

MÉLANGES OFFERTS À EDITH VARGA



„le lotus qui sort de terre”

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BUDAPEST

Osiris in the Fourth Dynasy Again?

The false door of Jntj, MFA 31.781

The figure of Osiris occupies one of the most significant places in Egyptian religion and, starting from the Middle Kingdom, it determines the character of the Egyptian world outlook to a great extent. However, the name of Osiris has never been recorded during the first half of the Old Kingdom. Its emergence may be interpreted differently, but, in any case, this is a moment of a fundamental importance as a critical turning point in the development of Egyptian ideology, the anterior and posterior periods being qualitatively different. On the other hand, since, to the extent that we know, the records of Osiris appeared suddenly, within the lifetime of a single generation, his presence in inscriptions is a reliable dating criterion allowing us to establish a *terminus ante quem non* for the respective monuments.

On the royal monuments, Osiris is mentioned first in the Pyramid Texts of Unis, while in the private tombs, as far as we can date them, his name does not occur (in the offering formula) before Isesi.¹ An inscription in the tomb of princess *Hm.t-r^c(w)* at Giza,² dated by some scholars to the late Fourth – early Fifth Dynasty,³ had been considered the sole earlier record of this god; however, as the present writer has demonstrated, it cannot be earlier than the middle Fifth Dynasty.⁴ This conclusion and, accordingly, the firmness of the universal rule are generally accepted now,⁵ but two recently published works

¹ See bibliography in A. O. Bolshakov, Princess *Hm.t-r^c(w)*: The First Record of Osiris? *CdE* 67 (1992), p. 203, and B. van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef*, Bruxelles 1978, p. 24, note 70. Also W. Helck, Überlegungen zum Ausgang der 5. Dynastie, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), p. 164 (with some reservations concerning our general ability to date Old Kingdom tombs precisely) and M. Eaton-Krauss, The Earliest Representation of Osiris?, *VA* 3 (1987), pp. 233-236.

² S.Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VI/3*, Cairo 1951, p. 48, fig.36.

³ *PM III*, p. 243; B. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, Freiburg-Göttingen 1981, p. 121, note 2; Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London-New York 1987, p. 35.

⁴ Bolshakov, *op. cit* (note 1), pp. 203-210.

⁵ E.g., A. M. Roth, *Giza Mastabas VI: A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, Boston 1995, p. 35; Kh. Daoud, The False-door of the Family of *Sk-r-htp*, *SÄK* 23 (1996), p. 102; P. Jánosi, Gab es Kronprinzen in der 4. Dynastie? 'Kronprinz' Iunre, *GM* 158 (1997), p. 27.

challenge my interpretation. First, Michel Baud returned to the early dating of *Hm.t-r^c(w)* in his excellent book on the royal families;⁶ second, Peter Der Manuelian published an important false door of the lady *Jntj* from Giza (Boston, MFA 31.781) with the offering formulae mentioning Osiris twice and dated it back to the late Fourth Dynasty.⁷ Since Baud's arguments can hardly shake the date of *Hm.t-r^c(w)*,⁸ the date of *Jntj* has a decisive significance and we are facing the same situation as several years ago: a single monument stands against hundreds of undeniable records and it should be reconsidered from this viewpoint. However, its dating is bound up with a theory of a much more general nature set forth by Manuelian in his paper and, thus, we must primarily envisage his idea as a whole.

The main concept of the paper by Manuelian is excellent and indisputable. The Old Kingdom cemeteries at Giza "were planned and laid out first and only afterwards assigned to specific individuals",⁹ which accounts for frequent reconstructions of the tombs and numerous discrepancies between their architecture and position within the necropolis on the one hand, and their much later pictorial decoration and epigraphy on the other hand. Any chronological study must be based on the presumption that the decoration and the usage of a tomb do not necessarily follow its construction immediately, and the gap between the two moments may be considerable.¹⁰ The existence of "prefabricated tombs... initially constructed for anonymous owners, may well be the only way to make sense of the original development of the Giza plateau".¹¹

The idea itself is not new; as Manuelian justly mentions, it goes back to Hermann Junker¹² and George Andrew Reisner,¹³ but observations of these greatest experts on Old Kingdom monuments remained unnoticed and were never consequently used for practical purposes, the lack of consideration for them causing numerous mistakes in the reconstructions of the chronology of

⁶ M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* I, BdE 126/1, Le Caire 1999, pp. 517-518.

⁷ P. der Manuelian, A Case of Prefabrication at Giza? The False Door of *Jntj*, *JARCE* 35 (1998), pp. 115-127.

⁸ We shall turn to them later, see Supplement.

⁹ Manuelian, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 115.

¹⁰ By the way, the early dating of Osiris in the tomb of *Hm.t-r^c(w)* arose mainly thanks to the fixed belief that the chapel had to be decorated immediately after its manufacture, which, if judging from the location of the monument, could occur in the Fourth Dynasty indeed.

¹¹ Manuelian, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 115.

¹² H. Junker, *Giza* I, Wien-Leipzig 1929, p. 38.

¹³ G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* I, Cambridge, Mass. 1942, pp. 9, 85.

Giza.¹⁴ One may only hope that Manuelian will be luckier than his predecessors were, and the success of his concept will demonstrate once more that *back to Junker* usually means *forward*.

However, when turning from generalities to the particular monument, Manuelian makes a regrettable false step. Since he is interested first of all in the phenomenon of prefabrication, the Boston false door being mainly an occasion to discuss the problem for him, he considers in detail the features of the monument proving that it was made for an unspecified person (male or female) and only later was inscribed for the lady *Jntj*, but he does not pay due

¹⁴ It should be admitted that prefabrication was a much more universal phenomenon far outstepping the territory of a single necropolis. Most probably, Manuelian's theses are true with reference not only to Giza, but to Abu Rawash as well. The Old Kingdom Cemetery F at Abu Rawash is greatly influenced by the necropolis of Cheops. Huge stone mastabas are of approximately the same size as those at Giza and are arranged in rows forming streets, although shorter and not as straight as in the archetype necropolis, see F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Abou-Roach II*, Le Caire 1925, pl.1-3. As at Giza, smaller, later tombs are attached to the original structures, thus blocking the streets (e.g., F.12 between F.7 and F.19). The architecture of the original mastabas with exterior chapels also has much in common with Giza, although stone replacing brick as a material for cult rooms marks a new stage of tomb development. The chronology of Abu Rawash is highly problematic. Jaromir Málek did not date the original tombs to the period prior to the Fifth Dynasty (PM IIP, pp. 4-8); Adolf Klasens (*LÄ* I, col. 24) placed some of them into the Fourth-Fifth Dynasties, but he never substantiated his opinion. The reason for this uncertainty seems to root not only in a very poor preservation state of the necropolis and the inadequate degree of its exploration, but also in the underestimation of the phenomenon of prefabrication. Indeed, although the cores and exterior chapels were no doubt constructed in the Fourth Dynasty (and, more exactly, under Djedefra, for a later date would be senseless from the viewpoint of political developments), the interior chapels seem to be later. Unfortunately only pitiful fragments of reliefs survived at Abu Rawash (Bisson de la Roque, *op. cit.* (note 14), pl. 29-30, 33) and the necropolis is published in the worst possible manner, but even imperfect plans (*ibid.*, pl.1-3) allow us to conclude that at least some of the interior chapels (F.7, F.17, F.19, F.21) were hewn in the cores destroying the original masonry and lining, while F.13 that has only an extensive exterior chapel may be an illustration of the initial appearance of the original mastabas. Observations made by the present author during a visit to Abu Rawash in August 2000 seem to confirm this supposition. Cf. also M. Römer, *Zum Problem von Titulatur und Herkunft bei den Ägyptischen "Königssöhnen" des Alten Reiches*, Berlin 1977, p. 48. The main trend of the development of Abu Rawash may be outlined as follows. When Djedefra laid out a new necropolis by his pyramid, a number of mastabas without interior chapels were prefabricated, like at Giza, but since not so many high officials died during his short reign, most if not all of these tombs remained unused. When the court returned to Giza under Chephren, Abu Rawash was abandoned by the elite (the only exceptions were the sons of Djedefra whose monuments are not known elsewhere, see B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt „Königssohn“*, Bonn 1976, pp. 22-23), but the cult continued in the pyramid temple (for the sources on its length see A. O. Bolshakov, *Royal Portraiture and 'Horus Name'*, in: *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, Paris, 1999, p. 317; V. Maragioglio-C. Rinaldi, *L'architettura delle piramidi menfite V*, Rapallo 1966, pp. 6-9), the site had been inhabited, and the impressive tombs that could not remain derelict were reconstructed and decorated by the persons of a lower status according to later rules. Of course, only new excavations can sustain this no doubt speculative reconstruction, but, nonetheless, it seems most possible. It is more than probable that tomb prefabrication also existed in Dahshur, and when this cemetery will be at last completely excavated and adequately published, it will become obvious that the prefabrication of tombs is a universal phenomenon of great importance for our studies of chronology and ideology of Old Kingdom Egypt. It may be appropriate to mention here also a monument prefabricated not for a human being, but for a pet animal. In the Sixth (?) Dynasty, a coffin for the king's dog *ḥwtjw* was issued from the treasury (G. A. Reisner, *The Dog which was Honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt*, *BMEF* 34 (1936), fig. on p. 96; H. G. Fischer, *An Old Kingdom Monograph* 1, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), fig.2), which means that a reserve of such prefabricated objects was kept there; for interpretation see A. O. Bolshakov, *Man and his Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom*, Wiesbaden 1997, pp. 262-263.

attention to more traditional (and undoubtedly easier) analysis. The fact that the Fourth Dynasty Giza with its tendency towards gigantism and mass construction of tombs had been a realm of prefabrication seems to distract Manuelian and to influence his conclusions too much. In substance, only several words are devoted to the dating,¹⁵ which is quite insufficient for a monument discovered without a certain archaeological context. As for the record of Osiris, it is also too far from the main subject of the paper and, thus, it is treated in an offhand manner.¹⁶ Our task is polar to Manuelian's, and we should try to date the false door basing on as many criteria as possible.

Our opportunities are greatly hindered by the fact that its original provenance remains obscure (it was found in the debris at street G 7700 and, thus, cannot be linked to a definite tomb), important information that could be obtained from the analysis of the archaeological complex being entirely lost, and we must restrict ourselves with more specific criteria concerning it as an isolated artefact.

I. Typology of the false door

1. The false door of *Jntj* has two pairs of jambs, each bearing a single column of hieroglyphs. This type ("Giza door" after Strudwick) is not earlier than the middle Fifth Dynasty,¹⁷ while under the Fourth and the first half of the Fifth Dynasty, false doors usually had one pair of jambs at Giza.¹⁸

2. The false door of *Jntj* has no torus and cavetto cornice. These features appeared in the middle Fifth Dynasty as a sign of high status of the owner and became common in the Sixth Dynasty, although coexisting with the older type.¹⁹ Thus, their absence means little for dating, the more so that in the case of prefabrication the status of the owner to be could not be taken into account by the master when manufacturing the monument.

3. The representation and inscriptions of *Jntj* are carved in raised relief. The tendency towards replacing it with sunk relief started from Niuserra and superseded the older tradition by the end of the Fifth Dynasty.²⁰

¹⁵ Manuelian, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 117, 119.

¹⁶ Manuelian, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 119.

¹⁷ N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and their Holders*, London 1985, p. 51.

¹⁸ Strudwick, *op. cit.* (note 17), p. 44.

¹⁹ S. Wiebach, *Das Ägyptische Scheintür*, Hamburg 1981, pp. 133–135; Strudwick, *op. cit.* (note 17), p. 15.

²⁰ Strudwick, *op. cit.* (note 17), pp. 24, 36.

II. Iconography and style

4. The figure of *Jntj* on the false door panel (fig. 1) has practically all of the distinguishing characteristics of the so-called second style of the Old Kingdom (after Russmann) with its deliberate “exaggeration of some features and suppression of others”: “overlarge head”, “long, narrow body, pinched at the waist”, “muscles suppressed, especially on the arms, which are excessively attenuated”, “hands oversized”,²¹ large nose and lips; the exaggerated size of the lotus flower belongs to the same group of features (cf. with the proportions of the similar picture of *N(j)-ḥnm(w)*,²² fig. 2). All these peculiarities were discussed by Edna Russmann as concerns sculpture, but they are characteristic also of two-dimensional representations of the second style (though the latter still demand a special scrutiny).²³ In sculpture, the second style emerged in the late Fifth Dynasty, the reign of Unis witnessing the appearance of such masterpieces as the statues of *Mttj*,²⁴ and approximately the same dating is applicable to reliefs.

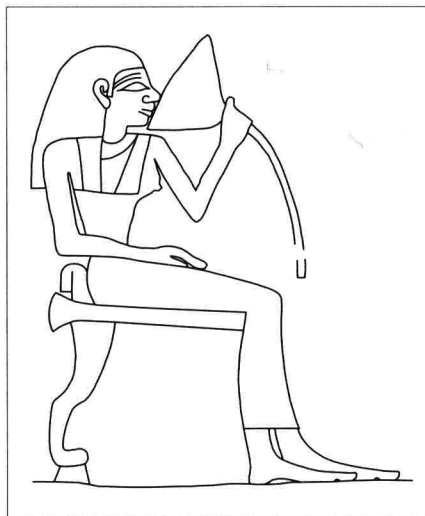


Fig. 1.

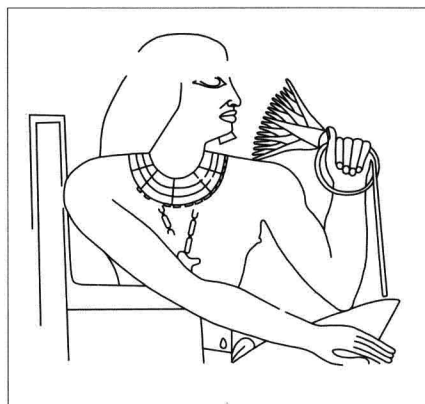


Fig. 2.

5. The traditional table scene is replaced on the false door panel of *Jntj* by the representation of the owner sitting; the space in front of her figure is filled with her name spelled in enormous hieroglyphs. Such a reduction of the table

²¹ E. Russmann, A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), pp. 269-270.

²² A. Moussa-H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, Mainz 1977, fig. 20.

²³ Russmann, *op. cit.* (note 21), p. 274, note 49.

²⁴ Russmann, *op. cit.* (note 21), pp. 274-276.

scene is by no means an early phenomenon. The false doors having this feature are not earlier at Giza than the mid-Fifth Dynasty:

- a) *Nfr-htp(.w)*, reigns of Niuserra – Unis.²⁵ The owner is depicted standing, the rest of the panel is covered by his titles.²⁶
- b) *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w) III*, G 5150, northern false door, reign of Isesi.²⁷ The owner is depicted sitting, the rest of the panel is covered by his titles.²⁸
- c) *Z3-jb(.j)*, G2092+2093, reigns of Isesi – Unis.²⁹ The owner is depicted standing, the rest of the panel is covered by his titles.³⁰
- d) *H3gj*, G 2352, the end of the Fifth Dynasty or later.³¹ The owner is depicted standing, the rest of the panel is covered by his titles.³²
- e) *W3š-k3(.j)/Jrj*, false door found by D.110 and D.111, middle Fifth Dynasty or later.³³ The owner is depicted standing, the rest of the panel is covered by his titles.³⁴
- f) *Hnw*, unfinished northern false door, middle Fifth Dynasty or later.³⁵ The owner is depicted sitting, a figure of a standing attendant (?) occupies the rest of the panel.³⁶
- g) *Sšm(.j)-nfr(.w)*, middle Fifth Dynasty or later.³⁷ The owner is sitting; a figure of a standing mortuary priest occupies the rest of the panel.³⁸
- h) *Hmw* and *Špss-k3.f-ḥ(.w)*, southern false door of *Špss-k3.f-ḥ(.w)*, late Fifth Dynasty or later.³⁹ The upper part of the panel is lost, on the lower part there are legs of the owner standing, the rest of the panel is occupied by his name.⁴⁰

²⁵ Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 268:136.

²⁶ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IX*, Le Caire 1960, fig.28-a.

²⁷ *PM III*², 153; Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 270:234; cf. Junker, *Giza III*, Wien-Leipzig 1938, p. 14.

²⁸ Junker, *op. cit.* (note 27), Taf.1; E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptische Grabkammer-Seschemnofers III. aus Giza*, 2. Aufl., Mainz 1982, Farbtaf. 5-6.

²⁹ Roth, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 36, 109 (cf. *PM III*², p. 70 – Sixth Dynasty).

³⁰ Roth, *op. cit.* (note 5), pl.71-b, fig. 179.

³¹ *PM III*², p. 84.

³² W. K. Simpson, *Giza Mastabas IV: The Mastabas of Western Cemetery I*, Boston 1980, pl. 57-b, fig. 45.

³³ The dating is based on the typology of the false door ("Giza type", see footnote 17). *PM III*², p. 114 offers a very indefinite dating: Fifth - Sixth Dynasty.

³⁴ Junker, *Giza IX*, Wien 1950, fig. 40.

³⁵ The dating is based on the typology of the false doors ("Giza type", see note 17). *PM III*², p. 279 offers a very indefinite dating: Fifth - Sixth Dynasty.

³⁶ S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza III*, Cairo 1941, fig. 48.

³⁷ The dating is based on the typology of the false door ("Giza type", see note 17). *PM III*², p. 279 offers a very indefinite dating: Fifth - Sixth Dynasty.

³⁸ Hassan, *op. cit.* (note 36), fig. 212.

³⁹ *PM III*², p. 245.

⁴⁰ Hassan, *op. cit.* (note 2), fig. 69.

- i) *Jrrw*, southern false door, late Fifth – Sixth Dynasty.⁴¹ The upper part of the panel is lost, on the lower part there are the legs of a chair and the feet of a sitting owner, but no traces of the table.⁴²
- j) *Hnmw*, southern false door, Sixth Dynasty.⁴³ The whole panel is occupied by the standing figure of the owner.⁴⁴
- k) *N(j)-nfr* (?), Sixth Dynasty.⁴⁵ The whole surface of the panel is occupied by the standing figures of the owner and his son.⁴⁶
- l) *Mšt*, Sixth Dynasty.⁴⁷ The mother (?) of the tomb owner is depicted sitting, the space in front of her is covered by her titles.⁴⁸
- m) *ḥnh-(j)t(w.j)*, northern false door, Sixth Dynasty.⁴⁹ The owner is depicted sitting, the rest of the panel is covered by his titles.⁵⁰
- n) *Trrw*, Sixth Dynasty.⁵¹ The owner and his wife are depicted sitting, a figure of a censuring man occupies the rest of the panel.⁵²
- o) *Jtw*, Sixth Dynasty,⁵³ most probably late.⁵⁴ On the panel of the false door of his wife *Jn(j).t-k3.s*, she is represented sitting, the figures of her children in front of her leaving no space for the table.⁵⁵
- p) *N(j)-s(w)-kd(w)*, First Intermediate Period (?).⁵⁶ The figures of the owner and his wife sitting occupy the whole surface of the panel.⁵⁷

6. *Jntj* is represented smelling a lotus flower, which is characteristic of the second half of the Old Kingdom. At Saqqara, this feature appears on the false door panels not earlier than the reign of Menkauhor (*N(j)-ḥnh-ḥnm(w)*) and *Hnm(w)-ḥtp(.w)*,⁵⁸ while at Giza this occurs even later, in the Sixth

⁴¹ *PM III*, p. 280.

⁴² Hassan, *op. cit.* (note 36), fig.56.

⁴³ *PM III*, 121; Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 269:200.

⁴⁴ Junker, *Giza VI*, Wien-Leipzig 1943, fig. 70.

⁴⁵ *PM III*, p. 120.

⁴⁶ Junker, *op. cit.* (note 44), fig. 76.

⁴⁷ *PM III*, p. 105.

⁴⁸ Junker, *op. cit.* (note 34), p. 235.

⁴⁹ *PM III*, p. 275; Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 266:51.

⁵⁰ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza V*, Cairo 1944, fig. 85.

⁵¹ *PM III*, p. 278.

⁵² Hassan, *op. cit.* (note 2), fig. 22, pl. 10.

⁵³ *PM III*, p. 103.

⁵⁴ Junker, *Giza V*, Wien-Leipzig 1941, p. 134.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pl.11-d, fig. 36.

⁵⁶ *PM III*, p. 140.

⁵⁷ Junker, *op. cit.* (note 44), pl. 23-d, fig. 104.

⁵⁸ Moussa-Altenmüller, *op. cit.* (note 22), fig. 20.

Dynasty (false door of *Ttw/Msnj* in the tomb of his father *Ttw/K3(j)-n(j)-sw.t*, G 2001).^{59 60}

7. The back of the chair of *Jntj* is covered by a cushion. According to N. Cherpion, such representations appear under Snefru, are rare prior to Isesi, and predominant under Unis and later.⁶¹ However, almost all the tombs dated by Cherpion back to the Fourth – first half of the Fifth Dynasty⁶² are actually not earlier than the reign of Niuserra.⁶³

a) *N(j)-^cnh-snfr-w(j)*, Dahshur 8.

Cherpion's dating: reign of Snefru.

Traditional dating: Sixth Dynasty.⁶⁴

b) *Snfr-w(j)-h₁p(.w)*, G 3008.

Cherpion's dating: reign of Snefru.

Traditional dating: Sixth Dynasty.⁶⁵

c) *K3(j)-h₁j.f*, G 2136.

Cherpion's dating: reign of Cheops.

Traditional dating: middle Sixth Dynasty.⁶⁶

d) *Nfr*, G 4761.

Cherpion's dating: reign of Cheops.

Traditional dating: reigns of Unis – Teti.⁶⁷

e) *3h.t(j)-h₁p(.w)*, Giza, West Field.

Cherpion's dating: reign of Cheops.

Traditional dating: Sixth Dynasty.⁶⁸

⁵⁹ Simpson, *op. cit.* (note 23) Pt. I. of vol. IV, pl. 20, fig. 18.

⁶⁰ For the list of the monuments see Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 331-332, and add the false door in the mastaba of *Mst*, Sixth Dynasty; Junker, *op. cit.* (note 34), p. 235, and the double false door of *Kjj* and *Z3.t-sd-3bd*, Louvre E.14.184, First Intermediate Period, Ch. Ziegler, *Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités égyptiennes. Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, Paris 1990, pp. 244-252, cat. no. 45.

⁶¹ N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'ancien Empire. Le problème de la datation*, Bruxelles 1989, p. 30, critère 6.

⁶² Cherpion, *op. cit.* (note 61), pp. 151-152.

⁶³ On the workability of Cherpion's criteria in general see below, Supplement, §1.

⁶⁴ *PM III*, p. 892; Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 279:611.

⁶⁵ *PM III*, p. 96; cf. Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 269:214 – the first three decades of Pepi II. The early dating is impossible also due to the presence of the field works scenes on the east wall – they emerged there only in the late Fifth Dynasty, see A. O. Bolshakov, *op. cit.* (note 14), Tbl.1.

⁶⁶ *PM III*, p. 76; cf. Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 271:278 – middle reign of Pepi II. The early dating is impossible also due to the presence of the field works scenes on the east wall – they emerged there only in the late Fifth Dynasty, see Bolshakov, *op. cit.* (note 14), Tbl.1.

⁶⁷ *PM III*, p. 76; Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 267:126. The early dating is impossible also due to the presence of the list of offerings on the west wall and of the scene of the handing over of a lotus on the south wall – they emerged there only in the middle Fifth Dynasty, see Bolshakov, *op. cit.* (note 14), Tbl.1.

⁶⁸ *PM III*, p. 49.

- f) *Hnm(w)-hnp(.w) II*, Giza, West Field.
Cherpion's dating: reign of Cheops.
Traditional dating: Sixth Dynasty.⁶⁹
- g) *Jh3*, false door found in G 4761, Wien 7445.
Cherpion's dating: reign of Cheops.
Traditional dating: early Sixth Dynasty.⁷⁰ However, the inscriptions are carved in low relief, which makes us prefer a somewhat earlier dating – late Fifth Dynasty (see footnote 20).
- h) *Ssm(.j)-nfr(.w) I*, G 4940 = LG 45.
Cherpion's dating: reign of Djedefra.
Traditional dating: reigns of Userkaf – Sahura – Neferirkara.⁷¹
- i) *Jr(.w)-n-3h.t(j)/Jr(.w)-n-pth/Jrj*, Giza.
Cherpion's dating: reign of Mycerinus.
Traditional dating: Sixth Dynasty.⁷²
- j) *Jj-nfr.t*, Giza, West Field, Karlsruhe H.532.
Cherpion's dating: reign of Mycerinus.
Traditional datings: Fourth – Sixth Dynasty,⁷³ but the reigns of Niuserra – Isesi are the most probable option.⁷⁴
- k) *Hnw*, BM 1272.
Cherpion's dating: reign of Mycerinus.
Traditional dating is very indefinite – Fourth Dynasty or later,⁷⁵ but the wish *hpf hr w3.wt nfr.wt hpp.wt jm3h.w jm.sn* that is present on the false door emerged only in the Fifth Dynasty.⁷⁶
- l) *Srf-k3(.j)*, Sheikh Said 1.
Cherpion's dating: reign of Userkaf.
The date of the tomb is still obscure, but it may be as late as the end of the Fifth Dynasty.⁷⁷

⁶⁹ PM III², p. 105; Harpur, *op. cit. (note 3)*, p. 269:203.

⁷⁰ PM III², p. 138.

⁷¹ PM III², p. 142; Harpur, *op. cit. (note 3)*, p. 270:232.

⁷² PM III², p. 250; Harpur, *op. cit. (note 3)*, p. 265:28.

⁷³ Reign of Mycerinus (A. Wiedemann-B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabreliefs aus der Grossherzoglichen Altertümer-Sammlung zu Karlsruhe*, Strassburg 1906, p. 9); middle Fifth Dynasty (W. Schürmann, *Die Reliefs aus dem Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-nefret*, Karlsruhe 1983, p. 14); reign of Merenra - early Pepi II (Harpur, *op. cit. (note 3)*, p. 265); Fifth - Sixth Dynasty (PM III², p. 298).

⁷⁴ A. O. Bolshakov, Some Notes on the Reliefs of *Jj-nfr.t* (Karlsruhe), *GM* 115 (1990), pp. 21-25.

⁷⁵ PM III², p. 306.

⁷⁶ W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, Glückstadt 1968, p. 17.


⁷⁷ Harpur, *op. cit. (note 3)*, p. 280:639.


- m) *Nfr-jr.t-n.f*, Saqqara D 55.
Cherpion's dating: reign of Neferirkara.
Traditional dating: reign of Neferirkara or later, but the tomb may be as late as the reigns of Isesi – Unis.⁷⁸
- n) *Wp-m-nfr.t*, Giza, Central Field.
Cherpion's dating: reign of Neferefra.
Traditional dating: reigns of Niuserra – Isesi.⁷⁹
- o) *Jzj-^cnh(w.)*, false door BM 1383.
Cherpion's dating: reign of Neferefra.
Traditional dating: middle Fifth Dynasty or later.⁸⁰

Thus, this iconographic feature most probably emerged in the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, but became common only under Niuserra. It also should not be forgotten that the artist of *Jntj* used a simplified version of the scene: the cushion is folded in two, but the back of the chair is not shown. In Cherpion's list, the earliest tomb with this version is that of *H^c(j).f-hw(j).f-w(j) II* (G 7150) dating back to the reign of Niuserra.⁸¹

8. The papyrus umbel decorating the back part of the chair of *Jntj* is rather small. The shape of this decorative element is not a reliable dating criterion, but a general tendency towards its reduction in the course of time is obvious.⁸²

III. Epigraphy

9. Although the name  *Jntj*, both male and female, becomes common only in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty (under Niuserra – Isesi),⁸³ it was in use also in the Fourth Dynasty⁸⁴ and so it cannot contribute much to the dating.

10. The shape of the sign  with an incorrect pattern of overlapping of the leaves, like that on the false door of *Jntj* (fig. 3), is characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty and later periods, while in the high quality Fourth Dynasty inscriptions, the leaves usually overlap alternatively.⁸⁵ However, this rule is far from

⁷⁸ Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 274:440.

⁷⁹ Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 266:56; cf. *PM III*², p. 281.

⁸⁰ *PM III*², 742 (the false door has a torus and a cavetto cornice and, thus, it cannot be earlier than the middle Fifth Dynasty, see note 19).

⁸¹ Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 269:184.


⁸² Cherpion, *op. cit.* (note 61), 32-33 and especially note 31.






⁸³ E.g., H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I*, Glückstadt 1935, 38:23; *PM III*², pp 370, 957 and the respective references.

⁸⁴ E.g., W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum*, London 1892, pl. 14; A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Antienne Empire*, Paris, 1889, p. 94.

⁸⁵ H. G. Fischer, A Scribe of the Army in the Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty, *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 269-271; idem, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.*, New York 1968, p. 17; idem., *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, New York 1979, p. 34.

universal and incorrect overlapping occurs even in the best tombs of the Fourth Dynasty, where it may interchange with the correct forms.⁸⁶

11. The arrangement of three food determinatives to *pr.t-hrw* in a row  used by *Jntj* is not earlier than late Fifth – early Sixth Dynasty.⁸⁷

12. The spelling of the name of Anubis by the sign of a jackal  is characteristic of the period till the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, while the jackal on a shrine  emerged under Teti;⁸⁸ however, the old variant was not completely discarded, especially when  was placed above horizontal signs, e.g., ⁸⁹ , etc.

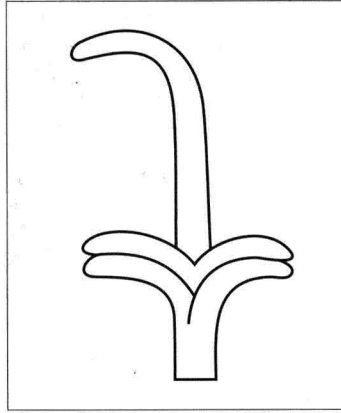


Fig. 3.

Features 2 (absence of torus and cavetto cornice), 8 (decoration of the back of the chair), 9 (name of the owner), 10 (shape of the *sw* hieroglyph) and 12 (spelling of Anubis) are useless or almost useless for dating, but the remaining features are definite chronological indicators and in the aggregate they allow us to date the false door of *Jntj* with certainty. Criteria 1 (number of jambs), 4 (style of representation), 5 (absence of the table scene), 6 (smelling of a lotus) and 11 (spelling of *pr.t-hrw*) establish *termini ante quem non* in the middle - late Fifth Dynasty; feature 7 (cushion on the chair back) may be somewhat earlier. On the contrary, feature 3 (low relief) fixes the *terminus ante quem* in the middle – late Fifth Dynasty.

Thus, the simultaneous presence of all of the features on a single monument is possible only in a very brief period of the reigns of Iseki and Unis (fig. 4). Of course, all the criteria are actually less definite than in our reconstructions, so the chronological borders may be extended, but the reliable date of the false door of *Jntj* is by no means earlier than middle Fifth – early Sixth Dynasty (Niuserra – Teti).

⁸⁶ Cf., e.g., in *H^c(j).f-hw(j).f-w(j) I*, G 7140: W. K. Simpson, *Giza Mastabas III, The mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, Boston 1978, figs. 25, 31, 32 (naturalistic treatment) and figs. 24, 26, 28, 29 (stylised overlapping).

⁸⁷ Ed. Brovarski, *Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, Part II, For His Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, Chicago 1994, pp. 21-22.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 21, note 24; cf. G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, Mainz 1986, pp. 8-9.

⁸⁹ E.g., A. El-Khouli - N. Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara. North West of Teti's Pyramid II.*, Sydney 1988, pls. 7-8.

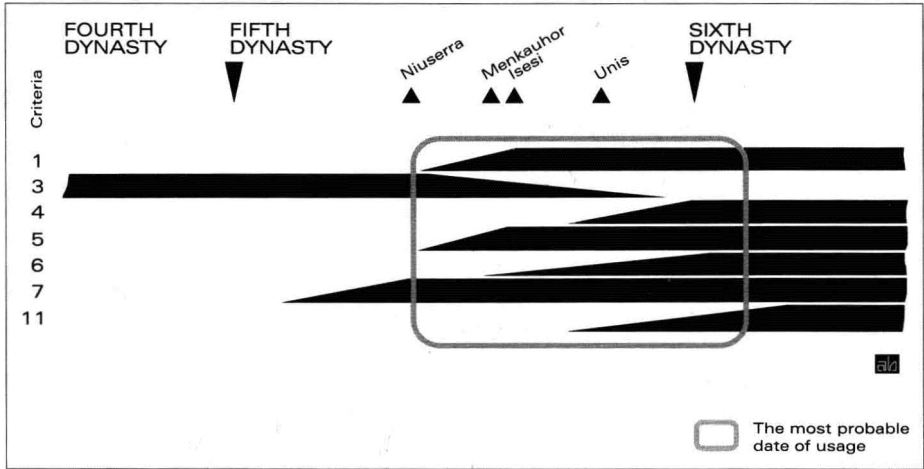


Fig. 4.

This is in concordance with the traditional dating of the appearance of Osiris in inscriptions, which means that the false door of *Jnti* does not make us rewrite the history of one of the most important constituents of Egyptian religion.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Recent papers by H. Altenmüller devoted to Osiris are a good illustration of how dangerous a disregard of chronology may be for interpretations of religious phenomena. On the strength of the central position occupied by the scenes related to a bed in mural compositions representing a miraculous birth of the king in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Altenmüller concludes that they had to guarantee a resurrection of the king in the next world, the world of the gods. Then he turns to representations of a bed in private Old Kingdom tombs and deduces from its designation as *s.t* his reading of the name of Osiris as *jrj-s.t-jr.t* – “*Der zum bezogenen Bett Gehörende*”. This makes him also give up the traditional understanding of the name of Isis in favour of *wrsj.t > w3sj.t > jsj.t* – “*Die von der Kopfstütze*” (Zu Isis und Osiris, in: *Wege öffnen, Festschrift Gundlach*, Wiesbaden 1996, pp. 1-17). In the next paper (Zum Ursprung von Isis und Nephthys, *SÄK* 27 (1999), pp. 1-26.) his conclusions become even more radical.

Yet the earliest representation of the bed cited by Altenmüller is placed in the tomb of queen *Mr(j)-s(j)-ḥ(w) III* that is hardly later than the reign of Shepseskaf (on the dating see D. Dunham-W. K. Simpson, *Giza Mastabas I, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III.*, Boston 1974, p. 8.). Altenmüller’s reconstructions are also based on the records of the term for a headrest in the early Fourth Dynasty mastaba of *Mḥn* and of a bed in the list of offerings of *Hḥ(j)-b3.w-zkr* dated back to the late Third-early Fourth Dynasty. In this situation, he must either prove that Osiris is an ancient god, at least as old as the Old Kingdom, or give up his theory. However, the time of the first record of Osiris is of no importance for him and he mentions various datings of this moment as equal and foreign to the problems discussed (*a.a.O.* p. 11, note 42). If accepting Altenmüller’s theory, we must admit that the notion of Osiris had been inherent in Egyptian religion since primeval times, which would imply radical reinterpretation of our understanding of the Old Kingdom and which might be verified by the monuments only forcedly; at least I do not know any reliable evidence of the concept of resurrection in private tombs of the third millennium BC (see Bolshakov, *op. cit.* (note 14), *passim*). Moreover, it is next to impossible to believe that the figure of the god central in the later Egyptian culture could remain entirely hidden for centuries. However, as soon as we take this moment seriously, as a turning point in the development of religion, Altenmüller’s constructions collapse immediately.

*Supplement****The dating of the tomb of princess Hm.t-r^c(w) in the light of Baud's criticism***

It may be appropriate now to discuss Baud's criticism of my dating of the tomb of princess Hm.t-r^c(w), following his arguments one after another.

1. I do not use dating criteria developed by Nadine Cherpion. The book by Cherpion⁹¹ is perhaps the most cited during the last decade work on the Old Kingdom, great interest towards it being not unfounded. Cherpion has a very good eye for minor iconographic features and her criteria *as such* are really excellent and most detailed in the history of Old Kingdom studies. Nonetheless, they by no means form a consistent *system of dating*. Monuments are attributed to the reigns on the basis of a single characteristic – the presence of royal cartouches. However, the fact that cartouches are of little importance for dating Old Kingdom monuments and give only *termini ante quem non* is an axiom for more than a half of a century. Cherpion no doubt knows this rule, but in reality she unconditionally uses cartouches as giving reliable dates. Strange as it may be, her readers also forget that cartouches are only of very limited importance and accept her criteria without restrictions – probably because dating is such a crucial problem for Old Kingdom Egyptology that we subconsciously want to believe that a work has appeared that can give us firm footing at last. Cherpion neglects other, first of all archaeological and epigraphic criteria, which makes her “amend” more or less evident data for the sake of her theory (the most striking example is her tendency to redate late Old Kingdom Giza monuments to the Fourth Dynasty, which runs counter to the “horizontal stratigraphy” of the necropolis and everything we know about the logic of its development). Cherpion's criteria may and should essentially complement other methods of dating, but when taken uncritically, they are very dangerous (which is a reproach not at her, but mainly at careless admirers of her book).⁹²

2. My assumption that a certain Šps-s-k3.f-^cnh(w) represented in the chapel of Hm.t-r^c(w) as her associate is the owner of a neighbouring tomb that is not earlier than Jzzj is too weak to be used for dating. If taken alone, this is certainly not a decisive reason, but similar situations are common when we deal

⁹¹ Cherpion, *op. cit.* (note 61)

⁹² Cf. also S. J. Seidlmayer, Stil und Statistik, Die Datierung dekoriertes Gräber des Alten Reiches – Ein Problem der Methode, in: J. Müller - A. Zimmermann (Hrsg.), *Archäologie und Korrespondenzanalyse: Beispiele, Fragen, Perspektiven*, Espelkamp 1997, pp. 20-22.

with Old Kingdom monuments – it is always very difficult to decide if the men represented in different tombs are the same people or only homonyms. At least, this conjecture does not contradict other particulars pertaining to the tomb of *Hm.t-r^c(w)* and *with some reservations* it may be used as an *extra argument*.


3. Since both the position of the tomb and its architecture are characteristic of the Fourth Dynasty, my dating relies on the supposition that the tomb had been not hewn for *Hm.t-r^c(w)* but was only reused by her (Baud cites my words that “it is too good for her”). However, although my statement might not be formulated in the most academic manner, in general it is as just as any other suggestion on personal affairs of Old Kingdom Egyptians based on their monuments, unless they bear biographical inscriptions. The tomb is grand, but inscriptions and representations are placed only on the entrance thicknesses, pillars and lintels, which would be very strange, were it made for a daughter of Chephren in the late Fourth – early Fifth Dynasty. This phenomenon may be well explained within the framework of Manuelian’s theory of prefabrication.



4. For the sake of the late dating I reject direct descent of *Hm.t-r^c(w)* from Chephren. *Hm.t-r^c(w)*’s being a daughter of Chephren is nothing else than a false assumption engendered by the location of her tomb and having no other grounds. Baud may be in the right stating that since *Hm.t-r^c(w)* had been *z3.t n(j)-sw.t n(j.t) h.t.f* and even *z3.t n(j)-sw.t n(j.t) h.t.f smsw*, she could not have been a minor princess as I suggested, but this does not mean that she had been born by Chephren – any later king could be her father. The fact that the cartouche of Chephren is incorporated into the names of many estates of *Hm.t-r^c(w)* also does not make us prefer her direct descent from this king to a more distant kinship – we still do not positively know how the estates were inherited.

5. Such features of the lintel over the doorway to the inner chapel of *Hm.t-r^c(w)* as the number of lines and the presence of a separator between the text and the figure of the owner are considered unconvincing by Baud “en raison du faible nombre des monuments de cette période (? – A.B.) qui nous sont parvenus”. This statement sounds strange be it applied to the late Fourth Dynasty or the second half of the Fifth, since the amount of the materials available and their chronological distribution are sufficient enough for the conclusion on the late date of *Hm.t-r^c(w)*.⁹³

⁹³ See Harpur, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 44.

6. The shape of a pillow on the throne of *Hm.t-r'(w)* occurs already in the Thinite period and, thus, is of no importance for dating. This assertion is also very strange. Indeed, early dynastic representations reveal a wide range of the shapes of the pillow,⁹⁴ but this fact has nothing to do with the Old Kingdom that does not continue archaic traditions directly. The tendencies of development of this feature were discussed in detail by Cherpion⁹⁵; as applied to Old Kingdom monuments, this is a working dating criterion and there is no need to artificially complicate the problem.

7. The shape of the sign  is characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty in general and, thus, the dating to the reign of Userkaf cannot be excluded. This is, of course, true (cf. feature 10 above), but I never used this attribute as a conclusive argument. Quite the contrary, it was mentioned among the features that, “though rather obscure from the chronological point of view, do not contradict the late dating”.⁹⁶ Thus, this feature supports neither concept, but I listed it among those that did not disagree with mine, which is also of importance.

8. The sign *hnt* shaped as a rack of three vessels can be found not only under the Fifth Dynasty and later, as I stated, but also under the Fourth Dynasty. Baud is actually correct and I was wrong here, but this does not change the situation drastically – statistically the form  is predominant in the first half of the Old Kingdom, while  prevails in its second half.

9. The last censorious remark is addressed not to me, but I believe I must reply to it. Basing on the concept of the late appearance of Osiris, A.M.Roth⁹⁷ who accepts my dating of *Hm.t-r'(w)*, artificially lowers the dates of Giza mastabas of the group G 2080 – 2090. Datings of the cluster of the tombs of “palace attendants” offered by Roth are among the most substantiated ones in the history of Giza studies thanks to an application of numerous features of various types,⁹⁸ they are not artificial and they are not dependent on the time of the emergence of Osiris. Quite the reverse, they support the late date of that event.

Thus, Baud’s arguments are either uncertain or not of a decisive importance. Perhaps such a long discussion would be *de trop* were it not for the fact that the position of my opponent is typical in many respects – not as concerns a

⁹⁴ Cf., e.g., Z. Y. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan*, Le Caire 1957, figs. 3, 15, 17, 19.

⁹⁵ Cherpion, *op. cit.* (note 61), pp. 26-31.

⁹⁶ Bolshakov, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 209.

⁹⁷ Roth, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 162-166.

⁹⁸ See the review by the present writer, forthcoming in *CdE*.

specific monument, but conformably to the general principles of dating. First, even the most conclusive epigraphic, iconographic, stylistic, archaeological etc. feature taken *per se* matters very little for reliable dating of an Old Kingdom monument (the sole exclusion is the presence of a biographical inscription mentioning a ruling king); only a complex of these qualitatively different criteria can substantiate the date. Their exactness is inevitably diverse and they may even measurably disagree, but they form a kind of a strong framework with its elements supporting one another. Second, our datings are not dots on a temporal axis, but segments of various length, sometimes rather extended ones. They are of probabilistic nature, and when we say that a tomb is dated, for instance, to the reign of Niuserra, this means only that these 24 years are statistically most probable and our dating may well include the reigns of Neferefra and Menkauhor, the vagueness of chronological borders depending on the degree of inexactness of our knowledge.

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