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Edward Brovarski

Studies in Egyptian Lexicography III : CG 20506 and the Word for “Bed Canopy”.

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Studies in Egyptian Lexicography III: CG 20506 and the Word for "Bed Canopy"

EDWARD BROVARSKI

In memoriam Abdel Aziz Sadek

The loss of a colleague is always a source of sorrow and regret. But the passing of Azouz Sadek truly made the heart ache. It goes without saying that the loss to the field of Egyptology is great. But to many Egyptologists Azouz Sadek was more than a valued and esteemed colleague, he was a close and dear friend. Through an old friendship with his wife Cynthia Sheikholeslami, my wife Del and I were fortunate to become closely acquainted with Azouz. Time spent with him enriched both the mind and the spirit. For not only was Azouz a Renaissance man—the master of numerous foreign languages, an amateur astronomer, an admirer of German romantic poetry—he had a free and generous nature, a wonderful sense of humor coupled with a ready laugh, and a kind and sympathetic soul. The present article represents a small and wholly inadequate tribute to his memory.[1]

On the Dynasty XI stele of Hetep, CG 20506, in the midst of the usual recitation of conventional virtues, occurs a unique statement which has been translated by Schenkel as follows:

> *I am an ỉwỉw-hound, who sleeps in a tent,*
> *a greyhound for going to bed, whom his*
> *mistress likes.*[2]

1 This article was originally written in 1996 for the third volume of a memorial volume in honor of Abdel Aziz Fahmy Sadek that never appeared in print. I much regret the long delay in its appearance.

2 W. Schenkel, *Memphis. Herakleopolis. Theben, ÄA* 12, 1965, no. 501, p. 299-300. For the stele itself, see H.O. Lange, H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo: No. 20001-20780*, Vol. 2, 1908, p. 96-97; *ibid.*, Vol. 4, 1902, pl. 34.

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The word translated "tent" is *ḫn*, and in this Schenkel has presumably followed *Wörterbuch* III, 368, which gives "Zelt" as the primary meaning of *ḫn*. However, *Wörterbuch* also notes that the term in question can be used of a bedroom, of an "awning" on the deck of a ship, and in the compound *nḏs ḳn n ḫnw ḏ3mw* as a military grade.

Papyrus Prisse I, 1, the *Instruction Addressed to Kagemni* furnishes *Wörterbuch*'s first citation for "tent."[3] The passage reads as follows: "The respectful man prospers, praised is the moderate one, the *ḫn* is open to the silent one, the seat of the contented one is spacious."[4] By itself, the context is not very definitive and would not necessarily yield up the meaning "tent", although the cloth determinative () indicates something made of cloth. However, according to *Wörterbuch*, *ḫn* is also used as the dwelling place of the migratory Libyans during their invasion of Egypt in the time of Merneptah.[5] Here "tent" more naturally comes to mind, and the hide determinative () presumably indicates the nature of the tent covering.

A second New Kingdom occurence of *ḫn* in the composition entitled the *Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling* by its editor may also support the meaning of "tent" or at least of some sort of temporary shelter: "… the sufferings thereof are small, the *ḫn* is opened to the fowl- and fish-catcher."[6]

For "bedroom" *Wörterbuch* provides two citations. The first, *Hatnub*, Gr. 16, 2, forms part of the titulary of the nomarch Nehri I of the Hare nome who is called: *rḫ n nswt ỉw.f m ḫn ỉt.f*, "an acquaintance of the king while he was (still) in the *ḫn* of his father."[7] There is no direct reference to sleep here, and the example by itself hardly supports the meaning for which it was cited, although the word is once again determined by the sign for cloth. The second example, CG 20505, is presumably in error for CG 20506, for the former is a fragmentary stele with a text confined to funerary formula and names and epithets, among which *ḫn* does not appear. CG 20506, does, as we have already seen, contain a clear reference to sleeping or at least passing the night in a *ḫn*.[8] The determinative is again the cloth-sign.

Wörterbuch's first reference for "awning on the deck of a ship" is a well-known passage from the autobiography of Harkhuf. The boy-king Pepy II, excited at the possibility of seeing a pygmy from the far south, sends detailed instructions as to his care: "When he sleeps at night, appoint trustworthy men to lie around him in his *ḫn*. Inspect ten times during the night."[9] Also cited by *Wörterbuch* is a Dyn. XI Dendera stele: *[ỉw] ỉr.n.(ỉ) dpt ḫrt ỉtrw(?) m ḫnw…,* "I made ten river boats with awnings… (?)."[10] In both instances the determinative is the cloth-sign.

3 See e.g., A.H. Gardiner, "The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni and His Brethern", *JEA* 32, 1946, p. 71-74.

4 Cf. *ibid*., p. 73; W.K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt,* new ed., New Haven and London, 2003, p. 177; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. 1: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, Berkeley, 1973, p. 59.

5 A. Mariette, *Karnak: Étude topographique et archéologique*, Leipzig, 1875, pl. 55, l. 62; J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 3, reprint ed., New York, 1962, § 573; K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, vol. 4, Oxford, 1982, p. 9-10; *id.*, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annonated: Translations,* vol. 4, Oxford, 2002, p. 8 (9:10).

6 R.A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, Oxford, 1956, pl. 6, 3, 15, p. 20.

7 R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, *UGAÄ* 9, 1964, p. 35-41, pl. 16 .

8 *ṯḏr*: *Wb*. IV, p. 390-391.

9 *Urk*. I, p. 130, 10-13.

10 W.M.Fl. Petrie, *Dendereh* (with extra plates), *EEF* 17, 1900, pl. 7 A.

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The phrase *nḏs qn n ḫnw ḏ3mw*, "a valiant citizen of the *ḫnw* of the age-mates", occurs in a number of grafitti at the Hatnub quarries.[11] The *ḏ3mw*, a term often translated "troops", "recruits", was in all likelihood actually an "(age) cohort" or "generation unit."[12] In the Hatnub graffiti and in certain texts of the First Intermediate Period, the *ḏ3mw* play a distinctly military role.[13] Perhaps this connection is most readily apparent in a passage from the Hatnub graffiti in which the speaker, the nomarch Nehri I, refers to himself in the following terms: "A brave citizen (*nḏs*) without equal, possessor of a strong arm, greatly beloved, who refutes the speech of one who argues with him. When I was a youth, no one served in my place.[14] I armed my cohort of youths, going out to fight in company with my city."[15] In a second graffito, which closely parallels the first part of the passage just quoted, Nehri refers to himself as a *nḏs qn n ḏ3mw*.[16] The determinative of *ḫnw* at Hatnub is the cloth-sign,[17] and the context arguably supports the meaning of "tent", since troops on campaign commonly sleep in tents, at least modernly.[18]

The Harkhuf passage and CG 20506 seem the most useful in determining the actual nature of a *ḫn*. The context of the first probably indicates either the cabin of a Nile craft or an awning over the deck under which the pygmy sleeps.[19] The owner of the Cairo stele likens himself to his mistress's pet hounds which are allowed the privilege of sharing her *ḫn* and bed. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Hetep's mistress, who was clearly a woman of some prominence, passed her nights in an ordinary tent, and it was probably for that reason that *Wörterbuch* took *ḫn* in the latter context to mean "bedroom." At first glance, "boat cabin/awning" and "bedroom" may seem to have little in common. But further investigation reveals a closer connection, especially if *ḫn* in CG 20506 is understood as "bed canopy" rather than "bedroom."

The best known and most complete surviving bed canopy is that of Queen Hetepheres I, wife of Snefru and mother of his son and successor, Khufu (pl. 1).[20] The length of the canopy is 3.20 m, the width 2.50 m, and the height 2.20 m.[21] The framework consists of roof and floor beams, of upright corner posts at its rear, and at its front of two jambs and an L-shaped wooden element with a slender pole attached below in the typical fashion of the "drum" and architrave so commonly found in Old Kingdom architecture.[22] Ten bulbous-headed "tent poles" uphold the sides and back of the canopy, while five plain roof poles span the space so enclosed.

11 R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, *UGAÄ* 9, 1964, Gr. 20, 3; 25, 5; 27, 2; 43, 4; p. 90.

12 See N. Ryder, "The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change," *American Sociological Review* 30, Washington, 1965, p. 843-861.

13 See also H.G. Fischer, "The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period," *Kush* 9, 1961, p. 47-48 and 49 (d). In the Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Djehutyhetep, the *ḏ3mw n ʿḥ3wtyw*, "the cohort of fighting men," shown hauling the nomarch's statue are distinguished by their garb from the files of men depicted above and below, who are designated as *ḏ3mw n ỉmnt/i3bt*, "the cohort of the west/east" (P.E. Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, *ASEg* 3, 1893, pl. 15).

14 Lit. *n ỉdnw.ỉ*.

15 R. Anthes, *op. cit.,* Gr. 16, 2-4.

16 *Ibid*., Gr. 20, 2-4.

17 In *ibid*., Gr. 20, 3 and 27, 2; in 25, 5 and 43, 4, there is no determinative.

18 In fact, J.K. Hoffmeier,"Tents in Egypt and the Ancient Near East," *JSSEA* 7, no. 3 , May 1977, p. 18, observes that only the king along with top military officers or the king's sons were provided with tents in the course of New Kingdom military campaigns.

19 N. Dürring, *Materialien zum Schiffbau im Alten Ägypten*, *ADAIK* 11, 1995, p. 90, 215, indeed takes *ḫn* to be a "small cabin" (*kleine Kajüte*) (reference thanks to Prof. Peter Der Manuelian).

20 I would like to thank Dr. Rita E. Freed, John F. Cogan, Jr. and Mary L. Cornille Chair of Art of the Ancient World, for permission to reproduce Harvard University-Boston Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition photographs (A 6930A_NS; B8072_NS, B8075_NS) of the bed canopy in the present article.

21 For the description that follows, see G.A. Reisner, W.S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, MA, 1955, p. 23-25.

22 G.A. Reisner, W.S. Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 23.

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Hooks are fastened around the top of the frame at intervals on all four sides on the inside of the canopy (pl. 2), evidently for hanging linen curtains or mats, while on the outside of each of the three floor beams is a second series of copper staples which Reisner thought were used to fasten the side curtains.[23] A roofing cloth was also apparently fastened to a series of staples which ran along the top of the front and back roofing beam and to hooks at each end of the roof poles.[24] The canopy formed a curtained space where the queen's bed and other furniture could be placed, partly for the sake of privacy and partly for protection against insects and nightly drafts.[25] The canopy and furniture were covered in gold sheeting and the vertical elements decorated with matting patterns and hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Albeit the best preserved, Hetepheres' is not the earliest example of a bed canopy. Emery discovered fragments of a wooden canopy frame and columns similar to those of Queen Hetepheres in a tomb of First Dynasty date in the Early Dynastic cemetery at Saqqara, S 3471 (fig. 1).[26] Surviving evidence showed that the capitals of these columns were cased with sheet copper. Quibell also found the poles of a canopy like Hetepheres' in a room under the South Tomb in the Djoser Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara.[27] The poles of the latter were covered with thick gold foil.[28]

Although these are the only actual surviving bed canopies or elements thereof known to me, the lengthy list of bed canopy scenes that follows provides ample testimony that they comprised a regular component of household furnishings in the Old Kingdom, at least in upper and middle class homes. Two different types of scenes actually occur. In the first, the canopy alone appears, without attendants. In the second, attendants make up the bed. There is also one damaged scene that is impossible to categorize.

Bed Canopy Scenes

1. Sekhentiu, Saqqara, UPC, north wall, middle register; A.M. Moussa, F. Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, *AV* 9, 1975, frontispiece [upper left], pl. 1 (= fig. 2);[29] Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London and New York, 1987, p. 274, late Neuserre-Menkauhor.

2. Nefer-seshem-ptah/Sheshi/Udja-ha-teti, Saqqara, TPC, Room 7, west wall, north of false door; A.B. Lloyd, A.J. Spencer, A. El-Khouli, *Saqqâra Tombs, Vol. 4: The Mastaba of Neferseshemptah*, *ASE*g 41, 2008, pl. 25 (2); Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 274, Unis-Tem.

23 Cf. *ibid.*

24 Pace Smith, *ibid.*, p. 23.

25 *Ibid.*

26 W.B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, Vol. 1, Cairo, 1949, p. 59, cat. no. 546, fig. 30; H.S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World*, New York, 1966, p. 26. The maximum diameter of the posts was 3.4 cm and the maximum width of the cross-piece 3.0 cms. The base of the columns had a square section.

27 C.M. Firth, J.E. Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, Cairo, 1935, p. 62, and pls. 37 [1], 47 L; G.A. Reisner, W.S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis,* Vol. 2, Cambridge, 1955, p. 14-15. The surviving poles were nine in number and the longest measured 2.80 m.

28 In addition to these, bulbous-headed "tent poles," what may be other elements from a canopy are represented in the painted corridor in the tomb of Hesyre; see J.E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy*, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1911-12, Cairo, 1913, pls. 17-18.

29 My thanks go to Prof. Friedrich Junge for permission to reproduce both scenes from the tomb of Sekhentiu in the present article; see also figure 4 below.

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3. Khenty, TT 405, north wall, second register: M. Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, *AV* 14, 1977, pl. 13; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.,* p. 281, 1-85 Pepy II.

4. Khenty, north wall, third register: *ibid.*; as last.

Bed Making Scenes under Canopies[30]

5. Queen Meresankh III, Giza rock-cut tomb G 7530-40, main room, south wall; D. Dunham, W.K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, *Giza Mastabas* 1, Boston, 1974, fig. 8, pl. 9 a-d; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 267, temp. Shepseskaf.

6. Nebemakhet, Giza tomb LG 86, inner room, eastern wall (fig. 3); L*D* 2, pl. 14; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, Vol. 4, Cairo, 1943, fig. 81, pl. 38; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 267, temp. Shepseskaf-Userkaf.

7. Ankhmare, Giza rock-cut tomb G 7837-7843 (Eastern Cliff), room b, east wall, north of doorway; G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA, 1942), p. 351-352; unpubl., PM, Vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 206; Harvard University-Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition photograph A 7561; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 266, temp. Unis.

8. Queen Nebet, Saqqara, UPC, Room C, west wall, over doorway; P. Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West I: Topographisch-historiche Einleitung. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut*, Mainz am Rhein, 1993, pl. 22; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 274, temp. Unis.

9. Iynefret/Shanef, Saqqara, Room II, above doorway, upper register; N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara,* Vol. 2: *The Tombs of Iynefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)*, *ACER* 19, 2003, pl. 43, two beds are shown, one for the deceased and the other for his wife, who appears seated with him at the left (?); Y. Harpur, *op. cit.,* p. 272, temp. Unis; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, London, 1985, p. 58 (6), middle to late Unis.

10. Iynefret/Shanef, Room II, above doorway, north wall, lower register; N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *op. cit.*, pl. 43; as last.

11. Sekhentiu: Saqqara, UPC, north wall, lower register; A.M. Moussa, Fr. Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, *AV* 9, 1975, frontispiece [upper left], pl. 2 (= fig. 4); Y. Harpur, *op. cit.,* p. 276, temp. Unis.

12. Ni-ankh-ba, Saqqara, UPC, burial chamber, middle part of west wall; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara*, Vol. 3, re-edited by Z. Iskander, Cairo, 1975, p. 47, pl. 28 B; N. Strudwick, *op. cit.*, p. 102 (70), temp. middle Unis.

13. Ptahhetep/Iyenankh: Saqqara, UPC, above doorway to offering room, right-hand side; S. Hassan, *op. cit.,* Vol. 2, p. 97-98, fig. 39, pl. 79 A, B; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.,* p. 274, temp. Unis-Teti.

14. Ptahhetep/Iyenankh: Saqqara, UPC, above doorway to offering room, topmost register, left-hand side; S. Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 98, figs. 40-41, pl. 79 A, B; as last.

30 For bed making scenes in which the canopy is absent, see J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, Vol. 4, Paris, 1964, p. 187ff., and M. Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, *AV* 14, 1977, pl. 13. In The Saqqarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, Vol. 2, *OIP* 39, 1938, pl. 141, the bed is set in the cabin of a boat.

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15. Mereruka; TPC, Room X, west wall; The Saqqarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka,* pts. 1-2, *OIP* 31, 1938, pls. 91-3; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 274, temp. Teti M-L.

16. In-snefru-ishtef, Dahshur, in Cairo, CG 1777; L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (Ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo*, Vol. 2, Cairo, 1964, fig. on p. 199, pl. 106; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 279, temp. Teti?.

17. Ni-maat-re, Giza, Western Field (G 2097), south wall of chapel recess; A.M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, *Giza Mastabas* 6, Boston, 1995, fig. 187; *ibid.*, p. 114, early Sixth Dynasty.

18. NN, Brooklyn Museum, No. 71.10.1; R.A. Fazzini, "Some Egyptian Reliefs in Brooklyn," in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1, Brooklyn, 1972, 41, fig. 7; temp. early Dyn. VI.

19. Mehu, Saqqara, UPC, middle room, west wall; H. Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, *AV* 42, 1998, pls. 52-53, *ibid.*, p. 83, Teti; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 274, temp. middle Pepy I-Merenre?; N. Strudwick, *op. cit.*, p. 101 (69), early to middle Pepy I; E. Brovarski, "False Doors & History: the Sixth Dynasty," in M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, *Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague, May 31-June 4, 2004*, Prague, 2006, p. 81-82, temp. early to middle Pepy I.

20. Irukaptah/Khenu, Saqqara, UPC, north wall, upper register; B. de Rachewiltz, *The Rock Tomb of Irw-kȝ-ptḥ*, Leiden, 1960, 21, pls. 21 [1, 2], 22; A. McFarlane, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara*, Vol. 1: *The Tomb of Irukaptah*, *ACER* 15, 2000, pl. 42, upper register; *ibid.*, p. 16-19, temp. Menkauhor-Djedkare.

21. Irukaptah/Khenu, *ibid.*; lower register; as last.

22. Kaiemankh: Giza tomb G 4561, chapel corridor, west wall, south section (fig. 5); H. Junker, *Giza*, Vol. 4, *DAWW* 71, 1940, fig. 10; N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza*, vol. 1: *Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)*, *ACER* 16, 2001; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 270, Dyn. VI; A. Woods, "Contribution to a Controversy: A Date For the Tomb of *Kȝ(=ỉ)-m-ʿnḫ at Giza*," *JEA* 95, 2009, p. 161-174, temp. Djedkare or early Unis.

23. Kaihep/Tjeti-iqer: El-Hawawish tomb H 26, chapel, south wall, west of entrance; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish*, Vol. 1, Sydney, 1980, fig. 9, pl. 6; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 281, 35-85, temp. Pepy II.

24. Shepses-pu-Min/Kheni: El-Hawawish tomb H 24, chapel, south wall, west of the entrance; *El-Hawawish*, Vol. 2, Sydney, 1981, fig. 19; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 281, temp. end Dyn. VI-VIII.

25. Unis-ankh: M. Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, *AV* 14, 1977, pl. 4, west wall; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 281, temp. end Dyn. VI-VIII.

26. Henqu/Ii-[sen?]ef: Gebrawi tomb 67, north wall; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi*, vol. 1, *ASEg* 11, 1902, pl. 23; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*, p. 280, temp. end Dyn. VI-F. I. P.

27. Merefnebef/Wnis-ʿnḫ/Ffi: West Saqqara; K. Myliwiec *et al.*, *Saqqara I: The Tomb of Merefnebef*, Warsaw, 2004, pl. 22; *ibid.*, p. 246-250, Userkare-Pepy I; E. Brovarski, "False Doors & History: the Sixth Dynasty," in M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, Prague, 2006, p. 93-94, temp. first half of reign of Pepy II.

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Uncertain

28. Remeni, N. Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol. IX: The Tomb of Remni*, *ACER* 28, 2009, pl. 44; *ibid.*, p. 13-18, the upper part of the scene is lost; *ibid.*, p. 13-18, end Teti.

While most of these canopies have flat-topped, relatively low roof beams (1-2, 5, 7-12, 16, 19-21, 27), like Queen Hetepheres' canopy, certain of the others have high, decorated entablatures. This is true of the earliest of the depictions from the tomb of Nebemakhet (6), whose roof beam is decorated with a stylized design (fig. 3). The entablature of one of the two canopies depicted in the tomb of Sekhentiu (1) bears a *kheker*-frieze (fig. 2), while the entablature of the other (11) is twice as high with two superimposed friezes, the design of the upper frieze consisting of *kheker*-ornaments and that of the lower frieze of a complicated arrangement of *djed*-pillars, intertwined papyrus umbels, "protodoric" columns, and house or tomb facades (fig. 4). Unlike Queen Hetepheres' canopy, which is open at the front, the last two canopies are provided with doors, double-leafed in the case of the former, and single-leafed in the case of the latter. At least two other canopies are fitted with single-leafed doors (18, 28), and one of the two (18) has a row of *kheker*-ornaments above the entrance. The presence of the doors implies that these canopies were narrower and longer than Hetepheres' which is nearly square. Although the majority of the canopies are flat roofed, several of the later ones have vaulted or hunchbacked roofs (3-4, 23-24); one even has a double vault (22) (fig. 5).

As previously noted, side curtains were apparently hung from hooks around the top of the frame on the inside of Queen Hetepheres' canopy and fastened to a second series of copper staples on the outside of each of the three floor beams, while a roofing cloth was apparently fastened to a series of staples which ran along the top of the front and back roofing beam and to hooks at each end of the roof poles. Reisner thought that the side curtains and roofing cloths were made of linen, and what is probably a white linen curtain hangs halfway down from the top of the canopies of Ni-ankh-ba (12) and Kaihep/Tjeti-iqer (23).

Although this is in keeping with the cloth determinative () of *ḥn(w)* in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, fine patterned mats serve to enclose the sides of one of the canopies depicted in the tomb of Sekhentiu (11) (fig. 4).

In lieu of wardrobes or closets, the canopies were a convenient place to hang clothes and other personal effects, especially mantles of animal skin and fly whisks (1, 11, 16). Boxes of every sorts, scribal document cases, backpacks, headrests, perfume or unguent jars, mirror cases, packets, bags, *ꜣ*-shaped life preservers, and other kinds of equipment might be stored under the beds (1, 2, 16, 19, 25, 27). Other items of furniture, such as armchairs, boxes, and carrying chairs, as well as bags, sunshades, fans and so forth, are often set out nearby (1-2, 5, 8, 12, 20-22).

The canopies are supported by from three to eleven poles. With one definite exception, these poles are bulbous-headed "tent poles."[31] The exception is provided by the bed canopy in the

31 The top of the poles is not preserved in (13-15), (17) and (28). The tops of two of the three poles of Kaiemankh's canopy (22) are "tent poles," the third top looks like a papyrus umbel (fig. 5).

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tomb of Nebemakhet (6), a son of Khafre, whose poles are topped by the earliest example of the so-called "Hathor capital" (fig. 3),[32] although in actual fact, as Fischer has observed, the cow's horns and *ʿnḫ*-knot in this instance belong to the fetish of the goddess Bat.[33]

During the Old Kingdom the so-called "tent poles" had a wide utility in serving to support the roofs of a variety of light structures. These included rustic structures like open booths[34] or the shelters used as kitchens in the marshes,[35] as well as the framework of grape arbors[36] and the pole structure over wine vats[37] or poultry-yards.[38] They also supported the roofs of the portable kiosks sheltering the tomb owner from the sun during the viewing of agricultural or other outside activities[39] and similarly bore the weight of the canopy over carrying chairs.[40] "Tent-poles" likewise sustained the roofs of *sed*-festival kiosks.[41] In the funereal realm, they held up the canopy over the coffin,[42] over the canopic box,[43] or over the portable statue shrine on their sledges[44] or once again the canopy over the coffin[45] or statue shrine[46] following transference to a funeral barque.

Indeed, the bulbous headed "tent poles" columns were so common a feature of daily life as to furnish a hieroglyphic sign (with the biliteral value *ʿ3*).[47] Although the capital of the hieroglyph was commonly simplified after the Old Kingdom (fig. 6 b), in the earlier epoch

32 Figure 3 is reproduced from S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* , Vol. 4, Cairo, 1943, fig. 81.

33 H.G. Fischer, "The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat," *JARCE* 1, 1962, p. 13.

34 E.g., W.M.Fl. Petrie, *Medum*, London, 1892, pl. 10; H. Junker, *Giza*, Vol. 2, Vienna and Leipzig, 1934, fig. 17; see A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3d ed. rev., London, 1964, p. 495 [O 22].

35 E.g., A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, Vol. 4, *ASEg* 25, 1924, pl. 8.

36 E.g., A. Varille, *La tombe de Niankh-Pepi à Zâouyet el-Mayetin*, *MIFAO* 70, 1938, pl. 15.

37 E.g., L*D* II, pl. 111; A. Varille, *op. cit.,* pl. 15; A.M. Moussa, H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, *AV* 5, 1971, pl. 9.

38 E.g., N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, Vol. 1, *ASEg* 11, 1902, pl. 16.

39 E.g., L*D* II, pl. 107; N. de G. Davies *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Säid*, *ASEg* 10, 1901, pls. 15, 19. H. Junker, *Giza*, Vol. 5, Vienna and Leipzig, 1941, fig. 18 (flat-roofed); A.M. Moussa, H. Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, *AV* 9, 1975, pl. 3; cf. R.F.E. Paget, A.A. Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hetep*, with comments by F.Ll. Griffith, *ERA* 2, 1896, pl. 39.

40 E.g., R.F.E. Paget, A.A. Pirie, *op. cit.,* pl. 39; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, Vol. 2, *ASEg* 12, 1902, pl. 8; CGC 1537; A.M. Moussa, H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep*, *AV* 21, 1977, pl. 60; A.M. Moussa, H. Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, *AV* 9, 1975, pl. 1; W.K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston, 1992, pl. E; K.R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, Boston, 1994, fig. 32.

41 E.g., F.W. Von Bissing, H. Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re*, Vol. 2, Berlin, 1905, pl. 11; CGC 1747. On occasion too, bulbous-headed poles form elements of objects of daily use, such as the handles of sunshades; see e.g., N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, Vol. 1, *ASEg* 11, 1902., pl. 8; Vol. 2, *ASEg* 12, 1902, pl. 18; H. Wild, *Le tombeau de Ti*, Vol. 2, *MIFAO* 65, 1953, pl. 150. A.M. Moussa, H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, *AV* 5, 1971, pl. 18; *id.*, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep*, *AV* 21, 1977, pls. 42-43; A. Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of ʿAnkhmʿahor at Saqqara*, Berkeley, 1978, fig. 5, pl. 4.

42 N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, Vol. 1, *ASEg* 11, 1902, pl. 10.

43 *Id., The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, Vol. 2, *ASEg* 12, 1902, pl. 7; cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, *ASEg* 11, 1902, pl. 10.

44 E.g., H. Wild, *Le tombeau de Ti*, Vol. 1, *MIFAO* 65, 1953, pl. 53; A.M. Moussa, H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep*, *AV* 21, 1977, pl. 6, 11.

45 E.g., N. de G. Davies, *op. cit.,* Vol. 1, pl. 10; *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pls. 7, 20; W.M.Fl. Petrie, *Deshasheh*, *EEF* 15, 1898, pl. 25; A.M. Blackman, M.R. Apted, *Meir*, Vol. 5, *ASEg* 28, 1953, pls. 42, 43; J.A. Wilson, "Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom," *JNES* 3, 1944, pl. 14; W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, *Giza Mastabas* 2, Boston, 1976, figs. 24, 35.

46 E.g., J.A. Wilson, *JNES* 3, 1944, pl. 14; A.M. Moussa, H. Altenmüller, *op. cit.*, pls. 6, 7.

47 A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. rev., London, 1964, p. 496 [O 29].

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the top is still indubitably a tenon (fig. 6 a).[48] In the bed canopy from Saqqara tomb S 3471, tenons at the top of the poles fit into circular holes drilled through the ends of the cross-pieces (fig. 1), while in the bed canopy of Queen Hetepheres, the tenons projecting from the top of the poles fit into copper-lined sockets in the underside of the roof beams, and the base of the poles fit into copper-lined sockets in the topside of the floor beams (pl. 2, 3). This system of sockets and tenons allowed for a very portable structure.[49]

Inasmuch as it provides a clue to the origin of the "tent poles" columns, it is important to take note of the pointed design visible at the base of the First Dynasty "tent poles" (fig. 1). As early as 1897, Borchardt identified the bulbous headed columns as "Zeltstangen-Säule," a term which defines their character from a functional point of view, but says little about their ultimate origin or form.[50] Vandier evidently thought the top of the pole represented a lotus blossom.[51] The pointed design, however, recalls the dried spathes that appear at the base of actual papyrus plants and which are reproduced at the base of papyrus bundle columns in stone (fig. 7).[52] On occasion too, the dried foliage appears at the base of the papyrus stalk hieroglyph, but here it is rendered more naturalistically (fig. 8 a, b).[53] Although the shafts of the actual canopy poles are not three angled like a papyrus stalk, the capitals of the earliest of these (fig. 1) do resemble in profile the unopened papyrus umbel or rather such as stylized by the Egyptians (fig. 6 a, b), even though the capitals of the actual canopy poles and those depicted on Old Kingdom tomb walls are quite plain and lack any indication of foliage. By the reign of Snefru, when Queen Hetepheres' canopy was produced, the capital of the actual poles had become more conventionalized and evolved further away from the original model.[54]

48 H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, New York, 1988, p. 36 [O 29]. The sources for Figure 6 are as follows: (a) H.G. Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 36 [o 29/a] (= N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqarah*, Vol. 1, *ASEg* 8, 1900, pl. 12 [250]); (b) H.G. Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 36 [o 29/b] (= F.Ll. Griffith, *A Collection of Hieroglyphs*, *ASEg* 6, 1898, pl. 8 [116]). The images from H. Fischer, *Calligraphy*, are reproduced with the kind permission of Dr. Dorothea Arnold, Curator-in-Charge, Egyptian Department, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

49 In 1978 or thereabouts the writer and Dr. Timothy Kendall, both then curatorial assistants in the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, were asked by curator William Kelly Simpson, to move the full-scale reproduction of the bed-canopy from one of the lower Egyptian galleries to one of the upper galleries. The process of dismantling the canopy took about forty-five minutes; it took that long because the eight leather bindings at the four corners of the canopy had not been kept oiled and were difficult to remove. The process of reassembling the canopy in its new space was much shorter and took perhaps half of an hour. Practice would undoubtedly have accelerated the performance considerably.

50 L. Borchardt, *Die aegyptische Pflanzensäule*, Berlin, 1897, p. 56, n. 3; cf. G. Jéquier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne: les éléments de l'architecture*, Paris, 1924, p. 193-96 ("colonne-piquet").

51 J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, Vol. 4, Paris, 1964, p. 190, n. 4; cf. S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, Vol. 4, Cairo, 1943, p. 47.

52 The source for Figure 7 is L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re'*, *WVDOG* 7, 1907, pl. 13. This feature is absent from the base of lotus columns, at least during the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdoms; see e.g., G. Jéquier, *op. cit.*, fig. 130-31; *id.*, *L'architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1911, pl. 7 [3]; L. Borchardt, *Die aegyptische Pflanzensäule*, Berlin, 1897, figs. 9, 10, 12.

53 The sources for Figure 8 are: (a) L. Borchardt, *op. cit.*, fig. 43; (b) H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, New York, 1988, p. 33 (M 13) (= G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, MA, 1942, pl. 20 [b]). The image from H. Fischer, *Calligraphy*, is once again reproduced with the kind permission of Dr. Dorothea Arnold, Curator-in-Charge, Egyptian Department, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

54 The description of the Third Dynasty canopy poles from under the Step Pyramid (see n. 27 above) is very brief and it is not possible to determine from it or the photography provided very much about the character of the poles, although it is clear they are bulbous headed. As a result, they are excluded from the present discussion.

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Moreover, while the poles of Hetepheres' canopy and of two dimensional poles are straight sided, the poles of the earlier First Dynasty canopy taper slightly towards the base (fig. 1) like stone papyrus columns (fig. 7) and the papyrus stalk hieroglyph (fig. 8 a, b). The evidence of the First Dynasty poles therefore does seem to indicate that the "tent pole" columns reflect in shape an individual papyrus plant with unopened bloom. Thus, at least from the point of view of origin, it would be more precise to identify the bulbous headed columns as "papyrus-bud columns" rather than "tent pole" columns.[55]

In addition to the purposes already identified above, papyrus-bud columns are sometimes shown in Old Kingdom wall reliefs as supports for ship awnings or canopies. On the walls of his chapel in Copenhagen, Kaemrehu sits on a stool beneath an awning borne up by papyrus bud columns,[56] while in a ship from the chapel of Akhethotep in the Louvre, papyrus bud columns hold up awnings on both the foredeck and the afterdeck to either side of the central cabin.[57] More rarely, they appear as structural elements of cabins. This is true of one of Khnumhotep's ships, for example,[58] and probably also of two ships in Kagemni's flotilla.[59]

Of course, the most conspicuous instance of the use of papyrus-bud columns in ship construction is in the Khufu ship, found in a rock-cut boat pit just south of the Great Pyramid.[60] The main deckhouse or cabin of the royal ship is built of twelve wooden panels, five on each side and one at either end, while the roof is laid in ten hatches. A double door leads from the foredeck to a little anteroom, and another connects this anteroom with the main cabin space or saloon, while a single-leafed door leads from the cabin to the afterdeck. Within the cabin three columns with palm leaf capitals support the through-going roof shelf. This inner structure is surrounded by a framework of thirty-six columns that support slender beams which arch over the roof of the cabin. Landström observes that if the framework was covered by fabric, the resulting "tent" would have offered good insulation for the cabin.[61] Hag Ahmed Youssef, the restorer of Khufu's boat, goes one step further and suggests that the ancient ship builders

55 N. Jenkins, *Boat Beneath the Pyramid. King Cheops' Royal Ship*, photographs by J. Ross, New York, 1980, p. 63, figs 34, 35, does just that, but I am unable to find any explanation for her use of this terminology. Similarly, M. Lehner in *The Complete Pyramids* (London, 1997, p. 117) refers to the supports of Queen Hetepheres I's bed canopy as "early papyrus bud columns." W.M.Fl. Petrie in *Egyptian Decorative Art* (London, 1895, p. 76) saw in these columns the stem and flower of either a lotus or papyrus carved in wood.

56 M. Mogensen, *Le mastaba égyptien de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, Copenhagen, 1921, fig. 13; cf. H. Junker, *Giza*, Vol. 4, Vienna and Leipzig, 1940, pls. 5/7. It is possible that the awning actually represents a simple deckhouse of the type discussed by B. Landström in *Ships of the Pharaohs: 4000 Years of Egyptian Shipbuilding* (Garden City, NY, 1970, p. 74).

57 Chr. Ziegler, *Le mastaba d'Akhethetep*, Paris, 1993, p. 37. Cf. A.M. Blackman, M.R. Apted, *Meir*, Vol. 5, *ASEg* 28, 1953, pl. 23.

58 H.F. Petrie, M.A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, *BSEA* 65, 1952, pl. 17.

59 J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, Vol. 5, Paris, 1969, pl. 38, fig. 295, 2. In a number of Old Kingdom depictions of ships in which the mat siding of the cabins is raised and a view of the interior structure of the cabins is provided, straight-sided columns which flare towards the top are shown. B. Landström is evidently of the opinion that the flaring columns represent an abbreviated version of the papyrus-bud columns when depicted on a small scale; at least he reconstructs several ship representations as though he believed this to be the case; see *Ships of the Pharaohs*, figs. 97/100, 104/108, 110/121. Confirmation is perhaps to be had in the depiction of a Sixth Dynasty vessel in which one of the two columns holding up an awning on the foredeck is of "tent pole" type, whereas the other is flaring; see A.M. Blackman, M.R. Apted, *op. cit.*, pl. 23.

60 For the following description, see N. Jenkins, *op; cit.*; B. Landström, *op. cit.*, p. 26-34.

61 B. Landström, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

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invented a more imaginative way to cool the cabin. If reed mats placed over the framework were kept wet with buckets of river water, it would provide a primitive but effective kind of air conditioning, with water cooled air circulating around the roof and sides of the cabin.[62]

The thirty-six columns of the framework are all of the "papyrus-bud" variety. Similarly, the main deck canopy extending in front of the cabin and the baldachin on the foredeck of the ship are supported by bulbous headed columns.[63]

The relationship between ship cabins and bed canopies should now be more evident, both incorporating as they did poles with papyrus bud finials in their construction. It may be that Egyptian tents were not dissimilar or even identical in construction. Indeed, Vandier refers to the bed canopy as "une tente montée sur des piquets"[64] and, in at least three of the bed canopies scenes listed above, the canopy actually appears to have been set up out of doors. In the clearest case, that of Henqu/Ii-[sen?]ef of Deir el-Gebrawi (26), the setting is an aquatic one, in which his servants have erected his canopy and are readying his bed in the midst of the papyrus marshes, while Henqu himself spears fish, and nearby fishermen pull a dragnet from the water.[65] In the tomb of Ptahhetep/Iyenankh at Saqqara, two canopies (13, 14) are depicted above the doorway in the eastern wall of the offering room, while the superimposed registers on either side of the door are occupied by the customary marsh activities of cleaning fish, milking cows, plucking fowl, and preparing food. The setting is not as distinctly expressed in the earlier tomb of Nebemakhet (6), but the servants depicted below the bed canopy and behind Nebemakhet and his wife Nubhetep transport the kinds of objects frequently associated with an outing on the owner's part, in this instance a visit to the artisan's workshops.[66] When mats or cloth were stretched over the framework of the bed canopy, it would form a portable shelter in which the owner and his wife might take their ease or rest at the end of a long day of business or sport.[67] This seems as close to a definition of "tent" as it is possible to come. Although we thus have to envision Egyptians tents of the Old Kingdom as flat-topped rather than peaked or conical or pointed like our own tents or for that matter arched like Egyptian campaign tents of New Kingdom date,[68] in a land of limited rainfall, the flat top may not

62 See N. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 103-104.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 103, figs. 59, 60, pl. VII, IX.

64 J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, Vol. 4, Paris, 1964, p. 190.

65 A curious feature is the absence of the papyrus thickets in which the spear fishing takes place. Henqu's tomb is a late one; indeed H.G. Fischer in *Dendera in the Third Millenium B.C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (New York, 1968, p. 130, n. 572; 148) thinks it as late as Dyn. IX. The same feature is evident in the spear fishing scene of Ankhtify at Moalla (J. Vandier, *Mo'alla: la tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébek-hotep*, *BdE* 18, 1950, pl. 40).

66 See E. Brovarski, "Studies in Egyptian Lexicography I: An Inventory List from 'Covington's Tomb' and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom," in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), R.E. Freed (Project Supervisor), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, Vol. 1, Boston, 1996, p. 29-30.

67 Cf. N. de G. Davies, *Gebrâwi* 2, p. 29. H. Altenmüller in "Zu Isis und Osiris," (in M. Schade-Busch (ed.), *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, *ÄAT* 35, 1996, p. 1-17) sees a less prosaic reason for the bed canopy scenes. He believes that the representation of bed canopies in Old Kingdom tombs alludes to Osiris and Isis. The fate of the deceased is that of Osiris and the role of the deceased's wife (= Isis) is the awakening of the deceased and generation of Horus the son. See also H. Altenmüller in "Geburtsschrein und Geburtshaus," in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), R.E. Freed (Project Supervisor), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, Vol. 1, Boston, 1996, 1996, p. 27-37.; *id.*, "Auferstehungsritual und Geburtmythos," *SAK* 24, 1997, p. 1-21.

68 J.K. Hoffmeier, *JSSEA* 7, no. 3, May, 1977, p. 13-28.

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have been such a disadvantage. The tents of the migratory Libyans were probably not nearly so well constructed or regular in appearance, but being made of a hide covered framework of poles still qualified to be called *ḫn(w)*.

The deckhouse on Khufu's boat is more elaborate than the surviving bed canopies, with an inner shell and an outer framework. The outer structure resembles closely the surviving bed canopies, however. The word *ḫn* in the biography of Harkhuf might well refer to a deckhouse or cabin of similar design.[69]

Tent pole or papyrus-bud columns continued to be employed for portable structures represented in tomb reliefs and paintings in the the Middle and New Kingdoms.[70] The first use of "tent pole" or "papyrus bud" columns on a grand scale (fig. 9) was in the Akhmenu at Karnak, where Thutmose III "set up columns of this type in a hall surrounded by pillared galleries to transform the area into a tent like festival hall."[71] Very possibly, the form of the hall alludes to the campaign tents of the "Napolean of Egypt." By his time, however, the word *ḫn* had seemingly been replaced in common usage by another word for tent, *ỉm(w)*.[72]

69 In the case of the passage from the *Instruction Addressed to Kagemni* quoted on page 2 above, "bed canopy" probably fits the context better than "tent," the import perhaps being that the self-contained individual is welcome even into the inner sanctum of his lord.

70 See e.g., L*D* II, pl. 127; P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, Vol. 1, *ASEg* 1, 1894, pls. 16, 29; *id.*, *Beni Hasan*, Vol. 2, *ASEg* 2, 1894, pls. 15, 16; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, *TTS* 2, 1920, pl. 17; G. A. Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*, CGC, nos. 4798-4976 at 5034-5200, 1913, pls. 4 (CG 4807, 4808), 5 (CG 4811), 7 (CG 4841), 9 (CG 4847), 10 (CG 4851), and *passim*; L*D* III, pls. 14, 36 a, 49 a-b, 50 b, 51 a, 63 a, 64 a, 74 and *passim*.

71 S. Lloyd, H.W. Müller, *Ancient Architecture*, New York, n.d., p. 118. The usual interpretation is that the tent pole columns allude to the supports of the jubilee kiosk; see e.g. G. Jéquier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne,* Paris, 1924, p. 194. Figure 9 is after L. Borchardt, *Die aegyptische Pflanzensäule*, Berlin, 1897, fig. 88. The painted pattern of dried foliage at the top of certain of the columns, perhaps recalls their original origin as a papyrus stalk.

72 J.K. Hoffmeier, *JSSEA* 7, no. 3, May, 1977, fig. 1; pls. 3, 4 b.

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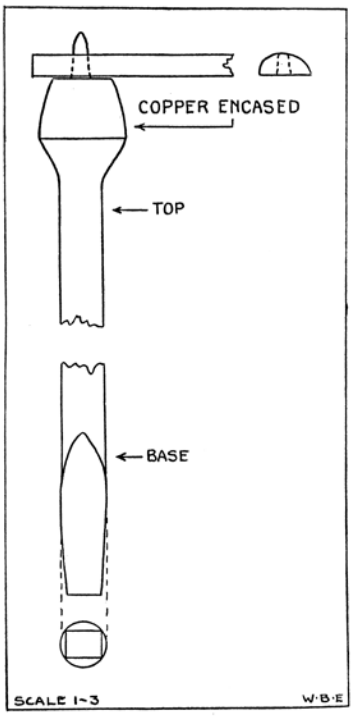


FIG. 1. Dynasty 2 bed canopy from Saqqara.

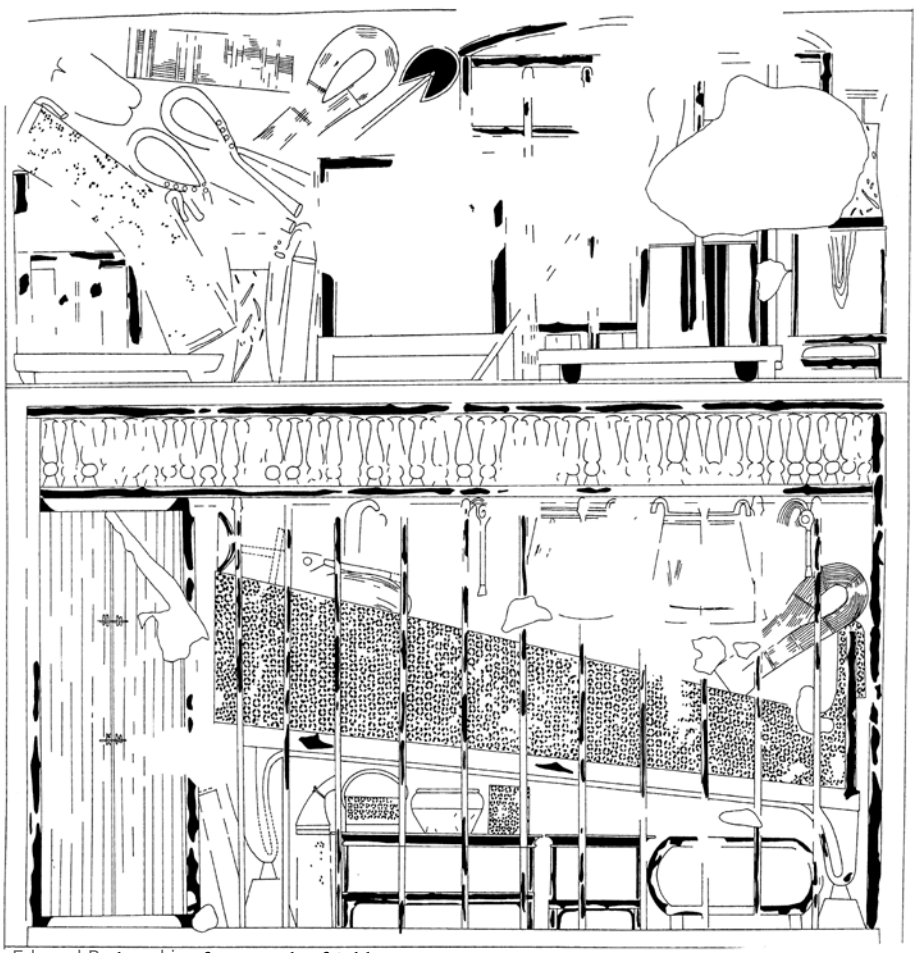


FIG. 2. Bed canopy from tomb of Sekhentiu.

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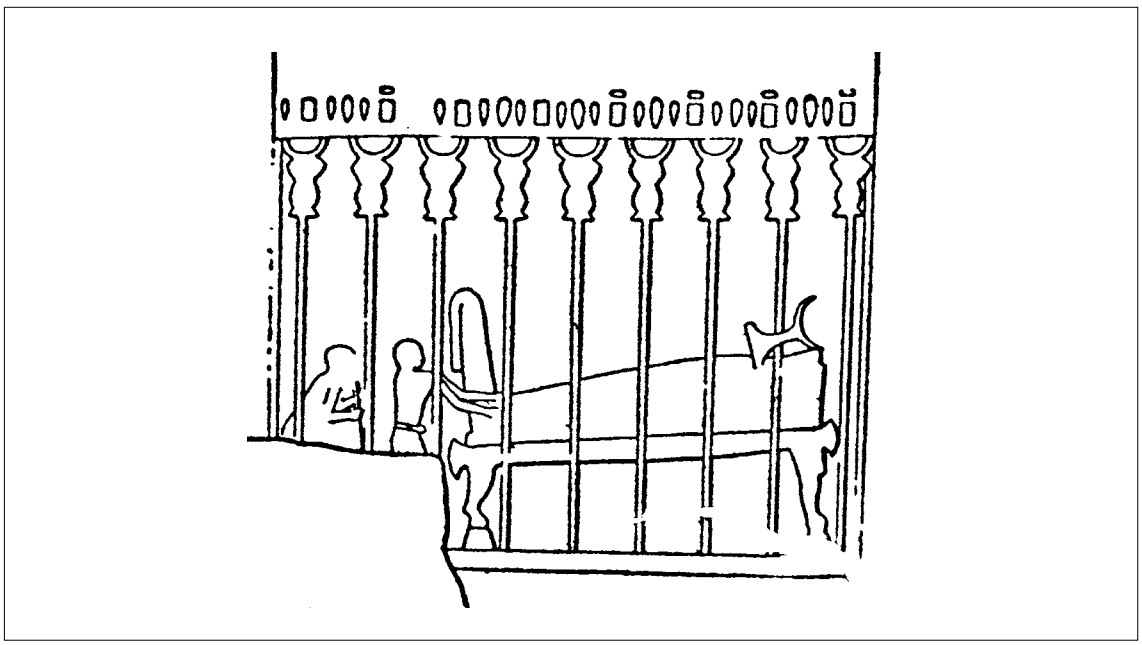


FIG. 3. Bed canopy from tomb of Nebemakhet.

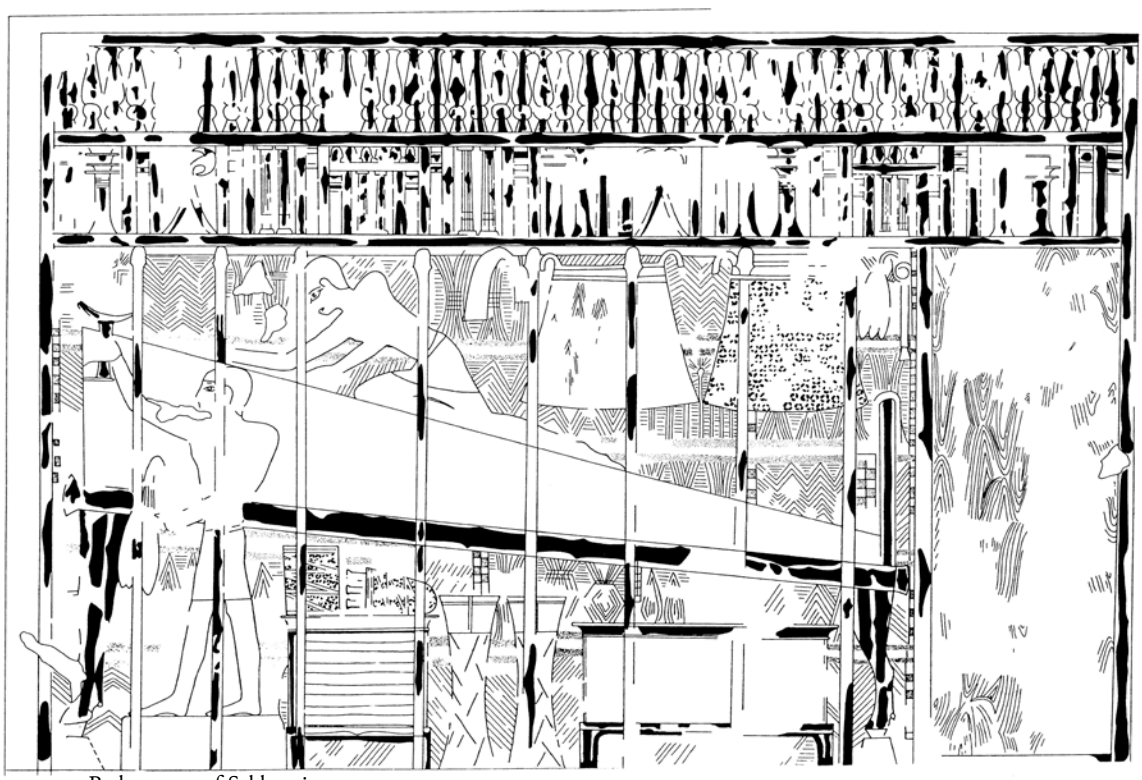


FIG. 4. Bed canopy of Sekhentiu.

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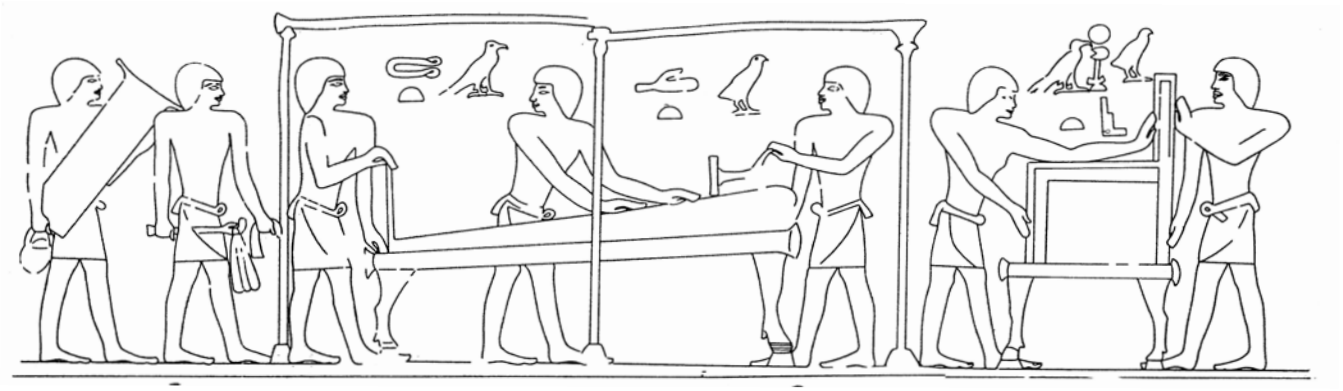


FIG. 5. Bed canopy of Kaiemankh.

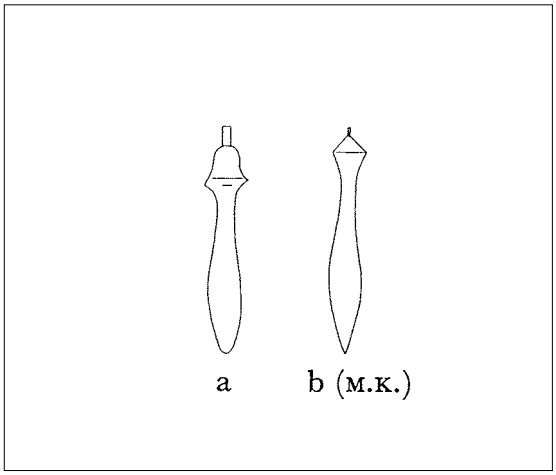


FIG. 6A, B. "Tent pole" hieroglyph.

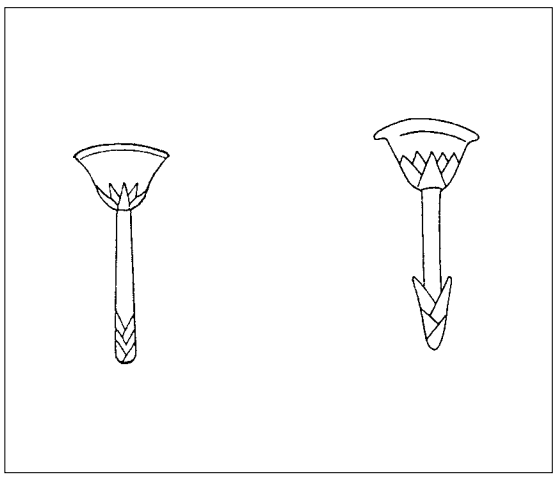


FIG. 8. Papyrus stalk hieroglyph.

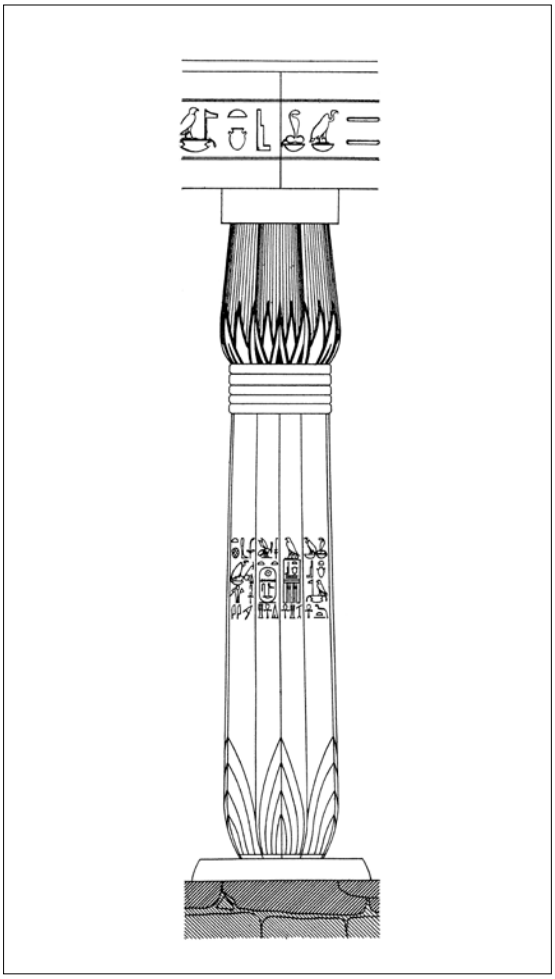


FIG. 7. Papyrus bundle columns in stone from the pyramid temple of Neuserre.

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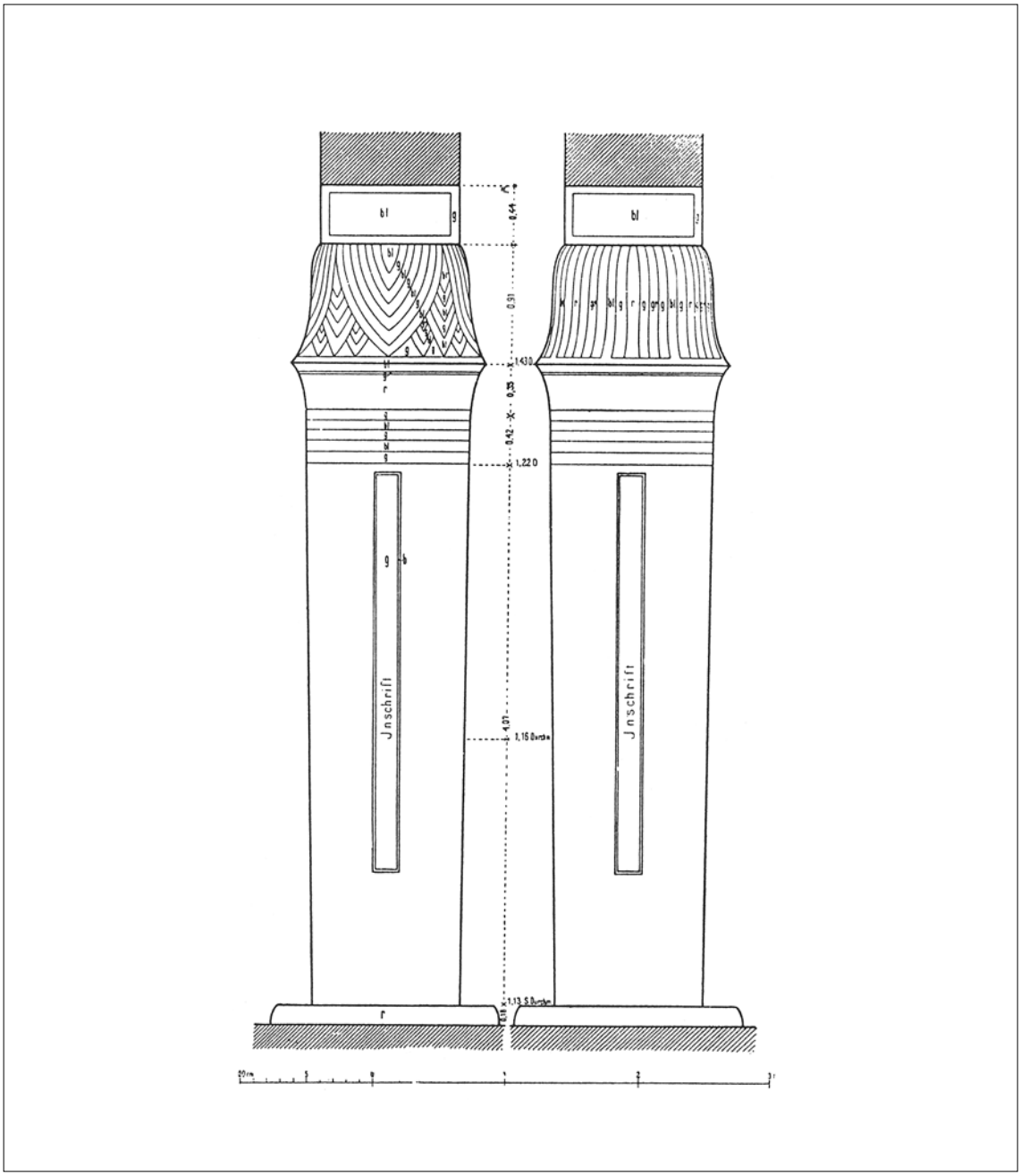
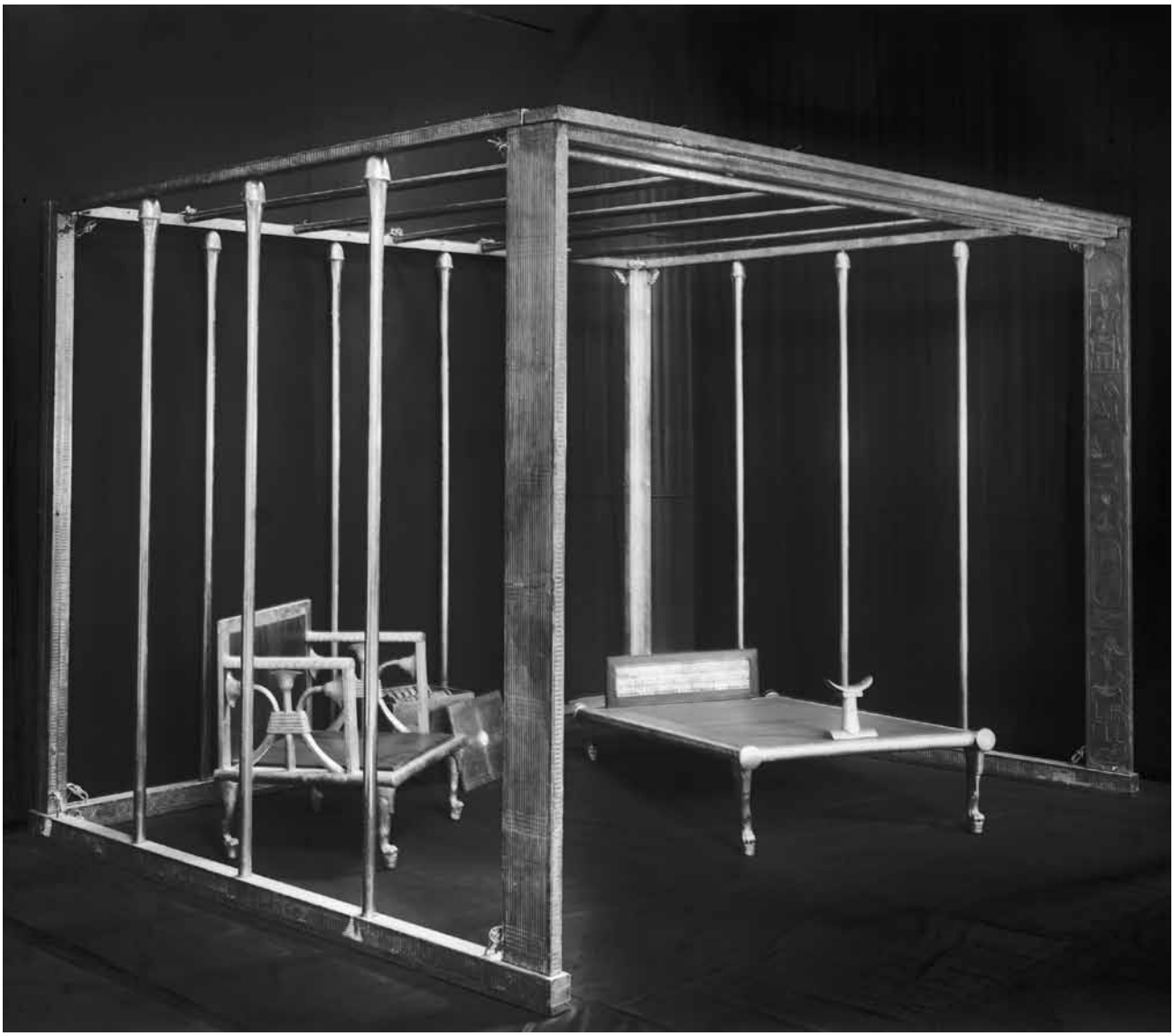


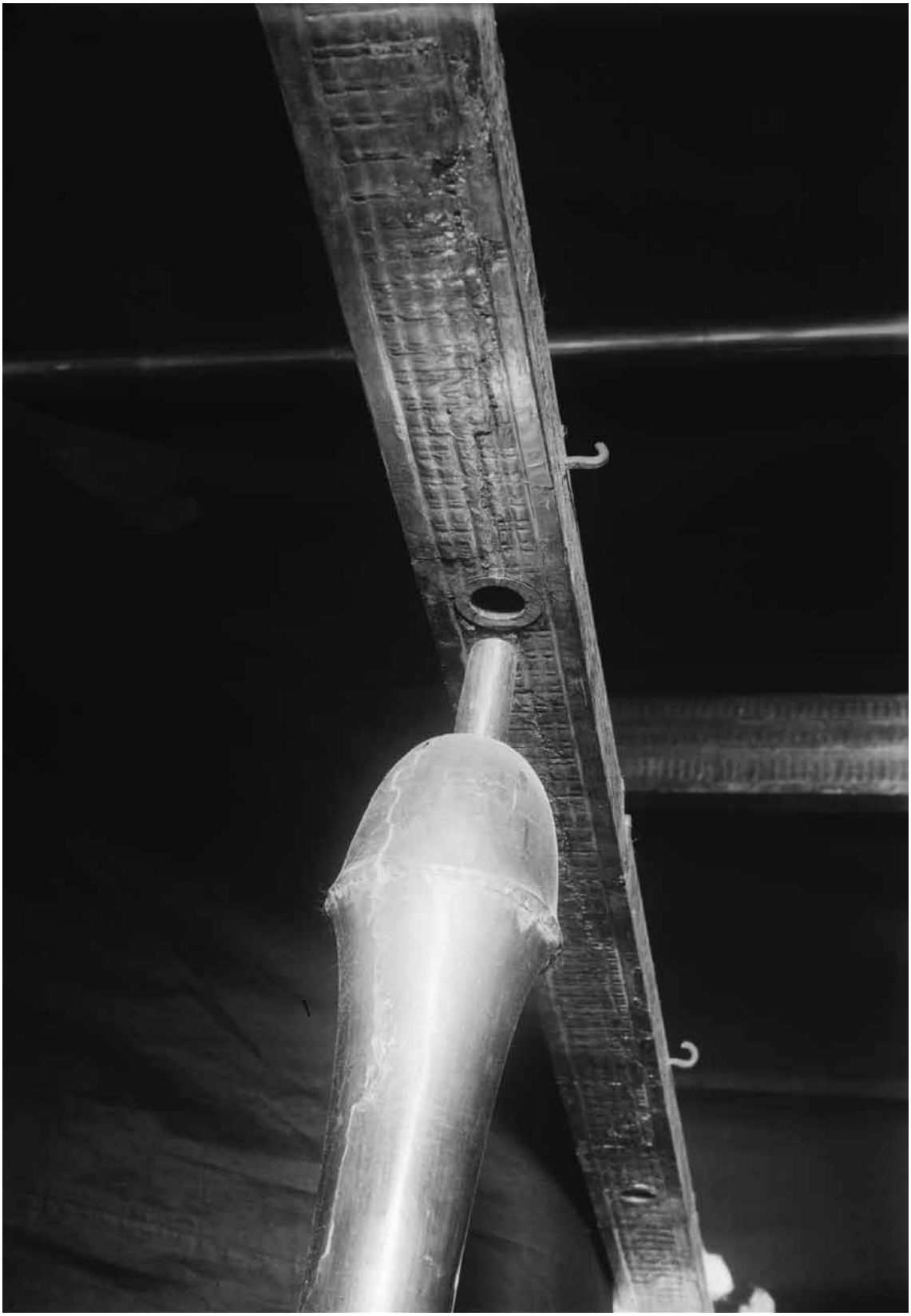
FIG. 9. "Tent pole" column from the Akhmenu at Karnak.

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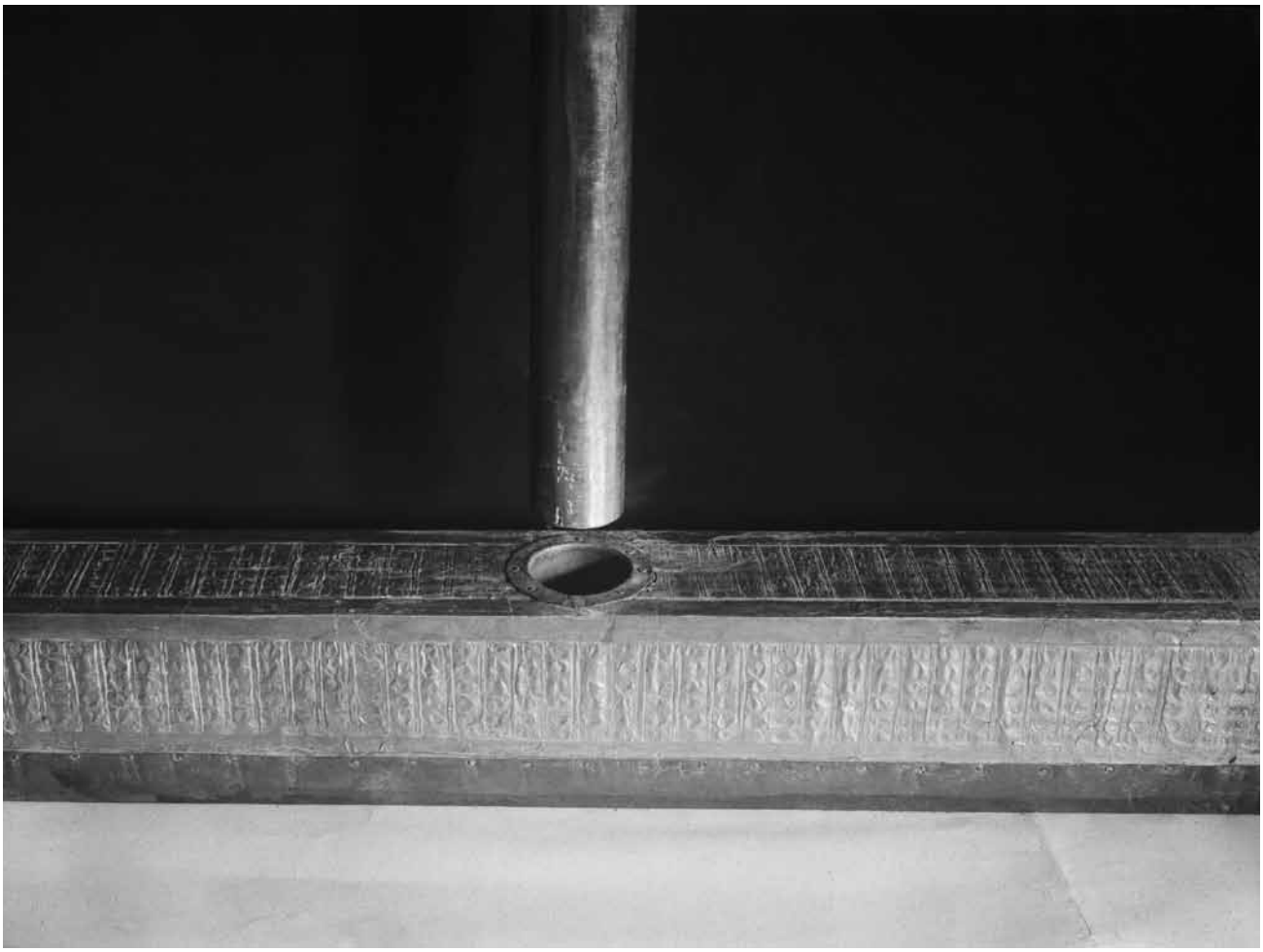
PL. I. The restored bed canopy of Queen Hetepheres.
Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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PL. 2. Top of pole fitting into socket in roof beam.
Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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PL. 3. Base of pole and socket in floor beam. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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