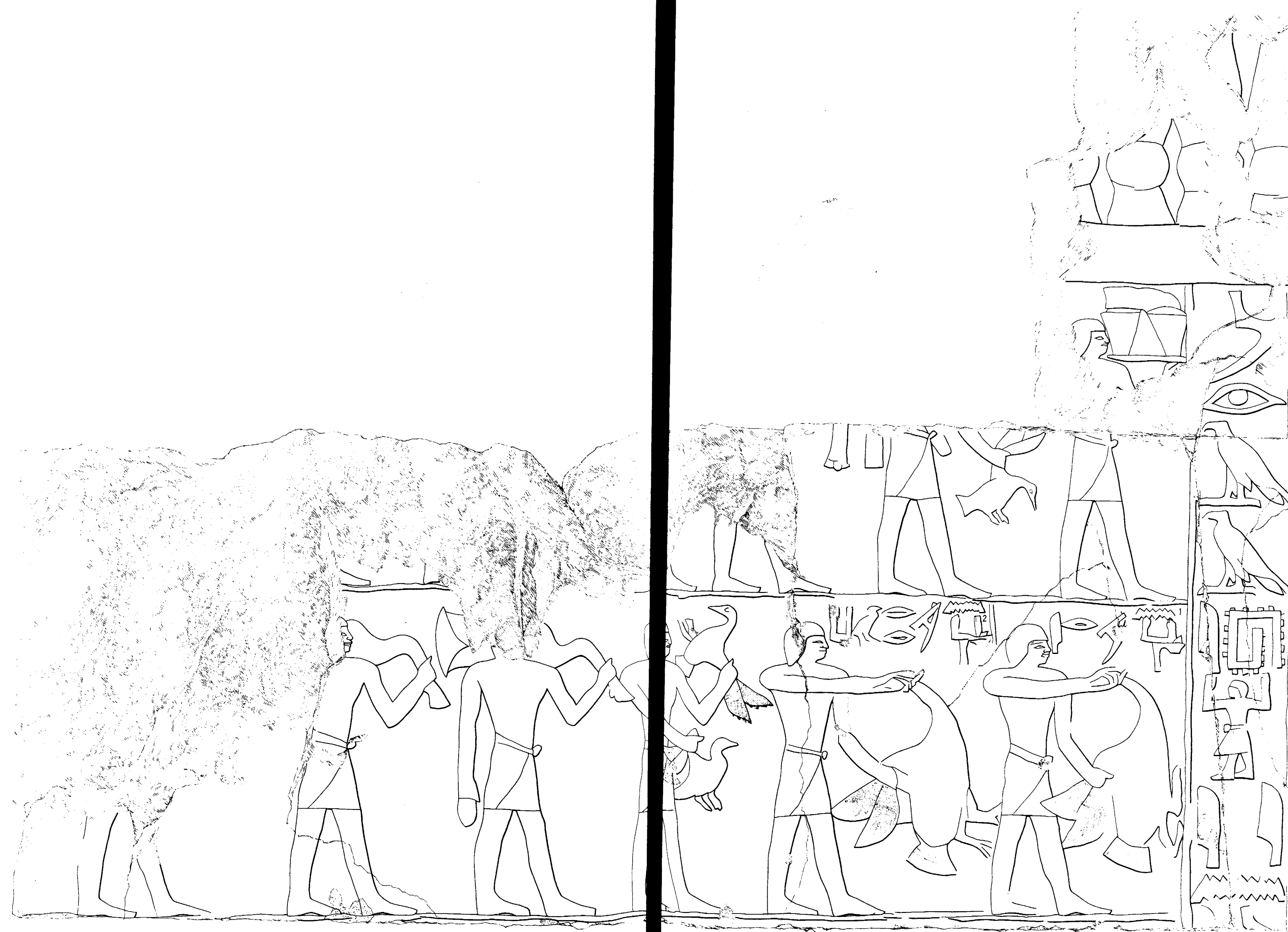


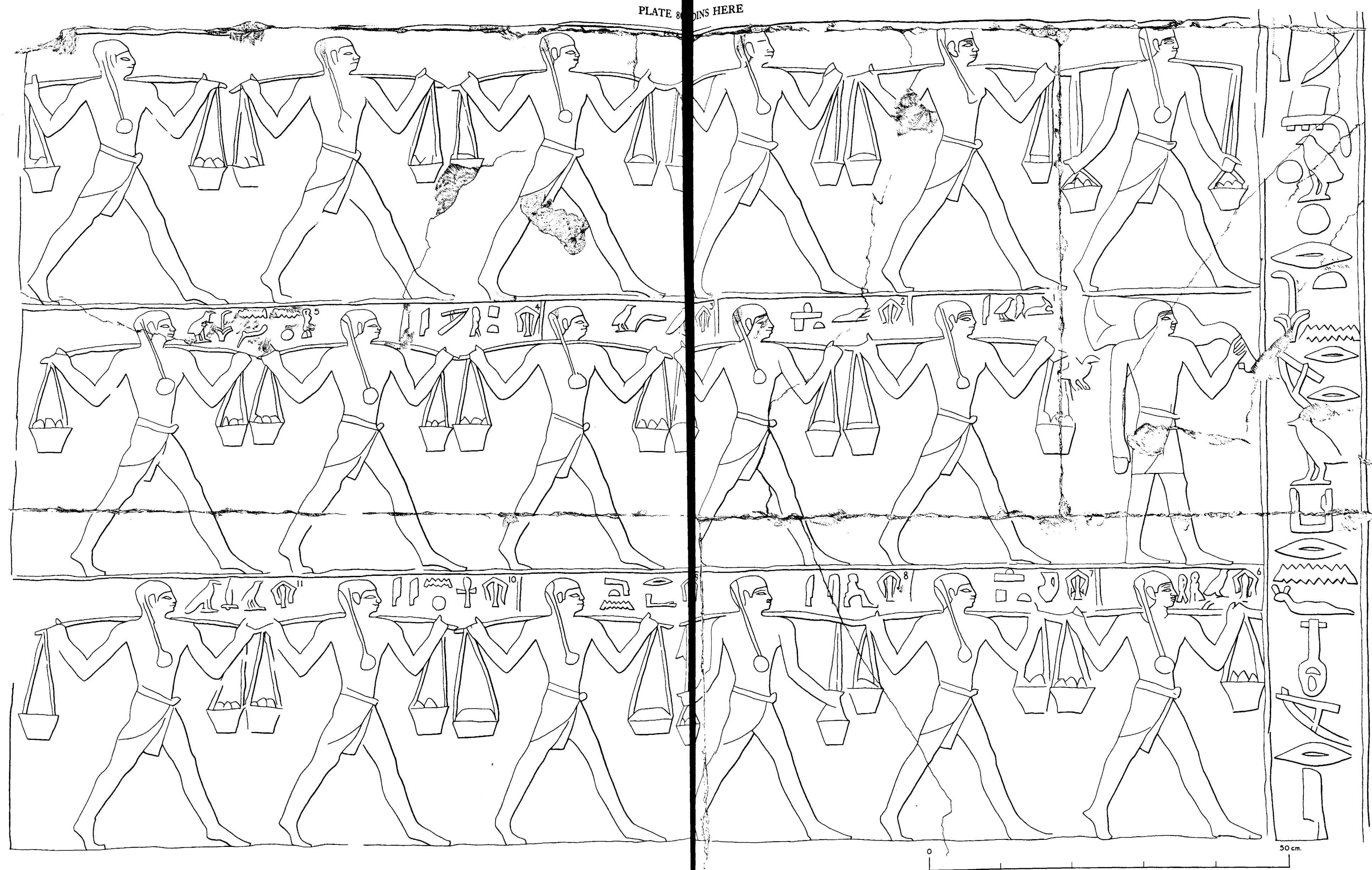
PLATE 82
NS HERE

SERVANTS BEARING
FOOD OFFERINGS
NORTH WALL
SCENE 2

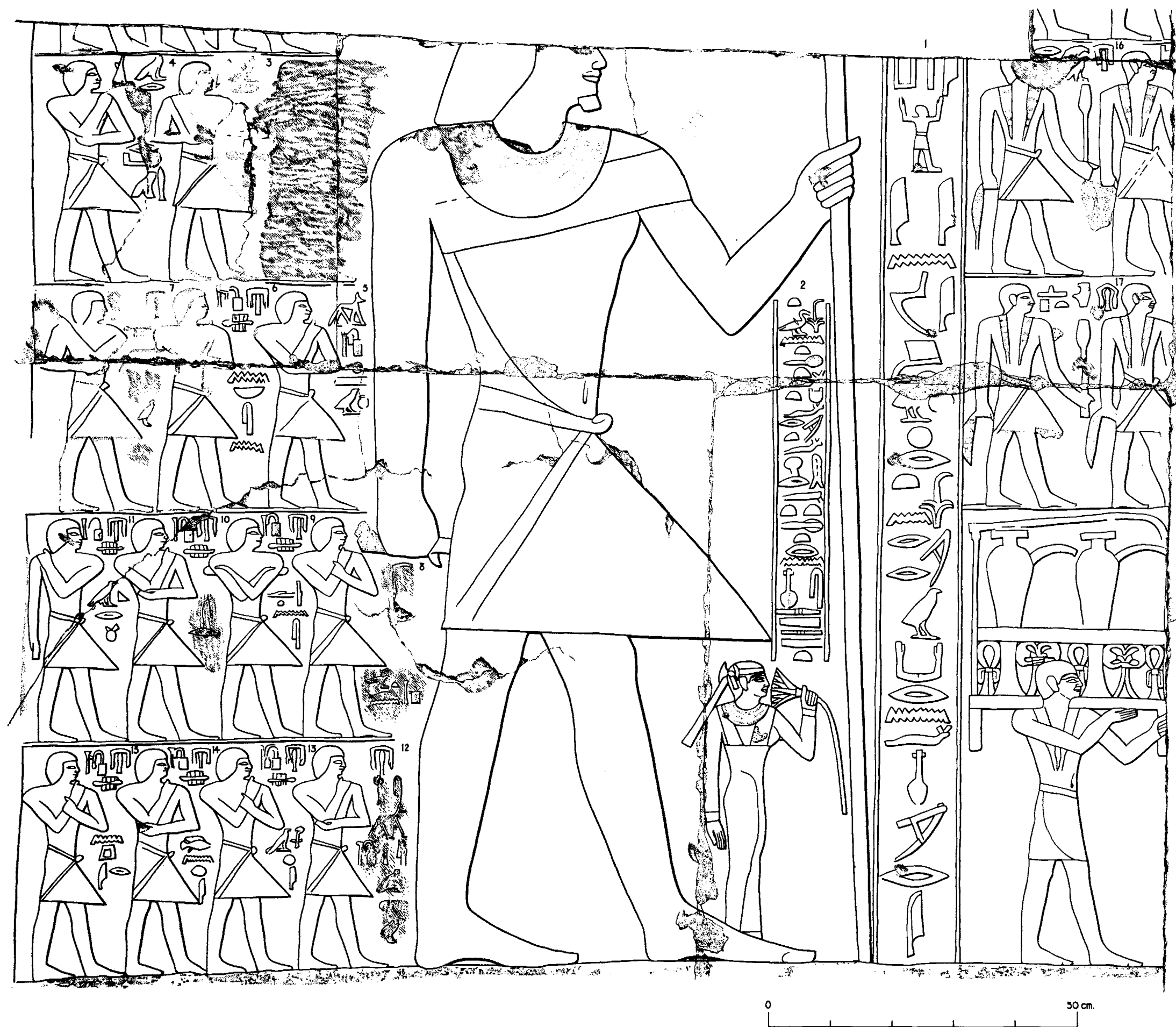
PLATE 79 ENDS HERE



MORTUARY PRIESTS BEARING FOOD OFFERINGS
NORTH WALL, SCENE 2
COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 82



MORTUARY PRIESTS BEARING FOOD OFFERINGS
NORTH WALL, SCENE 2



MERERUKA, WITH WADJETHKHETHOR, ATTENDED BY MORTUARY PRIESTS, VIEWING THE PRESENTATION OF OFFERINGS, DANCING, AND OTHER CEREMONIES BEFORE HIS STATUE (SHOWN ON PLATE 97 A)

EAST WALL, SCENE 1



PLATE 86 IS HERE

MORTUARY PRIESTS IN CEREMONIAL PROCESSION BEFORE THE STATUE OF MERERUKA

EAST WALL, SCENE 2

COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 85

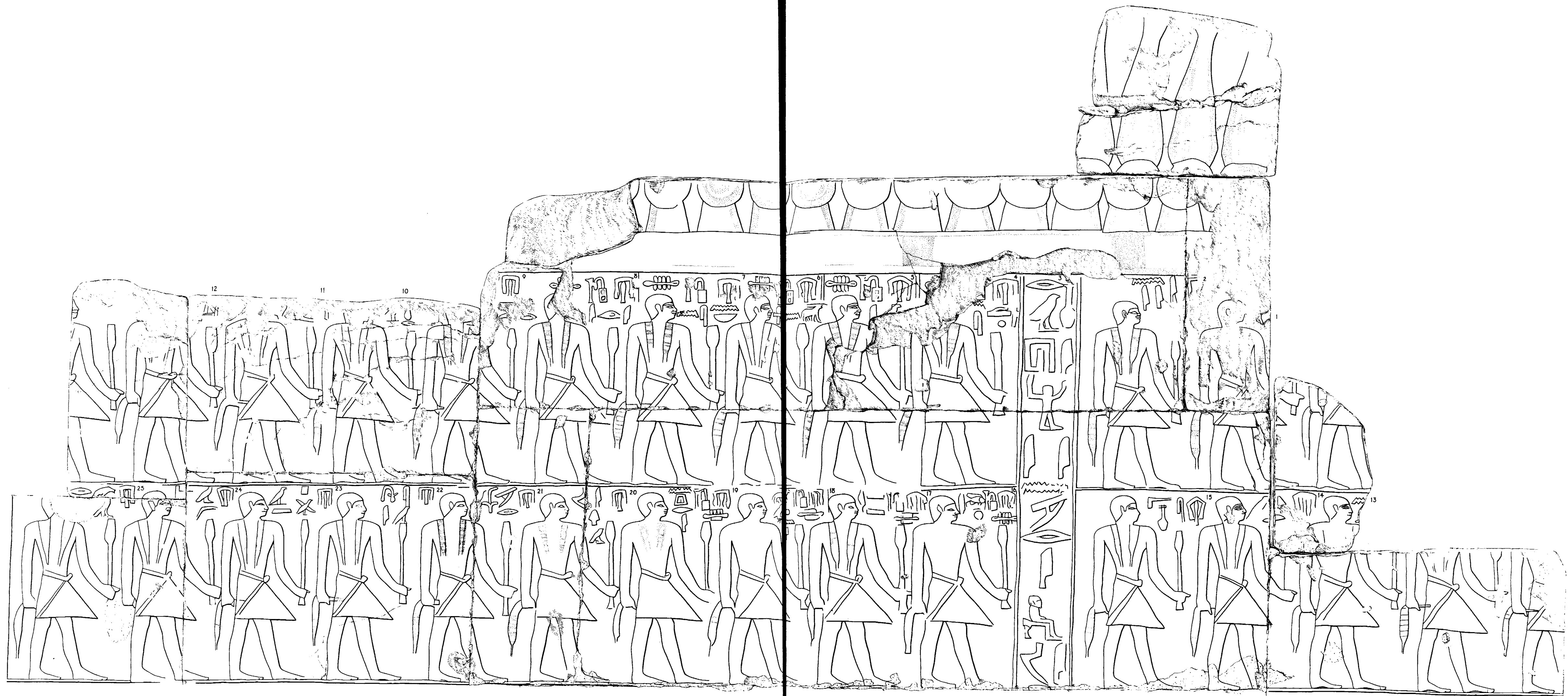
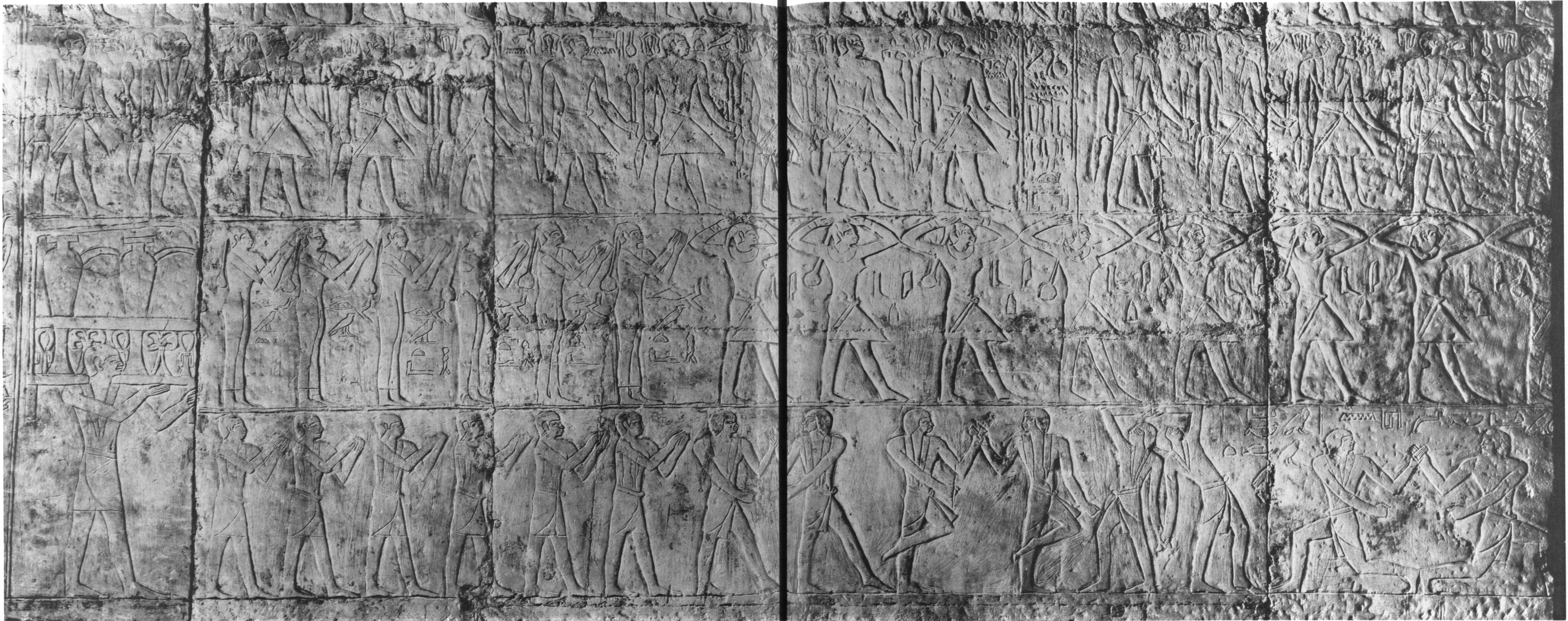


PLATE 87 JOINS HERE

MORTUARY PRIESTS IN CEREMONIAL PROCESSION BEFORE THE STATUE OF MERERUKA
EAST WALL SCENE 2

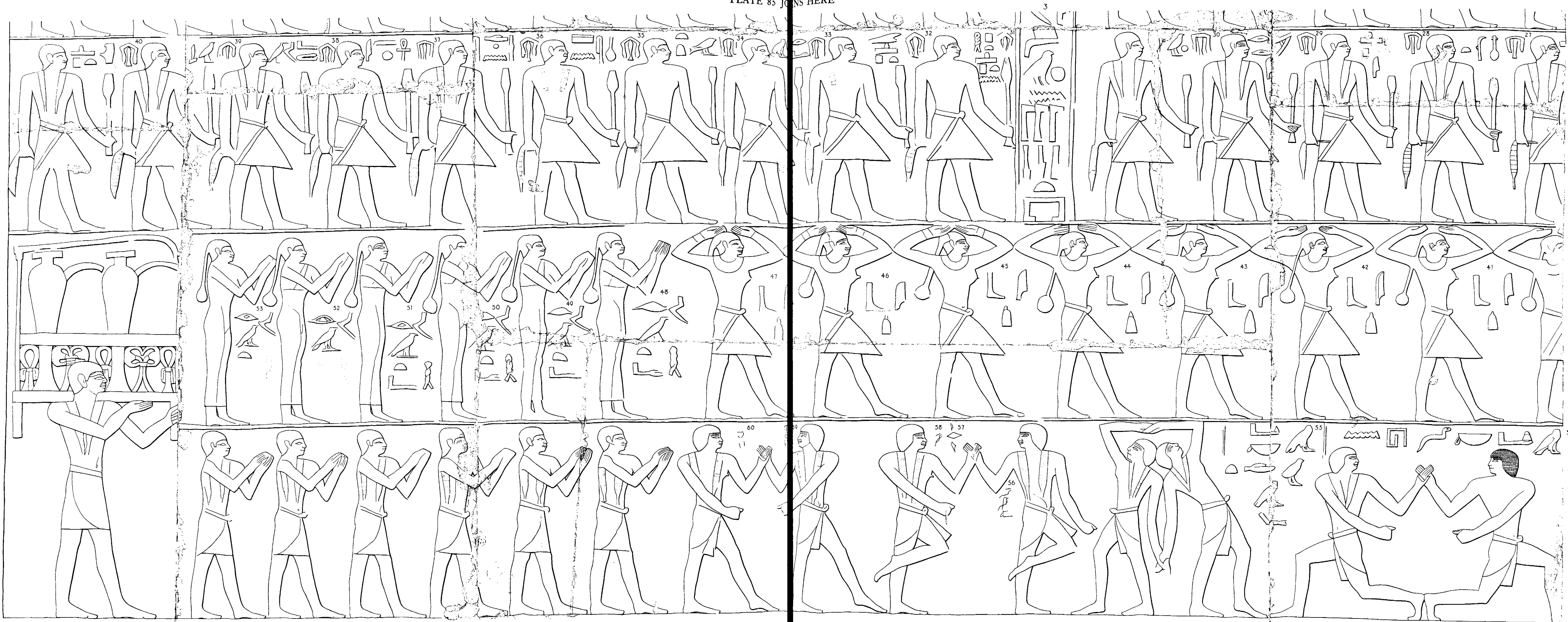
0 50cm

PLATE 84
INS HERE



MALE AND FEMALE DANCERS, WITH OTHERS BEATING TIME BY CLAPPING HANDS, PERFORMING BEFORE THE STATUE OF MERERUKA
EAST WALL SCENE 2
COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 87

PLATE 85 JOINS HERE



MALE AND FEMALE DANCERS, WITH OTHERS BEATING TIME BY CLAPPING HANDS, PERFORMING BEFORE THE STATUE OF MERERUKA
EAST WALL SCENE 2



MERERUKA, WITH WADJETHKHETHOR, ATTENDED BY BROTHERS AND SONS, VIEWING THE PRESENTATION
OF OFFERINGS BY THE PRIESTS OF HIS MORTUARY ESTATE

SOUTH WALL, SCENE 1

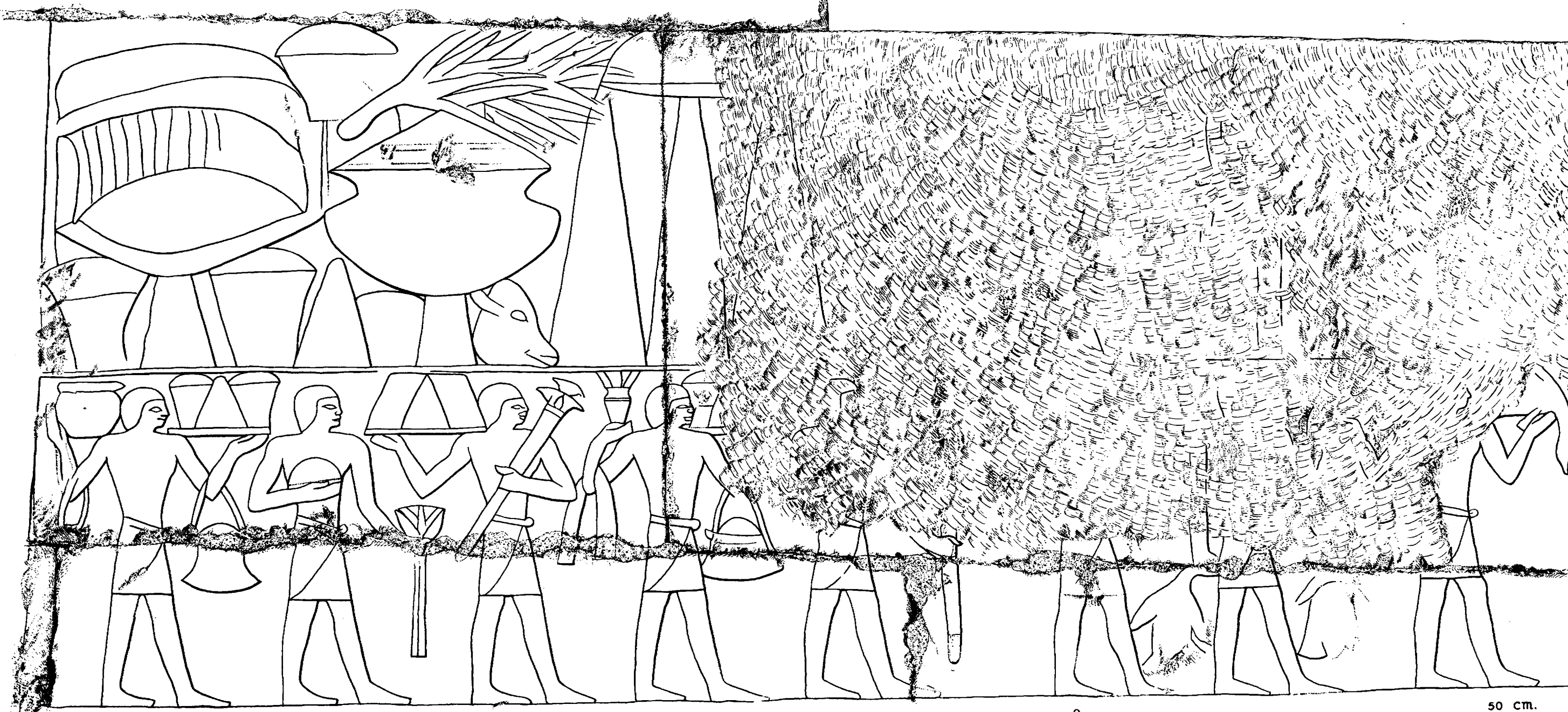
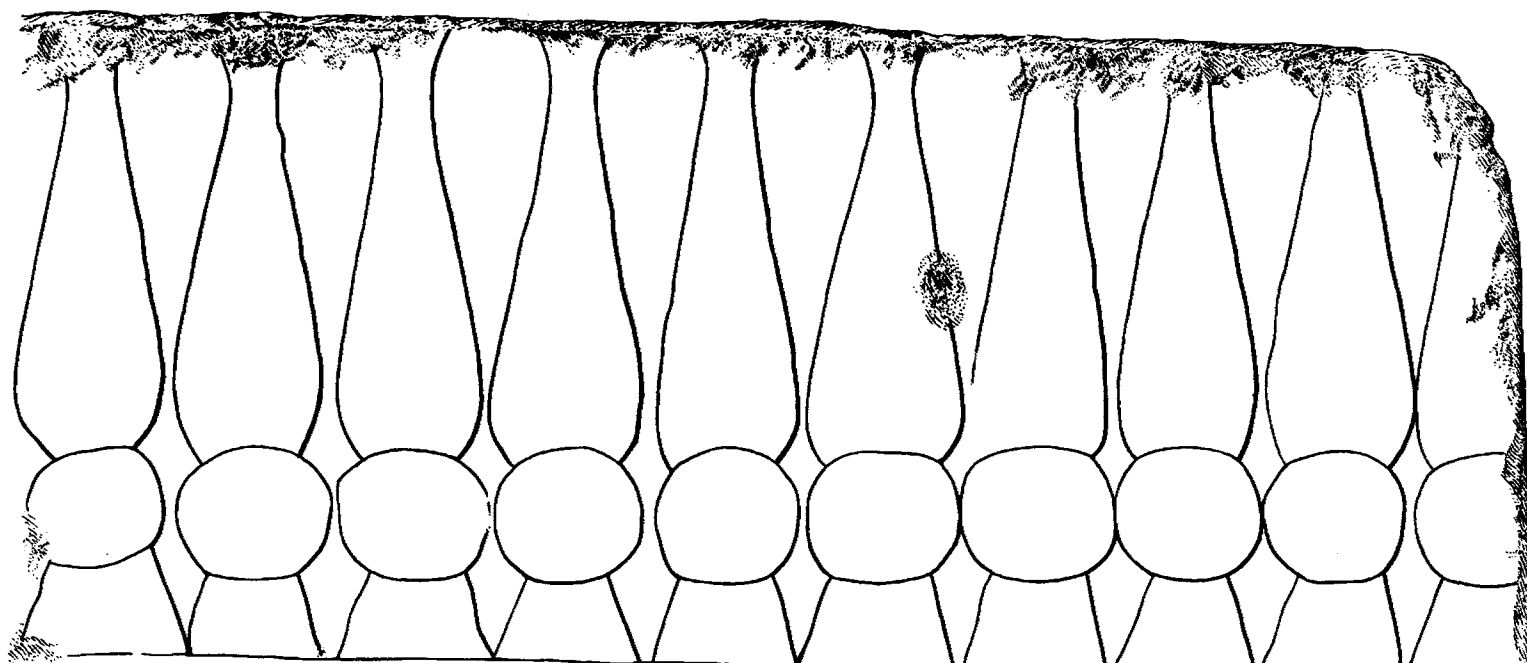
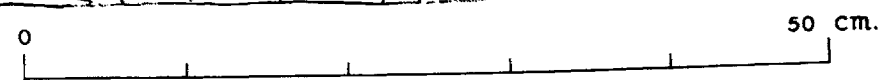
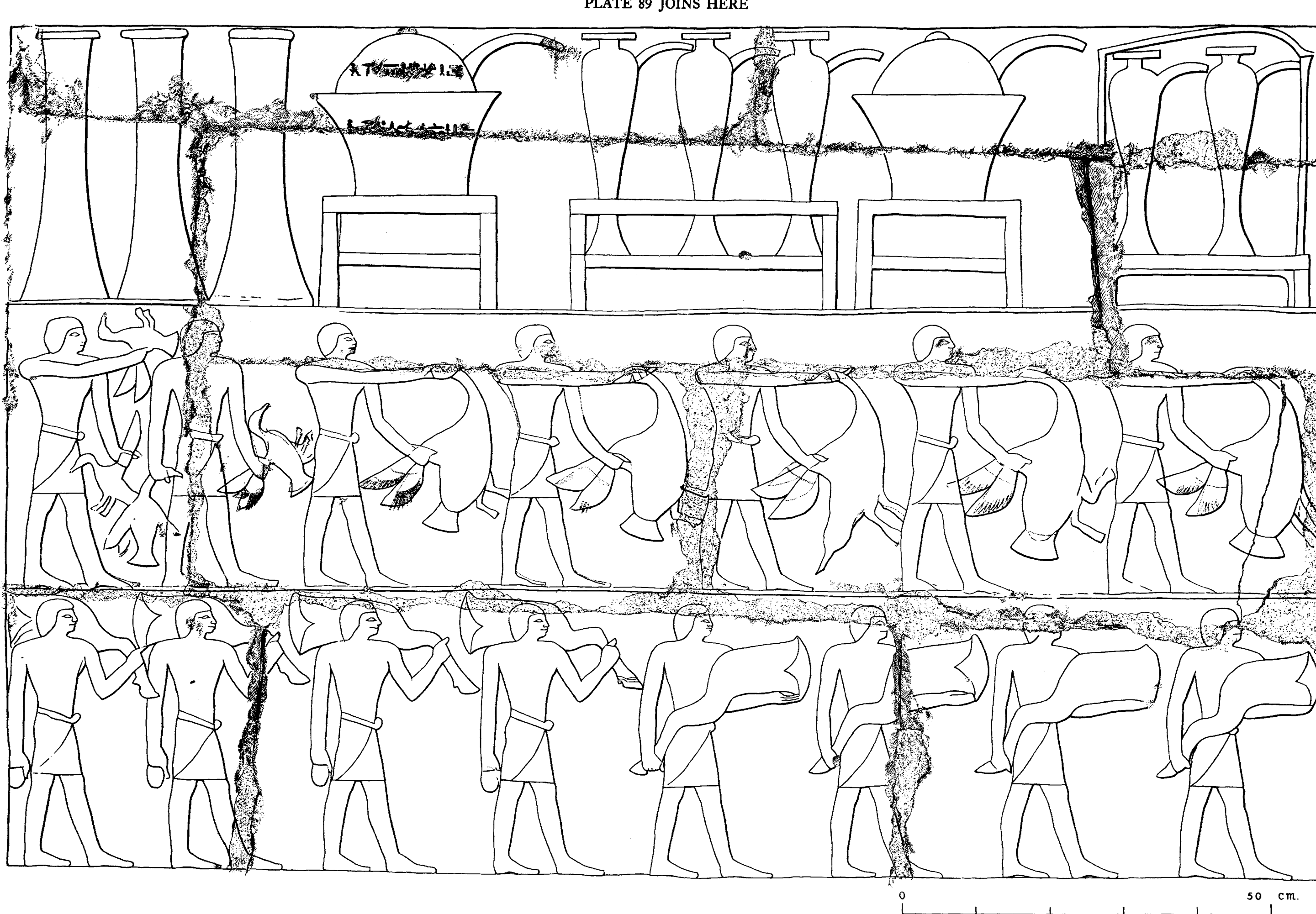


PLATE 90 JOINS HERE

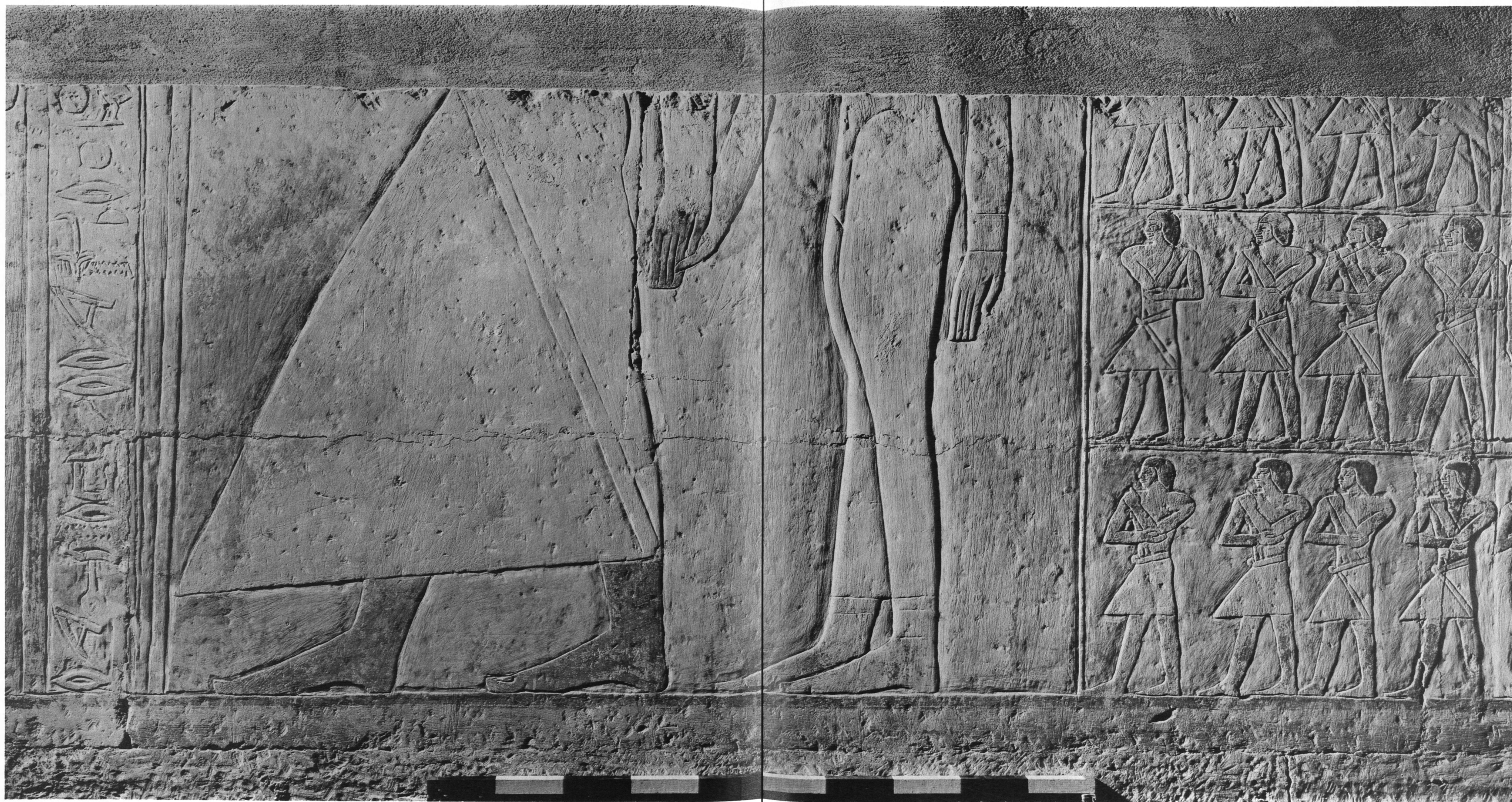


FOOD OFFERINGS; MORTUARY PRIESTS PRESENTING OFFERINGS
SOUTH WALL, SCENE 2

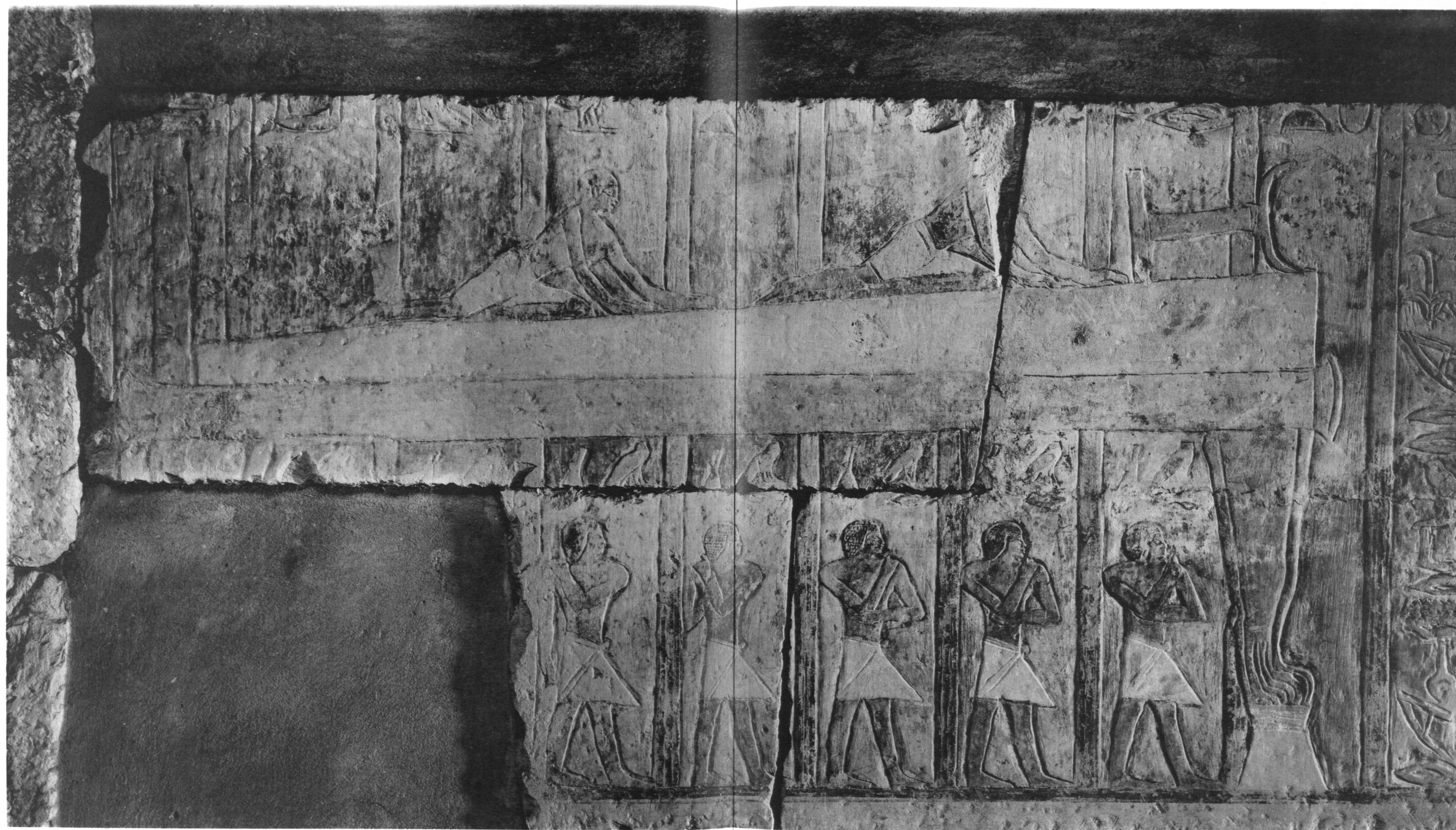
PLATE 89 JOINS HERE



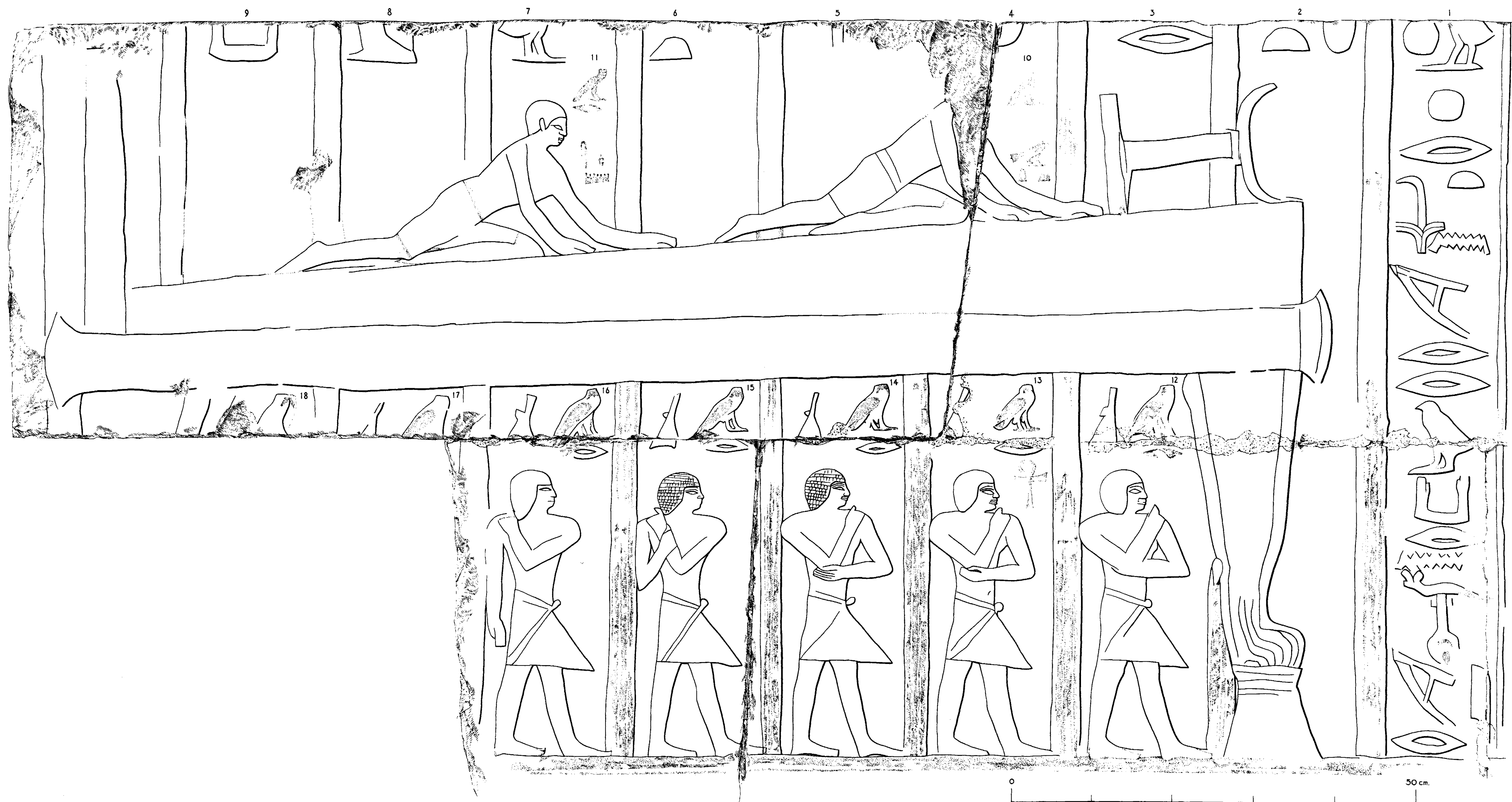
VASES; MORTUARY PRIESTS PRESENTING OFFERINGS OF FLESH AND FOWL
SOUTH WALL, SCENE 2



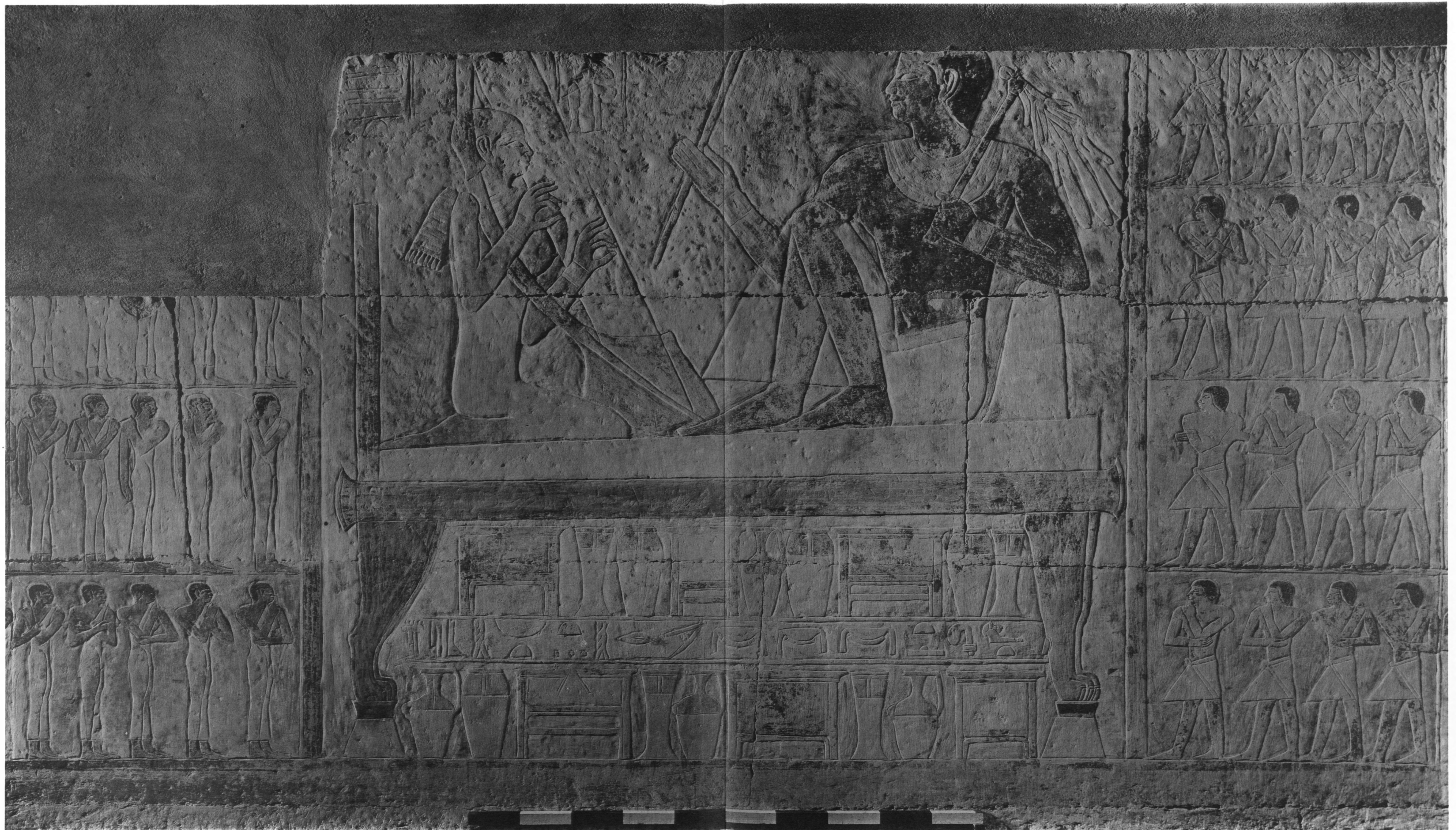
MERERUKA, WITH WATETKHETHOR, ATTENDED BY SERVANTS, VIEWING THE PREPARATION OF THE BED SHOWN ON PLATE 92
WEST WALL SCENE 1



BED, WITH MATTRESS, HEADREST, AND SUPPORTS FOR CANOPY, BEING PREPARED BY WARDROBE OFFICIALS
 WEST WALL, SCENE 2
 COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 93



BED, WITH MATTRESS, HEADREST, AND SUPPORTS FOR CANOPY, BEING PREPARED BY WARDROBE OFFICIALS
WEST WALL, SCENE 2



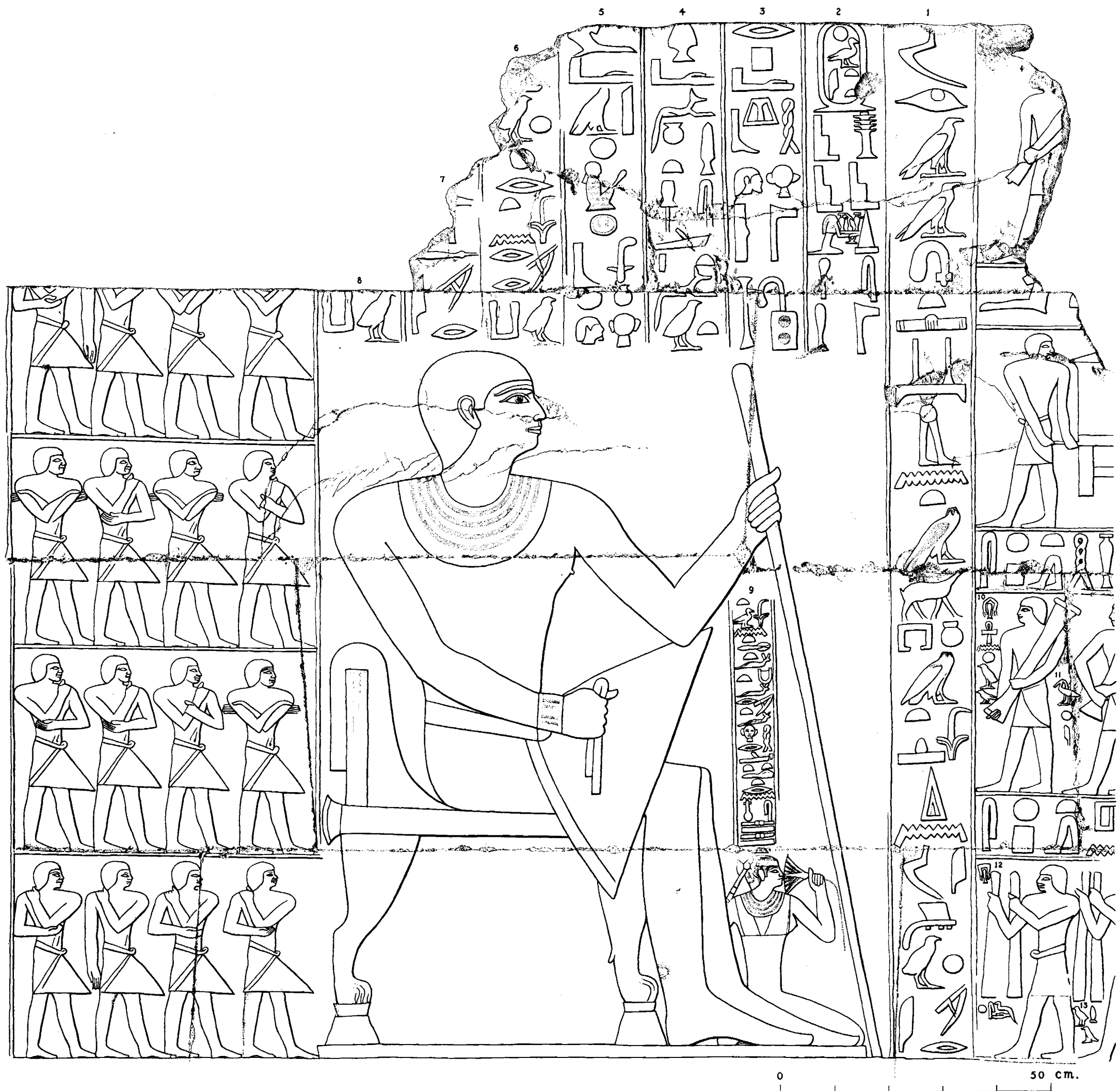
WADJETKHETOR PLAYING THE HARP BEFORE HER HUSBAND MERERUKA, WITH MALE AND FEMALE SERVANTS IN ATTENDANCE; BELOW, JARS CONTAINING UNGUENTS, CHESTS CONTAINING GOLD OBJECTS AND CLOTHING
WEST WALL, SCENE 3



PRINTED IN AUSTRIA

WASTETKHETHOR PLAYING THE HARP BEFORE HER HUSBAND MERERUKA

DETAIL OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 94



MERERUKA, WITH WATETKHETHOR, ATTENDED BY SERVANTS, VIEWING THE PRESENTATION OF OFFERINGS
GIVEN HIM BY THE KING

WEST WALL, SCENE 4



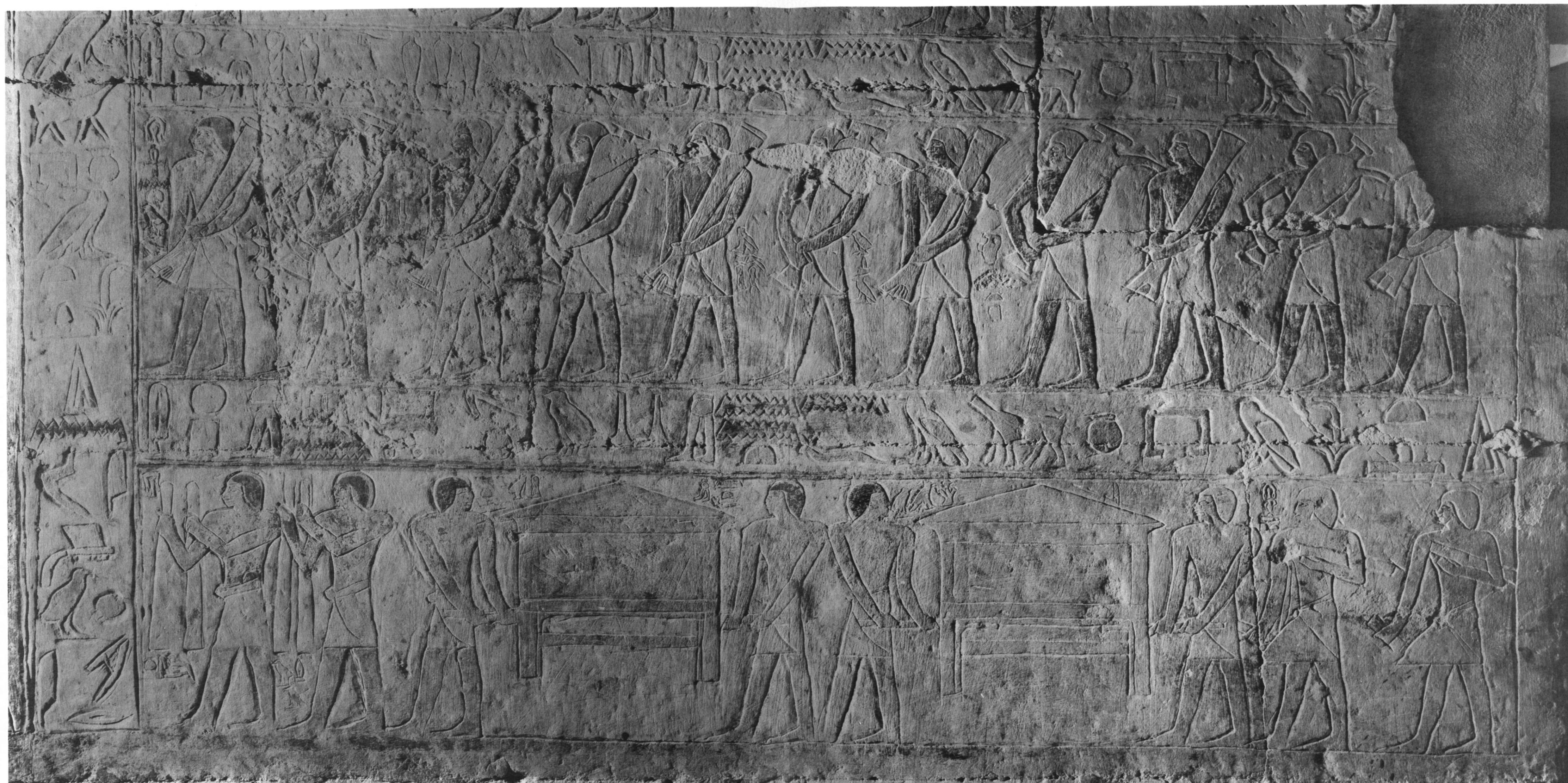
A. STATUE REPRESENTING MERERUKA ISSUING FROM A NICHE (COMPARE PLATES 1 AND 147-48), BEFORE WHICH TAKE PLACE THE PRESENTATION OF OFFERINGS, THE CEREMONIAL PROCESSION, AND THE DANCING SHOWN ON PLATES 84-87
EAST WALL, SCENE 3



PLATE 98 JOINS HERE

B. SERVANTS BEARING CHESTS CONTAINING OFFERINGS GIVEN BY THE KING
WEST WALL, SCENE 5

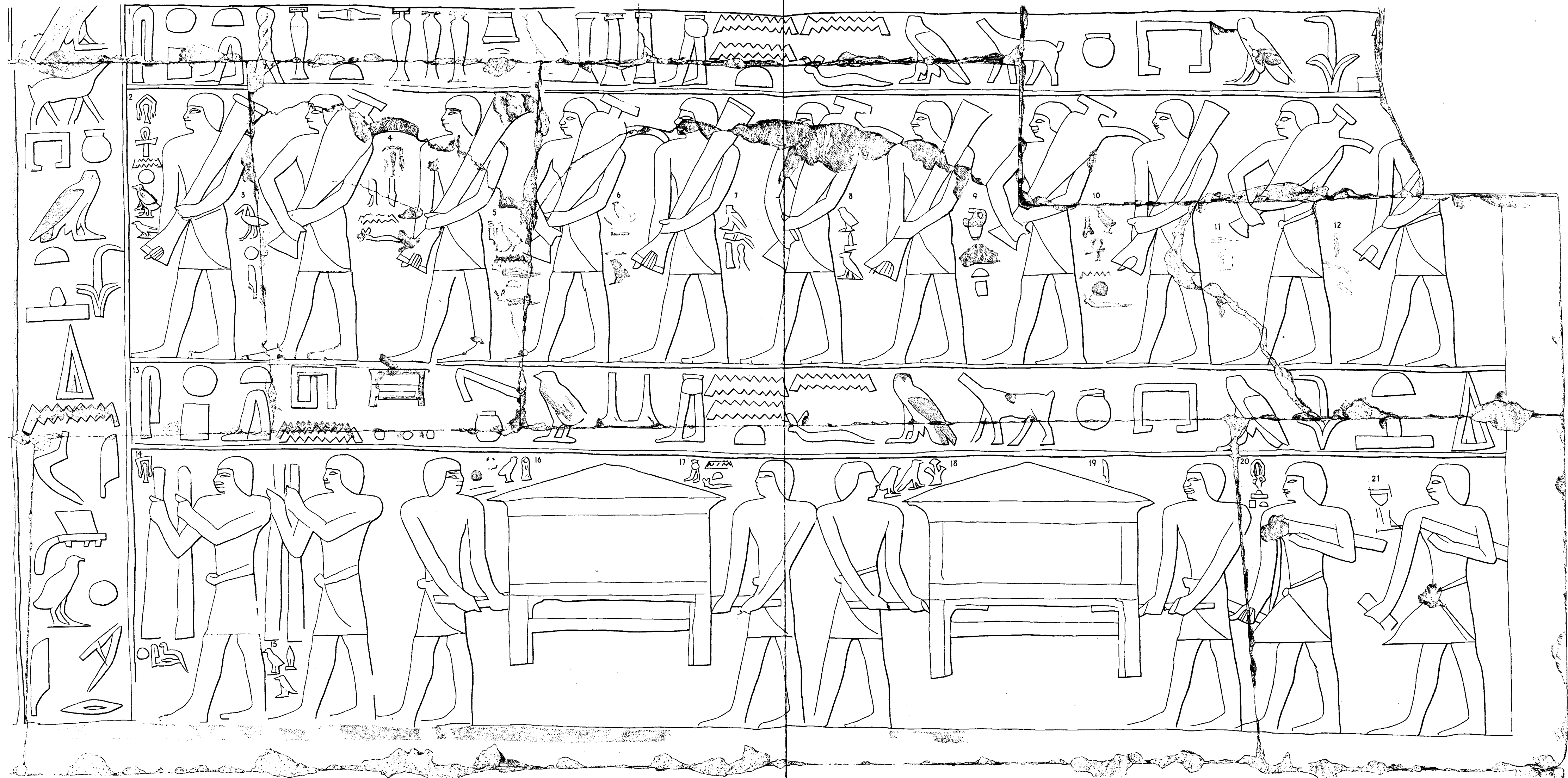
PLATE 97B JOINS HERE



SERVANTS BEARING JARS, JAR-STANDS, AND CHESTS CONTAINING LINENS, OFFERINGS GIVEN BY THE KING

WEST WALL, SCENE 5

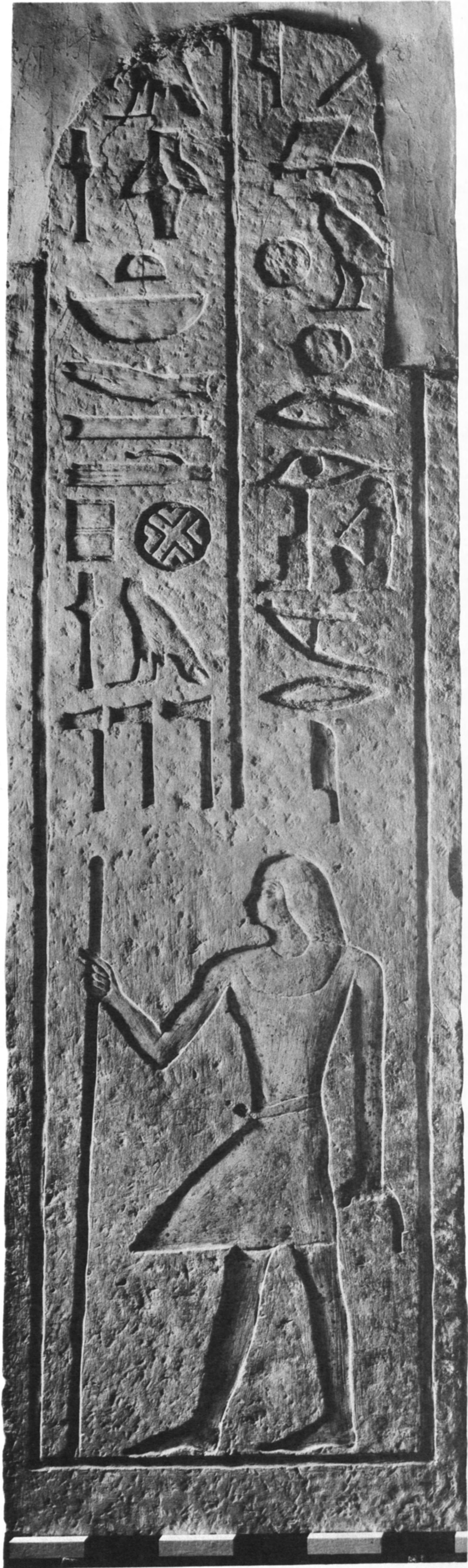
COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 99



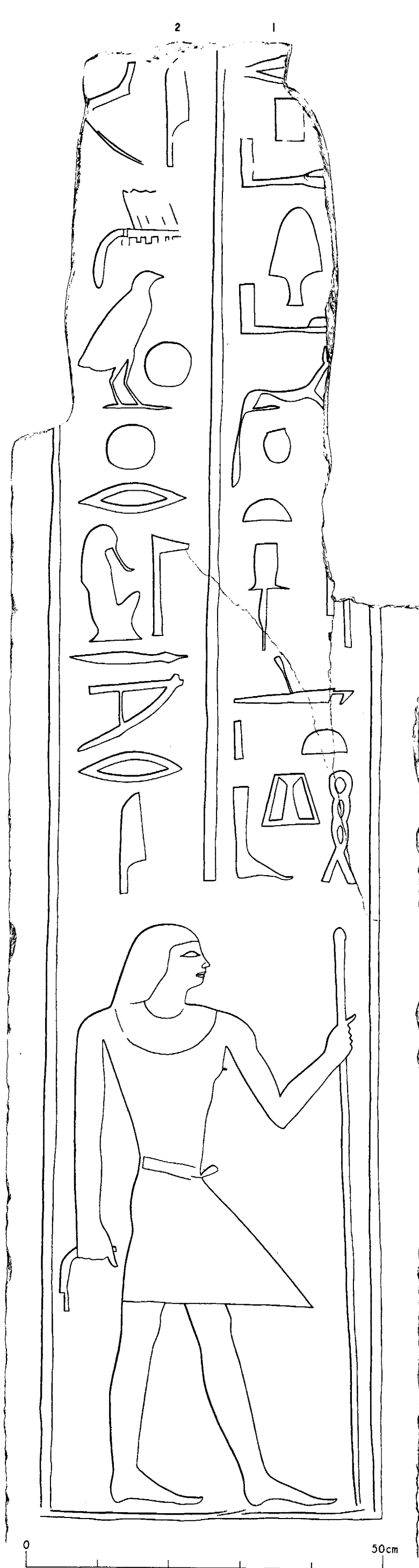
SERVANTS BEARING JARS, JAR-STANDS, AND CHESTS CONTAINING LINENS, OFFERINGS GIVEN BY THE KING
WEST WALL, SCENE 5



A. PIER 1, NORTH SIDE



B. PIER 1, SOUTH SIDE



A. PIER 1, EAST SIDE



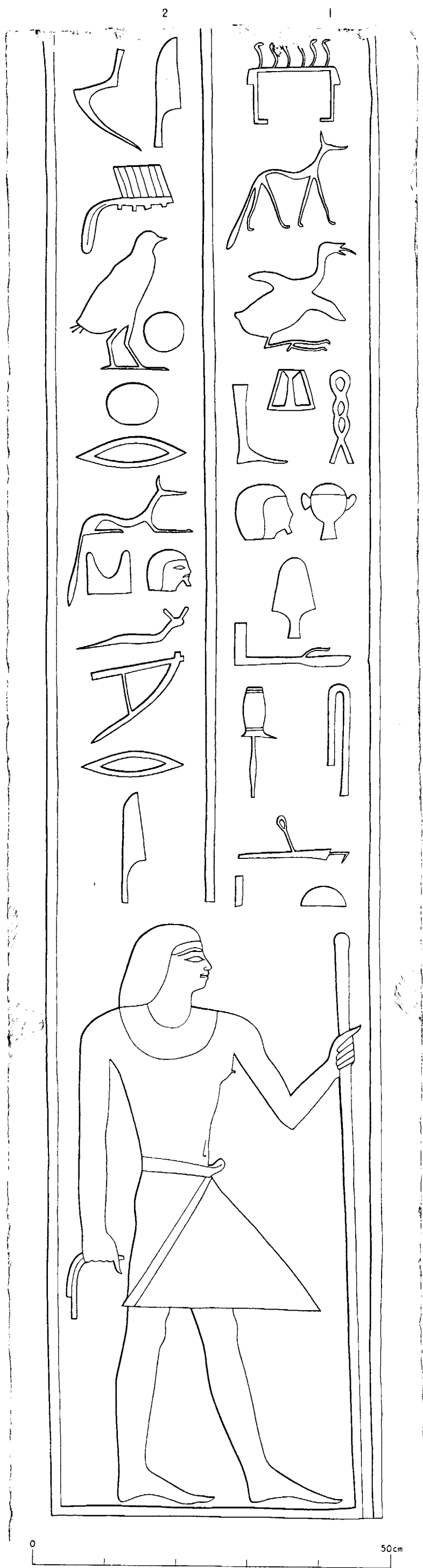
B. PIER 1, WEST SIDE



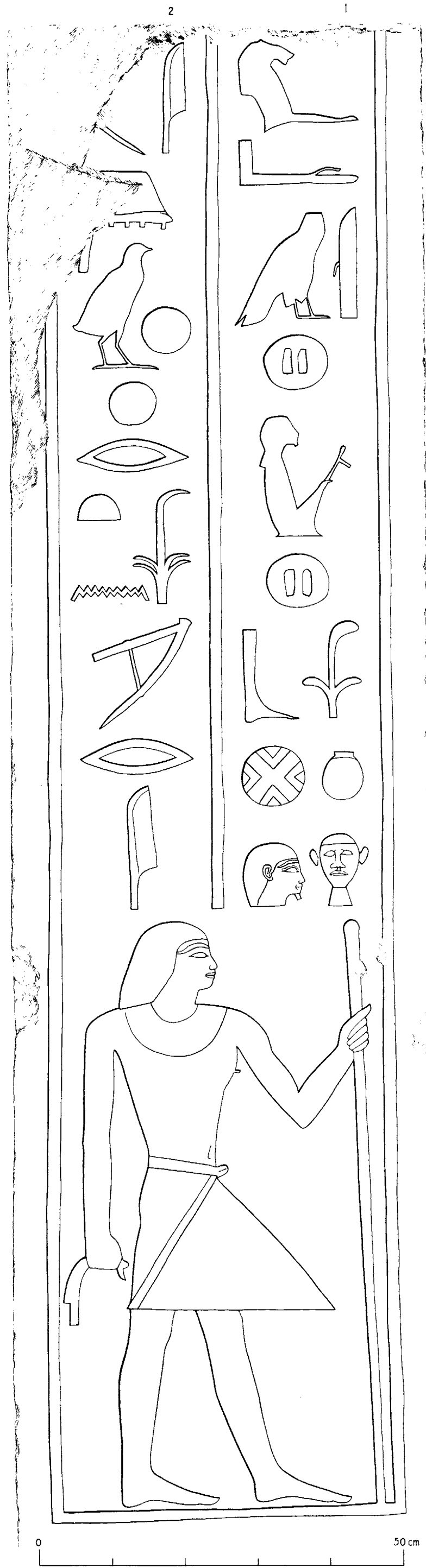
A. PIER 2, NORTH SIDE



B. PIER 2, SOUTH SIDE



A. PIER 2, EAST SIDE



B. PIER 2, WEST SIDE