

Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes

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AN UNFINISHED ROYAL FUNERARY MONUMENT AT WESTERN THEBES

BETWEEN THE HILLS of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and Qurnet Marai in the Theban necropolis runs a valley that meets the floodplain at the site of the mortuary temple of Ramesses II, the Ramesseum (Figures 1, 2).¹ The valley is a counterpart to the valley of Deir el-Bahri, where the temples of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra and Hatshepsut are situated. But unlike the Deir el-Bahri valley, this valley does not contain famous standing monuments. Today, the valley presents a wild, almost desolate, appearance (Figures 3, 5, 21). A closer look, however, reveals features that indicate major landscaping efforts were undertaken in ancient times. Figures 2 and 3 show two separate places where quarrymen cut trenches into the rock preparatory to removing the entire rock face at the southwestern side of the valley.² And at the western end of the valley where the limestone rock surrounds a natural bay, a considerable part of the ground was leveled to form an even plateau (Figure 3).

Herbert E. Winlock in 1914 was the first to recognize that the plateau and trenches were traces of building activities.³ The discovery was important enough for him to record it in the opening paragraphs of *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (1947). It is a memorable description of archaeological intuition:

One day just before the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the groom and I were exercising my horses behind Sheikh Abd el Kurneh Hill. The light was exactly right, and as I came to the highest bit of path, with the towering cliffs to the right and the lower hill to the left, I noticed below me for the first time a

flat platform and the upper part of a sloping causeway ascending from the cultivation. In a flash I was spurring down the hill and up onto the level place to look down the line of the ancient roadway to the point where it disappeared behind the Ramesseum. I realized that in the flat terrace under the cliffs we had the grading for a temple like the one built in the Eleventh Dynasty at Deir el-Bahri just to the north.

In 1920–21 Winlock cleared the platform under the cliffs of later debris.⁴ In the course of this work, he rediscovered an underground passage and burial chamber (Figure 4) that had first been excavated by Robert Mond in the winter of 1903–4.⁵ Winlock rightly connected this burial chamber of royal proportions with the landscaping efforts described above, and he identified the ensemble as an unfinished royal funerary monument.

At first, it seemed a simple matter to identify the individual for whom this monument had been intended. The similarities in the plan of the burial chamber—as well as in the general shape of the causeway and funerary temple—to the great funeral monument of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra in the neighboring valley of Deir el-Bahri⁶ pointed to a successor of that king as the owner (Figure 1, nos. 1 and 5). Further indications of a late Eleventh Dynasty date for the structure were thought to exist because of the large tomb of the chancellor Meketre, situated at the northern side of the valley (Figure 5). This official was known to have served Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra as “overseer of the six great law-courts” around year 39 of that king’s reign.⁷ During the last years of Nebhepetra’s reign, Meketre was “chancellor” (*imy-r’ hmt*) and was depicted or mentioned in this capacity several times in the relief decoration of Nebhepetra’s funerary temple at Deir el-Bahri.⁸ The fact that Meketre’s tomb was not sig-

¹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1991 Metropolitan Museum Journal 28.

The notes for this article begin on page 41.

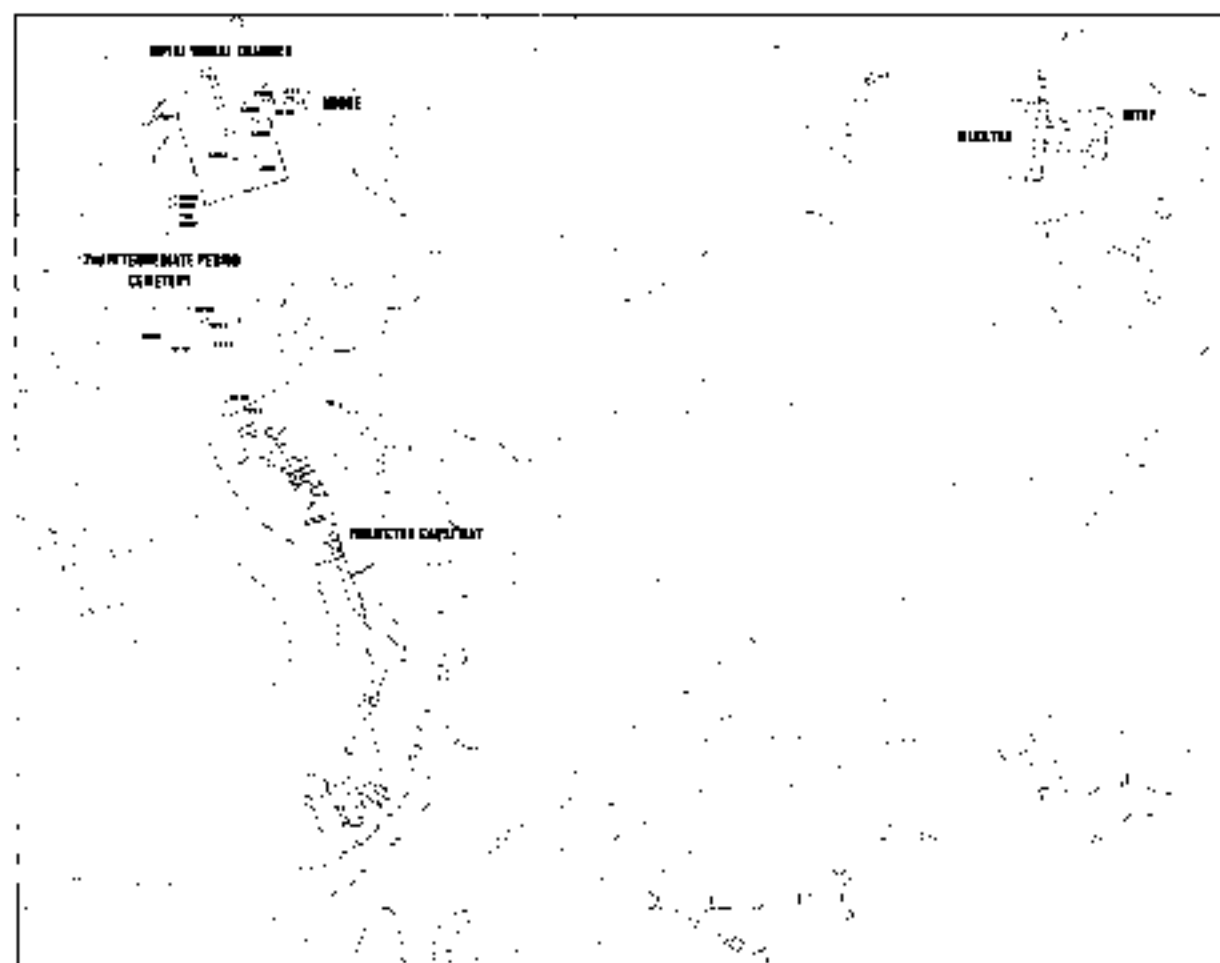
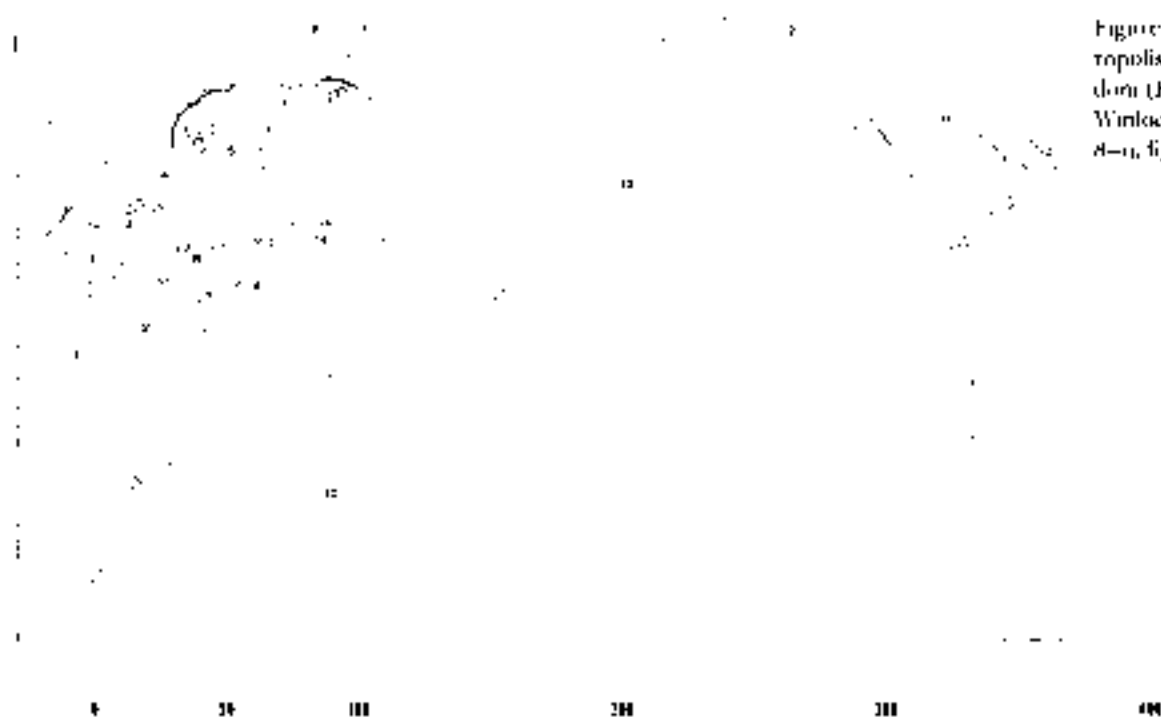


Figure 2. The valley northwest of the Kunzeum (William Schenck, after Walter Hauser and Lindsey E. Haly).



Figure 3. The valley northwest of the Ramesseum after excavation, Jan. 1, 1922, looking east (photo, Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M3C 361).

uated among the tombs of the other officials of Nebhepetra's court, on the slopes around the valley of Deir el-Bahri (Figure 1, nos. 6 and 7) suggested to Winlock and others that Meketra outlived Nebhepetra and went on to serve his successor, Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. It was therefore logical to assume that the unfinished royal tomb in the valley, situated below the tomb of Meketra, belonged to King Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. (See Appendix 1.)

A group of inscriptions on nearby rocks seemed to corroborate the identification of the unfinished monument as the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep III. Between the valley, or rock bay, of Deir el-Bahri and the bay in which the unfinished royal funerary monument is situated lies yet another, smaller bay surrounded by limestone cliffs (Figure 1, no. 4).¹¹ In this smaller bay numerous graffiti of Middle Kingdom date are incised in the rock cliffs high above the valley floor. Winlock recognized that various groups of priests had incised their names here.¹² Among these names, the greatest number were

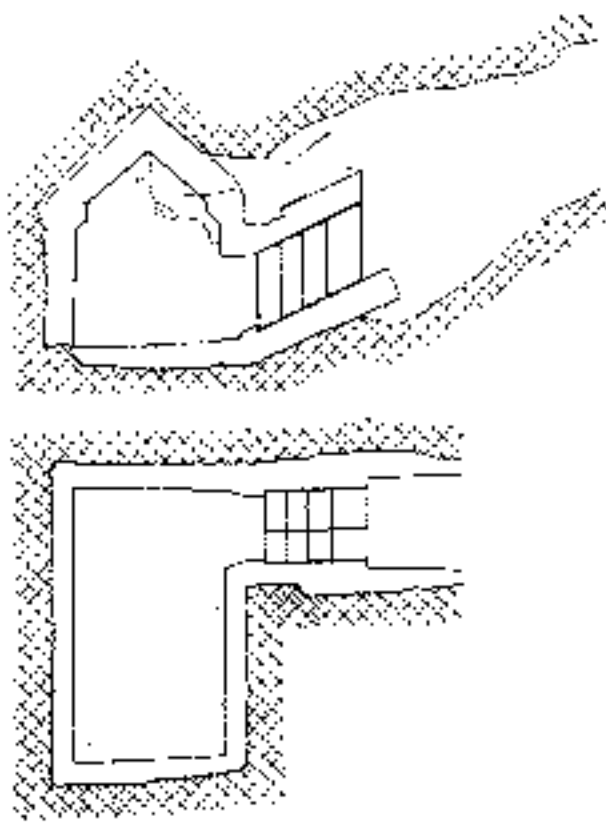


Figure 4. Plan and section of the underground chamber of the unfinished royal monument as found by Robert Mond (Barry Gish, after Mond, *ASAE* 6 [1905], p. 79, fig. 15).

those of priests who served in the funeral cult of King Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra or of priests who served his deceased successor, Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. Some priests of the god Amun and functionaries of the necropolis had also left graffiti.

Winlock interpreted the graffiti on the cliff as evidence of a lookout site used by the priests who were stationed here to announce the arrival of the bark of Amun when it crossed the Nile during the annual festival called "the beautiful feast of the desert valley." During that feast the bark with the image of the god would visit the temple of Nebhepetra and remain there overnight. Indeed, one graffiti expressly mentions the feast.¹³ Winlock's assumption that the two priesthoods of Nebhepetra and Seankhkara waited together at the lookout seemed again to fit the identification of the unfinished monument as the funerary temple of Seankhkara.

The historical picture reconstructed by Winlock is, however, less well founded than is generally believed. No temple was ever actually erected on the plateau in the valley northwest of the Ramesseum.



Figure 5. View from the valley onto the courtyard of the tomb of Meketra, 1920–21 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. MCC 41)

The building activities only reached the stages of leveling the platform, starting to remove rock for a causeway, and cutting and casing an underground chamber. Therefore, if this really was the site of Seankhkara's mortuary monument, the priests of Seankhkara, who according to their graffiti officiated during the entire Twelfth Dynasty, never actually had a place in which to perform the ceremonies associated with the funerary cult for the king.

The architectural remains found on the plateau consist of a serpentine wall north of the entrance to the underground passage, which the excavators reconstructed as having surrounded this entrance, and a small house still farther north (Figures 2, 3). Serpentine walls occur frequently at Middle Kingdom cemetery sites. In some cases serpentine walls enclosed areas in a necropolis where debris could be dumped. In other instances, the serpentine walls served to secure the mouth of a shaft whose underground chambers had been dug out while the

aboveground architecture had not yet been finished.¹³ The latter was certainly the case at the unfinished monument site. If anything, the presence of a serpentine wall accentuates the unfinished status of the monument.

A brick building consisting of three rooms exists on the northern part of the platform (Figure 6), but it was certainly a house rather than a temple, and its date is much later than the Eleventh Dynasty. Houses having this same plan, with a larger room in front and two smaller rooms at the back, were found both at Amarna and in the village at Lisht, where they date from the later New Kingdom to Third Intermediate Period.¹⁴

Some ritual objects were found in the debris covering the platform. Among these objects are a few that might have been used in a royal cult; they consist of a limestone altar, roughly 58 centimeters square, and some pottery. None of these objects is of a character or quality that outweighs the absence

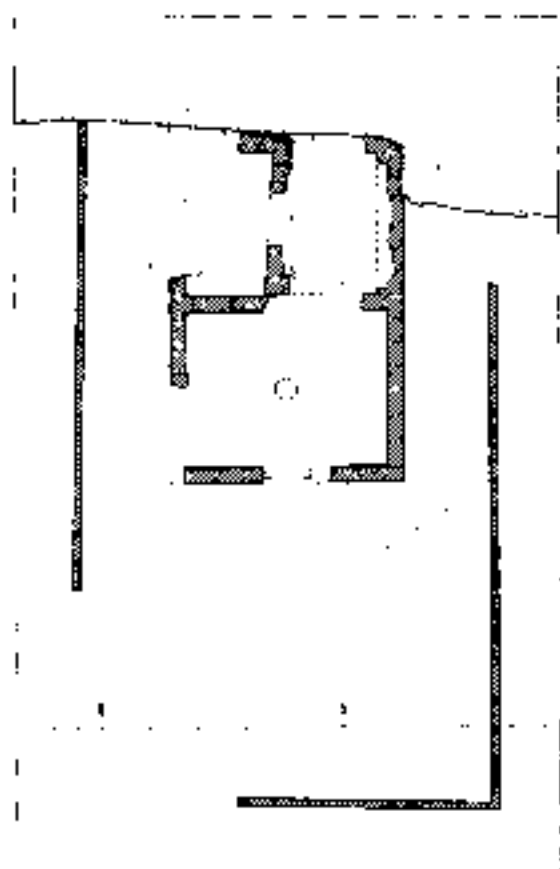


Figure 6. The remains of the New Kingdom house seen in Figure 3, left foreground (William Schenck, after pencil plan AM 1854).

of a funeral temple befitting a king like Mentuhotep III Seankhkara, who erected many fine monuments throughout Upper Egypt during his reign of twelve years.

There is, moreover, a chronological discrepancy between the date of the objects found on the platform and the time of the death of Seankhkara. The altar (Figure 7)¹⁸ is of a peculiar type that shows two small basins for liquid offerings connected to a larger basin by curved channels. Numerous examples of this type of altar were found at Lisht, all dating well into the Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁹ A variant of this type of altar has straight channels connecting the three basins, which may have had antecedents in the late Eleventh Dynasty.²⁰ The only securely dated example (Figure 8) bears the name of Amenemhat I, the first king of Dynasty 12.²¹ A Twelfth Dynasty date is, therefore, probable for the altar found on the platform.²²

Some of the pottery found in the area of the un-



Figure 7. Limestone altar found at the mouth of the underground passage to the royal burial chamber of the unfinished monument (Barrs, Gosh, after Mond, *ASAE* 6 [1905] p. 77, fig. 1).



Figure 8. Altar from Sebtunytos, Alexandria Museum 460 (Barrs, Gosh, after Kuentz, *Bib-Afr Supplément* [1928] p. 255, fig. 13).

finished monument must have belonged to foundation deposits because the shapes are known from other foundation-deposit pots of the period. Pots suitable for receiving foundation offerings were uncovered during the excavation (see the small, round holes west of the main shaft in Figure 3). Foundation-deposit pottery is thought to be difficult to date because of its tendency to adhere to traditional shapes rather than follow contemporary development. Nevertheless, the pots found on the platform are strikingly close in shape to examples of the early Twelfth Dynasty found in the funerary precincts of Amenemhat I and his son and successor, Senusret I, at Lisht.²³

Some sherds of Upper Egyptian light-colored ware, decorated with imbricated patterns, resemble pottery found in tombs and temples of both Dynasties 11 and 12 (Figure 9).²⁴ A number of round-shouldered jar vases and hemispherical cups (Figures 10, 11) were also found on the plateau.²⁵ These

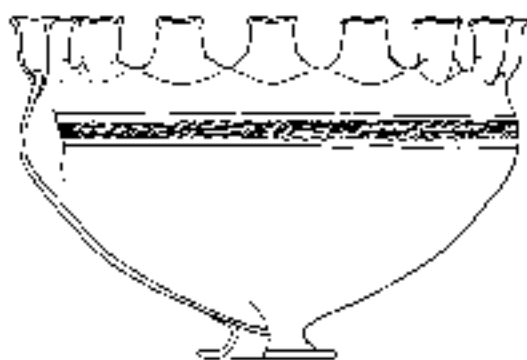


Figure 9. Ritual vessel with applied cups and incised decoration, found in the debris covering the unfinished royal monument. H. 29.5 cm (William Schenck, after tomb card Thebes 3234)



Figure 10. Libation (lib.) vases. Center: Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée 4733:1-6. Others: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922. 22.3, 16.17, H. 26 cm, 28 cm (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. MCC 179)



Figure 11. Drinking cups. Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée 4733:1-6, and Chicago, Oriental Institute. H. (left to right): 9.5 cm, 10.5 cm, 9.5 cm (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. MCC 181)

latter vessels are decidedly not of late Eleventh but of early Twelfth Dynasty date. A close parallel to the round-shouldered *hrt* vases was found in the tomb of Senet, mother of Intefiker, the vizier of Senwosret I.²⁵ Eleventh Dynasty vases of this type tend to have angular rather than round shoulders.²⁶ Likewise, the hemispherical cups, with their extremely thin walls, red ochre coating, and rather shallow shape, are close to cups of the early Twelfth Dynasty from the pyramid complex at Lisht South. Eleventh Dynasty cups are thick-walled and only partly coated on the outside.²⁷

Both Robert Mond and Winlock's Metropolitan Museum Expedition found fragments of wooden models and boats in the debris covering the platform.²⁸ Unfortunately, there is only one photograph preserved of these models (Figure 12).²⁹ It shows a number of vases, tiny model pots and baskets, and four human figures. Because of their proportions, these figures can be dated to the Twelfth Dynasty.³⁰ The Metropolitan Museum crew also uncovered fragments of a fine, nonroyal offering table dedicated to a person named Bebjankh,³¹ a name repeatedly used for women.³² In view of the fact that not a single fragment of wooden models was reportedly found in the royal burial chamber, or the passage leading to it, it seems more likely that the wooden models originally belonged to the nonroyal burial of Bebjankh. Other female linials were laid down in the area, as discussed below.

Since no object found on the platform of the unfinished monument suggests with certainty a date before the early Twelfth Dynasty, and no evidence points to a royal funerary cult commencing with the death of King Mentuhotep III Seankhkara, grave doubts are raised concerning the validity of the attribution of the unfinished monument to Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. Further questions arise when one looks more closely at the underground passage and chamber of the unfinished monument (Figure 4).³³ Could this chamber have been used for a linial? The raising of the room with limestone slabs was evidently finished, but no sarcophagus was found. All traces of an actual burial—such as coffins, cartonnage, linen, and other funeral equipment—might have disappeared completely, thanks to repeated robberies, but a sarcophagus of stone, or a stone shrine like that found in the burial chamber of Mentuhotep II Nefhepetra at Deir el-Bahari,³⁴ could not have disappeared without a trace. This is supported by the fact that the chamber was found blocked by four limestone slabs. Robert Mond describes this blocking as follows: "I found the en-

Figure 12. Fragments of wooden models from the area of the unfinished royal monument, 1920-21 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 174-7629)

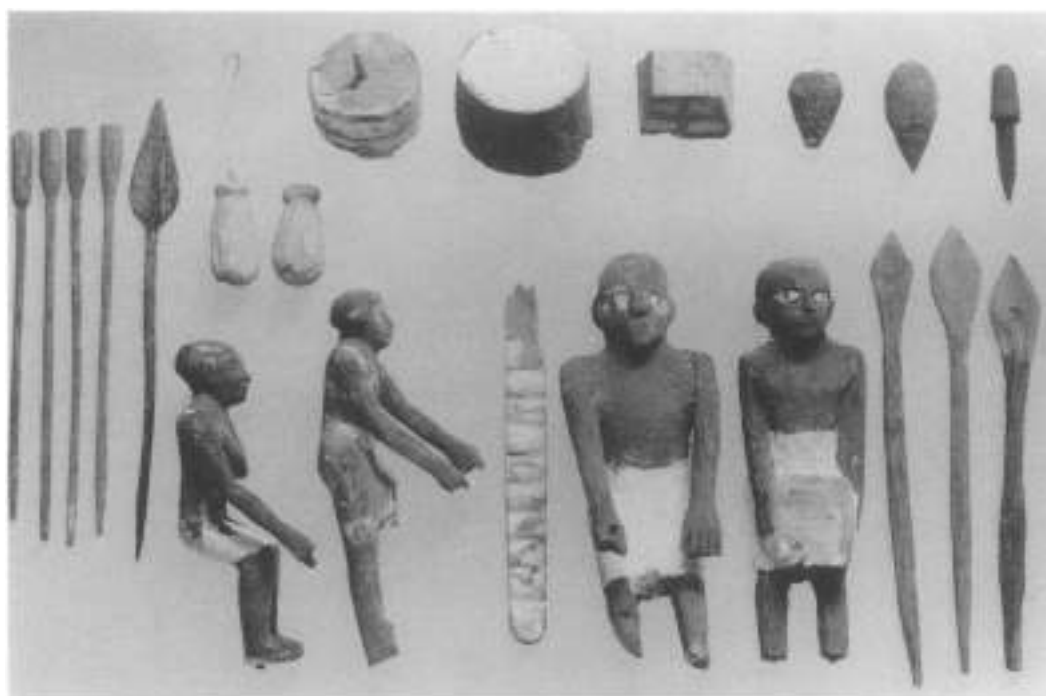


Figure 13. View from top of the cliffs on the back of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill, showing entrances of unfinished tombs, 1920-21 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 101)



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

Figure 14. Sherd from clay vessel inscribed in ink: "The lady-in-waiting *Hwt*." H. 5.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922, 28.3.358

Figure 15. Front of fragment of slate bowl, showing name of Mentuhotep IV Nebrawra. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1909, 09.180.349

Figure 16. Back of slate bowl in Figure 15, showing name of Amenemhat I and dedication to Hathor at Dendara

Figure 17. Reconstruction of slate bowl in Figure 15. H. 16 cm (William Schenck)



Fig. 17

trance blocked with thick slabs of carefully cut limestone: the first, about 1 m 50 cent. square and 10 m 60 cent. thick, was so carefully inserted in the four huge inclined slabs with which the passage was lined that it was difficult to introduce the blade of a pen-knife in the joints. Three other blocks of 0 m 40 cent. thickness each followed."¹⁶ The robbers' channel visible in Figure 4 (marked by an arrow) is too narrow to permit the extraction of a sarcophagus. Mond describes this channel as "a very small passage along the roof, large enough to admit a person lying down."¹⁷ Mond lists the objects found in the chamber as: "a small pot similar to those already found; another was found below the door slab. A rock crystal bead broken, some fragments of bones (ossea?), and a human tooth."¹⁸ All this is either debris or, at most, some sort of foundation-deposit material; it is not the remains of a royal burial. We must therefore conclude that a burial was never deposited in this chamber.

The most logical explanation of the evidence found would be that when work aboveground

stopped, for some reason or other, the builders were left with a royal burial chamber, finished and cased with limestone but as yet devoid of any burial. Since the chamber had been intended for a royal burial, and had most probably been ritually consecrated (vide the foundation deposits), it became necessary to close it in a proper fashion, i.e., to block it as if a burial had been brought in. The presence of an altar (Figure 7) and pottery (Figures 9–11) suggests that ritual procedures were performed during the blocking. The scenario fits the evidence as found, but the assumption that this was the burial place of King Mentuhotep III Seankhkara has to be discarded.

Doubts about Seankhkara's being the owner of the unfinished royal tomb are reinforced by consideration of the group of unfinished private tombs that pierce the western and southern slopes of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill (Figure 1, no. 8, and Figures 2, 13) and the northern face of the hills south of the unfinished monument. None of these tombs was completed, and no official of the early Middle



Figure 18. The pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht seen from the site of the Middle Kingdom capital Itj-tawy, 1906–7 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. L 6-7 379)

Kingdom was buried here.⁴⁶ The situation is entirely different from that in the valley of Deir el-Bahri, where all tombs were finished and used – if not at the time of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, then later under the reign of one of his successors. It is also impossible to account for the unfinished state of the tombs in the valley behind the Ramesseum as owing to the short reign of Mentuhotep III Sankhkara. Senwoset II, the fourth king of Dynasty 12, ruled only nine years, but there were no tombs left unfinished around his pyramid at Illahun.⁴⁷

It is instructive to examine the nature of the few burials that were actually laid down in the valley of the unfinished monument during the early Middle Kingdom. They are the burials in the tomb of the chancellor Meketre, with its dependent chambers, and an unknown number of burials, mostly of women, at the edge of the platform.

The burials of Meketre's dependants⁴⁸ were, of course, centered around this nobleman's interment (see Figures 21, 22); there was no need for them to be attached to a royal tomb. The reconstruction of

the early Middle Kingdom burials in the area of the unfinished monument is difficult because most of the tomb shafts existing on and near the platform were reused from the Second Intermediate Period to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, at which time a small cemetery was in use farther east at the southeastern edge of the bay (Figure 2, nos. 1013–1020). Also at the beginning of the New Kingdom, a number of shafts were cut into the debris covering the platform. These shafts penetrated the rocky surface of the platform (Figure 2, nos. 1004–1006, 1008–1011). One shaft was again reused in the Third Intermediate Period.⁴⁹ The best candidates for early Middle Kingdom burial places are the four shafts that lie in a row at the southeastern corner of the platform (Figure 2, nos. 1001–1003, 1007). In the westernmost of these shafts (no. 1003), large marl clay jars were found, of a type used in the tombs of the vizier Ipy in the Deir el-Bahri valley and in the tomb of Meketre for the deposition of embalming material.⁵⁰ Further evidence for early Middle Kingdom burials in the area are the above-mentioned re-

remains of wooden models (Figure 12) and the non-royal offering table dedicated to Rebjankh found in the debris covering the platform.⁹ These finds attest that one or more nonroyal burials of the early Middle Kingdom took place in the vicinity of the platform.

The presence in the debris covering the platform of a number of sherds with ink inscriptions provide further clues as to the identity of the persons buried. The inscriptions mention "the lady-in-waiting *Hw*" (Figure 14).¹⁰ The burial of a high-ranking woman in close proximity to a royal tomb recalls the six priestesses of Hathor and royal wives buried below their magnificent shrines inside the funerary temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Den el-Bahri.¹¹ It is known that some of these women died and were buried before the completion of the temple, well before Nebhepetra's own death. The burial of another woman inside the royal pyramid complex of Senwosret I at Lisht comes to mind; it took place when building activities were still under way in the pyramid complex.¹² It is therefore consistent with contemporary practices that the lady-in-waiting *Hw* was buried in the area of the unfinished royal monument while work on the royal tomb was still in progress. This also applies to the other early Middle Kingdom nonroyal burials on the platform.

The evidence concerning nonroyal tombs in the valley behind the Ramesseum can be summed up as follows. While building activities were still in progress, a number of female burials were laid down around the platform. Of all cliff tombs, only the tomb of Meketra and his dependents and relatives was ever finished and used. Clearly, an event occurred, after which the valley ceased to be a desirable burial place. This event must have been the decision not to use the monument in the valley for a royal burial. Without a royal burial at the center, the valley behind the Ramesseum was no longer an attractive location for interment in the eyes of Middle Kingdom officials. It is significant that the valley did become a burial ground in the Second Intermediate Period and the early Eighteenth Dynasty, when private burials no longer sought the neighborhood of royal monuments.¹³

The following history of the valley behind the Ramesseum thus emerges. An unknown king planned to have his funerary monument erected in the valley, and building activities were begun on both the monument itself and tombs for the officials of his court. During the building period a number of ladies of court rank died and were buried on the plat-

form. The chancellor Meketra was the only official to have his tomb finished, and when he—and some of his dependents and family—died, they were buried in the tomb. But the main tomb of the king and the rest of the tombs of officials were never finished or used. The only ritual activities that have left traces on the platform were ephemeral rites performed not at the end of Dynasty 11 but at the beginning of Dynasty 12.

It is evident that Winlock's identification of the owner of the unfinished funerary monument as Mentuhotep III Seankhkara does not fit the facts. But who was the owner of the unfinished monument? There can be no question about the royal status of the person: the similarity of the plan to that of the Nebhepetra precinct at Den el-Bahri is evidence enough (see Figure 1, nos. 1 and 5). The same similarity leads to the assumption that the date of the unfinished monument cannot be far removed from the reign of Nebhepetra, but all objects found seem to point to a date in the early Twelfth Dynasty. The search must, therefore, focus on a king of the early Twelfth Dynasty who had connections with Thebes but was ultimately not buried there. The only king to fit this description is Amenemhat I.

THE DATE OF THE PYRAMID OF AMENEMHAT I AT LISHT

Descriptions of the reign of Amenemhat I usually begin with the statement that, immediately after ascending the throne, the king moved his residence and court from Thebes to the newly founded city of Itjtawy, near present-day Lisht, roughly thirty miles south of Cairo.¹⁴ There is, however, no evidence to corroborate the view that this event really took place "immediately" after Amenemhat ascended the throne. The earliest date actually recorded for the existence of Itjtawy is that of year 30 of Amenemhat's reign—which is the same as year 10 of the reign of Senwosret I, if the coregency of the two kings is accepted.¹⁵

True, a fragment of a slate bowl found at Lisht North (Figures 15–17)¹⁶ is inscribed on the outside with the official titulary of King Mentuhotep Nebtawra and on the inside with that of King Amenemhat I. Mentuhotep IV Nebtawra is a king otherwise known from inscriptions in the amethyst quarries of Wadi el-Hudi and from four large rock inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat in which a vizier, Ameny, plays a prominent role.¹⁷ It is usually assumed that Nebtawra succeeded Mentuhotep III

Sesankhkara and ruled for a fairly short period. Vizier Ameny is thought to have later become king under the name of Amenemhat I.³⁰

The connection of the two royal titulatures on the slate bowl from Lisht has been assumed to indicate that the city of Itj-tawy and the northern pyramid of Lisht were founded at a time when recollections of the last king with the name of Mentuhotep were still fresh, i.e., "immediately" after Amenemhat I seized the throne. But the existence of a stone vessel that links the name of one king with that of a predecessor does not furnish enough evidence to date the site where the vessel is found.

The excavators, and some commentators on the slate vessel, have noted that the two inscriptions are incised in a different style of writing (Figures 15, 16).³¹ It is clearly necessary to assume that Amenemhat had his name added to an older vessel that already bore the name of Mentuhotep IV Nebtawra. The addition of royal names to monuments or objects of an earlier date and inscribed with earlier royal names occurs at various times during Egyptian history, although a considerable amount of time usually separates the inscriptions.³² There is, therefore, no reason to assume that the addition of Amenemhat's name to the bowl was made at the very beginning of his reign. Strictly speaking, the bowl does not even prove that Nebtawra immediately preceded Amenemhat I. The only fact to be gleaned from the bowl is that Amenemhat dedicated to a sanctuary at Lisht a vessel that had previously been the votive gift of Nebtawra to the Hathor of Dendara. Presumably the vessel came originally from a sanctuary in Upper Egypt. It should be remembered that the transfer of cults from Upper Egypt to the new residence at Lisht is attested in another way. An altar found in the canal that now runs through the region of Itj-tawy is inscribed with the names of Senwosret I "beloved of" both Amun of Karnak and Montu, the lord of Thebes.³³

If the bowl fragment cannot be used as evidence of the founding of Itj-tawy early in the reign of Amenemhat I, what evidence is there for dating this event before the earliest literary source of regnal year 30? In the absence of any further remains from the townsitself, we must turn to the pyramid that was erected on the desert plateau west of the town, the pyramid of Lisht North (Figure 18).

Two sources exist among the excavated remains of the Lisht North pyramid that can be used for a chronological evaluation. One is an ink inscription

on a building stone found on the west side of the pyramid;³⁴ the other is a group of reliefs that were reused as foundation blocks in the substructure of the pyramid temple. The ink inscription is dated to "year 1" of an unnamed king. At first glance, this date would seem to corroborate the founding of the new residence soon after Amenemhat's ascension to the throne, followed quickly by the start of construction on his pyramid. Opposing this interpretation is the evidence of the reliefs that were used as foundation stones in the pyramid temple.

Relief-decorated limestone blocks reused in the foundations of the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I (Figure 19) were found by the French Institute excavations under Gustave Jéquier and Joseph E. Gautier³⁵ and by that of the Metropolitan Museum.³⁶ It is not the purpose of this essay to discuss the type of building to which these blocks originally belonged.³⁷ It is enough to state that the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht was built on foundations that incorporated stones datable to a period late in his reign.

The late date of the reused blocks is attested to primarily by two observations. The first concerns the prominent role played by the Sed-festival in the relief scenes to which William Kelly Simpson has rightly drawn attention.³⁸ Amenemhat's Sed-festival is thought to have been in preparation when he died. The second observation concerns the fact that the reliefs were obviously executed during the coregency of Amenemhat I and his son Senwosret I. On a block in the Metropolitan Museum, for instance,³⁹ the name of Amenemhat I (Figure 19, right) appears confronting that of his son (Figure 19, left), and the latter is apostrophized as "mw d.f." "the king himself" (Figure 21, center).⁴⁰ These scenes have always been taken as evidence for the existence of a coregency of the two kings, which is otherwise attested by a number of inscriptions jointly dated to both reigns.⁴¹ The fact that the reused blocks emphasize the coregency is clear evidence that the building to which the blocks originally belonged was erected during the last ten years of Amenemhat's reign. The coregency must have been established by the time the original building to which the reused blocks belonged was decorated.⁴²

The conclusion to be drawn from the date of the reused blocks late in the reign of Amenemhat I is that his pyramid temple, in which the blocks were used as foundation stones, cannot have been erected before that time. Indeed, it may be that the pyramid temple in its final shape was built after the

death of the king, when Senwoset I ruled alone. In this context, the date on the building stone from the pyramid—"year 1"—clearly refers not to year 1 of Amenemhat but year 1 of his son Senwoset I, and this also seems to be indicated by the style of the writing.⁶³ If a coregency is accepted, year 1 of Senwoset I is identical with year 20 of Amenemhat I. Although the ink inscription therefore remains the earliest evidence available for any building activity at Lisht North,⁶⁴ for the founding of Itj-tawy we may now assume a date around year 20 of Amenemhat's reign at the earliest, because it seems reasonable to suppose that the initial work on the pyramid of the founder coincided with the founding of the town. This view is corroborated by the fact that the name of the town is first attested to in year 10 of Senwoset I (year 30 of Amenemhat I),⁶⁵ that is, ten years after its founding.

It can thus be stated that the available chronological evidence for the founding of Itj-tawy and the beginning of building activities at the pyramid of Lisht North do not contradict the possibility that in the early years of his reign Amenemhat I governed Egypt from Thebes in the south, and that a funerary monument was laid out for him in the Theban necropolis.

THE BURIAL PLACES OF THE LAST TWO KINGS OF THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY

If the unfinished royal tomb in the valley northwest of the Ramesseum was erected for Amenemhat I, where was Mentuhotep III Seankhkara buried? It should be noted that a failure to localize this king's funerary monument need not in any way affect the attribution of the unfinished tomb to Amenemhat I. Not to know where one king is buried does not per se invalidate the attribution of a monument to one of his successors. Furthermore, even with the attribution of the unfinished tomb to Seankhkara, history was still short one royal tomb from the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, for we also do not know where Mentuhotep IV Nebawyra was buried.⁶⁶ Notwithstanding these considerations, where is the burial place of Seankhkara if the unfinished tomb does not belong to him?

Two localities may be considered. Seankhkara (and Nebawyra) could have been buried either inside the funerary monument of Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri (Figure 1, no. 5) or back in the old burial ground of their family in the area now called El-Tarif (Figure 1, no. 11).⁶⁷ An object indicating that



Figure 19. Limestone relief block found reused in the foundations of the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht. 37 × 89 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1909. og.180.113

the second of these possibilities is the more likely recently has come to light.

William Flinders Petrie, in his *Historical Scarabs*,²⁶ published an alabaster plaque with the name of King Seankhkara (Figure 20). On this plaque, which is 9.3 by 5.2 centimeters in size, the king is called "beloved of Montu-Ra, lord of Thebes"—a formula exactly parallel to the one found on the smaller foundation-deposit tablets from the funeral monument of Mentuhotep II Nebheptra.²⁷ It is highly significant that there is a tradition giving Dira Abu 'n-Naga (Figure 1, no. 12) as the findspot of the Seankhkara alabaster foundation plaque.²⁸ The designation "from Dira Abu 'n-Naga" in dealers' statements about the provenance of certain objects can well mean either the hill of Dira Abu 'n-Naga proper or the area of El-Tarif (Figure 1, no. 11).²⁹ No provenance is reported for a recently published cylinder seal with an almost identical inscription.³⁰ This seal is made of precious carnelian and may well come from the funerary temple of the king.

A monument connected with Mentuhotep III Seankhkara in the area of the northern part of the Theban metropolis is the brick chapel on top of the highest mountain peak west of El-Tarif and the entrance of the Valley of the Kings (Figure 1, no. 10).³¹

A large hall-like brick structure west of the chapel³² has all the aspects of sleeping quarters for large groups of people. The sanctuary may therefore be understood to be a holy place at the beginning of a desert road where caravans rested over night before setting out for a long trek. Temples or sanctuaries at such locations are well known during the New Kingdom.³³

A funerary function for the mountain chapel itself is improbable. But the building is a strong reminder of the fact that the plain of El-Tarif (Figure 1, no. 11) had been the burial place of the kings of the early Eleventh Dynasty. Burials of nonroyal persons were continued in this area during the late Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth dynasties.³⁴ It would be worthwhile to search for the remains of one—or two—more royal funerary monuments in this neighborhood.

HISTORICAL EVENTS EARLY IN THE REIGN OF AMENEMHAT I

Historically, the probability that a funerary monument was begun for Amenemhat I at Thebes results in a scenario somewhat different from the one generally envisioned for the early years of this king's

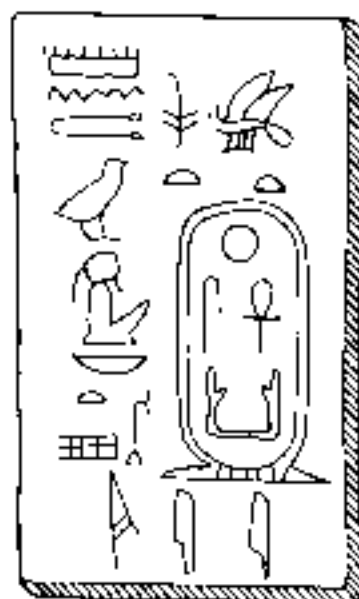


Figure 20. Incised inscription on alabaster plaque, showing the name of Mentuhotep III Seankhkara and a dedication to Montu. London, British Museum (Baris Gish), after W. J. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, no. 1651.



Figure 21. View from platform of the unfinished monument toward the tomb of Meketre, showing the mouth of the royal tomb (right foreground), foundation pits, and tomb shafts (long and short). Coffins, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1926, 26.5.1-5, 1921 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC.921).

reign. In accordance with the practice of the Eleventh Dynasty, Amenemhat I must initially have tried to govern the country from the southern capital. The stage reached in the building of the unfinished funerary monument seems to indicate a period of three to five years for the Theban phase of his reign.

There are various indications that, during these early years, the king understood his rule to be a direct continuation of the Eleventh Dynasty, which may explain why some ancient historians listed Amenemhat I with the Eleventh not the Twelfth Dynasty kings.⁷ Evidence for close links between Amenemhat I and the Eleventh Dynasty may be seen in the earlier form of Amenemhat's royal titulary, which according to the altar from Sehehnytos (Figure 8; inscription not shown) was as follows: Horus Sehetepibrawy; the Two Ladies Sehetepibrawy; Gold Horus Sema; King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibra; Son of Ra Amenemhat.⁸ In this titulary the Horus name *Sehetepibrawy* is close to the name of (Mentuhotep IV) Nebtawra, while the Gold Horus name *Sema* resembles the Horus name "Sema-taw" borne by Mentuhotep Nebhepetra.⁹

It is not known when Amenemhat I changed the early form of his titulary to the well-known later one (Horus Wehem-mesut; the Two Ladies Wehem-mesut; Gold Horus Wehem-mesut; King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibra; Son of Ra Amenemhat),¹⁰ because no monument of the king has been found that bears a date before year 20 of his reign,¹¹ at which time the later form of the titulary seems to have been well established. Since the decision to move the royal residence away from Thebes must be considered the decisive event during the earlier part of the reign, it seems reasonable to suggest that the change of the titulary occurred in conjunction with that move. The significance of the main new element in the changed titulary (Figure 19, right) Wehem-mesut, i.e., "Renewal of births" or, almost literally, "Renaissance"—has repeatedly been pointed out.¹² If the new titulary was adopted in conjunction with the move of the residence into the Memphite area, the term might indeed be meant to express the king's determination to renew the Old Kingdom state with its central seat of government at Memphis.

In spite of the lack of dated monuments from the early years of Amenemhat I, some references in later inscriptions shed light on historical events during this period. These sources attest to (a) a southern origin for Amenemhat I; (b) military activities inside Egypt, with Thebes as a center of power; and (c) serious difficulties in the Delta provinces and at

the Delta frontiers, which resulted in a number of military campaigns in these areas. Amenemhat's consolidation of power must have rested on victories achieved both internally and on a foreign front.

In a literary source, *The Prophecy of Nefery*, the origin of the king from the common people of Upper Egypt with a mother from the very south of Egypt is stated:¹³ "A king will come from the south, Ameny, the vindicated, his name: he is the son of a woman of Ta-Sery, he is a child of Khen-nekhen."¹⁴ The text speaks of the two southernmost nomes of Egypt or Lower Nubia (Ta-Sery, the place of origin of Amenemhat's mother) and Upper Egypt (Khen-nekhen, his general region of origin), but does not mention Thebes. If this can be taken as a historical statement, it seems that Amenemhat, although an Upper Egyptian, was not necessarily Theban by birth and therefore may not at first have been a member of the Theban court and administration of the Eleventh Dynasty. However, by year 2 of Mentuhotep IV Nebtawra, Amenemhat was in possession of power only second to the king, as can be seen in his impressive array of titles and offices listed in the inscriptions in the Hammamat quarry.¹⁵

The main source of information about inner Egyptian struggles during the early years of the reign is the stela erected by Nesu-Montu at Abydos and presently in the Louvre.¹⁶ It is generally agreed that the partly erased date on this stela is year 24 of Amenemhat I.¹⁷ The inscription is headed not only by the name of Amenemhat I but also by that of Senusert I, his son and, by this time, coregent. The text initially refers to both kings with the personal pronoun *on*, "their." Further on in the text only one king is referred to, in the singular. As Lawrence M. Berman has recently pointed out, this indicates that events described under the heading of the sole mention of one king must have occurred during the period of Amenemhat's single rule before the coregency. Berman concludes that thus "the narrative takes on particular significance as dealing with events early in the reign of Amenemhat I, perhaps earlier than the move to [I]t-tawy."¹⁸

This then is what happened, according to the Nesu-Montu stela. "I [Nesu-Montu] trained the troops in ambush, and at daybreak the landing stage surrendered. When I grasped the tip of the bow, I led the battle for the two lands. I was victorious, my arms taking [so much spoil] that I had to leave [some] on the ground. I destroyed the foes, I overthrew the enemies of my lord, there being none other who will say the like."¹⁹ Clearly, a river-based military action is being described here, because the

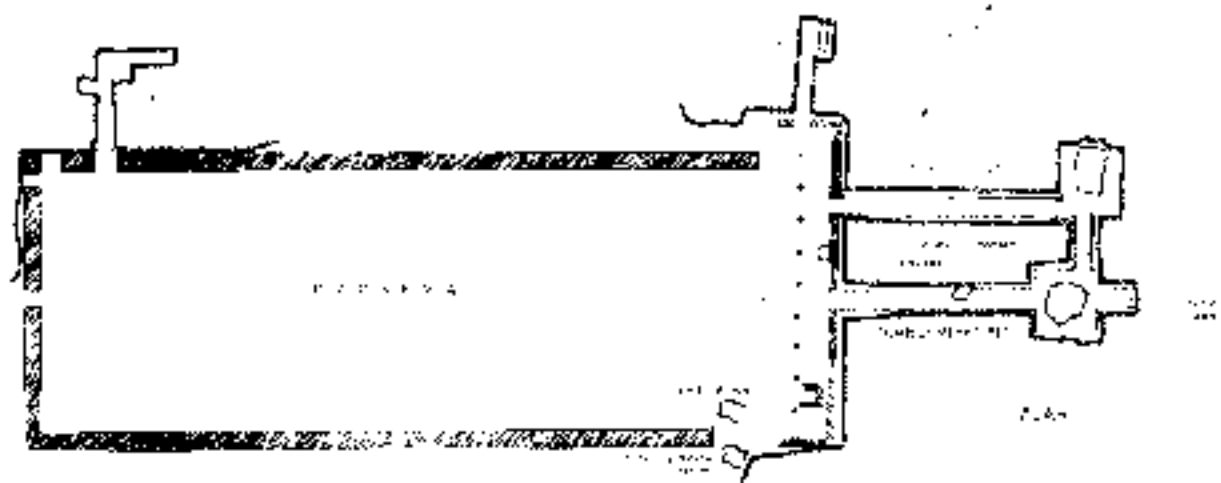


Figure 22. Plan of the tomb at Mekerra (Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 18, fig. 2).

decisive victory was the storming of a "landing stage."⁵⁰ The whole description is strikingly reminiscent of similar events that took place in the conflicts between the various Upper Egyptian chieftains before Mentuhotep II. Nebhepetra took matters in hand.⁵¹

Furthermore, the stela text seems to indicate that Thebes was the base of power for the nautical victory. Three lines above the account of the river battle, the stela text recites one of the traditional self-laudatory passages usual in such texts. The self-praise appears in two paragraphs each beginning with "I am . . ."⁵² The first paragraph refers to Nesu-Montu's widespread popularity with his troops of "Theban conscripts,"⁵³ his colleagues in office, and the common population. The second paragraph, which immediately precedes the account of the river action, praises Nesu-Montu for fulfilling important ethical roles; its ending is quite remarkable. Nesu-Montu, according to the text, protected the aged, the young, and the orphans, and was "a warm shelter for the freezing in Thebes, that island of captains, the like of which does not exist in Upper Egypt, the mistress of the nine bows." Why should Thebes be mentioned here as the place of Nesu-Montu's good deeds? The only possible explanation is that the scribe thought this was a clever bridge to the account of the military action that he wanted to discuss next. The bridge is only clever, however, if Thebes was in some way connected with the river-based battle, either because the battle took place in

Theban territory or because Thebes was the base of the river troops that fought the battle. The stela text thus permits a small glimpse of the struggles that were fought in the process of consolidating the rule of Amenemhat I in Upper Egypt.⁵⁴

There are a number of sources attesting to the difficulties Amenemhat faced in the region of the Nile delta. A literary source, again *The Prophecy of Neferti*, says in its description of the chaos before the coming of the new king: "Foes have risen in the East. Asiatics have come down to Egypt."⁵⁵ Later, in describing the results of Amenemhat's takeover, the text refers at length to his consolidation of the eastern and western Delta frontiers. The building of an eastern "Wall of the Ruler" is mentioned specifically. This east Delta fortification wall reappears in the "Story of Sinuhe" and must therefore have actually existed.⁵⁶ Archaeologically, a fortress built by Amenemhat I at the western frontier, in the Wadi Natrun,⁵⁷ has been located and thus corroborates the claim of newly established frontier fortifications, while substantial building activities in the eastern Delta, including the erection of a palace, show the importance that the king assigned to this area.⁵⁸ Finally, the above-quoted stela of Nesu-Montu and an important biographical text in the tomb of the nomarch Khnumhotep I at Beni Hasan describe actual military activities along the eastern border of the Delta.⁵⁹

The following chain of events, then, is indicated by available sources for the early years of Amenem-



Figure 23. Fragment of limestone polygonal pillar from Meketra's portion. H. 9.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920. 20.3.462 group

hat I. Amenemhat, with the help of Nesu-Montu, among others, subdued resistance to his rule. A Theban troop of specially trained river archers played a decisive role in this effort. The victors did not disclaim to take rich booty from their countrymen. Following this Amenemhat set up his rule at Thebes, where his policy was to follow the footsteps of the kings of the Mentuhotep line. We will see below that some officials of the Eleventh Dynasty court may actually have supported him all along.

While there eventually was peace in Upper Egypt, Lower Egypt continued to cause trouble, not only because there may have been some resistance to the new ruler among the chieftains of Lower Egypt but also because the Delta nomes were harassed by invading neighbors from the east and west. This situation necessitated prolonged operations in the area. The course of action that finally led to success was, apparently, a combination of punitive campaigns and the establishment of Egyptian border forts.

During the operations in Lower Egypt the Upper Egyptian Amenemhat learned to appreciate the importance of the northern part of the country. His first step in reorganizing the country after the Delta and its neighbors were subjugated was therefore the transferal of his residence from Thebes to the north.

It is difficult to say why the area between Dahshut and Meidum was chosen as the site for a new resi-

dence. One consideration may have been that Memphis, the capital during the Old Kingdom, was too far from the Fayum, which had already started to be a new economic center. (The Fayum oasis can be reached from Lisht by a relatively short desert route that avoids a climb of the heights farther north.)¹⁰ At the same time, the new residence was still closer to the Old Kingdom capital at Memphis than the city of Herakleopolis, the base of the rulers who followed the downfall of the Old Kingdom. The area around Lisht had played a significant role in Predynastic to Early Dynastic history.¹¹

The above reconstruction of events admittedly includes a certain chronological discrepancy. As shown above, the city of Itjtawy was most probably founded about year 20 of Amenemhat's reign. The state of the unfinished funerary monument at Thebes, on the other hand, indicates a period of only five years of work at the site. Where, then, did Amenemhat I expect to be buried between year 5 and year 20? It is possible that, after removing the residence from Thebes, Amenemhat first planned to reestablish Memphis as the capital, in which case he would have begun a second funerary monument in the Memphitic necropolis.¹² Only later, when the economic importance of the Fayum area prevailed, was the royal residence finally established near Lisht.

The Theban years early in the reign of Amenemhat I can be understood as a period when the king tried to consolidate his rule according to the traditions set up by the rulers of the Eleventh Dynasty. The attempt failed because of a major flaw in the politics of Eleventh Dynasty rulers. Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (once the center of power of the Herakleopolitan kings in the north had been abolished) largely ignored Lower Egypt. Short raids against Asiatics and Libyans at the eastern and western frontiers of Lower Egypt may have been undertaken by the king or by his overseers of nomos,¹³ but such perfunctory activities had not much impact on the economy and organization of the Eleventh Dynasty government. There is, for instance, no building north of Abydos that commemorates the name of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. Under Mentuhotep III Seankhkara, the Delta seems to have begun to reassert its importance. There may be evidence that a cult of that king was maintained during Dynasty 12 at Khatama in the eastern Delta.¹⁴ But the numerous building activities of Mentuhotep III Seankhkara were still centered in Upper Egypt. It is only with Amenemhat I that affairs in the Delta

nomes and at the Delta borders receive the attention of the king. Amenemhat I evidently learned a lesson that led him to change fundamentally the way he ruled the country.

MEKETRA AND AMENEMHAT I

Evidence of nonroyal activities and persons active during the Theban years of Amenemhat I exists in the other well-known monument in the valley northwest of the Ramesseum, the tomb of Meketra (Figure 1, no. 3; Figures 5, 21, 22).¹⁰⁵ The tomb plays such a conspicuous role among the monuments in this particular cliff bay that its planning must be intimately linked with the plan for the unfinished monument, the valley's major feature. If the unfinished monument was intended for Amenemhat I rather than Seankhkara, the date of the tomb of Meketra and the finds there must also be advanced to the early years of Amenemhat I.

Meketra first appears in the *Shatt er-Rigal* rock inscriptions. He is listed there as "Overseer of the Six Great Tribunals," a judicial title of high rank.¹⁰⁶ The date of the inscription is most probably year 39 of Nebhepetra.¹⁰⁷ At that time Khety, the owner of Theban tomb 311, was chancellor.¹⁰⁸ In year 46 of Nebhepetra, a man named Meru held the office of chancellor, as is known from his stela, now in Turin.¹⁰⁹ Meketra finally appears with the title of chancellor in the limestone reliefs of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari.¹¹⁰ He must have followed Meru in office after year 46. At the most that leaves years 47 to 51 for Meketra's term of office as chancellor under Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra.¹¹¹

Assuming Meketra to have been about twenty-five years old at the time of the *Shatt er-Rigal* inscriptions, he was in his mid-thirties when he became chancellor and around forty when Nebhepetra died.¹¹² After Nebhepetra, Seankhkara reigned for twelve years. In the list of kings on the Turin papyrus the entry "seven years missing" follows after Seankhkara's name.¹¹³ It is generally assumed that the reign of Mentuhotep IV Nehtawyra, of two definite and some unknown years, took place during this period of seven years.¹¹⁴ At the ascension of Amenemhat I after these seven years, Meketra was therefore in his mid-fifties. He would have been around sixty if he died while the funerary monument in the valley northwest of the Ramesseum was still under construction. From a chronological point



Figure 24. Fragments of painted limestone relief from the tomb of Meketra. H. 13.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.162a group



Figure 25. Fragment of painted limestone relief from the tomb of Meketra. H. 14 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.162



Figure 26. Fragments of painted limestone relief from the tomb of Meketra, 1920-21. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MC619)



Figure 27. Three figures from models of Meketre. Man with corn measure: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.11; carpenter and man with blowpipe, Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée 46722 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 118, 125)

of view, there is, therefore, no objection to dating the tomb and the burial of Meketre into the early years of Amenemhat I.

To move the date of the tomb and funerary equipment of Meketre from the reign of Seankhkara in Dynasty 11 into the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty does not result in a great change insofar as the number of years is concerned. But the change has considerable consequences for our understanding of the tomb and its objects in an art-historical context. Close scrutiny of the architecture of the tomb and the style of the objects leads to the conclusion that in relation to other objects and monuments an early Twelfth Dynasty date is more convincing than the hitherto perceived placement in the Eleventh Dynasty.

The most striking architectural feature of the Meketre tomb is the portico of nine polygonal supports of limestone painted in imitation of granite (Figure 23). From fragments found in the debris, the Metropolitan Museum Expedition reconstructed the supports as eight-sided pillars similar to those that supported the hypostyle hall and ambulatory of the temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri.¹¹⁵ In a nonroyal tomb the portico of slender polygonal supports is a feature otherwise not attested in the Theban necropolis. Eleventh Dynasty tombs in El-Tarif (Figure 1, no. 11) and in the lower

ranges of the Deir el-Bahri valley have broad rectangular pillars that are cut out of the rock in the same way as the interior rooms of the tombs.¹¹⁶ Tombs high up on the cliff of Deir el-Bahri (Figure 1, no. 14) have no porticos; their entrances are shaped as flat facades.¹¹⁷ The tomb of Meketre, owing to its position high on the cliff above the valley of the unfinished monument, should logically have followed the Deir el-Bahri cliff tombs in being fitted with a flat facade. Such a facade would also have been easiest to achieve in the shale formation chosen for the Meketre tomb. Because the soft shale that forms the cliff in this particular place was ill suited for pillars, monolithic pillars of limestone from the Theban quarries were introduced. But why have a portico at all? One can only assume that the architect whom Meketre employed was not relying directly on the tradition developed during the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes, and that he introduced his own new concept. This concept of a portico of polygonal pillars was destined to have an impressive history in later years. The closest parallels to the Meketre portico, albeit with fluted columns, are preserved in tombs 2 and 3 at Beni Hasan;¹¹⁸ both are tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty that were conceived under strong influence from the capital at Lisht.¹¹⁹

The wall decoration of Meketre's tomb is only preserved in small fragments, but there are enough



Figure 28. Wooden model figures of rowers and supervisors²³ from the tomb of Menuthotep II Nebhepetra, arbitrarily arranged after excavation (photo: Dieter Arnold)



Figure 29. Wooden model figures of craftsmen from the tomb of Menuthotep II Nebhepetra, arbitrarily arranged after excavation (photo: Dieter Arnold)

of them to show that the relief was the finest yet found in Middle Kingdom Thebes (Figures 24–26).¹²⁰ The reliefs are wafer-thin, and the details are enhanced by very delicate painting.¹²¹ The color palette is rather light, and mixed colors often occur. A remarkable practice of the Meketre painting is the use of the same pigment in varying density to achieve three-dimensional effects. The wing of the eagle in Figure 24, for instance, is divided from the body of the bird, not by the usual dark contour line but by an area in a lighter shade of the same pigment that is used to color the main part of body and wing. The eyes of the owl in the same relief fragment are topped by black triangles, which are in turn topped by areas in a lighter shade of the surrounding yellow. Another method used by the painters of the Meketre reliefs makes use of fine, very thin black lines to create special surface effects, such as the texture of the rawhide saddle the bull in figure 25 is wearing. Such techniques are not found in any other Eleventh Dynasty painted relief at Thebes. Colors are usually applied uniformly to each particular area of relief. Only in Twelfth Dynasty painted reliefs does one find the delicate shading and nuances of the Meketre decoration.¹²²

A fair number of relief fragments from the Meketre tomb come from large-scale inscriptions. Some of these provide additional evidence on the

titles of Meketre. A small group of fragments was found by Georges Daressy in 1895 during the initial clearing of the tomb (Figure 26).¹²³ The inscriptions on these fragments provide unmistakable proof that Meketre had, among his other duties, the function of “chief steward,” an office that, according to recent investigations, was initiated at the beginning of Dynasty 12.¹²⁴

Fragments of a fine coffin were discovered by Winlock in Meketre’s burial chamber (see Figure 62).¹²⁵ The coffin had been decorated twice. Initially, hieroglyphs were simply traced into the wood; later, this first inscription was covered by plaster, which was gilded, and a second version of inscriptions and decoration was then traced into the gilded plaster. As pointed out by James Allen, the second inscription included palaeographic elements that strongly point to a date not before the reign of Amenemhat I (see Appendix II). One might ask why this coffin was decorated twice, and whether the second user could not have been a person other than Meketre. Meketre’s name is preserved only in the initial text fragments. Reuse of the coffin by someone other than Meketre is excluded, because no one but him could have used the chamber so soon after his own burial. To explain the duplication of the coffin decoration, one should consider the two previous kings under whom Meketre held office. The great official



Figure 30. The slaughterhouse model of Meketra. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920. 20.3.10



Figure 31. The bakery and brewery model of Meketra. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920. 20.3.12



Figure 32. The slaughterhouse model of Gemenemhat. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. AE.L.N. 1692 (photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek)

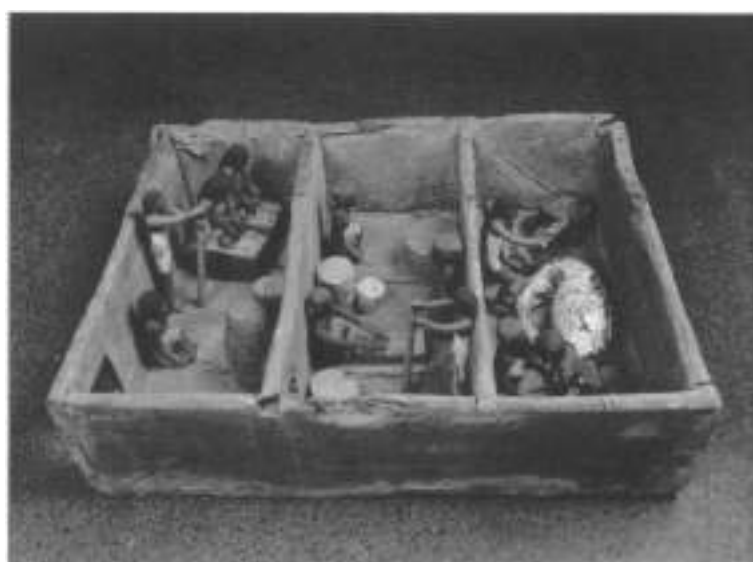


Figure 33. The combined slaughterhouse, bakery, and brewery models of Gemenemhat. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. AE.L.N. 1691 (photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek)

may well have chosen initially to be buried near the temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri.¹²⁶ The coffin he had made for that burial place may have been of fine enough wood to be deemed desirable for later reuse in the Ramesseum valley.

Finally, we come to the models—the most famous of the finds from the tomb of Meketra (Figures 27, 30, 31).¹²⁷ Judgment as to their date is made difficult by the extraordinary state of preservation and the high quality of the carving and painting. One could argue that such rare examples of true art in the genre of miniature figures were possible at any time, given the presence of sufficiently gifted artists. However, a comparison with the models from the burial of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra indicates unequivocally that at the time of his death the royal court at Thebes did not have wood carvers of such ability at its disposal.

The wooden models found in the underground passage and side chambers of the tomb of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri (Figures 30, 31)¹²⁸ are carefully carved and painted examples of the typical First Intermediate Period model genre. A few, among the hundreds of figures preserved, come somewhat closer to the Meketra models, but, compared with the overwhelming number of figures from Deir el-Bahri, the Meketra models look as if they were made in another age. Is it conceivable that there were only about ten years between the two groups?

A survey of all extant wooden models of the late First Intermediate Period to the early Twelfth Dynasty reveals that there are primarily two groups of models most closely related to the Meketra group in the elaborate architectural details, the intricacy and liveliness of the scenes, and the full-bodied roundness and natural character of the figures and their gestures. Both comparative groups have been found in the northern Memphite region, at Saqqara in the early Middle Kingdom cemetery next to the pyramid of Teti. The first group comes from the burial of Gemeni-mhat.¹²⁹ This burial was found intact. In addition to the models (Figures 32, 33), jewelry, a cartonnage mask, and an inner and outer coffin were uncovered. A stela of high-quality workmanship originally stood aboveground over the tomb. The second group of models that closely resembles the ones made for Meketra was found with the coffins of two men named Wesermur and Inpuemhat. This double burial was also found intact.¹³⁰

Gemeni-mhat served as funerary priest for both the Sixth Dynasty King Teti and King Merikara of the Tenth Dynasty.¹³¹ Since funerary services for deceased kings were continued, in most cases, for many generations, Gemeni-mhat's office does not help in placing him chronologically. However, a date for both Saqqara burials is provided by the style of the pottery vessels found with them. As demonstrated elsewhere, these vessels date from the reign of Amenemhat I.¹³²

In order to understand what the two Saqqara groups of models share with the models of Meketra, and what sets off all three groups from the models of King Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the history of wooden models from the late Old Kingdom to the early Twelfth Dynasty. By wooden models we mean small-scale groups of wooden figures in the round, which represent household servants and craftsmen preparing provisions for the deceased. When these figures first appeared in the late Old Kingdom, they consisted of single figures or, at the most, groups of two figures that were fitted onto a small flat board, and no architectural elements were present.¹³³

The latest examples of servant figure models date to the mid-Twelfth Dynasty. These late models often combine various trades in one model unit and are

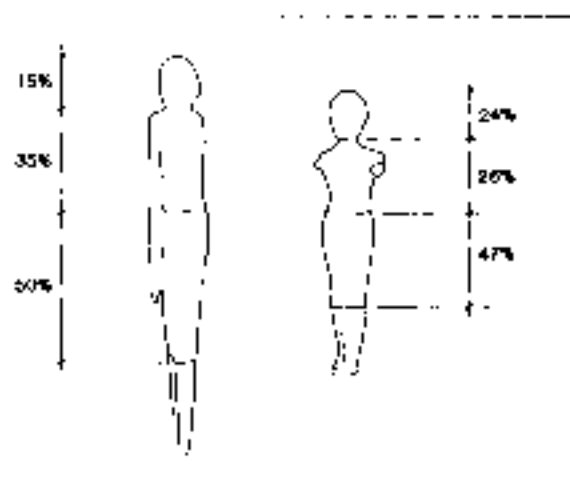


Figure 34. Proportions of model figures from the tomb of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (left) and Meketra (right) (Barry Girsh)



Figure 33. The two statues of offering bearers from the tomb of Meketre, 1920. Painted wood. Left: H. 85.5 cm. Cairo, Egyptian Museum *Journal d'Entrée* 46725. Right: 46 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.7 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MC 86)

housed in elaborate and detailed representations of architecture. We see courtyards with adjacent rooms, staircases that lead up to second stories, and rooms that have roofs and supporting columns.¹³⁴

First Intermediate Period models take an intermediary position between the simple models of the Old Kingdom and elaborate ones of the middle of Dynasty 12. First Intermediate Period figures are

usually enclosed in boxlike structures that represent the architecture of granaries or courtyards for craftsmen. But many groups of First Intermediate Period wooden figures still only have a flat board as a base.¹³⁵

Not many of the containers of the models of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra were preserved. Most figures suggest fairly simple architectural arrangements, although a number of more elaborate details are present.¹³⁶ Both the Meketre models and the models from the two Saqqara tombs of Gemenemhat, Wesernut, and Inpuemhat are definitely closer to the latest Twelfth Dynasty versions of models, as they share very elaborate architectural details. In the Wesernut-Inpuemhat group is a carpentry shop that has walls, a door, and a roof over part of the room. The Gemenemhat carpenters work in a two-room house with potters throwing pots on a wheel in the front yard.¹³⁷ Gemenemhat's beer-making takes place in the court of a two-story building, the second story opens over the court. Meat is hung in the upper room to dry (Figure 32).¹³⁸ All these features are very similar to details of the Meketre models, such as the carpentry shop with the roof covering part of the room;¹³⁹ or the columned upper story where the meat is dried.¹⁴⁰ A combination of activities seen in a tripartite model in the Gemenemhat group (Figure 33), in which slaughtering goes on together with baking and brewing,¹⁴¹ parallels another Meketre model (Figure 29).¹⁴²

Another set of features common to the Saqqara and Meketre models is found in the proportions of the individual wooden figures. The majority of the figures in the models of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (Figure 30), and practically all model figures dating from the First Intermediate Period,¹⁴³ have very slender bodies, small heads, and practically no waists (Figure 34, left). In contrast, most of the Meketre figures (Figure 34, right) and those of the Saqqara groups, although they share with the First Intermediate Period figures the high placement of the small of the back,¹⁴⁴ have waists definitely narrower than the shoulders and heads decidedly larger in proportion to the bodies (Figure 27). These proportions are seen in all models dating to Dynasty 12 (Figure 14).¹⁴⁵

Finally, there is a striking difference between all dated First Intermediate Period models, including those from the burial of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra on one side and the Saqqara and Meketre models on the other, in the postures and gestures of the individual figures. The sticklike arms of the Mentuhotep figures are either not bent at all or bent only

at the elbow, and both arms usually perform identical gestures (Figures 30, 31). In the Meketre figures the arms are delicately bent at a variety of angles, the upper and lower arms and the hands often curve in a natural way (Figure 27). In many instances, each arm or leg of a Meketre figure makes a different gesture from the other. Often, when one arm or leg is angled, the other is only slightly curved, and so on. Again, models with such natural gestures are of Twelfth Dynasty date.¹⁴⁶

Well suited to a stylistic appraisal are the two large female offering bearers from the tomb of Meketre (Figure 35).¹⁴⁷ These figures are not really models but large wooden sculptures, by virtue of their size and artistic quality. It would be interesting to discuss the question of why these two figures are so much larger than the other models and why more artistic care has been bestowed on them. For present purposes, it may be enough to recall that figures of richly clothed and adorned women, who carry baskets on their heads steadying them with their left hands while lowered right hands hold ducks or other offerings, evoked for ancient Egyptians the personification of a royal domain or large estate entrusted with maintaining the funerary cult of a royal or high-status person. In the royal funerary temples, relief representations of such domain personifications were standard wall decorations.¹⁴⁸ As in such reliefs, the two women with offerings from the tomb of Meketre represent and, according to ancient Egyptian belief, guarantee the economic basis for all funerary provisions in the tomb. No wonder the planner of the tomb equipment of Meketre envisaged the domain personifications as almost life-size statues of two very beautiful women in garments usually worn by deities.

Figures 36–37 place the heads of the two women in a series of works of the late Eleventh to the early Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁴⁹ The earliest piece in the series is the wooden statuette of Aashit, queen of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (Figure 36). This statuette was found by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum at the side of Aashit's mummy inside her coffin.¹⁵⁰ As with the two Meketre women, Aashit's face is circumscribed by a wig whose two straight-sided front pieces fall from behind the ears and almost reach the breasts. The metal-bordered eyes of alabaster with their shining black obsidian pupils are very large. The eyebrows, inlaid with ebony according to the description of the excavators, are straight and well distanced from the eyes. As in the Meketre women's faces, there is no cosmetic line at the corner of the eyes. Aashit's full-lipped mouth is

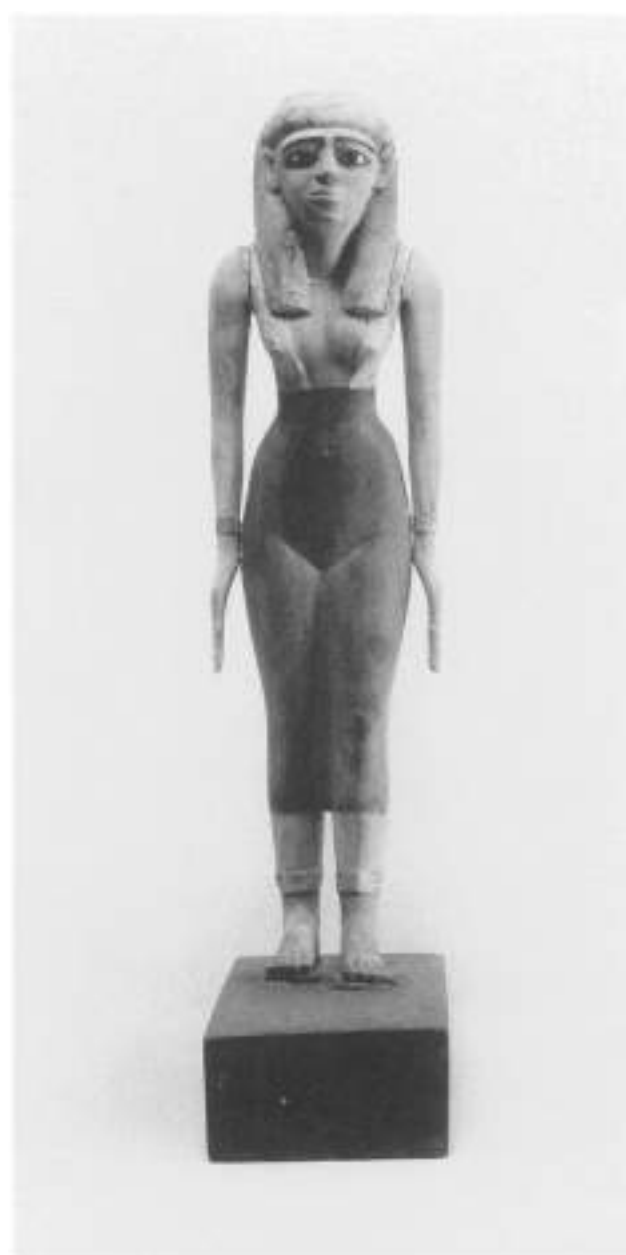


Figure 36. Statuette of Queen Aashit, 1920. Painted wood with inlaid alabaster and obsidian, Ht. 40 cm. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 1171)

pushed forward. The impression of a woman of strong personality is forcefully conveyed by the pouting mouth and the tense indentations beside the nostrils.

The distance between eyebrows and eyes, the indentations beside the nostrils, and the full lips of Aashit are also familiar from many images of King Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (Figure 37). The queen



Figure 37. Head of Osiride statue of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. Sandstone, H. 40 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1926. 66.5.29



Figure 38. Head of seated statue of the overseer of troops Intef. Sandstone, H. 18 cm. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (Journal d'Entrée 39838 (photo: Dieter Arnold))

must have been buried around the middle of his reign.¹¹ The seated sandstone statue of the overseer of troops Intef, from Theban tomb 386, is a work that dates perhaps ten to twenty years later.¹² Its head (Figure 38), of the highest quality, has many traits in common with the royal portraits in sandstone, noticeably the distance between the rather flat, inward-slanting eyes, the straight eyebrows, the indentations beside the nostrils, and the marked edge around the lips. The full flesh around the lower jaw and chin of the head of Aashit recurs in the head of Intef. The Intef head differs from Aashit and the sandstone king, however, in a softening of all features. The stark intensity of the features that gives the king and the Aashit faces a somewhat masklike character has been replaced by naturally rounded contours in the head of Intef. The surface of the overseer's face is rendered with special sensitivity. The bones, musculature, and skin appear as organically separate layers, each overlying the other according to their natural function.

The slightly later female counterpart of the Intef head is represented in a small wooden head found in the tomb of the chancellor Khery (Figures 39–41).¹³ Its excavators believed it belonged to a statuette representing the tomb owner. Statuettes of the period with similar close-fitting hair, however, suggest that the statuette to which the head belonged was female.¹⁴ Female figures of this type are repeatedly found with male burials; they were believed, most probably, to guarantee rejuvenation in afterlife through their powers of fertility.¹⁵ Khery was still alive in year 41 of King Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, and his burial must have taken place in the last decade of the king's reign.¹⁶ Therefore, this is also the date of the statuette.

The wooden head is a small masterpiece, and not even the lack of the eye inlays diminishes its impact. The full cheeks and small, determined chin of Aashit and Intef recur, and the indentations beside the nostrils are again present. Although somewhat destroyed, the rather large mouth still shows traces

of the fine edge that encircled the lips. Certain differences from the Intef and Aashit heads can be observed in the shape of the eyes and eyebrows. The eyebrows of the Khety head start off with a slight curve above the nose and dip down toward the outer corners of the eyes, achieving a new coherence between eyes and eyebrows. As in most small-sized heads, especially when the eyes are inlaid, the eyes of the Khety head appear to be rather large. But so were Aashit's eyes, and so are the eyes of the Meketre offering bearers. What is remarkable in the Khety head is the way the eyes are rounded backward until they almost meet the temples. The shape of the eyes is thus instrumental in combining the front and side planes of the face in a new way.

The Meketre women (see Figures 43, 45, 49) share the Khety head's newly gained sculptural roundness, but there are important differences to be observed between the two women and the Khety head. These differences are as great as those that distinguished the Meketre models from the models of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (Figures 30, 31). First, there is a difference of proportion. The mouths of the Meketre women are noticeably smaller in proportion to the other features than is the mouth of the Khety woman (Figures 39–41), and the cheeks take up more space between eyes and mouth. There is an austerity, even a certain coolness, in the Meketre women's faces, which contrasts markedly with the freshness and sensitivity in the faces of Aashit, Intef, and the Khety head. One reason for the more aloof expression of the Meketre women's faces is the absence of the indentations beside the nostrils. As a result, the cheeks of the Meketre women appear smooth and flat rather than tensely rounded. Rounded cheeks and indentations beside the nostrils contributed considerably to the forcefulness of the expressions in all faces of the Eleventh Dynasty from Thebes (Figures 36–42). Both Aashit and the Khety women are forceful personalities, and this is conveyed by the individually sculptured details of the faces. The artist who made the Meketre figures strove above all to create the picture of elegant and urbane women, and the placid expression in their faces is based on a carefully balanced harmony between the evenly outlined parts.

Unfortunately, there are not many heads in the round – and none at all of women – that can be securely dated to the reign of Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. John D. Cooney,¹³ Maya Mueller,¹⁴ and, tentatively, Cyril Aldred¹⁵ have assigned to the



Figures 39–41. Head of female statuette from the tomb of Khees. Wood, H. 6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1926. 26.9.103a (photos: Bill Barrette)

period: a head in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 42),¹⁶² and another in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel.¹⁶³ Each of these heads possesses some details that are close to those in the Meketre women (Figure 43). The profile of the Metropolitan head, whose fine-grained limestone material strongly suggests a Theban, or at least Upper Egyptian, provenance, shows the same slight indentation below the chin as the wooden figures 44f. (Figure 45). The Basel head shares with them the shape of the mouth. But both royal heads lack the evenness and harmony of the women's faces. The eyes of the two kings are positioned predominantly in the frontal



Figure 42. Head of late Eleventh Dynasty king, possibly Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. Limestone, H. 18 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund and The Goodle Foundation, Inc. Gift, 1966. 66.99.3

plane, and both show the by-now traditional indentations at the nostrils.¹⁶⁴

In searching for parallels to the even features and harmonious proportions of the faces of the Meketre women one has to go to heads of statues of Amenemhat I to find anything comparable. Of the two seated granite statues of Amenemhat, the one found at Tanis may originally have stood at Mem-

phis.¹⁶⁵ It is the more traditional image of the two, and its features still retain many Eleventh Dynasty traits. Chins and cheeks are rounded, the indentations at the nostrils are clearly marked, and the mouth is fairly large. One should also note how closely the various features are crowded together on the face. The other seated statue, found at Khatana (Figures 44-46), mentions the Sed-festival of the king.¹⁶⁶ It is of high artistic quality and free of the idiosyncrasies of the previous period. The body is rendered with subtle feeling for the organic life of the muscles, and the face shows the mixture of harmony and active alertness that was to become characteristic for all early Twelfth Dynasty sculpture.¹⁶⁷ The similarities of the face to the two Meketre women is striking. In all three heads, eyes and mouth are well distanced from each other and the smooth cheeks occupy a fair amount of space between them.¹⁶⁸

Among statues of nonroyal persons, the granite statue of Nakht found in his tomb at Lisht North, and now in Cairo (Figures 47, 48),¹⁶⁹ is surely one of the most important works of the time. The chief steward Nakht is known to have functioned under Senwosret I; Nakht must have died in about that king's fourteenth or fifteenth year.¹⁷⁰ But the style of the statue points to an origin in the reign of Amenemhat I because of its close relationship to the two statues of that king and it is consistent with the location of Nakht's tomb near the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht North.¹⁷¹ Nakht's life may well have spanned part of the reigns of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I; the statue for his tomb was probably created when Nakht was still serving the older king.

Close facial similarities can again be observed between Nakht and the Meketre women (Figure 35, right and left). All three faces are rather square in outline; the mouths are small and the eyes well distanced from the mouth. The chins are angular, with the tip of the chin firmly set off from the flesh around the lower jaws. The Meketre women and Nakht further share a flatness of the cheeks at the sides, while in the frontal view Nakht's cheeks still show some of the tenseness that was characteristic for the Theban heads of the late Eleventh Dynasty.

A small detail concerning the shape of the eyebrows of the Meketre women is indicative of the artistic tendencies of the time. The painter of the Meketre figure in the Metropolitan Museum drew the left eyebrow in a more downward curve than had been prepared by the woodcarver. With this de-

viation, which can also be observed in the Theban reliefs from the tomb of Dagi,¹⁷⁰ the painter showed he was aware of contemporary style in aiming for a closer relationship between the eyes and eyebrows. In the heads of Amenemhat I and Nakht this closer relationship has been established by having the eyebrows run parallel with the upper edge of the eye and the cosmetic line (Figures 46, 48).

All statues of the reign of Amenemhat I were of Memphite or Lower Egyptian origin. In addition to corroborating the dating of the Meketre figures, these comparisons raise the question of the regional origin of the artist, or artists, who carved the figures. Was he, or were they, really Theban? The

wooden offering bearer in Boston (Figure 50), found in a subsidiary tomb in the temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri,¹⁷¹ shows what a Theban female figure of this type, albeit of average quality, looked like in the early Twelfth Dynasty. The piece is markedly different from the Meketre women. We shall not discuss the differences of the faces because the Deir el-Bahri figures cannot be compared with the Meketre figures in sculptural quality. The body of the Theban figure, however, is well conceived and executed, and can be used as an example of a female figure of Theban style at the time. She does not stride forward as vigorously as the Meketre women, and her body lacks the remark-

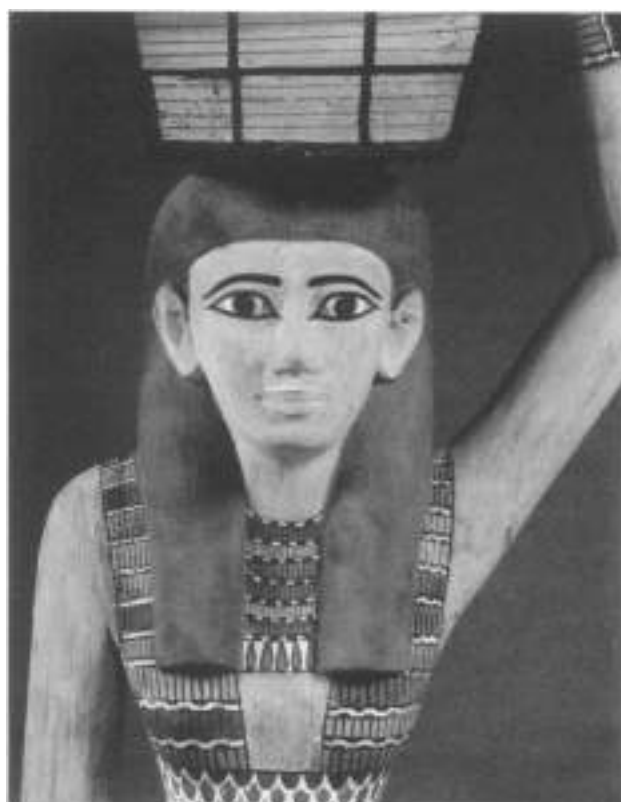


Figure 43. Head of offering bearer from the tomb of Meketre in Figure 35 (right)



Figure 45. Profile view of head in Figure 43



Figure 44. Head of statue of Amenemhat I. Granite. II. (of statue) 1.74 m. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 605,20



Figure 46. Profile view of head in Figure 44



Figure 47 Upper part of statue of high steward Nakht from Lisht. Granite. H. (of statue) 1.45 m. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 4091

able bone structure of the Meketre women's bodies. With a slight narrowing at the waist and with hips accentuated by a slight angle in the outline, she certainly reveals a more naturalistic approach to the female body than the Aushit statuette (Figure 36), which, although sensuously rounded at the hips, presents basically an abstract image of the body. But the Theban figure does not attain the organic mobility of the Meketre women.

To find a piece similar to the Meketre women in the way the bones of the hips are emphasized and the movement of the legs is regulated from this center of the body, one has to turn to wooden sculptures of the late Old Kingdom executed in the Memphite area. The male statue of Meryrahyshetef in the British Museum (Figure 51)¹⁷² was found with two other statues and other models in the shaft of the man's tomb at Sidmant near the Fayum entrance; this group was made during the Sixth Dynasty. The statue from Sidmant is therefore roughly 170 to 200 years earlier than the Meketre offering bearers. All the more astonishing is the similarity between the two statues (Figures 51, 52). One can only assume that the artist who carved the Meketre women had intensively studied extant pieces, like the statue from Sidmant. Influences from Memphite art and architecture are noticeable in Thebes from the time of unification under Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra,¹⁷³ but what is seen in the models and offering bearers from the Meketre tomb clearly goes beyond mere influence. The Meketre woodcarvers must have been natives of the Memphite region.

The following suggestion may be put forward about Meketre's role during the early years of Amenemhat I and the circumstances of his burial. Meketre, having been head of the treasury of the king ("chancellor") under Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra during that great king's last years, served through the reign of Mentuhotep's successor Mentuhotep III Seankhkara in the same capacity. During the seven years following Seankhkara's reign, Meketre recognized the singular abilities of the man who was to become Amenemhat I and helped to bring him to the throne. When the king planned his funerary monument in the valley behind the Ramesseum, he allotted a primary position on the cliff to the old dignitary who had been at his side for so long. While Amenemhat was beginning to move his center of government to the north, Meketre, now an old man, died. To honor a faithful follower, the king ordered craftsmen from his new court in the Memphite region to prepare the burial equipment for Meketre.

THEBES IN THE EARLY TWELFTH DYNASTY

"The history of Amenemhat I and of his successors of the Twelfth and of the Thirteenth dynasties . . . is not really part of the tale of Thebes," wrote Herbert Winlock in *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, and he proceeded to recount only

events that took place outside of Thebes in the chapter of the book that deals with the period between the end of Dynasty 11 and the Hyksos time.¹⁷⁴ It has repeatedly been observed, however, that the extensive building activities of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty in the temple of Karnak, and neighboring sanctuaries, indicate that the importance of Thebes and its holy places was undiminished throughout the Middle Kingdom.¹⁷⁵ It should also be remembered that the reliefs and sculptures created for these temples during the Twelfth Dynasty were of the highest artistic quality. Art clearly flourished in the south, even after the center of government had moved to the north.

On the west bank of Thebes more tombs and burials of Dynasties 12 and 13 have actually been uncovered than is commonly realized. The cemeteries of El-Tarif, Deir el-Bahri, and the Asasif were continuously used for burial during the whole

Middle Kingdom.¹⁷⁶ In addition, some large rock-cut tombs were cut out of the rock on the slope of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill. Most notable is the tomb of Senet (the mother of the vizier of Senwosret I, Intefiker) with its beautiful paintings.¹⁷⁷ These Sheikh Abd el-Qurna tombs overlook what must have been the site of the proposed valley temple for the unfinished funerary monument of Amenemhat I, in the area where the Ramesseum was later erected (Figure 1, no. 9).¹⁷⁸ It is still an open question whether Intefiker, who certainly served Senwosret I as vizier through the first part of that king's reign, already held the office under Amenemhat I.¹⁷⁹ The close relationship of the tomb of his mother to the valley temple of Amenemhat I seems in point to a longstanding connection between Intefiker's family and that king, even if Senet's tomb was not decorated and she was not buried before Senwosret I came to the throne.



Figure 48. Side view of statue in Figure 47



Figure 49. Head of statue in Figure 47



Figure 50. Statuette of offering bearer from tomb 5, Deir el Bahri. Wood. H. 84 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. 05.431 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 51. Statue of Meryrahayshetef from Sidman. Wood. H. 51 cm. London, British Museum, 55722 (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

In the valley behind the Ramesseum the burials of the chancellor Intef, who may have been the brother or son of Meketra,¹⁸⁷ and Meketra's "overseer of the storehouse," Wah, were laid down during the years following Meketra's death. The tomb architecture was altered for Intef and additional relief decorations may have been executed.¹⁸⁸ The Wah burial was found intact by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition in the 1919–20 season.¹⁸⁹ If we are right in dating Meketra's tomb during the reign of Amenemhat I, Intef and Wah must also have been buried early in Dynasty 12.

Judging from his mummy, Wah was in his thirties when he died.¹⁹⁰ The linen sheets used for the

mummy's wrapping were marked in ink with the dates "year 2," "year 5," and "year 6," each coupled with Wah's name. A "year 15" seems to be followed by another person's name.¹⁹¹ If the "year 15" mark dates from the reign of Amenemhat I, and Wah was buried after year 15 of Amenemhat I, he was in his early twenties when Meketra died. The paleography of Wah's coffin, however, is fairly traditional (see Appendix II), and the statuette found with his mummy (Figure 53)¹⁹² closely resembles in style the models in the Saqqara group of Gemenihamat (Figures 32, 33, 54), which we have compared with Meketra's models above.¹⁹³ It thus seems more appropriate to ascribe the "year 15" date to Mentuhotep II Neb-



Figure 52. Offering bearer from tomb of Meketra from Figure 35 (right)



Figure 53. Statuette of Wah from his tomb at Thebes. Wood, H. 32 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.219



Figure 54. Statuette of Gernemehat from his tomb at Saqqara. Wood, H. 32 cm. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. AE 1.N. 1826 (photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek)

hepetra. The linen that carried the mark would then have belonged to old stock.¹⁸⁷ Wah's burial dates most convincingly to the early years of Amenemhat I. Wah must have died either shortly before or shortly after Meketra. The "year 5" and "year 6" marks combined with Wah's name on most of the linen shrouds fit well with our dating of Meketra's interment to the time just after the move of the king's seat of government to the north, around year 5 of Amenemhat I. The famous scarabs of Wah¹⁸⁸ can now firmly be dated to the early Twelfth Dynasty.

It has been rightly pointed out that the scroll patterns on the scarabs of Wah closely resemble the de-

sign found on a seal impression on one of the Hekanakht papyri (Figure 55). The date of this group of early Middle Kingdom letters and accounts written by a "funerary priest" named Hekanakht¹⁸⁹ has recently come under discussion again. These important documents have always been dated by inference based on their findspot. The papyri were found by Herbert Winlock in a side chamber in one of the large corridor tombs in the cliffs above the temple of Deir el-Bahri, that of the vizier Ipy.¹⁹⁰ They were discovered behind an intact blocking wall of brick on or among debris that formed a sliding ramp for the coffin of the owner, a man named Meseh.¹⁹¹ Winlock, who assumed that Ipy was an official of



Figure 55. Letter from Hekanakht to the overseer of Lower Egypt Hecumefet, folded, sealed, and addressed. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922. 22.3.518 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. M3C.2941)



Figure 56. Coffin of Meseh in his chamber, as found in 1921-22 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. M3C.2941)

Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, saw Meseh as a dependent of Ipy. In analogy with Khery, Meru, and the other known officials who had tombs on the cliffs above Deir el-Bahri, Winlock placed Ipy and Meseh into the later years of Nebhepetra. Since the dates mentioned in the Hekanakht papers are "year 5" and "year 8," these years had to be ascribed to Nebhepetra's successor, Mentuhotep III Seankhkara.¹²⁶

Winlock's chronological interpretation of the Hekanakht documents was not unanimously accepted by later scholars. Thomas G. H. James,¹²⁷ who wrote the definitive publication on the papyri, tentatively considered the possibility that they were written under Amenemhat I, only to dismiss the thought again because of Meseh's near connection to Ipy, in whom James also saw a courier of Nebhepetra. More recently, Hans Goedicke has again addressed the question of the date of the Hekanakht papyri.¹²⁸ Goedicke concluded that a date in

the reign of Amenemhat I seemed most probable.

The vizier Ipy is, contrary to common opinion, not fixed in time. Unlike Meketre, Ipy does not appear in the reliefs of the temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra.¹²⁹ Winlock's assumption that he was a member of this king's court is based solely on the topographic position of the tomb. Close scrutiny of the row of cliff-tombs above the Mentuhotep temple reveals that not all tombs are actually contemporary with Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. A number of them were constructed under Mentuhotep III Seankhkara and others are of Twelfth or even Thirteenth dynasty date.¹³⁰

The burial of Meseh can be dated to the reign of Senwosret I on the basis of the pottery vessels found with the burial (Figures 57, 58). Beside the coffin of Meseh, two globular jars were found (Figure 56). More jars of the same type and a number of small plates, at least five very thin walled drinking cups, a

small pointed beaker, a small globular jar, and two round-shouldered *ks.t*-vases came to light in the outer cult chamber of the tomb.¹⁰⁷ The jars (Figures 57, 58) are of a shape almost identical with a group of jars found in a burial at Lisht South: the burial of Ankhet (Figures 59, 60).¹⁰⁸ This burial is securely dated to the earlier years of Senwosret I because the wall enclosing secondary pyramid no. 3—one of the queens' or royal family members' tombs surrounding the king's pyramid—runs over the mouth of the shaft leading down to the chamber in which Ankhet was buried. One might argue that the jar type in question could have had a long life, that is, from the late Eleventh Dynasty through the time of Senwosret I. Against such an argument stands the knowledge we have about the type of jar in use during the time of Amenemhat I. A good example of a simple short-necked jar of that time is, for instance, the beer jar found with the burial of Wah (Figure 61).¹⁰⁹ In the Wah jar, the maximum diameter is situated below the middle of the body and the transition between shoulder and neck is angular. There can be no doubt that the Meseh pots have to be placed close to the Ankhet pots, and not to the Wah jar. A date for the burial of Meseh in the earlier years of Senwosret I can therefore be established.

If Meseh was buried during the early reign of Senwosret I, the date of the Hekanakht papyri cannot fall into the reign of Seankhkara, because it is not conceivable that these fragile papyri were lying around for more than thirty years before they found their way into the debris of Meseh's ramp in pristine condition. It is also not very probable that years 5 and 8 mentioned in the documents refer to the reign of Amenemhat I, because even a period of twenty years seems too long for the papyri to have been aboveground before they were finally deposited or discarded. The most likely assumption is that the letters and accounts were written in years 5 and 8 of Senwosret I and were discarded shortly after in the tomb of Meseh.

The Hekanakht papers therefore provide us with a glimpse into everyday life at Thebes during the early years of Senwosret I, when he was still coregent with his father—years 5 and 8 being years 25 and 28 of Amenemhat I—a time when the residence at Lisht had recently been founded. Every reader of the Hekanakht letters must be struck by the serenity and security of life in rural Upper Egypt that is pictured in the documents. People do not appear to be at all concerned about politics, who is in power, or the state of affairs with neighbors in



Figure 57. Type of large jars found in the upper chamber of the tomb of Meseh. H. 32 cm (William Schenck after tomb card Thebes 1820)

Figure 58. Type of medium-sized jar, two examples of which were found undisturbed beside the coffin of Meseh (now in the Chicago Oriental Institute). H. 18.5 cm (William Schenck after tomb card Thebes 1820)

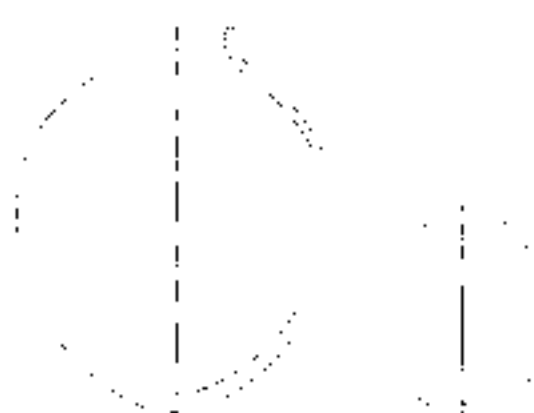


Figure 59. Large jar from the burial of Ankhet, Lisht. H. 35.5 cm. Chicago, Oriental Institute (William Schenck)

Figure 60. Medium-sized jar from the burial of Ankhet, Lisht. H. 20.5 cm. Chicago, Oriental Institute (William Schenck)

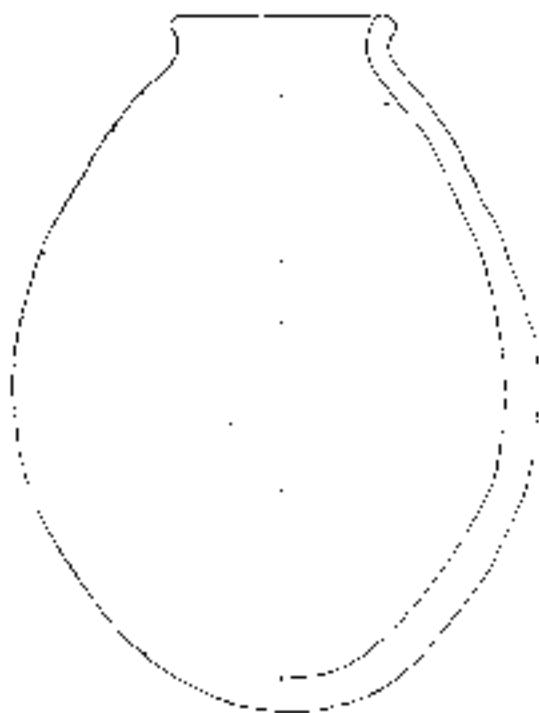


Figure 61. Beer jar of Wah from his burial at Thebes. H. 30 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920. 20.3.256

the east, west, and south. They go about their private business, and what they care most for is their family's welfare. Most interesting is that, economically, the Thebans appear to be considerably better off than people elsewhere in Egypt. Hekanakht expressly tells his family so. Letter II, line 27, reads: "See! One says 'hunger' about hunger. See! They are beginning to eat men here. See! There are no people to whom those rations are given anywhere [as you are getting]."²⁰ Even if one has to discount part of this as a few exaggerated phrases habitually used in exhortations to his family by this "quarrelsome, interfering head of household,"²¹ the implication of the passages, as well as the context in which they appear, is that Hekanakht's family in the Theban district was well provided for at a time when people in other places may have been hungry.

It is still an open question where Hekanakht wrote his letters from. One would like to believe²² that he was in the newly founded capital near Lisht, but there is not enough evidence to support this assumption.²³ We have to be content with the knowledge that life in the Theban area was considerably more secure at the end of the reign of Amenemhat I than at its beginning. It is quite possible that the relative wealth and peace in the Theban area—certainly an achievement of the great rulers of the Eleventh Dynasty but also of the early years of Dynasty 12—formed the basis for the high quality of Theban art during the whole Middle Kingdom.



Figure 62. Remains of inscriptions on a fragment from the coffin of Meketre. Wood, plastered and gilded. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920. 20.3.122

APPENDIX I. CHRONOLOGY

<i>Dynasty 11</i>	<i>Year B.C.</i>
Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, ruled 31 years	ca. 2061–2030 B.C.
Unification of Upper and Lower Egypt	ca. 2040 B.C.
Mentuhotep III Seankhkara, ruled 12 years	ca. 2030–1998 B.C.
Seven years' interval, including rule (of at least two years) of Mentuhotep IV Nebawyra	ca. 1998–1991 B.C.
<i>Dynasty 12</i>	
Amenemhat I, ruled 29 years	ca. 1991–1962 B.C.
Senusert I, ruled 43 years	ca. 1971–1928 B.C.

APPENDIX II: THE COFFIN FRAGMENTS OF MEKETRA

James Allen
Associate Curator, Egyptian Art
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The MMA Expedition recovered twenty-two fragments of the wooden coffin of Meketra showing interior decoration that consists of a false door and vertical columns of hieroglyphs (MMA 20.3.101–122). A number of these fragments indicate that the coffin's interior was inscribed in two phases.

Phase I consists of simple (but not cursive) hieroglyphs inked directly onto the bare wood, then lightly incised in outline. Columns average 1 cm wide; hieroglyphic groups, 1 cm tall. Each column was headed *gd-mdw*. Column lines were inked but not incised.

In Phase II, a thin (2 mm) coating of gesso was applied directly over Phase I and covered with a gold leaf. Formal hieroglyphs (with interior details) were incised into the gold leaf and underlying gesso of this phase. Columns average 1.6 cm wide; hieroglyphic groups, 1.5 cm tall. The false-door decoration, alternating paint and gold leaf, is visible only in this phase.

The name of Meketra is preserved only in Phase I, incompletely on seven fragments, as follows:

	20.3.102		20.3.111
	20.3.112		
	20.3.114 (twice)		
	20.3.114		20.3.102
			20.3.110

The preserved texts of both phases consist of Pyramid Texts and (probably) Coffin Texts. The following have been identified:

PT 29	20.3.101 Phase I 1–4; Phase II 1–2
PT 25	20.3.101 Phase I 5–6
PT 93	20.3.117 Phase I 1–4
PT 94–96	20.3.117 Phase I 5–7
PT 108–112	20.3.117 Phase I 8–12
PT 135–145	20.3.120 Phase I 1–11.

These are sufficient to show that the coffin had the standard Old Kingdom Offering Ritual in both versions, on the interior front. The location is indicated both by the orientation of the signs and by the presence of the false-door decoration on fragment 20.3.101. On this fragment, PT 29, the first spell of the ritual begins in the first column to the right of the false-door decoration, in both phases. The same arrangement occurs also (and only) in the Beni Hasan coffins BH1C, BH3C, and X1Bas.¹

Dating criteria are provided by paleography, contents, and epigraphic technique. All of these suggest a date late in Dynasty 11 or in the reign of Amenemhat I.

Paleography. The bookroll shows both ties (20.3.122 Phase II 4), a feature that seems to appear first in the reign of Amenemhat I.² This indicates that Phase II (gold leaf and gesso) is probably not earlier than the beginning of Dynasty 12, with Phase I somewhat earlier.

Contents. The arrangement of PT 29 immediately following the false door is paralleled only on the coffins BH1C, BH3C, and X1Bas, as noted above. These appear to belong to the period from the end of Dynasty 11 to the reign of Amenemhat I. The use of full offering spells (PT 93–96, 108 ff.) in place of the shorter offering list is rare outside the Old Kingdom pyramids. The only other instances on coffins appear to be X1Bas, B4Bo, and M1NY. Of these, the first two are probably contemporary (end of Dynasty 11 to the reign of Amenemhat I), the third perhaps somewhat later (Amenemhat II or earlier).³

Technique. The nearest parallel to the epigraphic technique of Phase I (hieroglyphs inked directly on bare wood, then lightly incised in outline) occurs in B1Bo, the outer coffin to B4Bo and therefore contemporary with it (end of Dynasty 11 to the reign of Amenemhat I).⁴

In sum, the available evidence suggests that the interior of Meketra's coffin was initially decorated in a style very similar to that found on the coffins of

the Bersheh nomarch *Hwt-j-nht* (B1-2Bo). This initial decoration, which appears to have been complete, was subsequently covered with gesso and gold leaf, into which the same or similar texts were incised more elaborately and at a slightly larger scale, presumably for Meketre as well. The final phase of decoration seems to have been carried out under Amenemhat I; the original phase either in the same reign or not much earlier.

a. BH1C (outer coffin of Zt-w-ḥt) called [Zt-w-ḥt] 3753421 P Lacau, ASAE 5 (1904) pp. 290-299 and pls. 471. BH3C (outer coffin of Nfr. Cj) 475496: P Lacau, ASAE 5 (1904) pp. 297-298. X-Bo (coffin of Hwt) called K3pt. G. Lapp, "Särge des Mittleren Reiches aus der ehemaligen Sammlung Khachaba," OA 49 (Wiesbaden, 1985) pp. 5-7, pls. 5-11, 35-37.

b. W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, Bonner Orientalische Studien, n.s. 19 (Bonn, 1976) p. 40. The Theban coffin of W3A (MMA 20.5.2021), a contemporary of Meketre, shows a form without nes as determinative of the word *gwt* (barrel), an unusual if not unique variant of the regular coffin determinative (Q6n).

c. For the dating, see H. Wilken, "Chests of Life," *MOA* 25 (1986) pp. 65, 68.

d. BzBo (inner coffin of *Hwt-j-nht*, MFA 21.912-163) and M1NY (coffin of H-ḥp, MMA 12.182-1424) are unpublished except for their Girdle Texts. For the dating, see Wilken, "Chests of Life," pp. 70-72, 126-129; and for BzBo E. Bravarski, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Sudan, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Douglas Munro*, W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis, eds. (Boston, 1981) pp. 23-30.

e. J. M. Leclercq, *Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom* (London, 1968). For the dating, see Wilken, "Chests of Life," pp. 70-72, and Bravarski, in "Studies in Ancient Egypt," pp. 23-30.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA—*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*

AJSL—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*

Arnold, *Mentuhotep. I: Architektur und Deutung*—Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el Bahari. I: Architektur und Deutung*, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 8 (Mainz, 1974)

Arnold, *Mentuhotep. II: Die königlichen Beigaben*—Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep. II: Die königlichen Beigaben*, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 23 (Mainz, 1981)

Arnold, *Senusert I Pyramid*—Dieter Arnold, with contributions by Dorothea Arnold and an appendix by Peter F. Dorman, *The South Cemeteries of Luxor. I: The Pyramid of Senusert I*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, XXI (New York, 1988)

Arnold and Winlock, *Temple of Mentuhotep*—Dieter Arnold from the notes of Herbert E. Winlock, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, XXI (New York, 1979)

ASAE—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*

BES—*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*

BIFAO—*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*

CAH—I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1. Part 4: *Early History of the Middle East* (Cambridge, 1971)

CG—*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*

GM—*Göttinger Mitteilungen*

Hayes, *Scepter 1*—William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Part I: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1959; 5th repr. 1990)

JARCE—*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*

JEA—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

JNES—*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

JA—Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975) 6 vols.

MDAIK—*Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*

MDGG—*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft*

MIFAO—*Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*

MYOL—*Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk egyptische Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*

Naville, *Xith Dynasty Temple*—Edouard Naville, *The Xith Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part 1. Twenty-eighth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund* (London, 1907); Part 2, *Thirtieth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund* (London, 1910); Part 3, *Thirty-second Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund* (London, 1913)

PM³.—Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. I. The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs* (Oxford, 1960); Part 2, *Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries* (Oxford, 1964); II: *Theban Temples* (Oxford, 1972).

Tomb cards.—File cards on which the MMA excavators drew plans and objects, described find-spots, and noted observations made during the excavations. The cards were numbered separately in the "Lisht" and "Thebes" series in 1960 and 1985–86. They are kept in the Department of Egyptian Art.

Winlock, *Excavations*—Herbert E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942).

Winlock, *Rise and Fall*—Herbert E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (New York, 1947).

ZAS—*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.

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NOTES

1. There is no generally accepted name for this valley. Its eastern end between Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and the Qurnet Mutri hills was at some time called "Southern Assut." Cf. Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. I. The Theban Necropolis* (Oxford, 1927) p. 157, no. 225. The second edition of this work, PM³, I, p. 324, no longer uses this term. The bay at the back end, where the unfinished monument lies, is described in Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography. II: Theban Temples* (Oxford, 1929) p. 135, as "Vallon Behind Elwet Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh."

2. Herbert E. Winlock, "The Theban Necropolis in the Middle Kingdom," *AJS* 42, 1 (Oct. 1915) p. 90, figs. 6, 7, and p. 53, fig. 9; idem, "The Eleventh Egyptian Dynasty," *JNES* 2 (Oct. 1943) pl. 49.

3. Idem, "Theban Necropolis," pp. 29–33; idem, "Eleventh Egyptian Dynasty," pp. 280–281; idem, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 52–53. The quoted passage is from *ibid.*, p. 3 (preface).

4. H. E. Winlock, "Excavations at Thebes," *MMAB* 16 (Nov. 1921) pp. 29–34; idem, *Excavations*, pp. 31–34.

5. Robert Mond, "Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes during the Winter of 1903–1904," *ASAE* 6 (1905) pp. 78–80.

6. Naville, *Ninth Dynasty Temple*, pls. 1–3; Arnold, *Mentuhotep, I: Architektur und Deutung*; Arnold and Winlock, *Temple of Mentuhotep*.

7. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, p. 53; idem, "The Court of King Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-Hotep at the Shat el-Nigal," *AJS* 57 (Apr. 1941) p. 149, fig. 26; idem, *Excavations*, p. 218. For the date of the Shat el-Nigal inscriptions, cf. Winlock, "Court of King Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-Hotep," p. 153.

8. Naville, *Ninth Dynasty Temple*, pl. 2, pl. 421. In addition, Meketre's name and title appear on two relief fragments in the British Museum and on three more fragments still at the temple site. All these fragments will be published by Brigitte Janssch-Decker as vol. IV in Arnold, *Mentuhotep*.

9. Winlock, "Theban Necropolis," pp. 27–28; idem, *Excavations*, pp. 54–55, 66–72. It was Dieter Arnold's idea that the large, unfinished tomb 310 (PM³, I, pl. 1, p. 280, pl. 32, just above the court of the Mentuhotep temple, was perhaps originally meant to be Meketre's tomb (personal communication). The block mentioned by Winlock, as found in this tomb, belongs to Nespektashuty tomb reliefs (*ibid.*, pp. 387–388).

10. PM³, pl. 1E, p. 169, pls. 5, 10.

11. Herbert E. Winlock, "Court of the Priesthood of the Eleventh Dynasty Temples at Thebes," *AJS* 58 (Apr. 1941) pp. 146–152, pls. 1–6; idem, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 77–90, figs. 40–45.

12. Winlock, "Court of the Priesthood," pp. 154–155, pl. 1, no. 1; idem, *Rise and Fall*, fig. 40, no. 1.

13. For serpentine walls as enclosures of dumping areas, cf. Arnold, *Sonsnet I Pyramid*, p. 31, pls. 74–75. For serpentine walls as tomb enclosures during ongoing building activities, see Dieter Arnold, *The South Cemetery of Lisht. III: The Pyramid Complex of Sonsnet I*. Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition XXV, forthcoming.

14. For Amarna, see Christian Tietze, "Amarna: Analyse der Wohnhäuser und soziale Struktur der Stadtbewohner," *ZAS* 112 (1984) p. 64, fig. 50; Type 1a; Felix Arnold, "A Study of Egyptian Domestic Buildings," *Sumer Archaeology* 5 (1989) p. 80 with fig. 5 on p. 89. For Lisht, see Arthur C. Mace, "Excavations at Lisht," *MMAB* 16 (1921) p. 5, fig. 2.

15. Mond, "Report of Work," p. 65, fig. 1, p. 80.

16. Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Tableaux d'offrandes, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 23001–23256 (Paris, 1909) pp. 44–50, nos. 23049–56; Joseph E. Gaubert and Gustave Jequier, *Les Fouilles de Lisht, MIFAO* 6 (Cairo, 1902) pp. 50–59, figs. 51–65.

17. Cf. Henry G. Fischer, "Some Early Monuments from Busris, in the Egyptian Delta," *MMJ* 11 (1976) pp. 13–14, figs. 5–7.

18. Jürgen von Beckerath, "Zur Begründung der 12. Dynastie durch Amenemhat I.," *ZAS* 92 (1968) pp. 4–16, pl. 9; Charles Kuenzli, "Bussuns et table d'offrandes," *Supplément BIFAO* 81, "Bulletin du Centenaire" (1981) p. 225, fig. 13.

19. For Eleventh Dynasty Theban examples of quite different types, see Arnold, *Mentuhotep, I: Architektur und Deutung*, pl. 25, b-d.

20. Pots found on the platform. Tomb cards Thebes 323–40, 3262–72. Parallels from Lisht, Arnold, *Tombes of Egypt*, pp. 106–108, figs. 32–34. Pots from foundation deposits found under the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht await publication.

21. Tomb cards Thebes 3231, 3234–38. For parallels from temples, see Dieter Arnold, *Götter der Alten und Mittleren Reichs Ägypten*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 17 (Mainz, 1976) pl. 301, Naville, *XII Dynasty Temple*, pt. 1, pl. 10 bottom right. For the hotspot of this shed below the temple threshold, cf. *ibid.*, p. 27.

22. *Hittites*, MMA no. 100, 22.3.16–17; cups, formerly MMA no. 100, 22.3.18, 19 are now in the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

23. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Viceroy of Sais and of his Wife, Senet* (No. 60, The Theban Tomb Series Second Memoir (London, 1920) pl. 39. Senet is now known to have been Antefoker's mother.

24. Guy Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Twenty-ninth Year, 1929 (London, 1928) pl. 30, nos. 95 K, L, Q, R, which are of First Intermediate Period date, while nos. 95 B, C, E, H are of Dynasty 12, cf. the presence of the Twelfth Dynasty glabular jars in *ibid.*, pl. 30, nos. 51 G, H in tomb 910, 323.

25. Dorothea Arnold, in Arnold, *Tombes of Egypt*, pp. 140–141.

26. Mond, "Report of Work," p. 77; Tomb cards Thebes 3227–28.

27. MMA neg. no. MCC 174; see Figure 14.

28. See p. 26.

29. Tomb cards Thebes 3223–30. For the name, see Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I: *Verzeichnis der Namen* (Göttingen, 1953) p. 95, nos. 14, 21.

30. Female persons are, for instance, in Ranke, *Ägyptisches Personennamen* p. 95, nos. 14, 21, CG 20208, and Ernesto Schiaparelli, *Monumenti Archeologici di Firenze. Antichità Egizia*, pt. 1 (Florence, 1887) pp. 268–272, no. 1532.

31. Mond, "Report of Work," pp. 76. See Arnold, *Memphis*, I: *Archaeology and Topography*, pl. 49.

32. Arnold, *Memphis*, I: *Archaeology and Topography*, pp. 44–49, pls. 34–40. If the pit in the floor of the chamber (cf. Mond, "Report of Work," p. 79, fig. 15) is original, and not a robber's trap shaft, there should also have been remains of a stone canopy chest for the person buried in the chamber.

33. Mond, "Report of Work," p. 78. Mond also reports he found a beam "notched at both ends for attaching a rope." Was it for lowering the blocking stones?

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, p. 78, describes finds he made in the chancellor Meketre's courtyard tombs: "I got . . . numerous pots and cups of a votive character, in the courtyard itself, a large number of these, several hundreds, were lying." Photographs in the MMA Egyptian Art department archives (MC 74, 741) show heaps of such pots in 1920 still lying beside the entrance of the tomb of Wab (see Figure 12). They are unmistakable of the foundation

deposit type. In the same paragraph, Mond mentions the find of "a sandstone fragment with painted head of a king in bas-relief." There is a photograph in the Egyptian department archives that Mond sent to Winlock in 1932. Beside it Winlock noted, "This looks to me 18th Dynasty." Indeed, the profile is clearly that of an early 18th Dynasty king (Amenhotep III). The relief must have been transported to the Meketre tomb from Deir el-Bahari.

36. Unpublished plans of these tombs are in the archives of the Egyptian Art department. In most tombs planned, the work had stopped either in the passage before a chamber was reached or with the closing of such a chamber.

37. William Flinders Petrie, Guy Brunton, and Margaret A. Murray, *Lahun*, II, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Twenty-ninth Year, 1929 (London, 1928) pp. 26–24, pls. 9–27, 380. For the length of the reign of Senusert II, cf. William K. Simpson, "Senusert II," in *JAE* 1 (1984) pp. 89–93.

38. Besides the burials of Inet and Wab, there were three tombs of dependents at the sides of the brick-walled courtyard of Meketre, cf. plan in Figure 12.

39. Shaft 1000–1000 excavated by the MMA Egyptian Expedition and as yet unpublished. In shaft 1008 the burial of the "charioteer" of the Third Intermediate Period was found here after previous burials had been robbed; Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 34.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36, pl. 18.

41. Tomb cards Thebes 3229–30.

42. MMA no. 100, 22.3.258–261. For the title, cf. William Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Berkeley, 1982) p. 143, no. 1231.

43. Naville, *XII Dynasty Temple*, pt. 2, pls. 1–20; Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 35–46; Arnold, *Memphis*, I: *Archaeology and Topography*, map at the back.

44. The burial of Ankheru I (note 298 below) will be fully published in Dieter Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senusert I*.

45. A preference for isolated burials becomes noticeable at the beginning of the New Kingdom. Cf. William Flinders Petrie, *Qusur*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Thirtieth Year, 1930 (London, 1931) pls. 22–25.

46. William C. Hayes, "The Middle Kingdom in Egypt," *CAH* 2, p. 496, even suggests a founding of Itj-tawy shortly before Amenemhat's accession. In *Supra*, p. 179, Hayes writes of a move to the north "early in his reign."

47. Stela in Cairo CG 20516; Hans O. Lange and Heinrich Schaller, *Grab- und Denkmäler des Mittleren Reichs, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 20001–20516 (Berlin, 1908) pp. 108–111; *ibid.*, IV (Berlin, 1909) pl. 45. On Itj-tawy, William K. Simpson, "Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty, I–II, I: The Residence of Itj-tawy," *JAE* 2 (1983) pp. 53–59. A temporary emergence of Amenemhat I and Senusert I at the end of Amenemhat's rule has recently again been strongly defended by Lawrence M. Berman in "Amenemhat I" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1984) pp. 173–213. Previous discussion on the subject is found in William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Co-regencies, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 40 (Chicago, 1977) pp. 242–246;idem, "In Defense of the Middle Kingdom Double Dates," *BFA* 3 (1981) pp. 79–82; Robert Della, "A New Look at

Some Old Dates: A Reexamination of Twelfth Dynasty Double Dated Inscriptions," *BES* 1 (1979) pp. 15–28; idem, review of Minnaert, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, in *Scrip* 5 (1980) pp. 51–54; idem, "Doubts about Double Dates and Coregencies," *BES* 4 (1982) pp. 53–69; Wolfgang Helck, "Mitregentschaft," *LA* IV (1982) pp. 155–161; idem, "Schwachstellen der Chronologie-Diskussion," *GdM* 67 (1983) pp. 43–49; Ekhart Graefe, paper read at Ständige Ägyptologischer Konferenz, Basel, 1982; Elke Blumenthal, "Die erste Korymben der 12. Dynastie," *ZAS* 111 (1984) pp. 104–122. Helck, Helck, and Graefe were against a coregency, while Blumenthal, Bertran, and also W. K. Simpson, "Sesotris I," *LA* V (1984) p. 490, advocated a coregency. Most recently, Detlef Franke, "Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches (12.–18. Dynastie) pt. 1: The 12. Dynasty," *Orientalia* 57 (1988) pp. 115–126, advocated a coregency of Amenemhat I–Sesotris I, citing as additional evidence the three apparently contemporaneous inscriptions at Wadjet-Girgawa, two of which give a date of year 29, while the third is dated in year 9. More evidence is provided in Felix Arnold, et al., *The South Cemetery of Lisht. II: The Central Vases and Tomb Marks*, Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, XXIII, pp. 30–31.

48. MMA acc. no. 19.180.543; H. E. Winlock, "Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-hotep of the Eleventh Dynasty," *JEA* 26 (1940) pp. 116–119, pl. 21.

49. Ahmed Fakhry, *The Egyptian Desert: The Excavations of the Amarna Quarries at Wadi El Hudi* (Cairo, 1952) pp. 19–23; Karl-Joachim Seyfried, *Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Oubate. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 15 (1981) pp. 7–10; Jean Couyat and Pierre Montet, *Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphes et Hiéroglyphes du Ouadi Hammamat*, *MIFAO* 34 (1912) pp. 77–78, no. 110; pp. 79–81, no. 113; pp. 97–98, no. 191; pp. 98–100, no. 192.

50. Couyat and Montet, *Les Inscriptions*, p. 103, no. 195.

51. Winlock, "Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-hotep," p. 127. The reconstruction (see Figure 17) represents a type of stone vessel that is rare in the Middle Kingdom repertoire, although many examples are, of course, known from Early Dynastic times. Wilbour-Finders Petrie, *Stone and Metal Vases*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London, 1927) pl. 22, no. 338. A Middle Kingdom parallel of alabaster (William Finders Petrie, *Despota Petrie: The Cemeteries of Abadiya and El-Rahla*–99, Special Extra Publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund with chap. by Arthur C. Mace [London, 1901] pl. 29, grave Y 51) has a pronounced foot. This could well be true for the Lisht bowl. In the early New Kingdom, the type is more frequently attested, although usually less deep (Petrie, *Quarry*, pl. 22 and q. 27, pl. 25). A reconstruction as a more shallow bowl is impossible for MMA acc. no. 19.180.543 because only a shape as drawn fits the curve of the fragment.

52. Henry G. Fischer, "The Mark of a Second Hand on Ancient Egyptian Antiquities," *MMJ* 9 (1974) pp. 5–34; Wolfgang Helck, "Usurpierung," in *LA* VI (1986) pp. 905–906.

53. El-Khouly, "An Offering-Table of Sesotris I from El-Lisht," *JEA* 84 (1978) p. 44, pl. 9. This altar as well as a second one (both now in the Inspectorate at Saqqara) were found—according to local information—in the Lelieny canal, east of the northern pyramid of Lisht. The original site of the altars must have been a sanctuary in the town, since the spot is too far away from the pyramid to have had any connection with the funerary precinct.

54. Arnold, *Central Notes*, p. 61, no. A 2.1.

55. Gautier and Jéquier, *Les Fouilles de Lisht*, pp. 94–95, figs. 108–114.

56. Albert Lichtheim, "The Egyptian Expedition II," *MMAE* 2 (July 1907) pp. 125–126 and fig. 6; Arthur C. Mace, "The Egyptian Expedition III," *MMAE* 3 (Oct. 1908) p. 287 and fig. 2; Hayes in *Scrip* 2, 172–173, fig. 103.

57. Hayes, *Scrip* 2, pp. 173–174, reconstructed two subsequent pyramid temples, blocks from the earlier being reused in the later. Bertran, "Amenemhat I," pp. 69, 72–73, argued for the usurpation of the pyramid by a later ruler, but this later, unnamed person the building in which the reused blocks were found would have been erected. While it is futile to try to solve the problem before the architectural remains have been thoroughly studied, a point may be made that speaks strongly against a usurpation of the pyramid and temple by a later ruler: it is unheard of that a king taking over an older building would not add his name wherever possible.

58. Simpson, "The Residence of Itj-tawy," pp. 60–61, pl. II. However, for cautions concerning the chronological value of allusions to the Sed-festival, see Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Steinhilber, "Studien zum Sedfest," *Ägyptische Religions* 2 (1974) pp. 27–78.

59. MMA acc. no. 19.180.129. Other blocks with both kings' names and/or figures are Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Journal d'Entrée no. 51878; MMA acc. no. 08.2009; Gautier and Jéquier, *Les Fouilles de Lisht*, p. 96, figs. 111–113.

60. Marianne Eaton-Krauss, "Zur Koregenz Amenemhat I und Sesotris I," *MDOG* 112 (1980) p. 49; William K. Simpson, "The Single-Dated Monuments of Sesotris I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty," *JES* 25 (1976) pp. 213–219; Bertran, "Amenemhat I," pp. 182–191; William K. Simpson, "The Pyramid of Lisht North," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1954) p. 68, mentions as a parallel to the phrase: Gustave Jéquier, *Le Monastère Funéraire de Papi II* (Cairo, 1938) II, pl. 108; II (1940) pl. 20.

61. See note 47 above.

62. Another sign that the Sed-festival of Amenemhat I was being prepared just before his death, although he may in fact not have lived to observe it, is the statue from Khatana: see H. Gautier, "Une nouvelle statue d'Amenemhat I," *Mitlang. Maipera*, pt. 1: *Orient Ancien*, *MIFAO* 66 (1955–58) pp. 48–53, pls. 1–2; also Simpson, "The Residence of Itj-tawy," pp. 60–61.

63. Arnold, *Central Notes*, p. 61.

64. The pyramid complex of Sesotris I took about fifteen years from the start of the work on the underground chambers before work on the erection of the causeway after year 24. Arnold, *Central Notes*, p. 31. The erection of the pyramid and its complex for Amenemhat I would have taken ten years, if this complex was finished before Sesotris I started work on his own pyramid. This relatively short building time would explain the extensive reuse of earlier stones.

65. Stela Cairo CG 20513; Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo* (Mainz, 1987) no. 41. On another stela in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 20516, cf. note 47), the name of Itj-tawy belongs to the title of a person whose name and title have been secondarily inserted on the frame. Does

this indicate that the person was appointed to an office in the new capital just after the stela was finished? The date of the stela is year 11 of Senusert I. If the new capital had just been founded at this time, new appointments to its offices must have been frequent.

66. According to the Hierakonpolis inscriptions (I, note 49) above the tomb of Senusert's should have a large hard-stone sarcophagus.

67. Arnold, *Graber der Alten und Mittleren Reiches in El-Tarif*.

68. William Flinders Petrie, *Hierakonpolis* (London, 1889) no. 165. The piece is in the British Museum.

69. Arnold and Winlock, *Temple of Menthuhotep*, p. 35, fig. 12 and pl. 31.

70. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, p. 51.

71. For instance, the stela MMA acc. no. 19.182.1 (Hawes, *Seppher 1*, p. 152, fig. 20), which certainly comes from Tarif, was reported to be from Dira Abu'n Naga.

72. Hans Goedicke, "A Royal Seal of Nubkheperre," *Ägypten und Nubien* 5 (1980) pp. 119-120.

73. Petrie, *Quarry*, pp. 4-6, pls. 3-8. *PM*, II, p. 330.

74. Petrie, *Quarry*, pl. 8.

75. A well-known example is the temple of Serty at Karnak. See Rolf Gundlach, "Karnak," *EA* III (1980) p. 310.

76. Petrie, *Quarry*, pl. 13, is of late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty date. The excavations of the Deutsche Archäologische Institut unearthed a number of burials of the late Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Seventeenth dynasties. Cf. D. Arnold, "Bericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Karnak im Mitwinter 1971/72 in El-Lahun unternommenen Arbeiten," *MDAIK* 28 (1972) pp. 12-31, pls. 1-16; idem, "Bericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Karnak im Winter 1972/73 in El-Lahun durchgeführten Arbeiten," *MDAIK* 29 (1973) pp. 133-162, pls. 12-30; idem, "Bericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Karnak im Winter 1973/74 in El-Lahun durchgeführten Arbeiten," *MDAIK* 30 (1974) pp. 157-184, pls. 55-65.

77. William G. Waddell, *Manetho* (London, 1940) pp. 65-74; Beckerath, "Zur Begründung der 12. Dynastie," pp. 11-12; Wolfgang Helck, *Manetho, Untersuchungen zur Manethozeit und den ägyptischen Königslisten, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, 18 (Hamburg-Berlin, 1971) pp. 89-100; Franke, "Zur Chronologie," p. 198.

78. Beckerath, "Zur Begründung der 12. Dynastie," pp. 8-10, pl. 1.

79. For the names of Sekhneptre, see Labib Habachi, "King Sekhneptre Menthuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Crucial Representations in the Form of Gods," *MDAIK* 19 (1962) pp. 116-32; D. Arnold, "Zur frühen Namensform des Königs Mentuhotep Nebkheperre," *MDAIK* 24 (1968) pp. 38-42.

80. Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 20 (Munich-Berlin, 1984) p. 127.

81. Dated monuments of Amenemhat I are: Stela from Esna-Rashedi (year 20; Labib Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir: Importance," *ASAE* 51 (1951) pp. 152-154); William K. Simpson, "The

Stela of Amenemhat, Governor of Upper Egypt in the reign of Amenemhat I or II," *JEA* 51 (1965) p. 69 n. 2. Rock inscription at Assuan (year 23; Jacques de Morgan et al., *Catégorie des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antiques, 1. Haute Égypte: de la frontière de Nasseh à Kom Ombo* (Vienna, 1894) p. 14, no. 81; Nesu Mentu stela, Louvre (year 24); see note 80 below. Rock inscriptions of El Gorgawi (year 29; Zbyněk Zábě, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia* (Prague, 1974) pp. 31-33, figs. 7-12. Stela from Abydos (year 30; CG 20516; Lange and Schäfer, *Grab und Denkmäler II*, pp. 108-111; *ibid.*, IV, pl. 35. For the most recent discussion of these inscriptions, see Berman, "Amenemhat I," pp. 99-147.

82. Rolf Gundlach, "Wiederholung der Geburt," *EA* VI (1981) pp. 156-156a.

83. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings, 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1973) pp. 139-145; Hans Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferti: The Prophecy of Neferti* (Baltimore-London, 1968); Elke Blumenhart, "Die Prophezieung des Neferti," *ZAN* 100 (1988) pp. 1-27.

84. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache III* (Leipzig, 1929) pp. 379, 468.

85. Cf. note 49 above.

86. William K. Simpson, *The Tenth of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapters of Djoser's 12 and 13* (New Haven-Philadelphia, 1974) p. 17, no. 12, pl. 14. Translated and interpreted in detail by Berman in "Amenemhat I," pp. 107-127.

87. Berman, "Amenemhat I," pp. 109-110.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

89. Translating (rubed), p. 108.

90. The trans. of *day* as "landing stage" was suggested by William K. Simpson, *Papyrus Boats II: Accounts of the Deceased Boatman at Thebes in the Reign of Senusert I* (Boston, 1961) p. 203 (n).

91. Hawes, "The Middle Kingdom," pp. 468-479. A river boat with archers is depicted in Theban tomb 286 from the time of Mentuhotep II (Sekhneptre) - see Brigitte Jaroch-Decker, *Grabsitz im Aker 1963-1970, V. Das Grab des Jm-1, 1. Die Wandmalereien der VI. Dynastie, Archaische Veröffentlichungen* 12 (Münz, 1984) p. 29. Färfärfä 2; Jürgen Seigrist, "Zu ungewöhnlichen Darstellungen von Bogenschützen," *MDAIK* 25 (1969) pp. 195-198.

92. The structure of the text is extensively discussed in Berman, "Amenemhat I," p. 110.

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 119.

94. Another, unfortunately very fragmentary, text may also refer to the early struggles of Amenemhat I. See Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers, *Temple of Amenhotep (Akhmenhotep) at Karnak* (London, 1940) pt. 1, p. 171, pl. 2, pl. 90.

95. See note 84 above.

96. Gustave Prévost, *Littérature de l'Égypte sous l'Égypte de la XIIe dynastie* (Paris, 1930) pp. 55-57. For Sinuhe, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 225 (sources), p. 224 ("wall of the ruler").

97. Ahmed Fakhry, "Wad-el-Natun: VII. The Fortress and the XIIth dynasty temple," *ASAE* 40 (1941) pp. 845-848, pls. 144-146.

98. Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir: Importance," pp. 154-158. Cf.

lact, a huge doorway is preserved and bears the inscription that states that it belonged to a *gôtu*. This term designates a "hall," see Firth and Urapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* V (Leipzig, 1931) pp. 527-532; M. Bierak, "Avaris und Prümisse: Archäologisch-Exploration in der Eastern Nile Delta," *Proceedings of the Finnish Academy, London* 65 (1979) p. 228.

99. William Ward, "The Nomarch Khnumhotep at Petosum," *JEA* 35 (1969) pp. 215-226.

100. For the Fayum at the time of Amenemhat I, see the fragment of a statue found at Medinet el-Fayum. See also Richard Lepsius, *Denkwürder aus Ägypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, 1849-59) VI, pt. 2, pl. 128c. Kurt Sethe (Édouard Naville and Ludwig Borchardt, eds.), *Denkwürder aus Ägypten und Aethiopien* II: *Mittelägypten aus dem Fayum* (Leipzig, 1909) p. 30. For the late First Intermediate Period to early Twelfth Dynasty graves at Qasr Sagha, see Gertrude Carson-Thompson and Elmar W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* (London, 1934) pp. 138-140. The desert formation north and west of Lisht is seen, for instance, on the IFC H 52 Pilot map published by the Aeronautical Chart and Information Center, U.S. Air Force, St. Louis, Mo. There are heights between 1,000 and 800 m above sea level west of Dahshur, and 250 m west of Tahma (ca. 10 km north of Lisht). South of Tahma, the desert ground slopes down and reaches the level of the cultivated land just southwest of Lisht. Today, the shortest route to the Fayum through the desert leaves the cultivation at Riqua-Giza and reaches the oases after roughly 19 km.

101. Giza, Farkhan, and Kafr Amara are important Predynastic cemetery sites, all close to Lisht on the west side of the Nile. El-Safi is located on the opposite eastern side of the river.

102. The only evidence that can be advanced for a funerary monument for Amenemhat I in the Memphite necropolis (Saqqara) is provided by the reused blocks found built into the Lisht North pyramid; see Hans Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht*, Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, XX (New York, 1971). But since the reasons for using these blocks are still largely unknown, the evidence they provide remains very feeble.

103. Louise Gesteremann, *Kontinuität und Wandel in Politik und Verwaltung des Frühen Mittleren Reiches in Ägypten*, *Leitungen der Orientalischen Forschungen*, Row B, no. 28 (Wiesbaden, 1987) pp. 114-118. For the Asiatic wars of Nebhepetra, see Georges Posener, "A Propos des Uraïfai d'Abisko," *Annales Orientalistes* 30 (1952) pp. 115-166. For the struggles of the Herakleopolitan kings against the Asiatic neighbors, see Wolfgang Helck, "Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.," *ÄA* 5 (1962) pp. 43-91.

104. The inscription on a statue of a man and his wife mentions Seankhkara as revered in the offering formula. William Flinders Petrie, *Tana II*, 1886, Fifth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund (London, 1886) p. 45, pl. 42. The *dy* in the offering formula strongly suggests a Twelfth Dynasty date. Cf. Jean Vanderschuer, *Musée d'Antiquités Égyptiennes II, Les Grandes Époques, L'Architecture Religieuse et Civile* (Paris, 1955) p. 597.

105. Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 17-30; Herbert E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt from the Tomb of Meket-Hor at Thebes*, Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, XVII (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

106. Winlock, "The Career of King Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-hotep," pp. 149-150. For the title in the Old Kingdom during which it was borne by the vizier, see Wolfgang Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, *Ägyptologische Forschungen* 18 (Göttingen, 1954) p. 75; in the Middle Kingdom, see William Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982) p. 34, no. 248.

107. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, p. 62, pl. 37. The date is written on a separate rock from the one with the large representation showing (among others) Khety in front of the king (*ibid.*, pls. 12, 36). It is therefore not absolutely certain whether the date applies to the large relief.

108. The inscription at Aswan of year 41, William Flinders Petrie, *A Season in Egypt 1887* (London, 1888) pl. H no. 213, is by another man named Khety.

109. Jurn 1447. Anna Maria Danadonni Roveri, ed., *Egyptian Mosaics of the Egyptian Civilization, Religious Beliefs* (Turin, 1980) pp. 101-103 with figs. Wolfgang Schenkel, trans., "Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben," *ÄA* 19 (1981) pp. 240-241, no. 387. For the title of "chancellor," see Ward, *Index of Titles*, p. 47, no. 364. For a different translation, as *pry* "hereditary" instead of the previous *pry* "10301," see Detlef Franke, "Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (ca. 16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) Dossiers 1-796," *ÄA* 42 (1984) p. 18. For the office, see Wolfgang Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, Probleme der Ägyptologie*, Hermann Kees, ed. (Leiden/Cologne, 1958) III, pp. 77-79. The office was newly introduced by the Eleventh Dynasty Theban kings.

110. Naville, *XIII Dynasty Temple*, pt. 2, pl. 9D, pieces second row right. We have to assume that the name and title of Meketra were carved into the completed limestone relief, because the temple reliefs are supposed to have been completed long before year 46 of the king. Arnold, *Mentuhotep, I: Archaismus und Entwicklung*, p. 86, and Arnold and Winlock, *Temple of Mentuhotep*, pp. 42-43. On the fragment, see Naville, *XIII Dynasty Temple*, pt. 2, pl. 9D, left of the above-cited piece, the inscription with the name of Khety clearly appears to have been inserted, because the background around the hieroglyphs is lower than the areas farther around it. Can one assume that the original relief decoration provided figures of dignitaries that were only given names later?

111. Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra reigned 53 years according to the Turin papyrus. Alan H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959) pl. 2, col. V, line 16.

112. A newly discovered text from the Wadi Hammamat (A Gasse, "Amém, un porte-parole sous le règne de Sésostris 1er," *BIFAO* 88 (1988) pp. 89-91) gives interesting insight into the time of life and office under early Middle Kingdom kings. The father of Ameny, who dedicated the inscription, lived to the age of 84 years. He served the first two kings of Dynasty 12 for 54 years. He therefore must have started to hold royal offices when he was 30. His son Ameny was appointed to an office at the age of 18. But this is seen to have been a special favor.

113. Gardiner, *Royal Canon of Turin*, with p. 36 n. 10, column V, line 18.

114. Winlock, "Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-hotep," pp. 146-149.

115. The reconstruction of the portion is based on (a) limestone fragments of polygonal pillars found in the debris, cf. Fig-

ure 29, in the fact that there was evidently a relief decoration on the facade of the tomb that definitely requires the presence of a roof. Cf. unpublished notes (presumably by Winlock) in the MMA Egyptian Department archives under the heading "Cape of Niles of 1920." The reconstruction of the intercolumn was based on the assumption that two pillars would have flanked the doorway. No proof for the placement of the pillars was found.

116. Dieter Arnold, *Grabbungen in Assuf 1963-1970 I: Das Grab des Inpyjef*, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 4 (Mainz, 1971), pls. 9, 18, 19.

117. Winlock, *Luxorians*, p. 69, fig. 7, pl. 15.

118. Percy E. Newberry, *Ben Hasan*, pt. 1, *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, F. L. Griffith, ed. (London, 1899), pls. 2, 4, 20, 38. For the dates of the tombs, see *ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

119. Arnold, *Saqqara I Pyramid*, p. 54, pl. 23a.

120. Winlock, *Luxorians*, p. 19. Fragments in Cairo Egyptian Museum, see Claude Vandersleyen, *Les Anciens Égyptiens*, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* XV (Berlin, 1975), color pls. 26a-d. Fragments are in MMA acc. nos. 31.3.2.3 and 31.3.170-185, and unaccessioned pieces. Most of these fragments are no larger than the palm of one's hand.

121. The special color scheme of the Meketre relief has been pointed out by Brigitte Jarroch-Denkert, *Das Grab des Inpyjef*, p. 192; R. Freed, "A Private Stela from Naga el-Her and Relief Style of the Reign of Amenemhat I," *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan in Honor of David Brandon* (Boston, 1981), pp. 68-72, has shown that the tendency to indicate details not in relief but in the overlying painting is typical for the time of Amenemhat I.

122. Good examples for late Eleventh Dynasty painted relief are found in the tomb of Dage at Thebes, see Norman de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs: Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Twentieth-Fifth Memoir* (London, 1913), pl. 50, nos. 1-2, 9-11; MMA acc. nos. 12.180.243; 12.180.265. Twelfth Dynasty painted relief with delicate shading is found in the tomb of Djehutynefer at El-Bersha; see Percy E. Newberry, *El Bersha*, pt. 1, *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, no. number (London, n.d.), frontispiece. In painting on wood, fine shading effects have been introduced earlier. The most important example is, of course, the coffin of Djehutynefer from El-Bersha, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Edward L. B. Gortzer, *Egyptian Funerals of the Middle Kingdom, the Tomb of Djehutynefer* (New York, 1967), pp. 41-52; esp. pls. 6, 7.

123. Vandersleyen, *Les Anciens Égyptiens*, color pls. 26a-b.

124. O. D. Berles, "The Date of the 'Eloquent Peasant,'" in J. Gising and G. Driesch, eds., *Form und Mass. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des Alten Ägypten, Ägypten und Altes Testament* (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp. 84-85.

125. MMA acc. nos. 20.3.201, 125. A date "late in the early Middle Kingdom" for this coffin has been proposed by Christine Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom*, *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 27 (Munich, 1979), p. 27 nn. 100, 910.

126. Cf. note 9 above.

127. Winlock, *Models*.

128. Arnold, *Mentehetep*, III, *Die königlichen Begräbnisse*, pp. 11-13, pls. 3-7a.

129. Cecil M. Firth and Bodincombe Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Ten Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo, 1926), I, pp. 52-54; II, pls. 27-27-31; Maria Mogensen, *La Gizephèque Ny Carlsberg: La Collection Égyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930), pls. 161-67.

130. John Quibell and Andrew G. K. Hayter, *Excavations at Saqqara: Ten Pyramids, North Side* (Cairo, 1927), pp. 11-15, pls. 21, 26.

131. Firth and Gunn, *Ten Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 167-168.

132. Dorothea Arnold, "Pottery at the Time of Amenemhat I," forthcoming.

133. Good examples are in William Flinders Petrie and Guy Brunton, *Saqqara I: British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account Twenty-seventh Year, 1923* (London, 1924), pl. 1, nos. 21, 23; pl. 11, nos. 4, 6.

134. A well-dated example of the mid-Twelfth Dynasty is the model found in the tomb of Djehuty (Masah B. South Area) at Lisht, South (Albert Lichtheim, *MMAB Supplement* 28 [Apr. 1953], pp. 16, 20, 21, figs. 16, 17; James H. Breasted, Jr., *Egyptian Serenities: Statues*, The Bollingen Series 13 [New York, 1948], pp. 98, 54, pl. 38a). The model, formerly in the MMA acc. no. 52.1.1951 is now at Indiana University. According to Christian Hebeke, whose publication of this tomb is forthcoming, the circumstances of the findspot show clearly a mid-Twelfth Dynasty date for the model.

135. Petrie and Brunton, *Saqqara*, pl. 17, no. 4, pl. 26, no. 13; John Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt As Illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom Being a Report of Excavations made in the Necropolis of Beni Hasan during 1904-5-6* (London, 1907), p. 64, figs. 50, 51; p. 76, fig. 102; p. 101, fig. 84; p. 105, fig. 104.

136. Arnold, *Mentehetep*, III, *Die königlichen Begräbnisse*, pls. 6ab, 16a-b, while the parts of a slaughtering scene and a poultry workshop seem to suggest the presence of more detailed architecture (*ibid.*, pls. 34, 36-37).

137. For Wasetmar and Inpuemhat carpenters, see Quibell and Hayter, *Ten Pyramids, North Side*, pl. 24. For Menememhat carpenters and potters' workshop, see Firth and Gunn, *Ten Pyramid Cemeteries*, II, pl. 20.

138. Firth and Gunn, *ibid.*, pls. 28A,B.

139. Winlock, *Models*, pls. 24-29. A remarkable architectural feature of the two Nankata groups is the vaulted roof over the weaving scenes in Quibell and Hayter, *Ten Pyramids, North Side*, p. 42; Firth and Gunn, *Ten Pyramid Cemeteries*, II, pl. 31C. This has no parallel in the Meketre group of models, which, on the other hand, includes the elaborate garden models (Winlock, *Models*, pls. 4-14) and the pavilion of the cattle-counting scene (*ibid.*, pls. 19, 19).

140. Winlock, *Models*, pl. 18.

141. Firth and Gunn, *Ten Pyramid Cemeteries*, II, pl. 31A,B.

142. Winlock, *Models*, pls. 22-29.

143. Arnold, *Mentehetep*, III, *Die königlichen Begräbnisse*, pls. 11-21. Only the figures, pls. 36c, 36d-1, approximate to the Meketre figures in their proportions. The models from Sidman show very clearly the difference between First Intermediate Period proportions (Petrie and Brunton, *Saqqara*, pl. 17, nos. 4, 6) and early Twelfth Dynasty ones (*ibid.*, pl. 20, nos. 1, 3, 5).

144. For the proportions of the human figure in reliefs of the First Intermediate Period and Eleventh Dynasty, see Gay Robins, "The Reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II and the Predominant Theban Style of Relief," in Gay Robins, ed., *Beyond the Pyramids: Egyptian Regional Art from the Middle Egypt*, Turn. exh. cat., Emory University Museum of Art (Atlanta, 1999) p. 42. In relief and sculpture in the round, the change from First Intermediate Period slender proportions to the squarer proportions with larger heads took place during the later years of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre, as seen in the reliefs of the Deir el-Bahri Sanctuary and in statues like the one of Intel (see note 152 below).

145. Seen, for instance, in the later Sedment models (Petrie and Brunton, *Sakhiat*, pl. 20, nos. 1, 3, 5) or the model from Lisht (see note 154 above).

146. Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, pls. 26–35, 48a.

147. Winlock, *Models*, pl. 30. For recent discussions on the style, see Cyril Aldred, *Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs 3100–330 B.C.* (London, 1960) p. 114; Dietrich Wildung, *Sevasts und Amenemhat, Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (Munich, 1984) p. 116. The previous interpretation of the statues as "servant girls" was first reversed by John Baines and Jaromír Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1976, 2nd repr. 1984) p. 204. Baines and Málek's identification as domain personifications has also been adopted by Mohamed Saleh and Houtig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo* (Mainz, 1987) no. 79.

148. Helen Jacques-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'ancien empire égyptien*, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude 34 (Cairo, 1962).

149. Any attempt to follow the development of early Middle Kingdom heads must be indebted to Cyril Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt," *MMAJ* 1 (1970) pp. 27–41.

150. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 39, pl. 20.

151. Arnold, *Mentuhotep. I. Architektur und Deutung*, p. 64; Arnold and Winlock, *Temple of Mentuhotep*, p. 45.

152. Dieter Arnold and Jürgen Seitzgast, "Erster Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Kairo im Assiut unternommenen Arbeiten," *MDAIK* 20 (1965) p. 160, pls. 14, 19a, 19b; "Vierter Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Kairo im Assiut unternommenen Arbeiten 15. und 16. Kampagne," *MDAIK* 23 (1968) p. 19, pl. 12 (body); Mohamed Saleh and Houtig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, no. 70.

153. MMA acc. no. 26.3.104A. Winlock, *Excavations*, pl. 90; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, pp. 164, 210.

154. A good parallel is Émile Chassinat and Charles Périer, *Une Campagne de Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assouf*, *MIFAO* 24 (Cairo, 1911) pl. 32. A Late Old Kingdom parallel in the MMA is acc. no. 48.125.9. Peter E. Dorman, Prudence O. Harper, and Holly Pittman, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egypt and the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1987) p. 23, fig. 12.

155. Janine Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Monarchs: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom*, exh. cat. (Cambridge, 1968) p. 125.

156. See note 102 above.

157. John Gurney, "Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin," *JNES* 12 (1953) pp. 3–4, no. 7.

158. *So taken der alten Ägypter*, exh. cat., Schweizerisches Museum für Völkerkunde (Basel, 1976) pp. 21–24, with figs. Dietrich Wildung, *Sevasts und Amenemhat*, p. 194, fig. 169.

159. Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits," pp. 33–34, figs. 9–12.

160. MMA acc. no. 66.99.3.

161. See note 158 above.

162. One might add here a comparison with the Osiride statue heads from Armanet. See Muml and Myers, *Temple of Armanet*, p. 1, pp. 49–50, pl. 2, pls. 16–17; James Romano, *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cairo, 1979) pp. 19–22, no. 19, figs. 32–33. The Armanet heads (some of them reworked in Ramesside times) share most traits with the earlier royal sandstone heads of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre, and the Khent head: most notable are the thick lips and straight eyebrows. A limestone head from Thebes that has been dated to the late Eleventh Dynasty is the one of Iken, MMA acc. no. 26.7.1993 (Howard Carter and Earl of Carnarvon, *Five Years' Excavations at Thebes: A Record of Work done 1907–1911* [Oxford, 1912] p. 23, pl. 18, 2 and 21. This sculpture belongs to the Theban tradition of private limestone statues; earlier examples are in the British Museum [Cyril Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt 2100–1550 B.C.* (London, 1956) pl. 41. The date of the Iken statue is open to debate. The piece, therefore, cannot help us to place the Meketre woman.

163. Cairo, Egyptian Museum [Journal d'Entrée 27475]. Hans U. Evers, *Statue aus dem Stein, Denkmal, Geschichte und Bedeutung der Ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs* (Munich, 1969) pls. 15–17; Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, III: *Les Grandes Époques: La sculpture* (Paris, 1958) p. 171, pl. 58, 1.

164. Cairo, Egyptian Museum [Journal d'Entrée 60520]. Hachacha, "Khent-ua-Quair," pp. 452–453; Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits," p. 33, fig. 13. For Sed festival, see note 58.

165. The expression of active alertness is found in both heads of Amenemhat I (see notes 163, 164 above), and it continues to be a characteristic trait of the representations of Senwosert I (Evers, *Statue aus dem Stein*, pls. 27–44). The "broadwing" expression that Dietrich Wildung (*Sevasts und Amenemhat*, p. 194) detected in the dolomite marble head in the MMA acc. no. 46.99.4. Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits," pp. 36–37, figs. 14–16) is mainly due to the dark color of the stone material and to the fact that the head belonged to a sphinx.

166. In reliefs, the tense indentations at the nostrils do not disappear with Amenemhat I. They are still prominent in the kugs' and deities' faces on the Lisht reliefs. Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 172, fig. 105.

167. Cf. 499. Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Fürstenden im Museum von Kairo*, no. 7–149, II: text and tables for nos. 981–653 (Berlin, 1929) pp. 20–21, pl. 67; Evers, *Statue aus dem Stein*, pl. 22. The hotspot at Lisht North: Ganten and Jaquer, *Les Fouilles de Lisht*, p. 160, fig. 122.

168. Felix Arnold, "The High Stewards of the Early Middle Kingdom," *G.M.* forthcoming.

169. No. 499. A. C. Mace, "Excavations at the North Pyramid of Lisht," *MMAH JHBL* 1914: pp. 212–213, fig. 9, left and right. Excavations in pyramid complex, idem, "Excavations at Lisht," *MMAH JHBL* 1922: p. 3, fig. 1 (originally numbered 463).

170. MMA acc. nos. 12.180.249.265. Carris Davies, *Five Theban Temples*, pl. 30, nos. 2 and 3a. Only visible on the originals.

171. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 05.232. Naville, *Mémoires Temple*, pl. 1, pl. 3 (center left); Breasted, *Egyptian Sculpture and Statues*, p. 67, pl. 36a. For the date of shaft 5 from which the figure comes, see Arnold, *Memphitop. I. Architektur und Denkm.*, p. 19 with fig. 10. Shaft 5 is one of a row of shafts that were cut when the temple was finished. Therefore, the burial of shaft 5 can be of any date after the completion of the temple.

172. Petrie and Burton, *Solent*, pp. 2-4, pl. 5.

173. William Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1948), pp. 296-297. Henry G. Fischer, "Hochreliefkunst des Mittleren Reiches," in Vandier-Seiven, *Das Alte Ägypten*, pp. 208-209.

174. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, p. 111.

175. Rainer Stadelmann, "Theben," *CA* VI (1966), pp. 460-467.

176. See note 76 above.

177. Norman de Garis Davies, Alan Gardiner, and Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ankhnesneferibre, Wife of Senusert I, and of Her Wife, Anes, No. 1, The Theban Tomb Series*, Norman de Garis Davies and Alan Gardiner, eds. Second Memoir (London, 1928). The owner of the Theban tomb is now thought to be Intefiker's mother, see Franke, *Personennamen aus dem Mittleren Reich*, pp. 119-120 with further references to the vizier.

178. It should be remembered that in the area where later the Ramesseum was erected a number of Later Middle Kingdom tombs were found by Quibell, see James L. Quibell et al., *The Ramesseum and The Tomb of Ptah-Hotep, Egyptian Research Account 1896* (London, 1898), pp. 4-5, pl. 5.

179. See note 177.

180. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 20. Main evidence for Intef is a fragment of a base for a statue of limestone, the inscription on which is "offerings to the honored before the great god, the chancellor Intef, justified." MMA accessioned, reg. no. ME. 203.

181. According to the captions on prints of reg. nos. MC.235-237, Winlock considered the largest relief fragments preserved from the tomb (MMA acc. nos. 31.3.2.4 and others) as coming from the western ruin chamber of the tomb that is supposed to be Intef's. The painting of these relief fragments is less true than in the fragments certainly belonging to Meketre. The attribution will have to be thoroughly studied before final publication.

182. Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 29-30, 222-228, pls. 20-22. *Haus Nr. 1*, pp. 303-305, figs. 196, 198.

183. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 228.

184. Final judgment on the linen marks of Wäh can only be given after further study. "Year 2, Wäh" is written on MMA acc. nos. 40.3.23.24. "Year 3, overseer of the storehouse Wäh" is on 40.3.26-28. "Year 4, overseer of the storehouse Wäh" is on 40.3.29. "Year 15" (40.3.25) is coupled with another name. The "year 31" that Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 227, mentions is presumably a "year 11" and has another name, not Wäh (40.3.22).

185. MMA acc. no. 20.3.210. Winlock, *Excavations*, pl. 30.

186. Farth and Gunn, *The Pyramidal Cemetery*, II, pl. 29B. See also Quibell and Hayter, *Ten Pyramids, North Side*, pl. 26.

187. To have time of one or two generations as a deposit is not unique. See Arnold, *Memphitop. III. Die königlichen Begräbnisse*, p. 59, no. 25.

188. MMA acc. nos. 40.3.12 and 13. Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 274-275, pl. 10. These Larnas pueris have been much discussed most recently by Geoffrey J. Martin, *Egyptian Adolescents and Pueri-Larnas from Babel*, 1-17 (1971), no. 390. William Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals* (Brynol, 1978), nos. 272, 273. For the mutilation of the heads of both scarabs, see Henry G. Fischer, *L'Égypte et l'Art de l'Égypte Ancienne, Collège de France, Annales et Publications* (Paris, 1966), p. 131.

189. Thomas L. H. James, *The Hekenukhe Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*, Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, XL (New York, 1961).

190. Theban Tomb no. 319. MMA Egyptian Expedition no. 510. PM. I, p. 1, p. 189, 390. Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 54, 55, 78, 8.

191. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 55. The description of the exact conditions of the finds of the Hekenukhe papers is not completely clear in the records. On a pencil section of the tomb of Meseh (AM 784), the word "papers" is written inside the mass of the ramp leading down to the burial chamber. On an inked version of the same section (AM 785) the word "papers" is written above the surface of the ramp. There is also a photograph of the ramp seen from the entrance (reg. no. M.1) with the caption of which on Winlock's hands reads: "Passage to burial chamber. Papers were under rubble just beyond bricks." This clearly implies that the papers were inside the blocking wall, and that they were part of the ramp fill.

192. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 60.

193. James, *The Hekenukhe Papers*, pp. 2-6.

194. Hans Goedicke, *Studies in the Hekenukhe Papers* (Baltimore, 1964), pp. 8, 9.

195. Brigitte Jarosch Deckert, who is currently working on the fragments from the temple relief, confirms that no *Isis aretias* 4.1. also note 120 above.

196. For Khety, see Winlock, "Court of King Neb-Hupet-Re Mentu-Hotep," pp. 142-143. For Hemenu, see William C. Hayes, "Career of the Great Steward Hemenu under Nebhepetre Mentuhotep," *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 43-49. For Meru, see Winlock, "Court," p. 170. The tomb of Nefertibre, on the other hand (Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 71-72) was certainly of Dynasty 15, if the statues (fig. 1, pl. 35) belonged to it.

197. Winlock, *Excavations*, pl. 14 bottom. The drawings published here are taken from Tomb card Thebes 1820. One of the smaller pots is in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Journal d'Égypte no. 49912. Two others of small size were in the MMA 126.3.264, 2851 together with five more pots from the tomb 126.3.286-2991 among which is a *choz* vase with round shoulders. All these later pots are now in the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

198. This burial will be published by Dieter Arnold in *The Pyramid Complex of Senusert I*.

199. MMA acc. no. 20.3.256. Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 29-30.

200. James, *The Hekenukhe Papers*, p. 12.

201. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

202. Goedicke, *Studies in the Hekenukhe Papers*, pp. 11-12, 119.

203. James's arguments for a southern location are still among (James, *The Hekenukhe Papers*, pp. 8-9).