

CHAPTER VI

OBJECTS FOUND IN THE MYCERINUS TEMPLES

1. THE USE OF FUNERARY TEMPLES AS DEPOSITORIES OF OBJECTS

(A) FUNCTIONAL PARTS OF AN EGYPTIAN TOMB

THE significance of the occurrence of large numbers of objects in the Mycerinus temples can only be understood in the light of the history of Egyptian tomb forms and funerary customs. At present our knowledge of these subjects is derived from a great number of private graves of the predynastic period, and from both royal and private tombs of Dynasties I–VI. It is clear that the Egyptian tomb, at least from Dynasty I onwards, consisted of two chief parts:

- (1) The burial place (substructure);
- (2) The offering place consisting of a superstructure which protected the burial place and a chapel.

The burial place was beneath the surface of the ground with a few very rare exceptions (Menes Tomb and Cheops Pyramid), and its form developed *pari passu* with the growth of power over hard materials from a simple open pit dug in gravel, by many stages to a rock-cut chamber, deep underground, entered by means of a vertical rock-cut shaft. In the simple predynastic pit, the body was laid in a contracted position on its side, protected by cloth, skins, and mats, while in the more important rock-cut chambers of the Old Kingdom, it was placed in a granite coffin, extended on its back, mummified in the imperfect early manner, and wrapped in cloth.

In the Old Kingdom the offering place consisted of a massive superstructure (pyramid, mastaba, or natural rock dressed to imitate a mastaba) and a chapel either outside or inside the outer wall of the superstructure. The development of the offering place which proceeded along with that of the burial place and was influenced by it, was also based on the growth of the technical powers of the Egyptian craftsmen and in particular on those of the masons. It must be remembered that the main thread of the development will be manifested by the tombs of the rulers and the great men for whose benefit advances in technical skill were made.¹ The tombs of the lesser men and of the poor will imitate as far as possible the forms developed in the large tombs, and the ordinary workmen will eventually learn the technical acquirements of the royal craftsmen. Both rich and poor cling in varying degrees to forms and practices which have become fixed or traditional; and all forms old and new must satisfy the functional requirements founded on basic ideas, fundamental religious beliefs.

Now the offering place can only be traced at present from Dynasty I onwards, because the superstructures of the predynastic graves which were probably of earth or of mats and wood, have been destroyed by exposure and by the plundering of the pits. In Dynasty I, the large burial pit, whether entered from above or by a stairway, was covered with a rectangular bench-like structure with sloping faces, always of crude brick and apparently never more than two meters high. This superstructure is usually designated by the modern Arabic word *mastaba* meaning "bench," and that word is the most convenient name for the tomb form which predominated during the first six dynasties.

From Dynasty I to Dynasty III, the exterior faces of the large crude-brick mastabas were usually built with recessed brickwork, presenting a series of offering niches which imitate doorways in form and are now called false doors. In the smaller mastabas, the niches were usually omitted from the desert side and sometimes from all but the valley side. An essential feature of the larger mastaba was the enclosing wall which surrounded it at a distance of 50–100 cm. on the north, the south, and the desert side, but at a greater distance on the valley side where it was broken by an entrance. The valley side was clearly that at which the offerings were made, and the wider space on that side represents functionally the offering room. In the royal mastabas two of the niches on the valley side were especially marked by

¹ See Reisner, *Naga-'d-Dêr I*, p. 11.

large round-topped stones (stelae), inscribed with the Horus-title and name of the king.¹ The smallest mastabas have at least two niches on the valley face; and the subsequent history of the crude-brick mastaba shows that the southern niche was the more important of the two, being in Dynasty III much larger than the other and opposite the subterranean burial place. Still later the southern niche was developed into the offering chapel which is so conspicuous a feature of the mastaba of the Old Kingdom.

In all the mastabas of Dynasty I and Dynasty II, the niches on all sides were of exactly equal dimensions although, as noted above, the niches of the valley face were the most important — those actually used for the offering ceremonies. On the valley face itself, the niches were again of equal size as far as they have been preserved; but the fact that only two stelae were found in any one of the royal tombs of Abydos proves that two of the niches were more especially used for the offerings. The southernmost of these two niches in conformity with the later history is marked as the more essential by the fact that the entrance to the tomb enclosure was at the southern end.² In the later mastaba of Hesy (late Dynasty III),³ the first addition to the mastaba had a wooden stela in each of the eleven niches of the valley face, but the entrance was at the southern end, while a secondary niche had been made in the outside face of this enclosing wall. The final conclusion must be, I think, that even in Dynasty I, two of the niches on the valley face were the most important, possibly the southern one already in practice more important than the other, and that in royal tombs each of these two niches contained a stela with the name of the king.

The increase in size of the southern niche in Dynasty III appears due to the introduction of the long stairway type of burial place in which the length of the stairway, running down from the north, forced the burial chamber under the southern end of the mastaba. This development followed by the custom of building the wife's mastaba abutting on the northern end of that of the husband led eventually to the differentiation of the southern niche as the husband's niche and the northern niche as the wife's.

Such was the beginning of the development of the offering place as far as now traceable, the function of which was filled by the temples of the pyramids. The offering niche in these temples is no longer at the southern end of the superstructure but in the middle. The southern position was due to the desire to bring the main offering niche, the false door of the tomb, opposite the burial chamber. One of the essential functions of the superstructure was to prevent the access of thieves to the burial chamber. In the pyramid this function required that the burial place should be approximately in or under the center of the mass of masonry, and consequently the same desire which brought the chapel at the southern end of the mastaba, dictated placing the pyramid temple in the center of the valley face opposite the burial chamber, quite apart from any architectural considerations. The niches of the exterior faces of the mastaba appear to be represented in the pyramid temples by the niches of the court, while the chief offering niche of the mastaba is to be found in the wide portico and the deep offering room which probably terminated in a false door or stela of some sort.

(B) TYPES OF OBJECTS PLACED IN THE BURIAL CHAMBERS AND THEIR PURPOSE

Now for all periods previous to Dynasty IV, practically the whole body of the archaeological material, except the bare structures of the mastabas or pyramids, was found in the burial chambers of the tombs. After the burial, these chambers had been sealed up and were intended to remain inviolate to the end of time. The objects placed in the chambers were originally practical utensils of daily life taken from actual usage or from new stocks intended for use. The spirit of the object was supposed to serve the spirit of the owner of the grave in the other world. As time went on, the custom of making new objects for the graves grew, owing to two causes: (a) Models were substituted in poor graves for the more expensive objects; (b) Certain objects which had gone out of daily use were made especially to put in the graves as a matter of tradition. But it must be kept clearly in mind that all the objects found in the burial chambers represent things which were once in use in daily life and were intended to convey their

¹ Petrie, *R. T. I*, p. 6b. Professor Petrie was unaware at the time of the existence of the niched mastaba in Dynasty I and thought of these stelae as standing isolated on the desert surface.

² Reisner, *Naga'-d-Dêr I*, p. 6 and Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, Pl. XVIII.

³ Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, Pl. I.

spirit forms to the other world for the use of the spirit of the owner. The same purpose must be ascribed to the subsidiary bodies in the predynastic graves (*sâti*-burial) — wives or servants whose souls were sent into the other world to serve the soul of their lord and master. The burials in the complexes around the large tombs of Dynasty I may be assumed to have been of the same character, although the evidence that the bodies in these were buried at the time of the chief burial is not conclusive. In Dynasty II, the use of these surface complexes appear to have ceased, and the tomb of Khasekhemuwy contains an underground complex of over fifty loculi. Some of these loculi were necessary for the funerary furniture, but it may be surmised that others were intended, at least theoretically, for subsidiary burials (*sâti*-burials), replacing the surface complexes of Dynasty I. Similar underground loculi have been found in the pyramid of Zoser, in the pyramid at Zawiat-el-Aryan, and in certain large private tombs of Dynasty III (perhaps also of Dynasty II?).¹ In time, just as models of objects were substitutes for the actual objects, so figures in stone and wood of members of the family came to be substituted for their actual persons. Thus taking the whole interval from the Predynastic Period to Dynasty IV, the objects found in the burial chambers were of three classes:

- (1) Objects used in daily life and bodies of members of the family including servants.
- (2) Models of such objects and figures of members of the family including servants.
- (3) Objects which had once been in daily use but had been displaced by others and were made especially for the grave as a matter of tradition.

The common purpose of all three classes was to supply the necessities of the spirit of the dead in the other world, necessities which were approximately the same as those on earth.

(C) FUNCTION OF THE OFFERING PLACE AND OBJECTS ASSOCIATED THEREWITH

When the offering places are examined, it becomes clear that they also served the purpose of supplying the spirit with the daily necessities of life in the other world. The obvious difference between the funerary offerings of the burial chamber and those of the chapel was that the food and drink in the burial chamber could never be renewed, while those in the chapel were, by prescription, to be made daily. Thus, in Dynasties V and VI and later, the food in the burial place was placed, more or less mummified, in stone cases of the form of legs of meat and dressed fowls, in order to preserve the simulacra at least of the necessary articles of food. On the other hand, in order to maintain the daily offerings in the chapel, endowments were created and *ka*-priests appointed. Food offerings (*rahma*) are still made at Egyptian graves and custom prescribes that, after the ceremony, the food may not be eaten by the offerers or their family, but must be given away. A similar custom probably held sway in the Old Kingdom and led, for reasons of ceremony, to the use of miniature offerings of bread and beer; for thousands of small model vessels, suitable for this purpose, are found cast outside the endowed chapels in the Giza cemeteries. Even before the introduction of miniature offerings, the permanent equipment of the offering place need not have been very extensive. To obtain an idea of what equipment was usual and what was possible, it is necessary to consider the evidences preserved, although they are very fragmentary for the first three dynasties:

- (1) Dynasty I:
 - (a) Offering niches or "false-doors" were placed on the valley face of the mastaba or on all faces; the most significant fact is the use of a stela in the offering niche, giving only the name of the owner or his name and title. The most necessary part of the offering recitation was the name of the recipient.
 - (b) One example has been reported of the occurrence of vessels which may have been part of the equipment of the chapel.²

¹ There are also loculi in the Third Pyramid which are entirely in harmony with forms of the older burial chambers; but no such loculi have been noted in any of the four pyramids just previous to Mycerinus (Sneferuw, Cheops, Dedefra, and Chephren), and Professor Borchardt is of the opinion that these loculi were made in the Saite period when the wooden coffin of Mycerinus was placed in the tomb.

² Petrie, *R. T. I*, p. 15a. The northern stela of King Qay'a (Q) was found over subsidiary grave No. 3 and "near it on the south were dozens of large pieces of alabaster bowls and one of diorite" inscribed with the name of "the *sm*-priest of the temple of Qa." The vessels were similar to those found in the burial place.

- (2) Dynasty II:
- (a) Offering niches as in Dynasty I. The two stelae of Peribsen¹ prove the continuation of the use of stelae in the niches, still bearing only name and title.
 - (b) Another possible case of chapel equipment is reported.²
- (3) Dynasty III: the true stairway mastaba:
- (a) Offering niches as in Dynasties I-II; often reduced to two, in which case the southern niche is the larger.
 - (b) Evidence of chapel equipment is lacking.
- (4) Dynasties III-IV: transition from stairway to shaft mastaba: the material is derived from mastabas of the time of Khaba, Sneferuw, and Cheops, in particular the tomb of Hesy.
- (a) It is clear that in the time between the stelae of Peribsen and the earliest shaft mastaba, a considerable advance had been made in powers of the Egyptian craftsman, especially in drawing, painting, and sculpture. Moreover the use of stone in architecture was developing towards its highest point at the time of these monuments of the transition period from Dynasty III to Dynasty IV.
 - i. The tomb of Hesy has a wooden slab in each of the eleven niches of the offering room; each slab has a figure of Hesy, standing or seated, inscribed in relief with his name and titles and with a short list of offerings, incense, food, and drink, but no offering formula.

The walls of this room were decorated with paintings of objects such as are included in the ordinary burial furniture, beds, boxes, games, utensils, jars of oils and ointment, etc., a sort of pictorial list.
 - ii. The temple of the pyramid of Medum was of limestone, found by Professor Petrie in perfect condition, but was uninscribed and had no stela, as usually understood; but in the inner room was an offering stone between two uninscribed round-topped stones which appear to occupy the places usually taken by the pair of obelisks before the false door in tombs of Dynasties V and VI. The later pyramid temples of Dynasty IV showed no traces of such stones but only of a stela against the pyramid. The outer offering room in front of the pyramid may be restored by a false door (stela) on the wall next to the pyramid.
 - iii. The tombs of Rahotep and Neferma'at at Medum have the southern niche enlarged to a room cased with stone; the false door in the back wall sets the "norm" for the later development; the slab above the door corresponds to the seated scene of the Hesy panels with its inscriptions. The walls are decorated with scenes from life. An abbreviated form of the lists of the Hesy chapel is found on the sides of the false door. The northern niche in the Neferma'at mastaba was decorated for his wife, Atet. These cased niches were blocked by a brickwork addition around the whole mastaba and remained hidden from view; and in them were placed the *ka*-statues of the man and wife.
 - iv. The earliest stone mastabas at Giza (the Cheops mastabas) have two- or three-room chapels of crude brick on the southern end of the valley face and a niche in the brick wall adjoining the mastaba; in this niche, set in the face of the mastaba, was a slab with a seated figure before a table inscribed with name and titles similar to the Hesy slab and exactly like the tablet above the false door in the Medum tombs. The Merib-tomb (Lepsius 24, now in Berlin) was originally of this type with slab set in the southern end of the valley face and a crude-brick chapel; the later stone chapel, built round the southern end of the mastaba and more nearly of the type of the Medum mastabas, was actually built in the reign of Chephren.
 - (b) The objects found in the chapels are: altar (of various forms) and basin, placed before the chief niche or the false door; large basin, placed in the outer court (later a stone ring for tying sacrificial animals is found beside the basin); one or two tall stands for libation bowls, usually one on each side of the altar, of pottery or stone; and occasionally, in Dynasty V and VI, two obelisks instead of bowl stands.

In the mud-brick chapels of the Cheops mastabas there was usually one room provided with a wooden door which was evidently some sort of magazine. In the magazine of G 2001, the tomb of Prince Wep-em-nofret, there were five or six pots and pans of pottery of the usual types found in the burial places; but ordinarily the magazines were quite empty.

From this brief survey it is clear that the function of the offering place was not only to provide the same food and drink as was placed in the burial chamber but also to provide the utensils of daily life. It must be understood that a magical formula was necessary in the chapel for the conveyance of all classes of objects to the use of the spirit and, as is proved by inscriptions inside the burial places of Dynasties V and VI, similar formulas were helpful there as well as in the chapel. From Dynasty I to the time of the Hesy panels and the Cheops stelae the inscriptions on the false door or stelae omitted

¹ Petrie, *R. T. II*, Pl. XXXI.

² Petrie and Wainwright, *Tarkhan II*, p. 4, — found "a great stack of pottery against the outside of the enclosing wall" at the doorway of mastaba 2038. These were of the ordinary types found in graves of this period, traditional-ceremonial in character.

all formulas. The earliest wall inscriptions are mere pictures of objects (tomb of Hesy), and it was not until Dynasty IV that the objects were shown in actual use as well as in written or illustrated lists, and that the offering formulas which had probably been recited from predynastic times and had become traditional, were actually inscribed on the false door.

(D) INTRODUCTION OF KA-STATUES AND RELIEFS

At the time when the offering room was reaching its full development, its functional fitness was increased by the introduction of statues of the dead, so-called *ka*-statues. In the Medum tombs these were walled up in the enlarged offering niche; in the Chephren period at Giza they were placed in specially constructed chambers behind the niche; in the tomb of the lector-priest Ka'ar, commonly called the "Sheikh-el-Beled," the statues of himself and his wife were set in a broad niche in the southern wall of an exterior chapel; and in the time of Hesy, the statue chamber was merely a walled up end of an offering room of the last addition to the mastaba. Later, the statue chamber or *serdab*, became a separate structure in the body of the mastaba somewhere near the offering room and usually connected with it by a small slot-like window; but statues were still put behind the niche or in the walled ends of the room, or even standing free in the chapel. It is quite evident that the special closed rooms were only used to protect the statues from injury, that the essential feature was the proximity of the statues to the offering place. In several tombs the statue is carved in the niche, as if in the act of issuing from the false door. By the addition of statues in which the *ka* might reside, nothing was changed in the fundamental ideas attached to the offering place. The statues were added simply because the technical means of the craftsmen permitted the creation of simulacra of the dead just as they now permitted the representation of scenes from life in painting and relief on the walls. The newly acquired technical powers were also utilized to improve the functional efficiency of the furniture in the burial place, first by means of so-called reserve-heads, then by statues similar to those placed in the *serdab*, by means of carved or painted lists on the walls, and, finally, at the end of the Old Kingdom, by models of the same sorts of scenes as were carved on the walls of the offering places.

In the case of the temples of Chephren and Mycerinus, the walls appear never to have borne the scenes from life which are seen in the mastaba chapels and in the pyramid temples of Dynasty V. The German work at the Second Pyramid¹ revealed no traces of reliefs. The only inscriptions were the names and titles, incised around the two outer doors of the valley temple and the doors in the court of the pyramid temple. At the Third Pyramid, the evidence is destroyed by the decay of the crude brick; and such plastered areas as remained intact were in corridors and magazines which would not necessarily have been painted. The only contemporary inscriptions found there were those of the Shepseskaf decree and a few fragments of an alabaster stela. Now the Chephren temple was cased in granite, and the Mycerinus temple was intended to have been cased in the same way. At this time the sculpturing of reliefs in wood and limestone was practically at its culmination; but the architectural use of granite was recent, and the sculptors had not become sufficiently expert in the cutting of this harder material to make wall scenes in relief on granite a practical possibility. In fact, the cutting away of the background always presented a serious difficulty, and it is probable that the sunk relief, so popular in later ages, came into use as a solution of this difficulty. Thus the relief scenes were omitted from the Chephren temple for technical reasons and were, probably for the same reason, never intended to be used in the Mycerinus temple.

While the working of reliefs in hard stone was still undeveloped, the carving of hard-stone figures in the round had reached its highest level. *Ka*-statues of both hard and soft stones have therefore been found in numbers in the temples of both the Second and the Third Pyramids and some were no doubt placed in the temples of the First Pyramid. These statues stood partly in the exposed rooms of the sanctuary and partly in hidden rooms or rooms closed with doors or door blocks. Altars, libation stands, and offering basins are also attested, and the general service equipment is proved to have been not unlike those of the larger mastabas of Dynasty IV.

¹ Hoelscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, pp. 15, 28, Figs. 5, 16.

(E) FURNITURE OF THE FUNERARY TEMPLES OF MYCERINUS

In addition to these well proved characteristic features of funerary offering places, the temples of Mycerinus contained a great equipment of stone vessels, pottery, and other objects, which had been placed in retired magazines behind wooden doors. These wooden doors had, however, after no great time been replaced by blocking walls of crude brick. Similar magazines were found in the temples of the Second Pyramid together with traces of stone bowls and other objects, especially mace heads. The evidence from the pyramids of Dynasty V at Abusir, excavated by the German Expedition, confirms the conclusion that during Dynasties IV and V an equipment similar to that of the burial equipment was placed in accessible magazines in the funerary temples. These were manifestly not necessary to the ordinary food offerings and magic recitations but may have been intended for special ceremonies and formulas which have escaped us. But in any case these special ceremonies were probably not maintained for any long period, for in the Mycerinus temples the magazines were after a time closed with crude-brick walls.

The evidences found of the original contents of the magazines of the pyramid temples of Dynasties IV and V prove the presence of vessels of pottery, stone, bronze, and faience, of mace heads, sets of magical implements for "the opening of the mouth," bronze and flint implements, and various other objects of less permanent materials. From these a more complete equipment may be presumed, including also beds, chairs, tables, boxes, games, writing materials, clothing, and weapons, perhaps even royal insignia of precious metals and personal ornaments.

The contents of the burial chambers of the pyramids have not been so fully recorded as those of the temple magazines, owing to the activities of a long series of ancient and modern plunderers and in part to the lack of archaeological knowledge of the early explorers.¹ The broken vessels found by Perring in the Zoser tomb undoubtedly belonged to the funerary equipment of the tomb. Yet no record appears of their forms or numbers, and, for all that I can ascertain, they may be still lying in this passage. In the inner rooms of the Third Pyramid, Vyse and Perring found only the granite sarcophagus, the broken wooden coffin-lid, and some human bones, but apparently nothing of the original burial equipment. There can be no doubt, however, from the analogy of the older royal tombs and of the private mastabas of Dynasty IV that the burial equipment of the Third Pyramid was similar to that outlined for the temple magazines including, certainly in this case, personal ornaments and royal insignia.

In this connection a comparison of the floor areas of the burial chambers and the temple magazines of the Third Pyramid is of interest:

	sq. m.
<i>Pyramid burial place:</i>	
Floor area of burial chamber, less sarcophagus	15.09
Floor area of loculi-chamber and loculi	22.53
Total floor area of burial chambers	37.62
Floor area of large outer apartment	54.00
Total	91.62
<i>Pyramid temple magazines:</i>	
Floor area of the magazines for objects and statues	68.92
Intended floor area of the unfinished magazines	48.95
Total	117.87
<i>Valley temple magazines:</i>	
Floor area of the furniture magazines on north	77.25
Floor area of the statue magazines on south	88.89
Total (inner temple)	166.14
Floor area of vestibule magazines (service equipment?)	84.00
Total	250.14

¹ For example, Perring records (Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh II*, p. 47) that the lower passages (loculi passages) of the Zoser pyramid "were nearly filled with broken vases composed of marble and of alabaster, with fragments of sarcophagi, and with broken stones, upon which stars, a common ornament of Egyptian ceilings, were observed." These vessels have now (1929) been rediscovered by Mr. C. M. Firth.

The figures which give the effective areas devoted to furniture are probably 54 sq. m. in the burial chambers, 68 in the pyramid temple, and 77 in the valley temple. The figures for the temples are perhaps to be increased by the areas of the shelves or second floors in the smaller magazines. The larger areas in the temple magazines indicate that a greater amount of pottery and stone vessels was included in the temple equipments than in the burial chamber.

2. DATE OF THE OBJECTS FOUND IN THE MYCERINUS TEMPLES

The examination of the history of the construction of the Mycerinus temples, especially with relation to the decree of Shepseskaf, led to the conclusion that the unfinished stone buildings as originally planned, had been finished by Shepseskaf in crude brick. The operations carried out by Shepseskaf required only a few months with the resources at the command of a king of Egypt. And it may be premised that Shepseskaf hastened the work in order to free himself for the construction of his own tomb. The actual deposition of the objects in the temples probably took place in the first or early in the second year of Shepseskaf. Therefore all the objects found in the older deposits in the temple, and especially those in the magazines, were made in the first year of Shepseskaf or were of an earlier date. Those which were manifestly of the reign of Mycerinus were the statues of Mycerinus himself, many of which were placed still unfinished in the temples, and the stone vessels. Of still earlier manufacture were a few objects inscribed with the names of earlier kings, notably the set of magic implements inscribed with the name of Cheops, and a few stone bowls.

Now of all the objects found in the Mycerinus temples, only the statues and one painted pottery jar bore the name of the king, while two flint wands were found, one inscribed with the name of Cheops and the other with the name of Khamernernebt, probably the mother of Mycerinus. Not a single one of the hundreds of stone vessels bore the name of Mycerinus, but five vessels bore older names:

- (1) A flint bowl with the figure of a seated cat-headed goddess scratched on one side with the Horus-name Nebra before her. The name Nebra has been partially erased and the Horus-name Hetepsekhemuwy inserted between it and the goddess.
- (2) A diorite bowl with a Horus-name scratched inside. The name is nearly illegible but seems to me to be Hetepsekhemuwy. (Fig. 57, No. 37.)
- (3) A diorite bowl with the cartouche and name of Sneferuw scratched inside. (Fig. 57, No. 38.)
- (4) A diorite bowl with the name of Sneferuw scratched inside, without a cartouche. (Fig. 57, No. 2.)
- (5) An alabaster cylindrical jar fragment, incised with the corner of a rectangular frame and the double crown of Egypt; the rest of the figure and frame was broken off (not found).

In the temples of Chephren, where few objects were found except for the statues discovered by Mariette, eight hard stone mace heads were the only objects on which the name of the king was found. None of the stone vessels bore his name; but

- (6) One fragment was inscribed with the name of King *Sened* of Dynasty II.¹

The temple of Sahura also yielded no objects with the name of the king but contained

- (7) One stone vessel with the name of the Horus Khaba and
- (8) Five vessels with the name of Sneferuw (Borchardt, *Sahure I*, p. 114).

This material must be judged in the light of the occurrence of the older names in the royal tombs of Abydos (Petrie, *R. T. I*, p. 5 and *II*, p. 3). For example:

- (9) Alabaster bowl with name of Narmer (*Wḥc-mr*) found in the tomb of Zet (*R. T. I*, Pl. IV, 2).
- (10) Another of Narmer re-used in the tomb of Den (*Wdy-mw*), (*R. T. I*, p. 5a, p. 16b end).
- (11) Calcite vase with the name of Den (*Wdy-mw*) reinscribed with the name of Azabmerpaba (*cd-ib-Mry-pi-bi*)
- (12) Crystal bowl with the name of Den (*Wdy-mw*) reinscribed with the name of Azabmerpaba (*-Mry-pi-bi*) provenience not given. (*R. T. I*, Pl. V, 9.)
- (13) Red limestone vase with name of Den (*Wdy-mw*) reinscribed with the name of Azabmerpaba (*-Mry-pi-bi*), provenience not given (*R. T. I*, Pl. IV, No. 12).
- (14) Alabaster jar inscribed with the name of Azabmerpaba (*-Mry-pi-bi*) which has been erased, found in the tomb of Mersekha (*Smrht*). (*R. T. I*, Pl. VI, 11; *R. T. II*, Pl. XLVI, 7.)

¹ See Professor Steindorff in Hoelscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, p. 116.

- (15) Bowl of volcanic ash, inscribed with the name of the palace of Nebra, erased and reinscribed with the name of Neterymuw; found in the tomb of Peribsen (*R. T. II*, Pl. VIII, 12).
- (16) Three fragments of bowls, inscribed with the name of Hetepsekhemuwy and found in the tomb of Peribsen (*R. T. II*, Pl. VIII, 8-10).¹

It is difficult to discover from *R. T. I* and *II*, the number of stone vessels found in the individual tombs at Abydos or even where some of the inscribed vessels were found. The tombs are identified by the inscribed labels of wood and ivory, by the jar sealings, and a few other objects, but of the large numbers of vessels found in the tombs only a very few appear to have been marked with the name of the owner of the tomb. In any case only the more important objects were so marked while the greater part of the names on the stone vessels were those of earlier kings. The difference between this practice and that of Dynasties IV and V lies in the fact that while a few stone vessels in Dynasties I and II had the names of the owner of the tomb, no stone vessels at all have been found in the temples of Chephren, Mycerinus, Sahura, Neferirkara or Neweserra which bore the name of any of these kings. But some other objects, the statues, the mace heads of Chephren, the painted pottery jar of Mycerinus, the inlaid wooden jars of Neferirkara and Mycerinus, were inscribed with the names of the owner of the tomb. The vessels bearing the names of earlier kings were inscribed in four ways:

- (a) With the name of an earlier king, Nos. 2-10, 15, and 17, above.
- (b) With the name of an earlier king erased, No. 14 above. (Evidence, however, inconclusive owing to fragmentary condition of example.)
- (c) With the name of an earlier king erased, and the name of the owner of the tomb inserted. No. 11 and perhaps Nos. 12 and 13 above.
- (d) With the name of an earlier king erased, and reinscribed with the name of a later king who was also older than the king of the tomb. Nos. 1 and 16.

Now the vessels inscribed with the names of previous kings must have been in some accessible place and not in the burial chambers. And the reinscribed vessels of class (d) above must have been twice found in an accessible place. Professor Petrie suggests (*R. T. II*, p. 26b) that the inscribed stone vessels had been taken from the palace furniture, which might well have included objects inscribed with older names and inherited with the rest of the contents of the palace magazines.² This is a plausible and reasonable explanation, at any rate for the early period. But a doubt as to Dynasties IV and V is raised by the objects with names of kings of Dynasty II found in the temples of Chephren and Mycerinus. These might rather have been taken from old equipment dedicated to some temple on its renewal by a later king, or removed from the magazines of a funerary temple on the occasion of some restoration.

The occurrence in the tombs of private persons of objects, especially stone vessels, bearing royal names, is to be explained in a different manner. These were presentation objects given by the king as marks of favor.³ Examples of such royal vessels found in private tombs may be cited as follows:

- (17) Alabaster vase with Horus-name of Narmer (*Wh'-mr?*) in Grave B 13. Petrie, *R. T. II*, p. 4 and Pl. II.
- (18) Five marble bowls with the name of the Horus Khaba, in stairway mastaba Z 500 at Zawiat-el-Aryan.
- (19) Diorite bowl with the name of Horus Nebma'at, in pit-mastaba N 739 at Naga-ed-Dêr.
- (20) Diorite bowl with the Horus name of Sneferuw, in pit-mastaba A (Kamena), Quibell, *El Kab*, p. 4.
- (21) Diorite bowl with name of Sneferuw, in pit-mastaba 301, Quibell, *El Kab*, p. 5.
- (22) Diorite bowl with name of Sneferuw, in pit-mastaba 288, Quibell, *El Kab*, p. 5.
- (23) Alabaster bowl with the name of Sneferuw, in pit-mastaba R 64 (Shepses). Garstang, *Third Egyptian Dynasty*, pp. 49, 50, pl. 25.

¹ By inscription No. 15, the order is Nebra, Neterymuw, Peribsen; by No. 16, Hetepsekhemuwy, Peribsen; by No. 1, our flint bowl, it is Nebra, Hetepsekhemuwy. These three seem to require one of the two following orders:

<p>(a) Nebra Neterymuw Hetepsekhemuwy Peribsen</p>	<p>(b) Nebra Hetepsekhemuwy Neterymuw Peribsen</p>
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Now the inscription on the shoulder of the famous kneeling statuette in the Cairo Museum reads as follows: Hetepsekhemuwy, Nebra, Neterymuw. It is certain that Nebra was the first of these three kings in time and that Hetepsekhemuwy was the most important to the official represented by the statue. It is clear that the order on the statuette is not the chronological order. The priesthood (?) of Hetepsekhemuwy as the most important, was probably that of the last king of three to die, and I would adopt the order (a) above, placing Nebra first, Neterymuw second, Hetepsekhemuwy third, and Peribsen fourth, in this group.

² I have been told by British officials sent into Darfur at the time of the overthrow of Ali Dinâr, that the doorways of the palace and almost all the furniture were marked with the name and title of the Sultan. It is also said that his favorite method of rewarding his officials was to give them a sword marked also with his own name and title.

³ See footnote 2 regarding Ali Dinâr.

The records of our expedition also include an alabaster jar of Unas found in a pit tomb at Naga-ed-Dêr and a diorite bowl of Teti found in a mastaba at Giza.

From the evidence of the inscribed objects found in the Mycerinus temples and other tombs, the conclusion is certain that a few objects found in these ancient tombs were of an earlier period. The question therefore arises: Were other objects which were not inscribed, also of earlier date, taken, like the older inscribed objects, from some palace or temple magazine?

In the chapters on the stone vessels and the pottery, the great body of type forms of all vessels is shown to be of the archaeological group of Dynasty IV, falling into place in the development of the two crafts in question and presenting degenerate modifications of the older traditional types, especially those of Dynasty III. At the same time about half the stone forms have been found in the temple of Sahura of Dynasty V and many of the pottery types are known in Dynasties IV and V. But in addition to the stone vessels inscribed with older names, five examples of older types were found which cannot be traced later than Dynasty I:

- (a) Type II, recorded in the Early and the Middle Predynastic periods but not later, two examples, both basalt as the older examples.
- (b) Type IV, *b*, recorded from M. P. to Dynasty I, one example of volcanic ash, an Early Dynastic material.
- (c) Type VI, *b*, recorded Dynasty 0–Dynasty I, one of alabaster, the old material of the type.
- (d) Type VII, *a*, recorded Dynasty 0–Dynasty I, one of alabaster, the old material, but the form rather degenerate.

Thus of the 537 stone vessels in the Mycerinus valley temple, only the five inscribed vessels were proved to be earlier work and five others cannot be connected with the archaeological group of Dynasties III and IV. Admitting that the whole ten were earlier work they form only 1.86 per cent of the vessels in the temple. In the case of the pottery, there were only two of the hundreds of examples which have not been found in Dynasty IV and these two have been proved for Dynasty III in which they occurred as ceremonial-traditional forms.

Thus no doubt whatever would have arisen except for an opinion expressed by Professor Steindorff¹ that the bulk of the stone vessels in the Chephren temples had been removed and placed in the Mycerinus valley temple, because:

- (a) he was under the impression that stone vessels with the name of Chephren were found in the Mycerinus valley temple and
- (b) only a few fragments of stone vessels were found in the Chephren temple.

But no fragment of any stone vessel bearing the name of Chephren was found in a layer of the Mycerinus temples. A silver seal of an official of Chephren was found, a fact which requires no explanation, and a few fragments of a statue of Chephren. These fragments were found, however, in one of the later workshops where statues of both Mycerinus and Chephren had been broken up to manufacture the small model vessels placed in the tombs of Dynasties V and VI. This shop was on the surface of decay of the mud-brick temple under the last series of houses. Similar workshops with fragments of statues of Chephren were found in the great cemetery north of the Second Pyramid, notably in the offering chapel of the mastaba of Duwanera, the nearest mastaba in the field. In the early deposits of the Mycerinus temple, dated to the time of Shepseskaf, no fragment with the name of Chephren was found. As to the second reason, the paucity of vessels in the Chephren temple, that is otherwise explainable by the exposed position of the temple and the nearly total destruction of the magazines. The number of vessels compares approximately with the numbers found at the Mycerinus pyramid temple and most of the Abusîr temples. Finally, Mycerinus is hardly likely to have made a complete clearance of his father's temple, for Chephren was, in all human probability, the father of Mycerinus. As far as actual evidence is concerned, Mycerinus was no more impious towards his predecessors than any other king whose tomb furniture has been recovered, and the character given him by the classical authors cannot be used as an argument for his violation of the tomb of Chephren.

Thus Professor Steindorff's theory is actually devoid of all supporting evidence. Many of the stone vessels with which his theory was solely concerned were in an unfinished condition like the pyramid,

¹ Hoelscher, *Chephren*, p. 104.

the two temples, and the statues, a condition undoubtedly caused by the unexpected death of the king. Most of the objects of all classes found in the temples belonged demonstrably to the archaeological group of Dynasty IV as the descendant of the group of Dynasty III and the ancestor of the group of Dynasty V. All the facts lead naturally to the conclusion that the great mass of the objects found in the Mycerinus valley temple and many of those in the pyramid temple were made for Mycerinus either during his reign or in the first year of Shepseskaf.

3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL VALUE OF THE OBJECTS FOUND IN THE MYCERINUS TEMPLES

The examination into the date of the objects in the temples of Mycerinus gave the following conclusions:

- (a) A few objects inscribed with older names are to be assigned to earlier reigns.
- (b) The objects requiring a longer time to manufacture, that is, the statues and stone vessels, are of the reign of Mycerinus.
- (c) The objects which might be quickly and easily manufactured were mostly made in the first year or two of the reign of Shepseskaf.

For all practical purposes, the objects made for the temples by Mycerinus and Shepseskaf belong to one archaeological group and may be considered together as characteristic of the last part of Dynasty IV.

In considering the archaeological bearing of funerary furniture, the underlying fundamental ideas must be carefully distinguished from the physical means employed to satisfy the requirements of those ideas. All the tombs discovered in Egypt are based on one conception of life after death, a life similar in its physical needs to the life on earth. In the graves of the Neolithic Period, the grave furniture consisted of vessels, weapons, implements, and utensils used in daily life, and, whatever conceptions were added in later times, the equipments found in the tombs prove that the belief in the similarity of the two lives always persisted. Thus all tombs are examples of the one permanent practice of providing the means of life after death for the souls of the dead.

The permanent practice was carried out in some form or other by all, rich or poor, strong or weak, male or female, but the form varied from tomb to tomb and from age to age. The rich and the strong and, in particular, the kings, had naturally at their disposal the means for obtaining the best materials and employing the finest craftsmen both on their tombs and on the equipment. Thus the development of the arts and crafts and of changes in the outward form of the practice may be best traced in the evidence preserved in the great tombs. The graves of the poor only followed the development in imitation of the great after the spread of new technical means and new forms. Therefore, in periods of growth, the small tombs and their contents always showed a chronological drag in taking up the course of the development of their time, so that the great tombs and the small tombs, in periods of rapid technical progress generally showed considerable differences in style. For example, alongside the great stairway tombs of Dynasty III, the greater part of the poor graves were open, brick-lined graves like those of the great people of the early part of Dynasty I, except that they were smaller and usually roofed with stone slabs.

The objects placed in the graves of both rich and poor were not always taken from the daily life of the period of the grave. Two factors, the belief in magic and the force of tradition modified in time the practical expression of the fundamental idea. The necessities after life might be supplied by magical models of real objects, and these models placed in the graves with the proper spoken words might become efficient substitutes for the actual objects. Thus, in the Old Kingdom, pictures on the walls of the tombs, and, in the Middle Kingdom, wooden models of scenes from life, are based on this idea. But the first expression of this belief in magical substitutes is found in the poor graves of the Predynastic Period where mud models of cattle, people, boats, weapons, and other objects permitted the provision of an equipment beyond the means of the daily life of the owner. In the further development of the idea, the use of models became common and was practised through the course of history by almost all classes, both rich and poor. But in all these cases the model stood for something used in the daily life of the period and so it represents for all practical purposes the development of life in Egypt.

The effects of tradition on the forms of the tombs and especially on the funerary equipment, were entirely different in character from those produced by the use of magic. Tradition in this case means the handing down from generation to generation of practices established by long usage. The best illustration of the effect of tradition is shown in the case of the sacrificial flint knife. This was a broad blade with a curving edge, the lower part of which was wrapped round with thong or covered with shrunk raw hide to form a handle and was used in the Neolithic Period to cut the throat and to dress the carcase of all slaughtered animals. When the use of copper knives had come in, flint knives of this form still continued to be made and used because by long custom the flint knife was regarded as the only proper instrument for sacrificial slaughter. As flint knives were displaced in daily use by copper knives, the fine art of chipping flint declined and was lost; but the priests still demanded sacrificial knives of flint. The forms of Dynasty I, large, curving blades, were roughly chipped and already impractical for cutting the throat of the bull of sacrifice.¹ Those of Dynasty IV, as shown by the examples from the Mycerinus temples, were directly descended from the sacrificial flint knives of Dynasty I.² But I conclude that in Dynasty I, and probably before Dynasty I, the actual sacrifice was already executed with practical metal knives. The ceremonial flints found in graves were probably merely "ghost-knives" the immaterial projections of which were intended to be used in the spirit world for the sacrificial slaughter of the spirits of animals.

The effect of tradition, as just shown, is to preserve the use of obsolete objects as part of the funerary furniture. Now in primitive communities where the necessities of life show little change, and the daily utensils are permanent and indispensable requirements of life, objects do not become obsolete except for serious cause. As far as I have been able to observe, the cause in ancient Egypt was always some great advance in technical knowledge, the discovery of the practical use of hardened copper, the invention of the mechanical stone borer, and that of the potter's wheel. The primary mark that objects have become obsolete and are used in graves merely from the force of tradition, is the deterioration of their workmanship. In the case of the flint knives of Dynasty I their crude forms are proof of the loss of the art of flint chipping. It had become impossible for flint chippers to dispose of their wares in competition with copper implements, and the flint workers were replaced in the life of the community by the copper workers. The craft was lost with the death of the craftsmen. And it may be said in general that a lost art is only one which has ceased to find a demand in practical life. In a community where the physical conditions of life are unchanging, the cessation of a demand for certain objects is due to the functional substitution of similar objects produced by a new craft or imported from outside the cultural unit. When a craft was maintained by a demand for obsolete objects required for traditional funerary purposes, and not for actual usage, then the objects necessarily deteriorated in workmanship; but when the craft had merely made a technical advance and, as a result, was producing an object of more serviceable form with the same function, then the increased power of the craft was sometimes used to produce extremely fine or richly decorated ceremonial examples of the older form. Examples of the influence of tradition on the deterioration or the elaboration of classes of objects may be cited as follows:

- (a) Deterioration of flint knives from the late Predynastic Period and onwards as a result of the substitution of metal working for flint chipping.
- (b) Deterioration of the hand-made pottery in the early Dynastic Period owing to the invention of the mechanical stone borer, and still further in Dynasties III and IV owing to the invention of the potter's wheel.
- (c) The elaboration of the slate paint palettes of Dynasty I, when the common palette was going out of use in favor of the heavier mortar palette of hard stone. The ordinary slate palettes were appearing in the poorer graves in degenerate forms and less often at the same time that the increase in the skill of the stone carvers permitted the elaboration of the ceremonial palettes of the kings.
- (d) The elaboration of the bulbous stone mace head with reliefs in a manner similar to the slate paint palettes at the same time and for a similar reason. Stone-headed maces had gone out of general use owing to the introduction of copper weapons; but the bulbous mace head, which had been used for the ceremonial execution of prisoners of war and was retained by tradition as the necessary implement of this ceremony, never deteriorated. Its use was reserved for the one person prescribed as the actor in the cere-

¹ See Reisner, *Naga' d-Dêr I*, Pl. 40.

² See Chapter X, section 1.

mony, the king, and, as the stone-working craft by which it was produced was a living craft throughout the whole history of Egypt, the later examples, like the mace heads of Chephren, are as fine as any ever made, although not decorated after the manner of the ceremonial maces of Narmer.

The same conclusion as to the effect of tradition on burial furniture may be stated in another way. The lost crafts were maintained by the demand for the classes of objects which the older people had always seen placed in the graves. As the objects were for show, not use, they deteriorated in workmanship and, as a result, the craft degenerated. Increased skill in a craft, or a new craft using the same materials, was often employed to manufacture examples of forms which had in practical life been functionally superseded by new forms. Objects produced for actual use by a growing or a living craft increased or maintained at a high level the excellence of their forms and workmanship.

When the equipment of the Mycerinus temples is examined in the light of the foregoing exposition, the objects are found to fall into the following classes:

- (a) Practical products of living crafts — statues, wheel-made pottery, copper implements, stone hammers.
- (b) Older functional forms maintained as a matter of tradition by a dying craft, objects which might have been well made by the use of allied living crafts — stone vessels.
- (c) Degenerate products of dead crafts — flint knives, hand-made pottery.

Reduced to its ultimate limits, the classification shows only two great groups, (1) ceremonial-traditional objects made solely for the grave and (2) practical objects used in daily life.