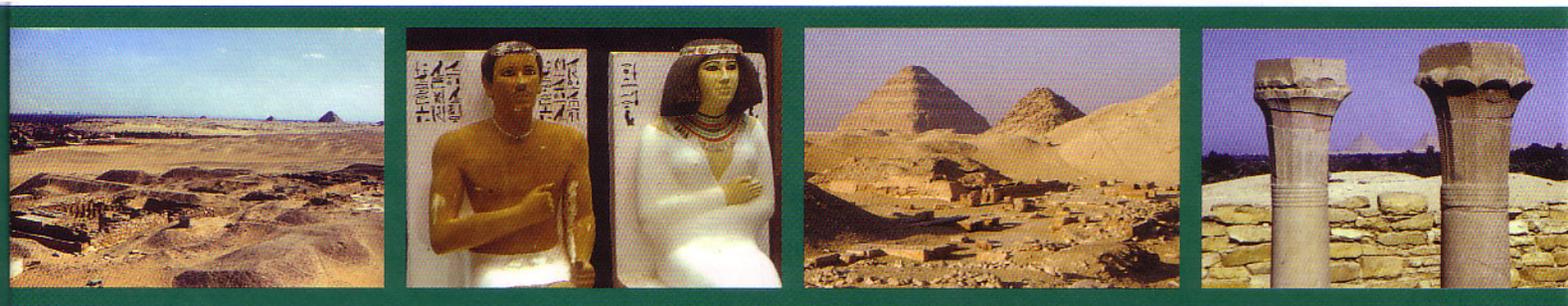


THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Proceedings of the Conference



Prague, May 31 – June 4, 2004

Miroslav Bárta
editor

THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN PRAGUE,
MAY 31 – JUNE 4, 2004

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editor

**Czech Institute of Egyptology
Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague
Academia
Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic
Prague 2006**

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Foreword

It is with pleasure that after more than two years the publication of the lectures held during the conference on the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology in Prague in the year 2004 (May 3 – June 4) has been made possible.

The conference held in Prague continued the tradition of previous meetings by being dedicated to the same subject: art and its dating in the Old Kingdom of Egypt: the period that forms the first apogee of the developing Egyptian state. The tradition of these irregular meetings was established in 1991 by Hourig Sourouzian and Rainer Stadelmann, at that time the Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, who organised the first conference.¹ The second meeting also took place in Cairo, at this time the place of the venue was the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology and the conference, held on November 10–13, 1994, was organised by its director Nicolas Grimal.² The penultimate meeting took place in Paris, France, on April 3–4, 1998, and was organised by Christiane Ziegler, Chief Conservator of Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre.³

The present volume continues a well-established and successful tradition of post-conference publications. As such, it makes available most of the contributions that were presented during the conference in Prague. It was mainly the scientific profile of the Czech Institute of Egyptology that led us to substantially widen the scope of the conference in 2004. The total of thirty-three contributions presented in this volume cover various aspects connected to Old Kingdom culture, not only its art, but also its archaeology and architecture, selected administrative problems, iconography, texts and the latest, often first time published results of ongoing excavations. From the list of contributions it becomes evident that natural sciences and their application in the widest sense receive general acceptance and support from among Egyptologists. It is one of the few aspects that can in the future significantly enhance our understanding of specific issues connected to the Old Kingdom art and archaeology.

Eng. Marta Štrachová carefully edited the manuscript and was essential in producing this volume. The advice and guidance of Eng. Jolana Malátková also proved indispensable. The Czech Academy of Sciences is to be thanked for the production of the book. Last but not least, it was Prof. Dr. Jean Leclant, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, and the chair of the European branch of the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini, and Prof. Dr. David Silverman, University of Pennsylvania, chair of the North American branch of the the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini and the respective committees that approved this publication and agreed to support it financially.

Miroslav Bárta

¹ The conference was held in the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo, on October 29–30, and the proceedings published in 1995 in the volume *Kunst des Alten Reiches. Symposium des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 28, Mainz am Rhein.

² N. Grimal, ed., *Lex critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 120 (Cairo, 1998).

³ Ch. Ziegler, N. Palayret, eds., *L'Art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 3 et 4 avril 1998* (Paris, 1999).

Bibliography

Abbreviations for journals, series and monographs used throughout the volume follow the system of *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (cf. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Band VII. Nachträge, Korrekturen und Indices*, founded by W. Helck and E. Otto, edited by W. Helck and W. Westendorf, Wiesbaden 1992, XIV–XXXVIII).

The following additional abbreviations are also used:

ACER – *The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports*, Sydney;

AOS – *American Oriental Society*, Michigan;

BSAK – *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte*, Hamburg;

CA – *Current Anthropology*, Chicago, Illinois;

Hannig, *Handwörterbuch* – R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.)*, Mainz 1995;

Harpur, *DETOK* – Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London and New York 1988;

Harvey, *WSOK* – J. Harvey, *Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom. A Typological Study, Egyptological Memoirs 2*, Leiden 2001;

KAW – *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt*, Mainz am Rhein;

LingAeg – *Lingea Aegyptia, Journal of Egyptian language Studies*, Göttingen;

OrMonsp – *Orientalia Monspeliensia*, Montpellier;

PAM – *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, Warsaw;

SAGA – *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens*, Heidelberg;

WES – *Warsaw Egyptological Studies*, Warsaw.

Dog missing his master

Reflections on an Old Kingdom tomb relief

in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Regine Schulz

The Walters Art Museum houses four blocks with high-relief carvings that come from an Old Kingdom tomb. They belong together and show a scene with a herdsman, a calf and a dog (*pl. XVI, 23*). The origin of the blocks is unknown, and the exact date undetermined. The relief attracted scholarly attention concerning the name of the dog written above the animal's back, but no one has done a comprehensive study of the images.

1. Object information

Location: The Walters Art Museum, acc.no. 22.422. The modern history of the pieces is partly known. The Egyptologist Raymond Weill was the first who alluded to the blocks in an article in 1914, after he had seen them in Paris.¹ The well-known collector Joseph Brummer later acquired the blocks. After his death they were offered along with many other Egyptian objects in his possession in a Parke-Bernet Galleries auction in New York in 1949,² and purchased by the Walters Art Museum.

Material: Soft limestone; minor traces of red pigment on the left foot of the herdsman.

Technique: All the carving was done in raised relief and painted.

Measurements: Max. height: 43.81 cm, max. width: 101.6 cm, max. depth: 2.31 cm.

Provenance: The provenance of the blocks is unknown, and can be only determined through the comparison of iconography, style, and composition. Most likely it comes from a tomb in Giza.³

Date: Middle to late Fifth Dynasty.⁴

Condition: The relief received several cracks, scratches and losses when the blocks (*fig. 1*) were removed from the tomb. There is additional damage from salt efflorescence and flaking off the surface. A very minor portion of the painting is preserved.

Block I: The edges show minor damages; the lower left corner is missing. The left edge seems to have been cut down and straightened in modern times. A vertical crack in the surface crosses the script sign *m*, as well as the hindquarters and right thigh of the dog.

Block II: Several damaged areas are visible at all edges; the right part of the upper edge seems to have been straightened in modern times. A larger part of the surface flaked off in the lower right corner.

Block III: Many smaller scratches and losses are visible over the entire surface. The tip of the upper left corner of the block is missing.

¹ R. Weill, 'Monuments égyptiens divers. IV. Un lévrier »Behouha« dans un tableau de l'Ancien Empire', *RecTrav* (Ns) 4 (1914): 85–87.

² Parke-Bernet Galleries New York, Auction Catalogue, June 9th 1949, Third session, 101, lot. 474.

³ There are several close similarities to the images in the rock-cut tomb G 7948 (LG 75) of *H^c=f-R^c-nh*, cf. *LD Text I*, 91–94, and *LD II*, 8–11; Reisner, *Giza I*, 238, 314; Junker, *Giza III*, 47; Y. Harpur, 'Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza', *JEA* 67 (1981): 24–35; *idem*, *DETOK*, 189, 209–211; E. Kormysheva, 'Report on the activity of the Russian archaeological mission at Giza, Tomb G 7948, East field, during the season 1998', *ASAE* 74 (1999): 23–38, and *idem*, 'Report on the activity of the Russian archaeological mission at Giza, tomb G 7948 and the adjacent area, eastern field, during the season 2000', *ASAE* 77 (2003): 91–130.

⁴ The dating is based on comparison with the tomb of *H^c=f-R^c-nh*, and follows so far the argumentation of Harpur, *DETOK*; Kormysheva, *ASAE* 77 (2003): 109; and not of N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire: Le Problème de la Datation* (Brussels, 1989), 233, who dates the tomb to the time of Khafra.

Block IV: Two major cracks separated a big part of the upper right quarter of the block, the vertical one is slit running further down and crossing the shoulder of the calf. Two other cracks separate a part of the upper left corner above the figure of the man. A small triangular fragment of the stone is lost above the ear of the calf. Some additional damage is visible on the left side of the block, impacting the head and shoulders of the man and the back part of the calf.



Fig. 1 The blocks in the Walters Art Museum, 22.422

Treatment: To remove the relief from its original place as part of a tomb wall, it was cut into separate blocks. Blocks I and II probably received additional manipulation when they were prepared to go to the art market before 1914. The restorer cut off the right edge of block I, and straightened all the outer edges of the blocks. He wanted to give the impression that the blocks preserved a complete scene to raise the attractiveness for potential buyers. The damaged remains of the figure of the tomb owner may have been seen as disturbing. It is possible that at the same time the missing upper right and lower left edges were refilled to enable the restorer to frame the whole scene. He also reconstructed the carvings on the lower left edge, which showed the right lower leg of the man and the right lower back leg of the calf (*pl. XVI, 24a*).

In 1951, the first conservation treatment occurred at the Walters. The blocks were partly damaged during the shipment from New York to Baltimore and needed repair; they also received a new mount. Additionally, the conservator replaced the plaster refills and the block with the reconstructed carvings (*pl. XVI, 23*).

In 1982, the conservators removed the relief from display, because parts of the necklace of the dog and other parts of the relief were in danger of flaking off due to salt efflorescence.

In 2001, the conservators cleaned and stabilized the surface. Some flakes at the end of the dog's collar and at the front left haunch were lifted, backfilled and fixed in their places.⁵

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- R. Weill, *RecTrav (Ns) IV* (1914): 85–87;
- Parke-Bernet Galleries New York auction catalogue, June 9th 1949, Third session, 101, lot. 474;
- D. Kent Hill, 'Catalogue of the Exhibition', *The Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 2 no. 1, October 1949, 2 no. 5;
- J. M. A. Janssen, 'Über Hundenamen im pharaonischen Ägypten', *MDAIK* 16 (Festschrift Junker) (1958): 176–182, no. 17;
- H. G. Fischer, 'A supplement to Janssen's list of dog's names', *JEA* 47 (1961): 153;
- C. Henry, 'Enter Ancient Egypt', *The Walters Art Museum Members' Magazine*, Summer 2001, 8.

⁵ This information is based on the report from 2001 of the Object Conservator Julie Lauffenburger, and further information given by the Director of the Conservation Division Terry Drayman-Weisser in 2005.

2. Description and typological determination of the figures

The scene shows a dog facing a man with a calf. Broad borders of raised relief mark off the left and lower edges of the scene. The main figure is no longer present, and only the front part of his right foot is visible in the lower right corner. The dimensions of this figure are much larger than those of the herdsman and the calf in front of him. The person was oriented to the left, and the lower part of a staff, which he held in his hand, is still preserved. There are three possible postures in such contexts: a seated position with overlapping legs, a step posture with one foot forward, or a lifted free leg above the standing foot while the person is leaning on his staff (*figs. 2–4*). In the Walters' relief there is no second foot visible, consequently, the man had a step posture.

The dog in front of the main figure is oriented in the same direction. The type, a hound called *tsm*, is well known, and the images of such dogs differ slightly in coloration and proportions.⁶ It is a slender prick-eared and curled-tailed hound with an unusually long and slender neck and head. He displays a walking position with his right front and right back leg forward. Around his neck is a seven-coiled dog-collar made from rope, which is knotted under his neck, and ends in one big loop and one terminal. Above the back of the dog is an inscription containing his name.

The bull calf facing the dog has an analogous walking posture, with his left front and left back leg placed forward. The identification of the type of the calf is difficult, because the proportions in the images of calves are very similar, and the paint here is gone. The calf's five-coiled rope collar is connected with a type of three-coiled rope restraint running over the nuzzle.

The man behind the calf places his left foot forward. He bends his back, and stretches out his left arm to grasp the collar of the animal, while his right hand pushes its backside. The hairstyle of the man is short, and he wears a knee-length, closed wraparound kilt; one upper end is placed behind the upper edge in front of the body, and the other one is hanging down. Between the heads of the herdsman and the dog is a second inscription, which describes the depicted action.

3. Determination of the icons, inscriptions and motifs⁷

3.1. Icons and inscriptions

The scene combines four icons united in a double-motif.

- The main icon represents the male **tomb owner**, whose foot is still preserved. The identification of this figure as a man is based on the reconstruction of the walking position, the staff as his attribute, and the dog as his companion; the identification as tomb owner is based on his larger dimensions in comparison to those of the herdsman and calf, and the combination of his figure with a presentation motif. A reconstruction of the cloth and further attributes are not possible, but it is likely that he wore a knee- and not a calf-length kilt, because a small part of the latter ought to be visible behind the dog's tail. The size of the icon and the attribute of the staff conveys the domination of the person, and the posture his active involvement.
- The second icon represents a **dog**, a popular image in the Old Kingdom. The attribute of the collar defines it as domesticated. Domestic dogs appear

⁶ Other types seldom seen are: prick-eared hounds with lop-eared pups; lop-eared, saber-tailed saluki; saluki or mastiff with large head, short muzzles, lop-ears, and curled tail; and small dogs with prick-ears, and curled tail. For types and breeds of domestic dogs see J. Boessneck, *Die Tierwelt des Alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1988), 83–85; D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1998), 57–64.

⁷ The terms motifs and icons describe here standardized scenes and images with definite meanings.

alone, or in groups of two⁸ or more,⁹ with pups,¹⁰ together with monkeys¹¹ and dog handlers,¹² who are sometimes dwarves¹³.

The posture of the dog is dependent on the depicted action, the special function and the context. Dogs appear in Old Kingdom reliefs in very different contexts: as active hunters in the desert,¹⁴ more seldom as companions of men fishing and fowling,¹⁵ or as watchdogs in the workshop of the craftsmen.¹⁶ They are also part of offering scenes, and welcoming¹⁷ or following the offering bringers.¹⁸ Moreover, they were brought to the tomb owner,¹⁹ or accompany him.

The meaning of the dog-images differs from depictions of other animals. In tombs, they are always directly related to the tomb owner, as they are when appear in hunting or offering scenes. They are not just pets; they are attributes of their masters, and express in the different contexts dynamic and magical power (especially in combination with monkeys and dwarves), vigilance and protection.

Inscription: *Bh3*. There is no direct parallel for this name, but it is possible that it is a abbreviated version of the dog name *Bhk3j*,²⁰ which is known from the so-called 'dog-stele' of Antef I from the Eleventh Dynasty.²¹

- The third icon shows a bull calf, which is directed towards the tomb owner and his dog. Calves are common icons in Old Kingdom tombs since the Fourth Dynasty, and part of a variety of scenes. They occur in agricultural contexts with

⁸ E.g. tomb of *Jn.tj* in Deshasha (*PM IV*, 121), the Sixth Dynasty (time of Merenra–Pepy II), see N. Kanawati, *The tombs of Inti, Shedu and others*, *ACER* 5 (1993), pl. 28; or tomb of *Mrj-R^c-nfr*, called Qar in Giza (G 7101; *PM III²*, 185), the Sixth Dynasty (time of Merenra–Pepy II), see W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Qar and Idu, Giza Mastabas* 2 (Boston, 1976), fig. 26; *Snb* in Giza (*PM III²*, 101), the Sixth Dynasty (Cherpien, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, 89 dates it to the Fourth, time of Djedefra), see Junker, *Giza V*, 77, fig. 18.

⁹ E.g. tomb of *Pth-htp II* in Saqqara (D 64; *PM III²*, 602), late Fifth Dynasty (time of Djedkara Izezi–Unas), see Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II*, pl. XXI.

¹⁰ E.g. tomb of *D^cw* in Deir el-Gebrawi (Davies no. 12; *PM IV*, 245), the Sixth Dynasty (time of Merenra–Pepy II), see *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, pl. IV.

¹¹ E.g. tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* in Saqqara, the Sixth Dynasty, see N. Kanawati, *The tomb and beyond: Burial customs of Egyptian officials* (Warminster, 2001), fig. 88; or tomb of *D^cw* in Deir el-Gebrawi, cp. fn. 10, see *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, pl. IX.

¹² E.g. tomb of *K3-gm.n=j* in Saqqara (LS 10; *PM III²*, 521), early Sixth Dynasty (time of Teti), see Klebs, *Reliefs I*, 34, fig. 21.

¹³ E.g. tomb of *Nfr-jr.t-n=f* from Saqqara (D 55; *PM III²*, 584), late Fifth Dynasty (time of Djedkara Izezi–Unas; Cherpien, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, 130 dates the tomb to the time of Neferirkara) now in Brussels, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire E.2465, see B. van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef* (Brussels, 1978), pls. 11–12; or tomb of *H3j* in Saqqara, early Sixth Dynasty (time of Teti–Pepy I), see N. Kanawati, *The tomb of Hesi*, *ACER* 13 (1999), 53; or tomb of *Mrrw-k3=j* in Saqqara (*PM III²*, 532), early Sixth Dynasty (time of Teti); see Duell, *Mereruka II*, pls. 157–158.

¹⁴ E.g. tomb of *Pth-htp II* in Saqqara (*PM III²*, 599), cp. fn. 9, see *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, pl. XXII; or tomb of *R^c-m-k3=j* in Saqqara (D 3; S 903; *PM III²*, 487), today in New York, MMA, Rogers Fund, 1908–08.201.1; the Fifth Dynasty (time of Nyusera–Djedkara Izezi), see C. H. Roehrig, in *L'art égyptien au temps des pyramides* (Paris 1999), 309; or tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* in Saqqara, cp. fn. 11, Kanawati, *The tomb and beyond*, fig. 115.

¹⁵ E.g. tomb of *H3j* in Saqqara, cp. fn. 13, Kanawati, *The tomb of Hesi*, pl. 53.

¹⁶ E.g. tomb of *Tjj* in Saqqara (D 22; *PM III²*, 473), the Fifth Dynasty (time of Djedkara Izezi–Unas; Cherpien, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, 131 dates the tomb to the time of Nyusera), see Klebs, *Reliefs I*, 99, fig. 81; or tomb of *Jn.tj* in Deshasha (*PM IV*, 121), cp. fn. 8, Kanawati, *The tombs of Inti, Shedu and others*, pl. 28.

¹⁷ E.g. tomb of *K3=j-hn.t* in El-Hammamiya (*PM V*, 7), early Fifth Dynasty, see N. Kanawati, *The Old Kingdom tombs of el-Hammamiya*, *ACER* 2 (1990), pl. 47.

¹⁸ E.g. tomb of *Tjt=sn* in Giza (*PM III²*, 252), the Fifth Dynasty (time of Nyusera–Menkauhor), see Hassan, *Giza V*, 266, fig. 122.

¹⁹ E.g. tomb of *Snb* in Giza (*PM III²*, 101), cp. fn. 8, Junker, *Giza V*, 77, fig. 18.

²⁰ It is not likely that the missing *k* was placed above the *3*, because the reconstructed height of the *3* is comparable with the height of *b* and *h*.

²¹ Cp. J. Janssen, *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 176–182; and Fischer, *JEA* 47 (1961): 152–153. For the 'dog-stele' see S. H. Aufrère, 'La «stèle aux chiens». Testament politique d'Antef l'ancien', *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 18 (2000): 35–40. In this stele the meaning of the name is mentioned: *Bhk3j rdd m3-hd* 'Behakai, that means: Oryx'.

other cattle²² or calves²³; they are fording a river carried on the shoulder of a herdsman,²⁴ or placed in a boat²⁵ to lure the mother and the rest of the herd. Some are suckling the milk of their mothers,²⁶ others are leashed or tethered while the cows are milked,²⁷ or they are just being born.²⁸ In offering scenes they are brought on a leash attached at the neck or a leg,²⁹ or carried on the arm of an offering bringer.³⁰ Only in a few cases does a herdsman bring a single bull calf in an independent scene³¹ as in the Walters' example. Sometimes calves have not only a simple leash around the neck, but special collars,³² and in a few cases also additional restraints,³³ to demonstrate that they are under the control of the herdsman.

The meaning of the calf-icon varies according to its context. In agricultural scenes they represent aspects of birth and breeding to guarantee the future of the herd, and in offering scenes, food supply and most probably also recreation.³⁴

- The fourth icon represents the **herdsman**, who is bringing the calf. His appearance, specifically his position with one foot forward, his hairstyle and kilt, does not differ much from other images of herdsman or offering bringers in the Old Kingdom. Their posture is dependent on their actions and the offered objects and animals. The position of this herdsman, in which he appears bending forward, illustrates his special interaction with the calf. His closed kilt differs from the open loincloth of peasants and herdsman in the fields, and seems to have a more official character. The man is not individualized, and his action is more important than his personality. The inscription between the head of the man and the head of the dog describes this action:

jn.t bhz 'Bringing the calf'.³⁵

²² E.g. tomb of *3h.tj-htp* in Saqqara (PM III², 599), late Fifth Dynasty (time of Djedkara Izezi–Unas), see Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II*, pl. XXI, XXII.

²³ E.g. tomb of *3h.tj-htp* in Saqqara (PM III², 599), cp. fn. 22, see *ibid.*, pl. XI.

²⁴ E.g. tomb of *Tjj* in Saqqara (PM III², 475), cp. fn. 16, see Steindorf, *Grab des Ti*, p. 112; tomb of *3h.tj-htp* in Saqqara (PM III², 599), cp. fn. 22, see Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II*, pl. VIII, XIV.

²⁵ E.g. tomb of *Jdw* in Giza (G 7102; PM III², 185), the Sixth Dynasty (time of Merenra–Pepy II; Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, 323 dates the tomb in the time of Pepy I), see W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Qar and Idu, Giza Mastabas 2* (Boston, 1976), fig. 36, 37; or tomb of *K3-gm.n=j* in Saqqara (LS 10; PM III², 522), cp. fn. 12, see Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II*, pl. 53; tomb of *Ssm-nfr IV* in Giza (LG 53; PM III², 224), late Fifth–early Sixth Dynasty, see Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 62.

²⁶ E.g. tomb of *3h.tj-htp* in Saqqara (PM III², 599), cp. fn. 22, see Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II*, pl. XVII.

²⁷ E.g. tomb of *3h.tj-htp* in Saqqara (PM III², 598), cp. fn. 22, see *ibid.*, pl. XVII.

²⁸ E.g. tomb of *Tjj* in Saqqara (PM III², 475), cp. fn. 16, see Steindorf, *Grab des Ti*, 118.

²⁹ E.g. tomb of *3h.tj-htp* in Saqqara (PM III², 598), cp. fn. 22, see Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II*, pls. XV, XXIII.

³⁰ E.g. tomb of *3h.tj-htp* in Saqqara (PM III², 598), cp. fn. 22, see *ibid.*, pls. XV, XVI, XXIII.

³¹ E.g. tomb of *R^c-htp* in Medum (Petrie no. 6, PM IV, 90), early Fourth Dynasty (time of Sneferu–Khufu), see Petrie, *Medum*, pl. XII; or tomb of *Shtp.w* in Giza (PM III², 222), late Fifth to early Sixth Dynasty (time of Unas–Teti), see Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 35.

³² E.g. tomb of *R^c-špss* in Saqqara (LS 16; S 902; PM III², 494), the Fifth Dynasty (time of Djedkara Izezi), see LD II, 60; or tomb of *Nfr-jr.t-n=f* in Saqqara (D 55; PM III², 584), cp. fn. 13, van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef*, pl. IV; tomb of *K3-gm.n=j* in Saqqara (PM III², 522), cp. fn. 12, Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 53; *Pth-htp II* in Saqqara (PM III², 600–604), cp. fn. 9, Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep I*, pl. VI.

³³ E.g. tomb of *Ssm-nfr II* in Giza (G5080; PM III², 146), the Fifth Dynasty (time of Nyuserra), see N. Kanawati, *Tombs in Giza II*, ACER 18 (2002), pls. 25a, 65.

³⁴ The aspect of renewal is mentioned in Pyr. 1029a–c, where the calf represents the young, renewed sun god.

³⁵ In several cases the inscription names a *hrj-db^c* 'young cow/bull' (e.g. tomb of *R^c-htp* in Medum, see fn. 31), or just the species *iw³* 'cow/bull' (e.g. tomb of *Ssm-nfr II* in Giza, see fn. 33). In comparison to other inscriptions of such scenes it is likely that the verb in this phrase has to be reconstructed as *jn.t* 'to bring' (e.g. tomb of *Ssm-nfr II*, cp. fn. 33). The sign of the 'walking legs' is written in a smaller scale, because there is less space above the snout of the dog. Another possibility is to reconstruct *jt.t* 'to grasp', what might correspond to the action of the herdsman, who grasps the collar of the calf. Nevertheless, it seems for me more likely that the standard phrase with *jn.t* was used.

The meaning of icons of non-individualized persons is flexible and dependent on additional attributes or combinations with other icons. Usually, the meaning is action oriented, as in the Walters' scene.

3.2. Motifs and theme

The Walters' blocks unite in an unusual composition two separate motifs.

- The tomb owner with his dog, and
- a herdsman, who brings a calf.

The first motif is well known, and there are many variations in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. These variations show e.g.:

- the tomb owner standing, and his dog in front,³⁶ beside³⁷ or behind³⁸ him;
- the tomb owner seated, and the dog standing,³⁹ squatting⁴⁰ or lying under⁴¹ or in front⁴² of his chair.

The icons of the tomb owner and the dog are created as a motif unit. The tomb owner was, and the dog is still individualized by their names, both figures are depicted overlapping, meaning that they are touching each other, and both are oriented in the same direction.

The second motif is also well known, but normally appears as a sub-motif in a group of offering bringers, or in agricultural context. The variations show e.g.:

- a herdsman walking up right and pulling a calf behind him by a leash,⁴³ or pushing the back part of the animal from behind;⁴⁴
- in a few cases a herdsman is directly grasping the neck or collar of the calf;⁴⁵
- two herdsman handle the animal, one is pulling the leash at the front, the other is pushing it from behind;⁴⁶
- an offering bringer (male or female) is handling, beside his normal offering, a calf on a leash attached around the neck⁴⁷ or a leg⁴⁸.

The images of the herdsman/offering bringer and the calf are created as a unit. Only when the calf is part of the herd will it not need an extra person to handle it. Such scenes are mostly not individualized, the action and the result are important, and the inscription refers to both.

³⁶ E. g. tomb of *H^c=f-R^c-*n*h* in Saqqara (G 7948; LG 75; *PM III*², 207), middle-late Fifth Dynasty (time of Nyusera-Djedkara Izezi; Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, 233, dates the tomb in the time of Khafra), see LD II, 9, and Harpur, *DETOK*, 526 fig. 183.

³⁷ E.g. tomb of *W3h* in El-Hagarsa, the Eight Dynasty, see N. Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa 3*, *ACER* 7 (1995), pl. 24.

³⁸ E.g. tomb of *Dbhnj* in Giza (LG 90; *PM III*², 235), the Fourth Dynasty (time of Menkaura), see Hassan, *Giza IV*, 165, fig. 117.

³⁹ E.g. tomb of *Ssm-nfr II* in Giza (G 5080; *PM III*², 146), cp. fn. 33, see Kanawati, *Tombs in Giza II*, pl. 61a.

⁴⁰ E.g. tomb of *P_hn-wj-k3=j* in Saqqara (D 70; LS 15; *PM III*², 491), the Fifth Dynasty (time of Nyusera-Djedkara Izezi); see LD II, 47.

⁴¹ E.g. tomb of *J3zn* in Giza (G 2196; *PM III*², 82), the early Sixth Dynasty (Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, 232 dates the tomb to the time of Khufu), see W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I, Giza Mastabas 4* (Boston, 1980), fig. 32; or tomb of *Tz.t* in Giza (G 2097), the Fifth Dynasty, see A. M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants including G 2084–2099, G 2230 + 2231, and G 2240. Giza Mastabas 6* (Boston, 1995), fig. 187.

⁴² E.g. tomb of *Mrj=s-*n*h III* in Giza (G 7530/7540, *PM III*², 197), the Fourth Dynasty (time of Shepseskaf), see D. Dunham, W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, Giza Mastabas 1* (Boston, 1974), fig. 8.

⁴³ E.g. tomb of *Shtp.w* in Giza (*PM III*², 222), cp. fn. 31, see Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 35.

⁴⁴ E.g. tomb of *R^c-h_{tp}* in Medum (Petrie no. 6, *PM IV*, 90), cp. fn. 31, see Petrie, *Medum*, pl. XII.

⁴⁵ E.g. tomb of *Tjj* in Saqqara (*PM III*², 476), cp. fn. 16, Steindorf, *Grab des Ti*, p. 112; a variation of a one man who handles a calf with his both hands is shown in the tomb of *Nfr* in Giza (G 2110; *PM III*², 74), the Fourth Dynasty (time of Khafra); Reisner, *Giza I*, fig. 262.

⁴⁶ E.g. tomb of *Ssm-nfr II* in Giza, cp. fn. 33; or tomb of *K3=j-nfr* in Giza (G 2150; *PM III*², 77), early Fifth Dynasty: see Reisner, *Giza I*, fig. 262.

⁴⁷ E.g. tomb of *Ssm-nfr II* in Giza (*PM III*², 146), cp. fn. 33, see Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza II*, pl. 65.

⁴⁸ E.g. tomb of *K3=j-m-*n*h* in Giza (G 4561, *PM III*², 132), the Fifth Dynasty (time of Djedkara Izezi), see Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza I*, *ACER* 16 (2001), pl. 34a.

The motif combination extends the message and defines the theme. The position of the standing tomb owner with his staff illustrates his expectations. He is not in a passive, seated posture; he is standing, with one foot forward, demonstrating his willingness to participate in the expected interaction as an active recipient. The image of his dog modifies the message. He refers to a hunting context, because the hunted animals were originally used for offering rituals. The dog is responsible for the catch, and for fighting the dangers of wild and uncontrolled nature. Additionally, he is protecting and watching over the herds and possessions of his master. His posture demonstrates a state of attentive expectancy. The expected action appears in the second motif. The calf being brought is not a wild hunted animal; domesticated cattle replaced the wild bull in the offering rituals for the deceased. Cattle were more easily available and in larger quantity. However, the images of offering rituals in tombs of the Old Kingdom show wild and domesticated animals beside each other. The depicted calf illustrates not only an offering for the food supply of the tomb owner; it stands for the renewal of the herd, and on an additional level also for the regeneration of the deceased in the other world. The herdsman, who is responsible for bringing the calf, is not the antagonist of the tomb owner, although his action is directed to him: He interacts with the calf, and is supervised by the dog, and only the result of his action is related to the real recipient; accordingly, the dog and the herdsman link the calf to the tomb owner.

The theme of the motifs combines three messages:

- assurance of the food supply,
- warranty of renewal, and
- protection of the interests of the deceased.

All these messages were directed to benefit the tomb owner, and are extended or modified by additional scenes in front of him.

4. Composition

The composition included one main register with the figure of the tomb owner, and most likely additional sub-registers, with or without register lines in front of him. The length of his preserved foot in relation to the proportion canon and the reconstructed height of the existing register, suggests at minimum two or three additional sub-registers.

In the preserved sub-scene the dog is the most important figure. Originally, the space was divided into three sections, one for the tomb owner, one for the dog and one for the herdsman with the calf, but the sections of master and dog took more than 2/3 of the space. The scale of the dog is bigger than that of herdsman and calf, and proportional to the size of the tomb owner.

The artist worked with staggered arrangements, overlapping, and additional links to illustrate the relations between icons and motifs. The tomb owner overlaps his hound twice, with his foot and his staff, and the herdsman, the back leg of the calf with his foot. Furthermore, the head of the dog reaches into the section of the calf; his snout appears above the calf's head, and his gaze is directed to the face of the herdsman, who is looking down to the calf. The body of the dog, his outstretched snout, the fore-stretched arm of the man and his body create a close setting for the calf. The inscription also links the hound and herdsman, because it is placed above and between their heads. This composition conveys that hound and herdsman are antagonists and dominate the calf. Nevertheless, the size of the dog and the space he fills makes it clear that he controls the man at the same time. Only his master limits the hound, and brings him to heel with his foot and staff. The inscription with his name supports this idea. It is placed above the hound's body, behind the staff, leaving the space in front of it empty and links the dog to the person who is using his name. The left back paw of the hound, which is visible under the arch of his master's foot, also expresses the close relation between both. Such a composition

is sometimes used for the overlapping feet of a seated tomb owner and/or his wife, where the heel of one foot is visible under the arch of the other.⁴⁹

The broad border at the outer left and lower edges frames part of the scene and gives it independence; the only link to other scenes is the figure of the tomb owner, who connects it to the registers above. They might have contained other offering bringers with cattle or other animals.

5. Style

The artist carved the scene in a medium high raised relief. Details, such as the structure of the bones (e.g. the anklebone of the foot, or the bone structure of the dog's head) or muscles (e.g. body of the calf) are slightly modeled; others parts are carved, for example, the toenail of the tomb owner's foot, the finger of the man, or the structure of the calf's collar. The outlines of the bodies are slightly undercut, as well as some of the details, such as the eyes of the figures, to make them stand out from the background more prominently.

The body of the dog is very slender with elongated limbs, and an extremely long neck, snout, and ears. The length of his stride, the raised, stretched-out head and his raised curled tail express dynamic tension. The fact that the stride length of his back legs is longer than that of his fore legs supports this impression. The set up ears, the widely open eye and the fore-stretched snout illustrate his attention. If one compares the image of this hound to those of others in the Fourth–Sixth Dynasties, one can come to the following conclusion: Most of these dogs are less slender, and have a shorter snout and neck, and only very few are directly comparable, such as the dogs in the tombs of *H^c=f-R^c-^cn^h* in Giza,⁵⁰ or of *Pth-htp* II in Saqqara.⁵¹ The types of dog collars have much variance. Most examples of the Fourth–Sixth Dynasties have a two or three coiled collar with a small loop, and two terminals under or behind the neck; others have more coils and sometime trapezoid terminals (especially in Deir el-Gebrawi). There are only two direct parallels to the Walters' example, both depicted in the tomb of *H^c=f-R^c-^cn^h* in Giza.

The figures of the calf and the herdsman give another impression. Their bodies are less slender, and their positions less tensed. Although the calf has a walking posture, the herdsman has to push it from behind, while securing it at the same time by grasping the collar so that it is not running away. The eye of the calf is wide open, and together with the position of the herdsman, obviously it hesitates to go forward. The image of the calf represents a standard type of the Old Kingdom with a slightly full body, a small head with small, set-back ears, and slender legs. There are not many different types of calves in that time, but variations are defined by coloration and content-dependent positions. Many of the calf images show collars and leashes made from curled ropes; the amount of coils, as well as the use of additional restraints varies. Analogous examples are depicted in the tomb of *K3=j-m-nfr.t*⁵² and *Ssm-nfr* II⁵³ in Giza, both of the late Fifth Dynasty.

The proportions of the figure of the man are balanced, but slightly stocky, defined by the fact that his size must accord with the size of the small calf, without losing the proportions of an adult person. The upper part of his body is depicted from the side, and not from the front to illustrate the action with the widely open arms in an adequate way.

⁴⁹ E.g. tomb of *K3=j-m-n^h* in Giza (G 4561, *PM* III², 132), cp. fn. 48, see Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* I, pl. 34a; see also tomb of *H^c=f-R^c-^cn^h* in Giza, cp. fn. 36; see Giza Archive Project, photo ID number: A7387-NS, not visible in *LD* II, 10b.

⁵⁰ See tomb of *H^c=f-R^c-^cn^h* in Giza (G 7948; LG 75; *PM* III², 207), cp. fn. 36, see *LD* II, 9.

⁵¹ See tomb of *Pth-htp* II in Saqqara (D 64; *PM* III², 602), cp. fn. 9, see Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetetep* I, pl. XXI.

⁵² See tomb of the son of *K3=j-m-nfr.t* in Giza (*PM* III², 263), the Fifth Dynasty (time of Nyusera-Djedkara Izezi), see Hassan, *Giza* II, 116 fig. 123; for other examples see Vandier, *Manuel* V, 24, fig. 20, 8.

⁵³ See tomb of *Ssm-nfr* II in Giza, cp. fn. 33, see Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* II, pl. 25a.

6. Architectural context

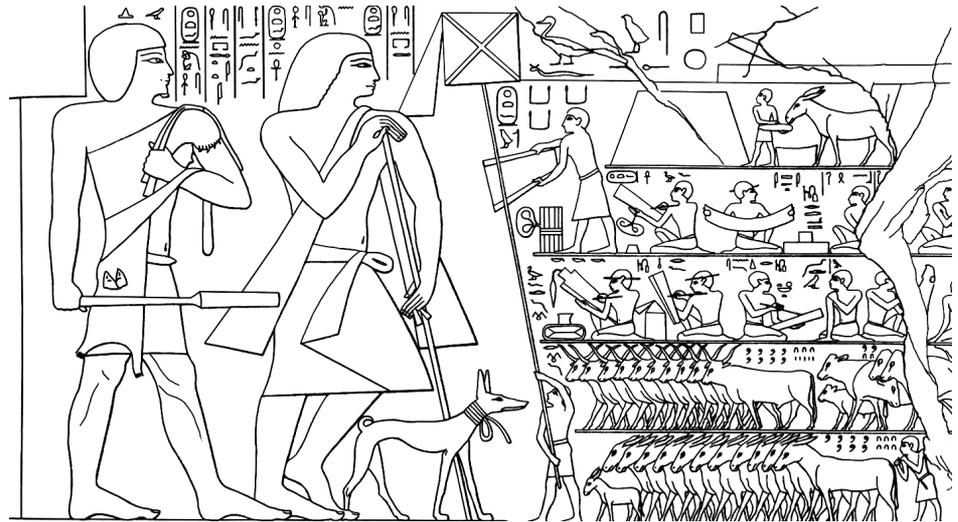
The relief came from a small wall section in a tomb, and formed the left part of the base-register. The exact original width of the left and height of the lower border is unknown, because it was strengthened, and may also have been cut off by a restorer. However, the existing borders are broad enough to define a corner piece of a base-register.

Scenes showing herdsman/men with calf/calves can be located in different parts of tombs of the Fifth Dynasty, for example at the entrance,⁵⁴ at the east or west wall as part of larger presentation scenes, or at the north wall in shorter versions of such scenes.⁵⁵ The short distance between the figure of the tomb owner and the left border makes it likely that this scene originated from a part of the north wall of a tomb or from an entrance. If it came from an entrance, and the tomb was oriented east-west, and the figure of the tomb owner was oriented to the chapel interior and towards the false door, which is likely, then the relief must be from the northern part.

7. Conclusion

The dog relief in the Walters Art Museum has one very close parallel. It is the motif of a dog with his master, which is depicted twice in the rock cut tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$ in Giza from the Fifth Dynasty.⁵⁶

Fig. 2 Tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$ in Giza, east wall (after LD II, 9)



The first scene appears on the east wall of the tomb and shows the deceased and his dog in the main register (fig. 2, pl. XVI, 24b). The second scene is very similar and

Fig. 3 Tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$ in Giza, east wall (after LD II, 9)



part of a sub-scene of the same wall (fig. 3). The very slender proportions of the hound and the special type of collar with a big loop under the neck are nearly identical to the dog depicted in the tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$ in the eastern cemetery of Giza; only the tail of the latter is less coiled. The slouching posture of the tomb owner differs slightly, and shows him with a lifted free leg above the standing foot while he is leaning on his staff.

⁵⁴ E.g. tomb of *Ssm-nfr* II in Giza, cp. fn. 33, see *ibid.*, pl. 61a.

⁵⁵ See Harpur, *DETOK*, 226.

⁵⁶ Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza II*, 189, 209–211 dates the tomb to the time of Nyusera 'may be earlier or later', and N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, 226 to the time of Khafra. The composition with the close staggered arrangements of the animal presentations and the casual position of the tomb owner, makes a date in the time of Nyusera or later in the Fifth Dynasty more plausible.

Both figures of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$ are directed to the right, and the staff is depicted behind the shoulder of his hound, while the master of $Bh3/Bhk3j$ is oriented to the left, and the staff is in front of the dog's shoulder. The close combination of the two icons illustrates the same idea: the dog is a direct attribute of his master, and represents the protection of his interests.

The composition of the motif combination of the main scene in the tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$ is equivalent to that in the Walters' relief. In both cases is the servant figure in front of the tomb owner less prominent than the image of the dog. In comparison to the large amount of motifs showing master and dog, there are very few other examples illustrating such a close relation expressed by overlapping or touching.⁵⁷ That's why it seems for me unlikely that the relief in the Walters' Art Museum and the scenes in the tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$ are not related to each other.

Additionally, the proportions and walking position of the Walters' calf are directly comparable to a calf in the herd, depicted on the east wall of the tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$ (fig. 2). The image of the herdsman has no direct parallel, but there is a scene on the west wall of the tomb above the left statue niche showing a scene with a man who is bringing a hyena (fig. 4). His position, with an out-stretched arm, and the hand of the other arm grasping the tail of the animal, is comparable to the posture of the herdsman in the Walters' relief.⁵⁸ The hyena has no collar, and the only way to handle it is grasping the tail. Even though the content of the scenes are different the general idea and the kind of virtualization is similar.

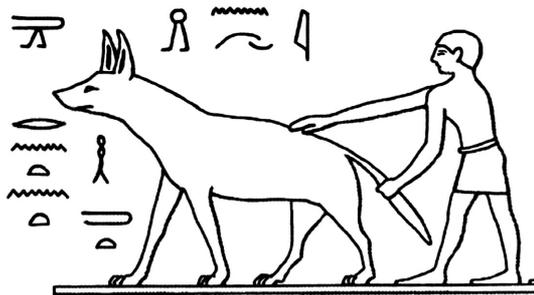


Fig. 4 Tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$ in Giza, west wall (after LD II, 11)

Another interesting detail is the visibility of the heel of one foot under the arch of the other (seated couple on the south wall of the tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$), which finds its equivalent in the paw of the dog under the tomb owner's arch of the foot (Walters' relief).⁵⁹

Last but not least, the broad borders of the relief would fit in general to the broad undecorated base in the tomb and the frame of the door.

Beside all these similarities there are also differences. The inscriptions inside of the tomb are all done in sunken and not raised relief, and there is no direct link to one of the scenes or a special part of a wall in the tomb. The scenes on the thickness of the entrance as well as the east, south and west wall are preserved and has no larger parts missing. If this relief really comes from this tomb, the only possibility would be the destroyed north wall, which still contains in the upper part remains of a marsh scene.⁶⁰ The combination of marsh and presentation scenes is possible, as is the existence of inscriptions in raised and sunken relief in one tomb. Nevertheless, without further investigation in the tomb, such an assignation remains uncertain.⁶¹ However, it seems most likely that the relief in the Walter's Art Museum comes from a tomb in Giza, probably from the eastern cemetery, from the same time frame as the tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$, and rendered by the same workshop.

⁵⁷ For example in the tomb of $W^c h j$ in El Hagarsa, cp. fn. 37.

⁵⁸ A similar scene is depicted on the entrance thickness of the tomb of $Mrj=s-nh$ III in Giza, cp. fn. 42, see Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 3a. The bringer of the animal appears bending forward, but his arms are not opened as widely as those of the hyena-bringer in the tomb of $H^c=f-R^c-nh$ and he only touches but does not grasp the animal.

⁵⁹ Cp. fn. 49.

⁶⁰ See LD *Ergänzungen*, XXVIII; Kormysheva, *ASAE* 74 (1999): 25, pl. 1a.

⁶¹ Hopefully the results of the Russian archaeological mission (see the reports of E. Kormysheva, cp. fn. 3) will offer more evidence.



23 Relief in the Walters Art Museum, 22.422

23a Relief in the Walters Art Museum, 22.422 (photo 1949)



24b Detail from the east wall of the tomb G 7948

THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN PRAGUE,
MAY 31 – JUNE 4, 2004

Miroslav Bárta
editor

Autoři příspěvků:

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Vodičkova 40, 110 00 Praha 1

Kniha vychází s finanční podporou
Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini
MŠMT, grant MSM 0021620826

Odpovědný redaktor Pavel Zátka

Obálku s použitím fotografií z archivu Českého egyptologického ústavu FF UK
a grafickou úpravu navrhla Jolana Malátková

Vydání první, Praha 2006
Ediční číslo 10456

Sazba Český egyptologický ústav Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze
Celetná 20, 110 00 Praha 1

Tisk Serifa s. r. o., Jinonická 80, 150 00 Praha 5

ISBN 80-200-1465-9

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