

Studies in Honor of
William Kelly Simpson



VOLUME I
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

*Studies in Honor of
William Kelly Simpson*

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Peter Der Manuelian
Editor

Rita E. Freed
Project Supervisor

DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN,
NUBIAN, AND NEAR EASTERN ART

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON
1996

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Title page illustration: A document presenter from the Old Kingdom
Giza mastaba chapel of Merib (G 2100-1), north entrance thickness
(Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, Inv. Nr. 1107); drawing by Peter Der Manuelian

Typeset in Adobe Trump Mediaeval and Syntax. Title display type set in Centaur
Egyptological diacritics designed by Nigel Strudwick
Hieroglyphic fonts designed by Cleo Huggins with
additional signs by Peter Der Manuelian
Jacket design by Lauren Thomas and Peter Der Manuelian

Edited, typeset, designed and produced by Peter Der Manuelian

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ISBN 0-87846-390-9

Printed in the United States of America
by
Henry N. Sawyer Company, Charlestown, Massachusetts
Bound by Acme Bookbinding, Charlestown, Massachusetts

An Inventory List from “Covington’s Tomb” and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom



EDWARD BROVARSKI

SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO BATTISCOMBE GUNN COMMENTED ON THE inadequacy of our lexical knowledge of ancient Egyptian.¹ More recently Janssen, in his masterly study of the economy at the Ramesside village of Deir el-Medineh, remarks that “lexicographical studies and special vocabularies are among the most urgent needs for the progress of egyptology.”² Although the last few decades have witnessed the appearance of a number of monographs and works of broader scope that have extended considerably our lexical knowledge,³ a great deal remains to be done.⁴

¹ Battiscombe Gunn, “The Egyptian Word for ‘short’,” *RecTrav* 39 (1920), p. 101.

² Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), p. 3.

³ A few such publications which come readily to mind are Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954); Hildegard von Deines and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen* (Berlin, 1959); Elmar Edel, “Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der “Weltkammer” aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre,” *NAWG* 8 (1961); 4–5 (1964); J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961); Wolfgang Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, pts. 1–6 (Wiesbaden, 1961–69), with Inge Hoffman, *Indices zu W. Helck, Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Mainz, 1970); Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1970); Hildegard von Deines and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1961–62); Janssen, *Commodity Prices*; Hartwig Altenmüller, “Das Ölmagazin im Grab des Hesire in Saqqara (QS 2405),” *SAK* 4 (1976), pp. 1–29; Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1976); Dimitri Meeke, *Année Lexicographique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1977–1982) (hereafter *AL*); Gérard Charpentier, *Recueil de materiaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l’Égypte Antique* (Paris, 1981); Nathalie Baum, *Arbres et arbustes de l’Égypte ancienne* (Leuven, 1988).

⁴ In addition to the specific acknowledgments in footnotes of the present article, I would like to thank Dr. James P. Allen and Prof. Janet H. Johnson for sharing their expertise with me in a number of particulars. The latter, moreover, very agreeably looked up a number of words on my behalf in the files of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project (hereafter *CDD*). I am also indebted to my wife, Del Nord, and an old friend and colleague, Elizabeth Sherman, for editing and considerably improving the manuscript. Finally, Dr. Peter Der Manuelian spent long hours, above and beyond the call of duty as editor of the present volume, scanning and formatting the numerous figures that accompany this article and compiling Table 1.

In the course of an illustrious career in which he has made significant contributions to practically every branch of Egyptology—archaeology, art, history, philology, and so on—Kelly Simpson has shown a lively interest in lexicography,⁵ as demonstrated especially in the four volumes of *Papyrus Reisner*. Inasmuch as he has also published one of the offering lists that form the focus of the current article in a volume of the Giza Mastaba series initiated by him,⁶ I hope he will find the present study of interest. It is dedicated to him with heartfelt appreciation for more than twenty years of friendship, inspiration, and encouragement.⁷

In the files of the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art in Boston is a drawing in pencil on aging brown paper of an inventory list of offerings (fig. 1).⁸ Someone has written in pencil on the lower corner of the sheet “Covington’s Tomb.” William Stevenson Smith refers to the penciled note and discusses⁹ the offering list in his study of Old Kingdom sculpture and painting. We quote him at length:

This [the note] would seem to refer to the large panelled brick mastaba excavated by Dow Covington and Mr. Quibell on a high point in the ridge southeast of the Third Pyramid. This tomb was probably of the reign of Khasekhemuwy, but Covington also uncovered a few other pits and even a stone mastaba which is certainly as late as Dyn. IV, if not later. No one has any recollection, apparently, of the finding of a painted wall in any of these tombs, and it is uncertain whether it came from a chapel or a burial-chamber. Nevertheless the possibility that it may have come from the great panelled mastaba is further strengthened by inner evidence in the list itself. It is in the form of an early compartment list containing garments (including an unusual one called *wnš* determined by a wolf and apparently implying that the garment was made of wolf skin), furniture, granaries, food, and drink. This type of compartment list is very rare after the reign of Cheops, and is characteristic of the transition period Dyn. III–IV. Its most elaborate form is exemplified by the whole east wall of the corridor of Hesi-ra. Therefore it would form a suitable part of the decoration of a mastaba of the end of Dyn. II. Another early detail is that the thousand sign is painted yellow instead of the green which became more common later for all plant forms, basket work, &c., which were often yellow in early paintings.

⁵ William Kelly Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I–IV*, 4 vols. (Boston, 1963–1986).

⁶ Idem, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part 1* (Boston, 1980), p. 35, pl. 61a, fig. 47; see number (17) in the list of monuments on pp. 127ff. below.

⁷ The second part of this article, on the nomenclature of boxes and chests, is scheduled to appear in the *Festschrift* for another distinguished scholar, Prof. Edward F. Wente.

⁸ I should like to thank to Dr. Rita E. Freed, Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for permission to publish the list from “Covington’s Tomb.” Mr. Nicholas Thayer redrew the pencil sketch in ink for publication.

⁹ *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2nd ed. (London, 1949), p. 141 (hereafter *HESP*).

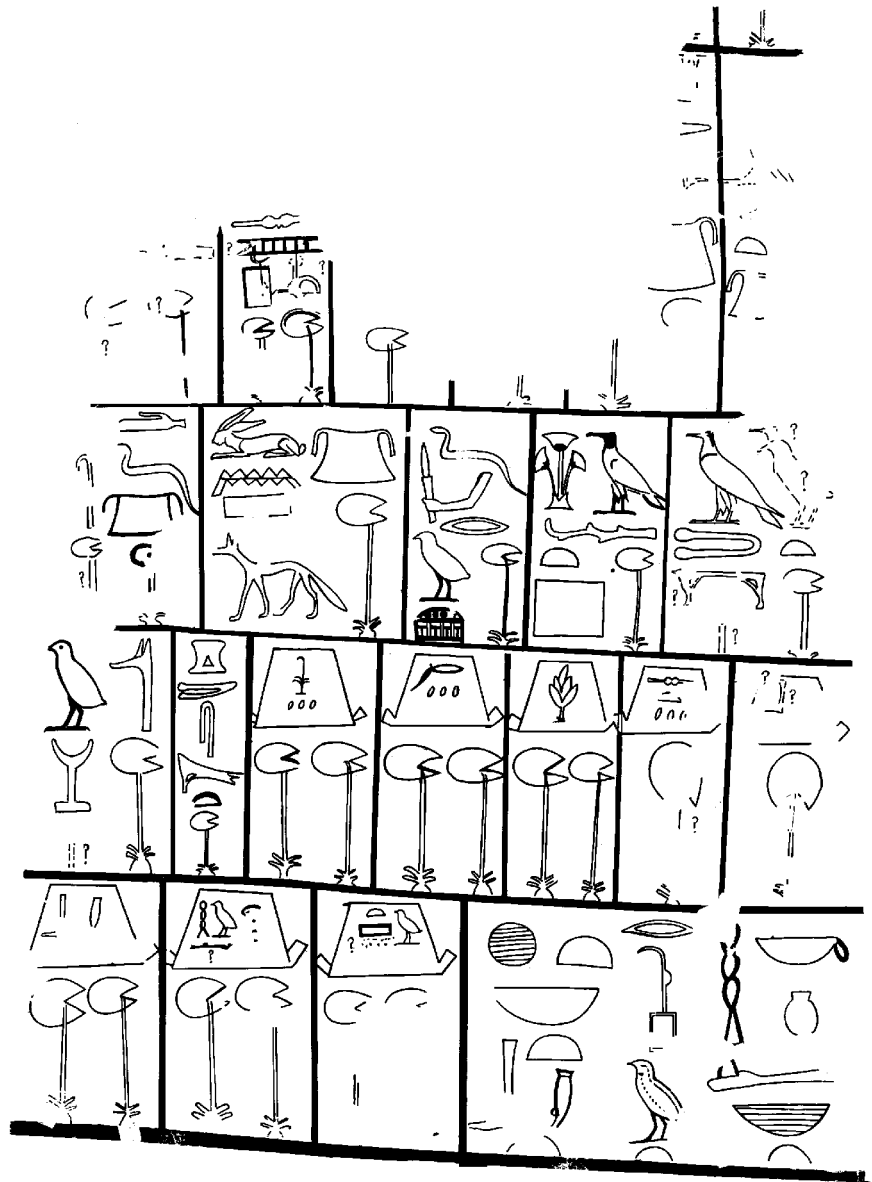


Fig. 1. Inventory offering list from "Covington's Tomb."

The ridge referred to by Smith rises from the plain about half a mile south of the Great Pyramid, above the Muslim cemetery and a group of trees which, according to Petrie, was a well-known landmark in many pictures taken at the turn of the century.¹⁰ The rock ridge runs south for half a mile and, again as noted by Petrie, is riddled with tombs, especially at its southern end. Covington and Quibell excavated the great brick-built mastaba on the top of the ridge in 1902-3, but the mastaba known

¹⁰ W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907), p. 1.

today as “Covington’s Tomb” was already marked on the plan of Lepsius.¹¹ Covington and Quibell opened and traced round the mastaba, and the former’s 1905 report is illustrated with plans and a section.¹²

Petrie investigated the great mastaba, which was designated “Mastaba T” by him, in 1906–7, discovering hundreds of fragments of stone vessels in its subterranean chambers, stone balls (or marbles) for a game, a beautifully polished chert object, and model tools of copper.¹³ Although no royal name was recovered, Petrie thought that the general arrangement and position of the chambers beneath the mastaba were of the same basic type as the Third Dynasty mastabas uncovered by Garstang at Beit Khallaf.¹⁴ He also noted that the mastaba had the same type of all-round panelling as did the mastabas of early Dyn. 1, there being fourteen bays and fifteen projections in the length and seven bays and eight projections in the width.¹⁵

On the east side of Mastaba T, Petrie also cleared around a “large stone platform,” of which the basement of the walls of the superstructure remained. A pit in the middle was cleared but led to nothing.¹⁶

Seeing Covington’s Tomb/Giza Mastaba T as the last example of a palace-facade mastaba with elaborate panelling on all four sides, Reisner dated it to the reign of Khasekhemui—that is, to the beginning of the archaeological group characteristic of Dyn. 3.¹⁷

Henri Frankfort noted the unsuitability of all-round niching in the palace-facade mastabas of Dyns. 1–2 to the requirements of the offering cults, in that the arrangement afforded no real focus for the funerary ceremonies.¹⁸ The offerings were presumably deposited at one of the great doors of the panelling immediately opposite the body.¹⁹ Succeeding generations of Egyptians sporadically distinguished the second niche from

¹¹ Carl Richard Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen*, 12 vols. (Berlin, 1849–56), 1, pl. 14 (hereafter LD I/II); see Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, p. 7. See also the plan of the pyramids of Giza in Karl Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sûdân*, 8th rev. ed. (Leipzig, 1929), between pp. 122–23. The mastaba appears as well on the isometric drawing of the Giza plateau in Mark Lehner, “Excavations at Giza 1988–1991,” *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 135 (Fall, 1992), fig. 1.

¹² Dow Covington, “Mastaba Mount Excavations,” *ASAE* 6 (1905), pp. 193–218.

¹³ *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pp. 7–8, pls. 3 A, 4, 6 D, E.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7. For the Beit Khallaf mastabas, see John Garstang, *Mahasna and Bêt Khallâf* (London, 1901), pls. 7 and 18.

¹⁵ Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pp. 7–8, pl. 7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7, pl. 3 A. From its location in front of Covington’s Tomb/Mastaba T, Petrie (*ibid.*, p. 8) concluded that the stone platform might have been the base of a stone temple for the “king” buried in the mastaba.

¹⁷ George Andrew Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge, MA, 1936), p. 248.

¹⁸ Henri Frankfort, “The Origin of Monumental Architecture in Egypt,” *AJSL* 58 (1941), pp. 349–50.

the south in some way—by adding a wooden flooring or a projecting entrance—and ultimately by the withdrawal of the niche into the body of the mastaba and its expansion into an internal chapel.²⁰ Such a chapel would indeed be the logical place for a painted offering list, protected from the weather as it would be, but "Covington's Tomb" lacks any such arrangement.

Cognizant of this difficulty, Smith says: "it is uncertain whether it came from a chapel or a burial-chamber." Since the earliest examples of the practice of decorating the walls of the burial chamber date to a much later period, namely to the end of the Fifth Dynasty,²¹ such a location can probably be safely excluded from consideration.

Smith observed that the type of inventory list represented in the Boston drawing is characteristic of the transition period of Dyn. 3–4, but is very rare after the reign of Cheops.²² He therefore felt that the list would form a suitable part of the decoration of a mastaba of the end of Dyn. 2. In support of this early date, he further observed that the thousand sign is painted yellow instead of the green which became more common later for all plant forms, basketwork, etc., which were often yellow in early paintings.

Unfortunately, Smith provided no documentation for the last assertion, nor am I able to substantiate it with reference to his appendix on the coloring of Old Kingdom hieroglyphs, which incorporates evidence from the tombs of Khabausokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Nefermaat, Atet, and Rahotep.²³ According to Murray, the thousand sign in the niche of Hathor-nefer-hetep is green,²⁴ as are those in Rahotep and Wepemnofret, although the sign in the slab-stele of Nefert-iabet has a yellow leaf and a red base and stem.²⁵ In the only archaic niche-stone with well-preserved paint to which I have access, that of Imet from Saqqara,²⁶ the leaf is yellow, the stem red, and the rhizome black with green roots.

¹⁹ George A. Reisner, "The History of the Egyptian Mastaba," in *Mélanges Maspero* 1 (Cairo, 1934), p. 580.

²⁰ See W.M. Flinders Petrie, G.A. Wainwright, and A.H. Gardiner, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (London, 1913), p. 13, pls. 15 [2], 18; W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Tarkhan II* (London, 1914), p. 4, pl. 18; cf. Frankfort, "Monumental Architecture," pp. 351–52.

²¹ George Andrew Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, completed and revised by William Stevenson Smith (Cambridge, MA, 1955), p. 57 (hereafter Reisner-Smith, *GN* 2); Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), pp. 126, 293 [455]; 133, 293 [479].



²² *HESP*, p. 141.

²³ *HESP*, pp. 366–82.

²⁴ Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1 (London, 1904), pl. 42.

²⁵ *HESP*, pp. 374, 378 [M 12].

Moreover, later examples of the inventory offering list do exist, for instance, numbers (11)–(23) in the following list of monuments, and there is other evidence to suggest that the list from “Covington’s Tomb” is not so early in date as Smith thought.

First, the list uses a later form of the determinative for mantles or mantle-like garments. In the early lists—Kha-bau-sokar (3), Hathor-nefer-hetep (4), Irensen (7), Metjen (8), and Rahotep (9)—and in the picture list on the eastern wall of the painted corridor of Hesyre, the determinative is , or the like. In the later lists from G 4260 (12) and anon. (13), those of Izi (14) and Setju (17),²⁷ and the list preserved in Boston, the mantles are determined by .

Second, the term *stt* “bed” (a) in the list from “Covington’s Tomb” otherwise first appears in the furniture list from anon. (13) from the reign of Shepseskaf. Earlier the word for bed was *st(-n)-ht* (g).²⁸

Moreover, as a rule in the Fourth Dynasty, the grain lists consist of *šm^cw*, *mḥw*, *bd^t*, *zwt*, and *bš*.²⁹ Dates (*bnr*) and the so-called “earth almonds” (*w^cḥ*)³⁰ are also common, and likewise appear in the list from “Covington’s Tomb” along with an unknown grain or fruit, *tšw(?)*.³¹

In addition, in the list from “Covington’s Tomb,” the thousand-sign has two distinct forms. While the leaf is usually turned forward, in two instances it turns upward. In our corpus, the earliest instance of the sign with leaf turned forward occurs in the slab-stele of Seshat-sekhentiu (11) from the reign of Khufu. Both versions of the sign appear in the other slab-steles.³² The upright leaf reappeared sporadically in the course of the Old Kingdom, but from then on the forward facing leaf was usual.³³

Finally, the last entry in the Covington Tomb list is *iḥt nb(t) bnrt rn-pwt ḥnkw(t) nbt*, “everything sweet, vegetables, and all donations.” While this entry occurs in none of the early inventory lists, *iḥt nbt bnrt* is a commonplace in the great ritual offering list of the Old Kingdom

²⁶ W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1958), pl. 13. There exists in Boston an aquarelle made by Joseph Lindon Smith in 1938–39, when the stela was on deposit in “Emery’s magazine” at Saqqara.

²⁷ In the panel of Nedji (6), *mst* is determined by an earlier form of the determinative and *b*; *šm^cw* with the later.

²⁸ The letters in parentheses refer to the lettering of the items of furniture in the discussion below, pp. 130ff.

²⁹ Winfried Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste* (Berlin, 1963), p. 45.

³⁰ The tubers of *Cyperus esculentus* L.; see Elmar Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Aswan II/1/2* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 22 [7].

³¹ Cf. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* 5 vols. (Berlin, 1926–31), 5, p. 329, 17 (hereafter *Wb.* 1–5).

³² George Andrew Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* 1 (Cambridge, MA, 1942), pls. 17–20 and 57 (hereafter Reisner, *GN* 1).

³³ Henry George Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy* (New York, 1988), p. 33 [M 12].

from the end of the Fourth Dynasty.³⁴ Slightly earlier *ih̄t nbt bnrt rnpwt nbt h̄nkwt* appears on the south wall of the chapel of Khufukhaf I and on the sarcophagus of Minkhaf, both sons of Khufu.³⁵

If, as internal evidence seems to indicate, the copy of the list in Boston is at least as late as the Fourth Dynasty, it obviously could not have come from the structure known as "Covington's Tomb." What then are we to make of the label on the drawing? Smith notes that Dow Covington also uncovered a few other pits and a stone mastaba which certainly dates to Dyn. 4 or later. "No one had any recollection of the finding of a painted wall in any of these tombs," wrote Smith, yet it is not impossible that the original offering list whose copy is now preserved in Boston came from the stone mastaba. Covington places this nearly denuded structure just 11 meters to the east of the great mastaba that bears his name, describing it as a "large bluish-grey stone mastaba (about 28 x 12 metres) excavated by Mariette,"³⁶ and again as "a large mastaba built of immense blocks of oyster-filled limestone."³⁷ This mastaba is presumably identical with the "large stone platform" on the east side of "Covington's Tomb/Mastaba T" excavated by Petrie.

If the fragmentary compartment list does not derive from the stone mastaba, it may have been found in or near one of the other four mastabas referred to by Covington, about which he unfortunately provides no details.³⁸

In his exhaustive study of offering lists, Prof. Barta distinguished two types, the ritual offering list ("Ritualopferliste") and the inventory offering list ("Inventaropferliste").³⁹ Whereas the former preserves the ritual of the funerary offering cult, the latter enumerates the household effects and other equipment which might be of utility in the next world. Barta's inventory offering list corresponds to Reisner's "old compartment list."⁴⁰ As Smith notes, the so-called "cupboard list" covering the whole east wall of the corridor in the tomb of Hesyre represents the most extensive exemplar of the inventory offering lists but, as fate would have it, the captions inscribed at the top of the wall have largely

³⁴ Hermann Junker, *Giza*, 12 vols. (Vienna, 1929–1955), 1, p. 258; Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 43; Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 10 vols. (Oxford, 1932; Cairo, 1936–60), 6, pt. 2, pls. 7–12, 16, 32, 40.

³⁵ William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* (Boston, 1978), fig. 31; W. Stevenson Smith, "The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf," *JEA* 19 (1933), pl. 22.

³⁶ Covington, "Mastaba Mount," p. 193; cf. p. 194.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193. He does refer to objects and fragments of 4th, 5th, and 6th Dynasty, as well as 1st, 3rd, and 26th Dynasty, date (*ibid.*, p. 194).

³⁹ Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁰ *GN* 1, pp. 332–34.

been lost.⁴¹ More complete offering lists include food and drink, linen, unguents and perfumes, mantles, metal utensils, stone vessels, household furnishings, and on occasion, woodworking tools (14, 23).⁴² Ra-hotep (9) adds to these board games, a ewer and basin for hand-washing, a beaded collar, a staff and scepter, and another item of uncertain identity.⁴³ Kayemankh (23) also has a new class of objects that did not appear in the older lists—a whole dockyard of ships and boating equipment.

In general, the elaborate system of compartition used by Khabausokar (3) and Hathor-nefer-hetep (4) was not followed, and an entry normally consisted of only two compartments with the name of the object above and the thousand-sign below. Far rarer is the wide compartment with a heading that specifies the nature of the several objects below, provides an indication of the material from which they were made or, in the case of pottery or metal vessels, identifies their contents (21). Equally uncommon is a separate compartment for the determinative (12). The Boston list is unique in the present corpus in placing the thousand sign within the same compartment as the named item, while the lists of Senenu (19, 20) set determinative and thousand-sign side by side in a smaller compartment below the compartment with the name of the item. Grain ricks labeled with their contents and offerings of oxen and fowl are frequently shown in a register beneath the compartment list, although on occasion, both ricks and offerings have compartments of their own (9, 12, 17, 18).

Reisner, writing in 1942 when the evidence for the inventory offering list at Giza was rather more limited than at present, assumed that Seshemnofer I (21) had copied the list on the east wall of his chapel from older slab-steles, some of which were then still visible in the necropolis.⁴⁴ The material available today (15–21) suggests rather an unbroken (if not always uniform) development until about the middle of the Fifth Dynasty (21, 22). Thereafter the inventory offering list does

⁴¹ J.E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy* (Cairo, 1913), pls. 6, 7 [1], 10–22.

⁴² Cf. Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 8–9.

⁴³ Cf. Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 37. The board games (*mn*, *mhn*, *znt*) are not considered in the present article, as they have been the subject of much discussion in recent years; see, e.g., Timothy Kendall, *Passing through the Netherworld: The Meaning and play of senet, an ancient Egyptian funerary game* (Belmont, MA, 1978), p. 3, n. 1; idem, "Schlangenspiel," *LÄ* 5 (1985), cols. 653–55; idem, "Mehen: The Ancient Egyptian Game of the Serpent," (forthcoming British Museum publication); Edgar B. Pusch, *Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten* 1 (Munich, 1979); idem, "Senet," *LÄ* 5 (1985), cols. 851–55; Peter A. Piccione, "Mehen, Mysteries, and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent," *JARCE* 27 (1990), pp. 43–52; idem, "The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1990).

⁴⁴ *GN* 1, pp. 332–33.

seem to fall out of favor, except for a brief revival in the so-called "Gerätekammer" of Kayemankh (23).

The beginning of the compartment list in Boston is lost. Traces indicate five or more original registers, of which four remain. The first surviving register is damaged, but clearly contains part of a linen list, followed by a list of mantles, a furniture list, and eight grain ricks. It is the last compartment that contains the phrase *ih̄t nb(t) bnrt rnpwt h̄nkw(t) nbt*. The individual entries are as follows.

x + 1	[. . .]
x + 2	<i>šzpt</i> "šzpt-linen." ⁴⁵ This type of cloth does not otherwise appear in the linen-lists.
x + 3	[. . .]
x + 4	[. . .]
x + 5	[. . .] "[. . .]-mantle"
x + 6	[. . .] "[. . .]-mantle"
x + 7	<i>[h]sd̄</i> "canine-skin mantle" ⁴⁷
x + 8	<i>wnš</i> "wolf- ⁴⁸ or jackal ⁴⁹ -skin (mantle)" ⁵⁰
x + 9	<i>ḏsrw</i> "ornamental casket" ⁵¹
x + 10	<i>h̄s-h̄t</i> "plain box"
x + 11	<i>št(w?)t</i> "bed"(a)

⁴⁵ Henry G. Fischer, "Varia Aegyptiaca," *JARCE* 2 (1963), p. 25; idem, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," *JARCE* 3 (1964), p. 26 and n. 15; idem, "Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies' Deir el Gebrāwi," *JARCE* 13 (1976), p. 11. The word is in palimpsest, traces of a previous text remaining visible.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., William Stevenson Smith, "The Old Kingdom Linen List," *ZÄS* 71 (1935), pp. 139–49; Elmar Edel, "Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon VI: Die Stoffbezeichnungen in den Kleiderlisten des Alten Reiches," *ZÄS* 102 (1975), pp. 13–30.



⁴⁷ *Hsd̄* is to be found in the compartment lists of Kha-bau-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, and Izi, in the Covington Tomb list, on the coffin of Minkhaf (Smith, "Min-khaf," p. 154, pl. 24), and in the false door panel of Sneferu-seneb (Reisner, *GN* 1, pl. 57b). The latest of these monuments, and also the last cited, belongs to the mid-Fourth Dynasty or the early Fifth (Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 125, 293 [451]; Yvonne Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* [London and New York, 1987], p. 269). *Hsd̄* (the younger form of *h̄sd̄*) serves to designate a member of the zoological genus *Canis* in Pap. Jumilhac XII 16 and XV 9 (W. Westendorf, in Edel, "Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon VI," p. 30, 2. Nachtrag).

⁴⁸ *Wb.* 1, 324, 16; Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1921), p. 274 (hereafter *KoptHWb*); David Paton, *Animals of Ancient Egypt* (Princeton and London, 1925), p. 21; *AL* 1 (1977), p. 91; 2 (1978), p. 98; 3 (1979), p. 70.

⁴⁹ Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 63 (hereafter *FCD*); Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 538; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 178–79; Lothar Störk, "Wolf," *LÄ* 6 (1986), col. 1285.

⁵⁰ *Wnš* occurs in the tomb of Hesyre (*Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 19). Subsequently the term is found in the mantle-list of Izi and in that on the panel of Sneferu-seneb (n. 47). In the Boston list, the word is determined by a standing canine. At Beni Hasan two *wnš* and two *zḥb* are shown in a hunt scene (Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2 [London, 1894], pl. 4). The former pair of animals is larger than the latter. If *zḥb* is "jackal" (*Wb.* 3, 420, 5–13), then *wnš* is probably "wolf," since wolves are the largest members of the genus *Canis* with the exception of some varieties of domestic dogs (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1956 ed., s.v. "Wolf.").

⁵¹ For the *ḏsrw* chest and *h̄s-h̄t* box, see the publication cited in n. 7 above.

- x + 12 *wsr* (sic) "headrest" (b). The exceptional orthography of *wrs* as , with the head and neck of a canine, is paralleled by the spelling of *dsr* as *drs* in the two lists of Senenu (19–20), with the bundle of flax stems as .
- x + 13 *gst* "two-legged backrest" (j)
- x + 14 *it-šmꜣw* "Upper Egyptian barley"⁵²
- x + 15 *it-mḥw* "Lower Egyptian barley"⁵³
- x + 16 *bdt* "emmer"⁵⁴
- x + 17 *zwt* "wheat"⁵⁵
- x + 18 *b[šꜣ]* "b[šꜣ]-grain"⁵⁶
- x + 19 *bnr* "dates"⁵⁷
- x + 20 *wꜣḥ* "earth almond(s)"
- x + 21 *ḥt nbt bnrt* "everything sweet"
- x + 22 *rnꜣpwt* "vegetables"
- x + 23 *ḥnkt nbt* "and all donations"

Several other categories of objects contained in the inventory offering lists are to be found already in earlier steles, but the furniture list only appears at the very end of the Second Dynasty in the stele of Satba from Helwan (1).⁵⁸

In the two early furniture lists of Satba and Ni-djefa-nesut (2), items of furniture are represented by ideograms unaccompanied by the phonograms which would indicate the precise word intended. Satba shows a small box with a round handle at the top and a stool(?), while Ni-djefa-nesut has a double column headrest (c), a small rectangular box, and a vaulted box. In addition, in the list of Merib from the end of Dyn. 4 or early Dyn. 5 (16), ideograms of a stem-type headrest (c) and a bed (a or g) signify the objects depicted, but the other furniture lists spell out the names of the individual items.

⁵² *Wb.* 1, 142, 14; A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1947), 2, p. 221* (hereafter *AEO*); cf. Renate Müller-Wollermann, "Die sogenannte Ober- und Unterägyptische Gerste," *VA* 3 (1987), pp. 39–41.

⁵³ *Wb.* 1, 142, 13; Henri Wild, "Gerste," *LÄ* 2 (1976), col. 554.

⁵⁴ *AEO* 2, pp. 221*–23*, 279*; Edel, "Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs," *NAWG* 5 (1963), pp. 201–202.

⁵⁵ *Wb.* 3, 426, 12–17; *AEO* 2, pp. 222*–23*; William J. Darby, Paul Ghalioungui, and Louis Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), 2, pp. 490–91; Helck, *Materialien*, pp. 400, 632, 693.

⁵⁶ See W.W. Struve, *Mathematischer Papyrus des Staatlichen Museums der schönen Künste in Moskau* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 60ff.; *AEO* 2, pp. 223*–25*; Charles F. Nims, "The Bread and Beer Problems of the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus," *JEA* 44 (1958), pp. 60–64; Henri Wild, "Brasserie et panification au tombeau de Ti," *BIFAO* 64 (1966), p. 98 with n. 2; *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, p. 22 [9].

⁵⁷ See Ingrid Wallert, *Die Palmen im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 33ff.; Renate Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp. 232–34.

⁵⁸ Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 24.

The following is a chronological ordering of all the furniture lists of which I am aware.⁵⁹ Since the captions over the objects are destroyed, the "cupboard list" of Hesyre is excluded.

(1) Satba, niche stone, Helwan tomb no. 1241 H 9; Zaky Y. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan* (Cairo, 1947), p. 41, no. 20, pl. 24; end of Dyn. 2, Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 24.

(2) Ni-djefa-nesut, niche stone, in Hannover, No. 1935, 200, 46; Kestner Museum, Hannover, *Ausgewählte Werke der Aegyptischen Sammlung* (Hannover, 1958), cat. no. 12; first half of Dyn. 3, Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 30–31.

(3) Kha-bau-sokar, stone-lined niche from Saqqara, in Cairo, CG 1385; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 1; temp. Djoser, see Nadine Cherpion, "Le Mastaba de Khabausokar (MM A 2): problèmes de chronologie," *OLP* 11 (1980), pp. 79–90.

(4) Hathor-nefer-hetep, wife of (3), stone-lined niche from Saqqara, in Cairo, CG 1386–1388; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 2.

(5) Sisi, niche stone, Helwan tomb no. D. H 6; Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 46–48, no. 23, pl. 27; late Dyn. 3, Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 35, 156.

(6) Nedji, wooden panel from offering niche; Ahmad Moh. Badawi, "Denkmäler aus Saqqarah, 1," *ASAE* 40 (1940), pp. 495–501, pl. 46; early Dyn. 4.

(7) Irensen, panel of offering niche or of false door from Saqqara, in Cairo, CG 1393; Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo* 1 (Berlin, 1937), p. 52, pl. 13; early Dyn. 4, Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 40, 156.

(8) Metjen, panel of false door of stone-lined cruciform chapel from Saqqara, Berlin 1105 G; LD 2, pl. 3; *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 1,⁶⁰ (Leipzig, 1913), p. 81 (hereafter *ÄIB* 1); temp. Khufu, Smith, *HESP*, p. 149.

(9) Rahotep, false door panel from Medum, in London, BM 1242; W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892), pl. 13; T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts on*

⁵⁹ I believe I can make out the word *hn* on the edge of the inscribed right-hand aperture of the false door of the "Washerman of the God," Senenu in Jean Leclant, "Fouilles et travaux en Egypte, 1951–1952" *Orientalia* n.s. 22 (1953), pl. 17 [31]. Above and on the left aperture, what look to be portions of two separate linen-lists are visible. Since the tomb is unpublished and the character of the rest of the list unknown, I have not included it here. For the tomb, see Bertha Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, assisted by Ethel W. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 3, 2d ed., rev. and augmented by Jaromir Málek (Oxford, 1974–1981), p. 48 (hereafter PM 3²). This Senenu is a different individual from the Senenu of our list (19)–(20).

⁶⁰ Dr. Dietrich Wildung, Director of the Egyptian Museum, Berlin, went to considerable trouble to provide me with photographs of the panels of Metjen and Merib (16), and I would like to express my appreciation to him. The furniture determinatives in both have undergone considerable deterioration since the panels were copied by Lepsius.

Egyptian Steles, etc. 1, 2d ed. (London, 1961), pl. 1 (2) (hereafter *HTES* 1²); temp. Khufu, Smith, *HESP*, p. 149.

(10) Rahotep, left side of false door recess, in London, BM 1277; Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13; *HTES* 1², pl. 3 (3); as last.

(11) Seshat-sekhenti, slab-stele, Giza tomb G 2120, in Boston, MFA 06.1894; Ronald J. Leprohon, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum; Boston 2* (Mainz, 1985), pp. 59–62 (hereafter *CAA*); temp. Khufu, Reisner, *GN* 1, pp. 66–67, 417, 427, and passim.

(12) Anonymous, slab-stele, Giza, Junker Mastaba II n = G 4260; Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 181–91, fig. 36, pl. 29a; temp. Khufu, *ibid.*, p. 14.

(13) Anonymous, slab-stele, Giza, *ibid.*, pp. 229–31, fig. 53, pl. 37b; temp. Shepseskaf, *ibid.*, p. 14.

(14) Izi, fragment of wall relief from Saqqara, in Copenhagen, *ÆIN* 672; Maria Mogensen, *Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg. La collection égyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930), pl. 93, p. 90; end Dyn. 4; Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 44–45.

(15) Ni-hetep-Khnum, right aperture of false door, Giza, Western Field; Abdel-Moneim Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949–1950* (Cairo, 1953), fig. 10; end Dyn. 4, Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 44.

(16) Merib, false door panel, Giza tomb G 2100–I–annexe (LG 24), Berlin 1107 G; LD 2, pl. 19 = *ÄIB* 1, p. 99; temp. Shepseskaf–Userkaf, Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 267.

(17) Setju, slab stela, intrusive in Giza tomb G 2353 B, in Boston, MFA 13.4341: Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, p. 35, pl. 61a, fig. 47; Leprohon, *CAA Boston 2*, pp. 93–96; end Dyn. 4 or early Dyn. 5, Reisner, *GN* 1, p. 333 (7).

(18) Painted inventory list from “Covington’s Tomb,” Giza, South Field(?) (fig. 1); end Dyn. 4 or early Dyn. 5.

(19) Senenu, left aperture of false door, Giza, West Field, Abu Bakr excavation for University of Alexandria (1953); unpublished, see PM 3², p. 48; end Dyn. 4 or early Dyn. 5.

(20) Senenu, right aperture of false door, as last.

⁶¹ This tomb has been assigned to widely divergent periods within the Old Kingdom; see, e.g., Hermann Kees, “Ausgrabungen in Giza,” *OLZ* 50 (1955), col. 437–41; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 267; Nadine Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d’Ancien Empire* (Brussels, 1989), pp. 98–99. The date involves the vexed question of late Old Kingdom archaism at Giza, on which see recently Nadine Cherpion, “De quand date la tombe du nain Seneb?,” *BIFAO* 84 (1984), pp. 35–54, and Henry G. Fischer, review of Harpur, *Decoration*, in *BiOr* 47, nos. 1/2 (January–March, 1990), p. 90, n. 1. Until this problem is resolved, we follow Barta’s date for the tomb arrived at by an analysis of offering lists.

⁶² I owe my knowledge of the existence of the two lists of Senenu (19–20) to Henry Fischer, who very kindly placed his hand copies, made in 1959, at my disposal.

(21) Seshemnofer I, inventory list on east wall of chapel, Giza tomb G 4940 (= LG 45); LD 2, pl. 28; Userkaf-Neferirkare, Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 270.

(22) Kapunesut Kai, inventory list on south wall of chapel, Giza, West Field,⁶³ unpublished, discovered by Dr. Zahi Hawass in 1992, early to middle Dyn. 5.

(23) Kayemankh, Giza, West Field, G 4561; painted "Gerätekammer" on walls of burial chamber; Junker, *Giza* 4, pp. 70–71, pl. 9; Dyn. 6, Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 270.

The chronological order of numbers (6) to (10) differs from that of Barta, who placed Nedji before Rahotep, but Metjen and Irensen after Rahotep, Nofret, and Nefermaat.⁶⁴ According to Smith, from the type of mastaba and burial, Reisner dated the tomb of Nefermaat to late Sneferu or early Khufu, and that of Rahotep definitely to the reign of Khufu.⁶⁵ Smith himself placed Metjen with Rahotep as the latest of the cruciform chapels. To my mind, the three panels of Nedji, Irensen, and Metjen are closely related in composition, iconography, and palaeography. Although the panel of Rahotep is also related, there are several indications that it is slightly later in date. In all four panels, the thousand-sign appears under each entry in the linen list, but is absent in the inventory list that follows. Beneath the linen list, at the right of each of the first three panels, is an inventory list comprising oils, mantles, and furniture, in that order, but in Rahotep's case the oils are omitted. Heads of animals and birds appear in a register beneath the inventory list in all four panels. But in Rahotep's panel the names of the sacrificial animals are spelled out, as in the slab-steles of Seshat-sekhentiu and Princess Meretites from the reign of Khufu.⁶⁶ In Metjen's panel, only the ideogram of the ox-head has a precomplement, *n* (presumably for *ngs*). In Rahotep's panel, in addition, two of the animal heads appear in the ideographic list beneath the table, which in the other three panels and the niches of Kha-bau-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep, is restricted to bread, beer, alabaster vessels, and linen. Animals also appear beneath the table in several slab-steles.⁶⁷ The small figure of a panther that serves as a determinative of *b*: *šmꜣw* along with the mantle-sign is a specific palaeographic feature linking the panels of Nedji and Irensen.⁶⁸

⁶³ For the date, cf. Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 123–45. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Hawass, General Director of Antiquities of the Giza Pyramids and Saqqara, for allowing me to include the information from the tomb of Kapunesut Kai in advance of his publication. I would also like to thank Ms. Amani Abdel-Hameid for facsimile drawings of the furniture utilized in the present article (with revisions by the author).

⁶⁴ Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 156.

⁶⁵ *HESP*, p. 149.

⁶⁶ Reisner, *GN* 1, pl. 39.

⁶⁷ Reisner, *GN* 1, pls. 17, 18 a, 19, 20.

In the following discussion, the investigation of the terms for furniture and their applications in periods later than the Old Kingdom is limited in scope and mainly included for purposes of comparison.

a) *ꜣtt* “type de lit le plus simple:” *Frises d’objets*, p. 243; “das Bett:” *Wb.* 1, 23, 12; “das Bett mit vier Füßen:” Junker, *Gîza* 4, p. 71; “niedriger Sessel (Bett?) mit Rinderfüßen:” Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* 1 (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 4 [17].

ꜣtt first occurs, under the simple form *tt*, in the tomb of Metjen in early Dyn. 4, where an attendant carries a bed so labeled on his back (fig. 2a).⁶⁹ The bed has bent wood legs and appears to slope slightly towards the foot. The determinative of *ꜣtt* in the slab-stele of the reign of Shepseskaf from a Giza anonymous mastaba is definitely that of a slightly sloping bed with bent wood legs.⁷⁰ An identical sign determines *st-(n)-ḥt* (g) in the early lists.

The slightly sloping bedframe with bent wood legs (fig. 2b) is only one of three bed types depicted in Old Kingdom scenes of daily life.⁷¹ The second type also has a sloping bedframe but is supported by bull’s (fig. 8)⁷² or lion’s⁷³ legs. The third type is a horizontal bedframe supported on bull’s (fig. 2c)⁷⁴ or lion’s⁷⁵ legs. While actual examples of Early Dynastic theriomorphic beds are fitted with bull’s legs,⁷⁶ Queen

⁶⁸ Cf. *HTES* 1², pl. 18 [2].

⁶⁹ *LD* 2, pl. 6; *ÄIB* 1, p. 84.

⁷⁰ Table 1 at the end of this article should be consulted for the signs determining the words for furniture occurring in our corpus in the ensuing discussion.

⁷¹ E.g., *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 20 [49, 50]; Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1937–1938*, 3 vols., ed. by Dr. Zaki Iskander (Cairo, 1975), 2, fig. 39; Eugen Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1992), fig. 159 (= fig. 2b = Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* [Mainz am Rhein, 1977], pl. 63 [left leg lost in shadow] [*ꜣtt*]); Naguib Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish*, 9 vols. (Sydney, 1980–89), 1, fig. 9.

⁷² E.g., *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 20 [51, 52]; Junker, *Gîza* 4, fig. 10 (= fig. 22) [*ꜣtt*]; Hassan, *Gîza* 4, fig. 81; *HTES* 1², pl. 29 [2]; Ahmed M. Moussa and Friedrich Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1975), pl. 2.

⁷³ E.g., Dows Dunham and William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), fig. 8, pl. 9 d; Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, pl. 28 B.

⁷⁴ L. Epron, F. Daumas, and H. Wild, *Le tombeau de Ti*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1939–1966), 3, pl. 174 (= fig. 3c) [*ꜣtt nt ḥbn*]; Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo* 2 (Cairo, 1964), p. 199, pl. 106 (CG 1777); Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay* (Mainz am Rhein, 1971), pl. 20.

⁷⁵ The Sakkarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1938), 1, pls. 94–95; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, 2 vols. (London, 1902) 1, pl. 14 [*ꜣtt*]; 2, pls. 10 [*ꜣtt*], 23 (hereafter *Gebr.*); Mohamed Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes* (Cairo, 1977), pls. 4, 13.

⁷⁶ Hollis S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World*, (New York, 1966), pp. 21–23. For the different types of construction in early dynastic beds, see *ibid.*, pp. 22–23, and G. Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture* 1 (Warminster, 1980), pp. 24–26.

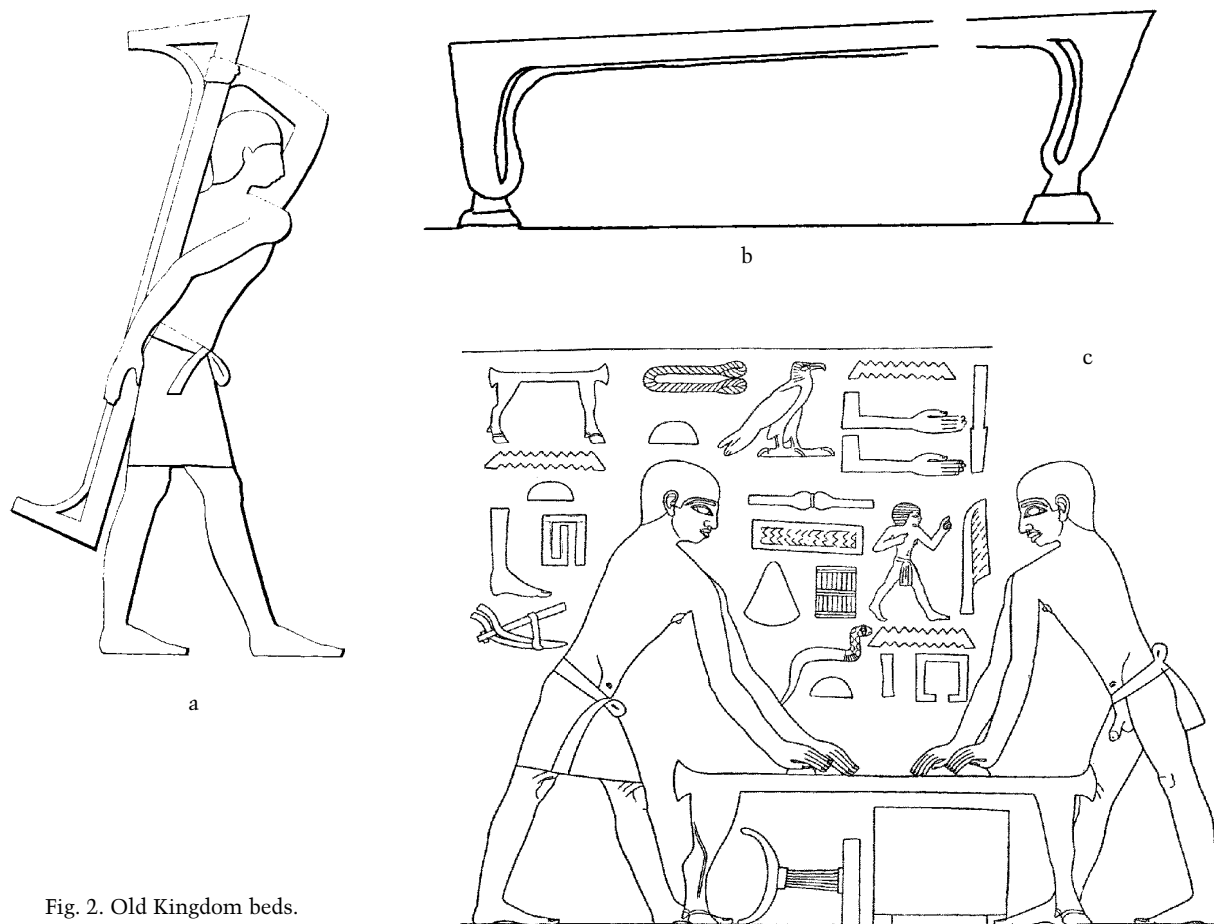


Fig. 2. Old Kingdom beds.


Hetepheres I's gold sheathed wooden bed has lion's legs supporting a slightly sloping bedframe.⁷⁷ With one exception, all these types and subtypes are identified by the term *ꜣtt*.⁷⁸ The exception is the sloping bedframe with leonine legs, and this is probably simply the result of insufficient documentation.


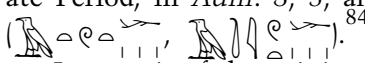
While animal legs were common on Old Kingdom beds, chairs, and stools, the determinative of *ꜣtt* in the furniture list of Izi seemingly goes one step further by providing the bedframe with a lion's head. The actual bed probably bore a lion's head at the head end of each of the side poles. Two beds (*ꜣtt*) depicted in Sixth Dynasty burial chambers at Heliopolis also have lion heads and legs.⁷⁹


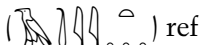
⁷⁷ Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis 2*, pp. 32–33, fig. 33, pls. 25–26.

⁷⁸ See nn. 70–74.

⁷⁹ Georges Daressy, "La nécropole des grands prêtres d'Héliopolis sous l'Ancien Empire I: Inscriptions," *ASAE* 16 (1916), pp. 196 [7]; 202 [11].

Beds mentioned in Old Kingdom private documents were valuable objects. The well-known “Hausurkunde” states that a bed (*stt*) and two different kinds of cloth made up the price paid for a house or tomb.⁸⁰ The following death-bed injunction contained in the Letter to the Dead on Cairo Linen CG 25975,⁸¹ from the end of the Dyn. 6 or the decades immediately following, further underscores a bed’s value: “May the wood of this my bed () which bears me rot(?), should the son of a man be debarred from his household furniture.”⁸²

In the object friezes on Middle Kingdom coffins the term for bed is sometimes spelled *styt* ()⁸³ In the ensuing Second Intermediate Period, in *Adm.* 3, 5, and 14, 1, the word appears as *stwt*, *stiw*t ()⁸⁴

Janssen is of the opinion that the term *ytiti* (, etc.), which appears in several Deir el-Medineh texts mentioning the cost of coffin decoration, is a variant of Old Kingdom *stt*.⁸⁵ He further identifies *ytit* as a “funeral couch” in contrast to *hnkyt*, the usual New Kingdom term for bed,⁸⁶ and *hrti*,⁸⁷ the ordinary type of Deir el-Medineh bed which had a straight wooden frame, four straight legs and matting for “springs.”⁸⁸ Since funerary couches often had lion’s heads and legs, like the bed of Izi and the two beds from decorated burial chambers at Heliopolis, and sometimes tails as well, he may be right.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, lion-headed beds () referred to in the stela of Pi(ankh)y were probably in-

⁸⁰ On this document, consult most recently Bernadette Menu, “Ventes de maisons sous l’Ancien Empire égyptien,” in Francis Geus and Florence Thill ed., *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), pp. 251–55 and passim.

⁸¹ Alan H. Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928), pp. 1–3, pls. I and I A, line 4 (hereafter *L. to D.*). On *ibid.*, p. 15, the written *w* in *stt* is explained as the result of the addition of the suffix to a feminine noun in the *status pronominalis*. It seems that *stwt* was originally written in the Boston list, but it is not clear from the drawing in fig. 1 whether the quail chick has simply flaked away or was purposely painted out.

⁸² The translation is that of Edward F. Wente, in *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990), p. 211. For a different treatment of the same passage, see Harco Willems, “The End of Seankhenptah’s Household (Letter to the Dead Cairo JDE 25975),” *JNES* 50 (1991), p. 184.

⁸³ Gustave Jéquier, *Les Frises d’objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1921), p. 243.

⁸⁴ Alan H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 recto)* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 32, 89. For the date, see John van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation* (New Haven and London, 1966), pp. 103–20.

⁸⁵ *Commodity Prices*, pp. 239–40.

⁸⁶ *Wb.* 3, 119, 14–15; *Frises d’objets*, p. 243.

⁸⁷ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 180–84.

⁸⁸ *Wb.* 3, 119–20. *hrti*-beds could also be quite sumptuous; see Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 667, 2–5 (hereafter *Urk.* 4).

⁸⁹ For Egyptian funerary lion-beds, see Winifred Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1963), esp. pp. 4–7.

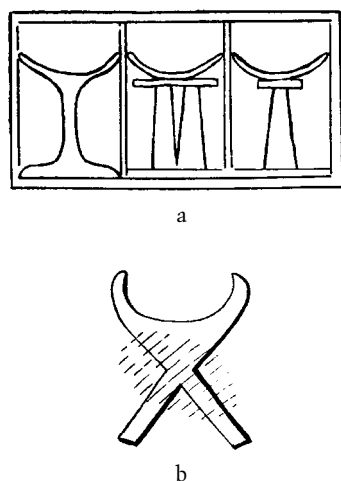


Fig. 3. Headrests of Hesyre (a) and Kagemni (b).

tended for sleeping, since they were provided with sheets of fine linen.⁹⁰ In Late Period and Graeco-Roman times, *ṣṭi*, *ṣṭ*,⁹¹ and even *ṣṭiw* designate lion-headed beds, including the bier of Osiris.

While Ranke wondered whether *ṣṭt* might not be the term for a low seat or chair, he was probably misled by the form of the determinative in the name *ṣṭt-k*, which could easily be mistaken for a seat with animal-legs (*ṣṭ*).⁹² However, the determinative of *ṣṭt* is sometimes contracted for reasons of space and symmetry. The caption in the tomb of Ti reproduced in fig. 2c, with the width of the determinative half that of the bed depicted below, provides an especially clear instance.

b) *wrs* "head-rest:" Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* 1, p. 34; "chevet:" *Frises d'objets*, p. 237; "die Kopfstütze (aus Holz oder Alabaster) zum Schlafen:" *Wb.* 1, 335, 9.

Contained within a box in the object frieze in the tomb of the Third Dynasty official Hesyre are the three most popular types of Old Kingdom headrests (fig. 3a).⁹³ On the left is a stem type headrest, in the middle a double column type with abacus, and on the right a single column headrest with plain stem and abacus.⁹⁴ The different colors and patterns indicate that the first two were made of ebony and the third perhaps of alabaster.⁹⁵ All three types of headrests are well represented in the furniture lists.

A drawing in the tomb of Kagemni (fig. 3b) may provide evidence for a type of folding headrest, actual examples of which are not known before the New Kingdom.⁹⁶

The *Wb.* provides no references to *wrs* later in date than the New Kingdom. Although headrests possibly remained in use into the Roman Period, examples from well-dated archaeological contexts are rare.⁹⁷ In

⁹⁰ N.-C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(rankh)y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086-47089* (Cairo, 1981), ll. 110, 118; n. 441 on p. 147.

⁹¹ *Wb.* 1, 23, 11-12. The stone Osiris "bed" of Second Intermediate Period date found in the tomb of Djer at Abydos is "formed by the bodies of two lions, the heads, tails, legs and both front paws of which are carefully delineated;" see Anthony Leahy, "The Osiris 'Bed' Reconsidered," *Orientalia* 46 (1977), p. 424.

⁹² Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 4, 20; see now *El-Hawawish* 6, pl. 13 b, fig. 29b.

⁹³ *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 21; cf. the colored rendering on *ibid.*, pl. 14.

⁹⁴ George A. Reisner, *Kerma 1-3* (Cambridge, MA, 1923), pp. 229-32, types I-1, I-2, II-1.

⁹⁵ Pace Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, p. 17, who thinks the pale yellow color of the last represents a white wood.

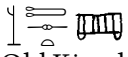

⁹⁶ Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1905), 1, pl. 27 [107]; Fischer, "Kopfstütze," *LÄ* 3 (1979), col. 689 and n. 60.

⁹⁷ E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Mummy* (London and New York, 1987), pp. 248-49; *idem*, *A Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms* (London, 1904), pp. 69-73; Reisner, *Kerma 1-3*, pp. 234 [d], 236; Fischer, "Kopfstütze," col. 690 with n. 62. Amulets in the form of headrests are popular in the Saite Period, see *ibid.*, n. 63.

Demotic *wrs* refers to both the supports of a board on which the body of the Apis bull rests during the embalming process and a support beneath human mummies.⁹⁸ In the latter context it is quite natural to assume that a headrest is intended.⁹⁹

c) *wtz(t)* "grand fauteuil:" Raymond Weill, *La II^e et la III^e Dynastie* (Paris, 1908), p. 254; "sedan-chair:" Griffith, in: *Medum*, p. 38; "sedan-chair:" Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* 1, p. 35; "Tragsessel:" *Wb.* 1, 384, 5; "litière:" *Frisés d'objets*, p. 238.

Wtz appears in the furniture lists of Hathor-nefer-hetep, Rahotep (10), and Seshemnefer I. Hathor-nefer-hetep's carrying chair was fashioned from ebony. The determinatives approximate in form the carrying chair of Queen Hetepheres I, mother of Khufu, when viewed in profile.¹⁰⁰ The body of the chair with its high back, the curved frame of the armrest on one side, and one of the side boards of the foot rest are all carefully delineated. Due to space limitations, the carrying poles of the chairs are shortened, however.

In one of Senenu's lists  appears (20). According to Gardiner, the balance post sign, Old Kingdom , originally had the value *wtz* and only secondarily acquired the value *tz*.¹⁰¹ For that reason, the reading *wtzt* is probably to be preferred in the present case. Moreover, the New Kingdom word for "carrying chair" was *wtzt*.¹⁰²

Prof. Goedicke has observed that the carrying chair or litter was a sign of high social rank and importance.¹⁰³ The motif of the tomb owner borne in a carrying chair or palanquin recurs in the tombs of a number of high officials of the Old Kingdom¹⁰⁴ beginning with a portrayal in the tomb of Rahotep.¹⁰⁵ There is some evidence to suggest that the use of a carrying chair was a prerogative granted by the king, who also assigned noble youths of the Residence to carry the chair.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, the official Hetep-her-en-ptah received his carrying chair as a boon-which-the-king-

⁹⁸ R.L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual* (Louvain, 1993), p. 341 (187), where the word also occurs in hieratic; Mustafa el Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes* (Cairo, 1959), p. 27, n. 6. Both references from the files of the CDD.

⁹⁹ *Wb.* connects *wrs* with babyl. *urušša*, but Werner Vycichl (*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte* [Louvain, 1983], p. 232 [hereafter DELC]) questions the equation on grammatical grounds.

¹⁰⁰ Reisner-Smith, *GN 2*, pp. 33–34, fig. 34, pls. 27–29.

¹⁰¹ Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. rev. (London, 1969), p. 521 (U 39) [hereafter Gardiner, *EG*]. Gardiner notes that the sign appears in *tz* already in PT 960. The present example is after N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqarah 1* (London, 1900), pl. 13 (272). For the archaic form of the carrying chair, see, e.g., Walter B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Baltimore, 1961), fig. 3; PT 811a.

¹⁰² *Wb.* 1, 384, 7–8.

¹⁰³ Hans Goedicke, "A Fragment of a Biographical Inscription of the Old Kingdom," *JEA* 45 (1959), p. 9.



Fig. 4. Early Dynastic footlaver from Abu Sir.

gives.¹⁰⁷ Reisner pointed out that carrying chairs were used for visits of inspection of all sorts.¹⁰⁸ In the Old Kingdom carrying-chairs also appear from time to time in workshop¹⁰⁹ and bedroom¹¹⁰ scenes.

d) *m* "footstool with sandals? upon it:" Griffith, in Petrie, *Medum*, p. 38; "sandal tray:" *Tarkhan* 1, p. 25; "Badewanne für die Füße," *Bildung von i* "waschen:" *Wb.* 2, 46, 5; "footbath, laver:" Henry G. Fischer, "Some Emblematic Uses of Hieroglyphs with Particular Reference to an Archaic Ritual Vessel," *MMJ* 5 (1972), p. 8; "wooden basin with emplacements for washing the feet:" idem, "Möbel," *LÄ* 4 (1980), col. 185.

The determinative in Rahotep's list shows a rectangular receptacle with a projecting element at the top.¹¹¹ In the center the outline of two feet presumably indicate where in the original the user would have stood, while his feet were being washed. Curiously, an actual example of a footbath, from an archaic grave at Abu Sir, has only a single (right) foot occupying its middle (fig. 4).¹¹² The rectangular basin, which is made of red clay, has inward slanting sides. At the top of the footbath is a broken appendage that corresponds to the projecting element of the

¹⁰⁴ References are to be found in Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1952–78), 4, p. 329, n. 2, and PM 3², pp. 354 (2), 903 (2), to which should be added W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Deshasheh* (London, 1898), pl. 24; Miroslav Verner, *Abusir-I: The Mastaba of Ptahshepses I* (Prague, 1977), pls. 53–55; William Kelly Simpson, "Topographical Notes on Giza Mastabas," in *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (Bamberg, 1979), fig. 3; idem, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 27, pl. 11b; fig. 38, pl. 25a (= Vandier no. xxviii); *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 13; 2, fig. 21; William Kelly Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1992), pl. E; Ann Macy Roth, "The Practical Economics of Tomb-building in the Old Kingdom: A Visit to the Necropolis in a Carrying Chair," in David P. Silverman, ed., *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (Chicago, 1994), fig. 16.1; G 2374, Khnumenti, east wall of Room I, unpublished. For discussions, see Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches* 1 (reprint, Hildesheim, 1982), p. 28; Junker, *Giza*, 11, pp. 251–54; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 328–63.

¹⁰⁵ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 21.

¹⁰⁶ Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*, 2 ed. (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 43, ll. 16–18; 231, l. 14 (hereafter *Urk.* 1); Goedicke, "Biographical Inscription," pp. 8–11, pl. 2.

¹⁰⁷ *Urk.* 1, 231, 14. The word for carrying-chair in this passage evidently represents an instance of periphrasis. Sethe (*Urk.* 1, 231, n. f–f) translates: "einer, dem der König eine Sänfte (*sbnr* "Angenehmmacher") machen ließ. Junge leute trugen ihn darin hinter dem König."

¹⁰⁸ Reisner, *GN* 1, p. 368; see more recently Roth, "Visit to the Necropolis," pp. 227–40.

¹⁰⁹ E.g., Maria Mogensen, *Le mastaba égyptien de la glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Copenhagen, 1921), fig. 38; *Mersyankh III*, fig. 5, pl. 5[b]; *Nianchchnum*, pl. 62. See further, pp. 152–54 below.

¹¹⁰ *HTES I*², pl. 29.

¹¹¹ Fischer, "Emblematic Hieroglyphs," p. 8.

¹¹² H. Bonnet, *Ein Frühgeschichtliches Gräberfeld bei Abusir* (Leipzig, 1928), pl. 35, 3 (10C-3) = Renate Krauspe, *Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1976), 16, no. 9/7, pl. 4 (Inv. Nr. 2339). I would like to thank Prof. Elke Blumenthal and Dr. Renate Krauspe for the photograph of the footlaver reproduced as fig. 4 of the present article.

determinative in Rahotep's list. What evidently represent the straps of a sandal are incised on the outline of the foot. On the rim of the basin, and also evidently on the broken appendage, are herringbone designs. Two other wooden footbaths with sloping sides and the outline of a single foot on a crossbar were found by Petrie in Dyn. 1 graves at Tarkhan.¹¹³ One of these shows clearly that the projecting appendage at the top, evident in Rahotep's list and in the Abu Sir footbath, was, at least in origin, a projecting U-shaped handle.¹¹⁴

Baker illustrates a stool of "Late Period" date with footstands attached to the top that he believed was possibly used in a bath,¹¹⁵ but Fischer doubts the identification.¹¹⁶

e) *h3wt* "table:" *Frises d'objets*, p. 246; "Platte mit Untersatz (einbeiniger Tisch):" *Wb.* 3, 226, 11–13.

H3wt and *hn* appear together in the abbreviated furniture list in the anonymous slab-stela from G 4260. From its determinative on the left side of the false door recess of Rahotep, where it is depicted among the stone vessels, not with the furniture, it is clear that *h3wt* represents the ubiquitous type of low, flat-topped circular table with a tubular support (see fig. 5a).¹¹⁷ Rahotep's *h3wt* is said to be of alabaster.

Reisner was of the opinion that the flat-topped circular table was introduced by Khasekhemui at the end of Dyn. 2.¹¹⁸ Subsequently, examples have been found in tombs of Dyn. 1 and earlier Dyn. 2.¹¹⁹ Numerous practical examples of stone offering tables of this type, as well as models, have been found all through the Old Kingdom, and to a lesser extent in tombs as late as Dyn. 12.¹²⁰

H3wt is a regular item in the great ritual offering list of the Fifth Dynasty and later.¹²¹ On the walls of Old Kingdom tombs a *h3wt* is sometimes washed as a preliminary to the funerary rites depicted¹²² or

¹¹³ *Tarkhan* 1, pp. 11, 25, pls. 11 [24, 25], 12 [10, 11]; see Fischer, "Möbel," col. 185 and n. 80.

¹¹⁴ *Tarkhan* 1, pl. 11 [25]; cf. *ibid.*, pls. 11 [26], 12 [9].

¹¹⁵ *Furniture*, fig. 213, p. 139.

¹¹⁶ "Möbel," n. 81.

¹¹⁷ Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, fig. 142. See also *ibid.*, pp. 55, 56 (types 40, 41 and 42), pl. 36; Vandier, *Manuel* 1, pt. 2, pp. 772–74; Reisner–Smith, *GN* 2, p. 101; Fischer, "Möbel," col. 184 with nn. 64–65.

¹¹⁸ Reisner–Smith, *GN* 2, p. 101.

¹¹⁹ Walter B. Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 55, 56 (types 40, 41 and 42), pl. 36; Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pl. 29 A.

¹²⁰ Reisner–Smith, *GN* 2, p. 101; Fischer, "Möbel," col. 184 with nn. 64–65; see also Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 242.

¹²¹ Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 173.

¹²² See Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 108, 109, no. 7, fig. 10; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 107, no. 7, fig. 30.

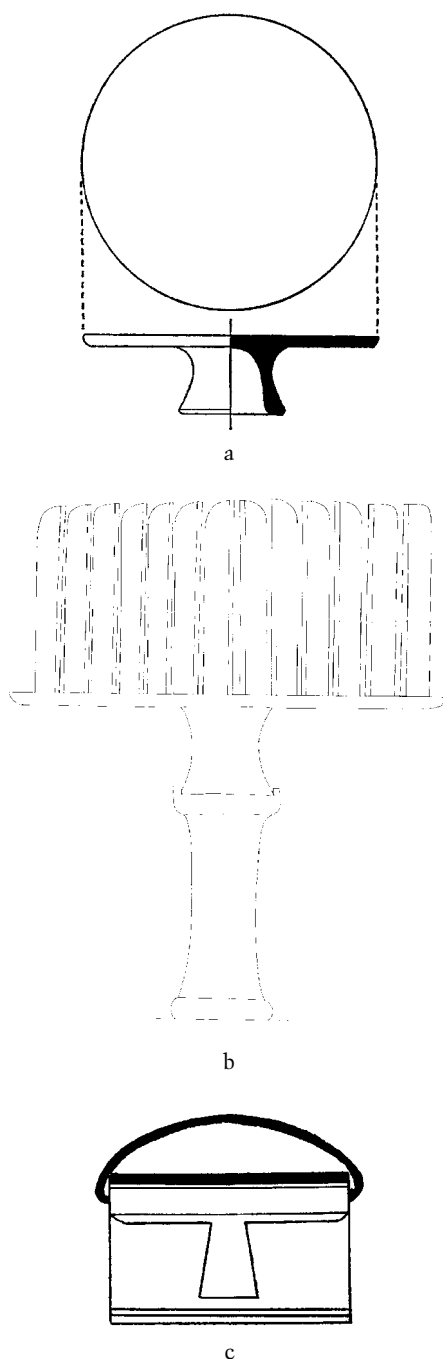


Fig. 5. Flat-topped circular tables with tubular supports.

serves to convey food to the tomb owner.¹²³ At funerary banquets, the deceased regularly sits on a chair or stool before a table of bread offerings consisting of a high stone or pottery stand on which a *ḥ3wt*-table is placed (fig. 5b),¹²⁴ while family members and guests sit on the ground and eat from low *ḥ3wt*-tables.¹²⁵ That *ḥ3wt*-tables were also used in the course of earthly meals seems indicated by the marsh scenes in two Old Kingdom tombs in which an official sits on the ground and is served a meal from just such a table.¹²⁶

In Hesyre's tomb, two round-top tables, painted yellow to represent alabaster, are shown alongside a series of barrels that seem to represent corn measures.¹²⁷ Hesyre's household furniture comes next, however, just after a divider at the right, and it is possible that the tables are actually to be counted amongst the latter. Further along on the same wall, two other *ḥ3wt*-tables are contained in covered boxes provided with handles for ease in carrying (fig. 5c). In identical containers nearby are stone bowls and a ewer and basin, all presumably part of Hesyre's table service.¹²⁸

Wb. 3, 226, 12 notes that *ḥ3wt*-tables may also be made from metal, but the citations all belong to the New Kingdom. In fact, seven metal *ḥ3wt*-tables are listed in a dedication inscription of Neuserre.¹²⁹

In the Middle Kingdom, *ḥ3wt* continues to be used for flat-topped circular tables, although in one Dyn. 12 decorated coffin the term, rightly or wrongly, is ascribed to a small rectangular table.¹³⁰ In the Second Intermediate Period and later, the term also denotes altars of other sorts,¹³¹ encompassing both hand-held offering stands,¹³² flat offering

¹²³ See LD 2, pl. 23; Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 29; 3, figs. 27, 28; *Kawab and Khafkhufu*, fig. 32.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 31 (= fig. 5a); Paule Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir)*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1976), 1, pp. 84 (d), 178 [B 13]; Edward Brovarski, "A Stele of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr," *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 18 (1983), p. 5 and n. 21. The example in fig. 5b clearly shows that the tubular support of the table was introduced as a tenon into the cavity at the top of the stand. The ensemble can also evidently be referred to as *ḥ3wt*; see *S'ahure* 2, pl. 63; Smith, "Minkhaf," pl. 22. The word for the pedestal is *gn*; see, e.g., *Wb.* 5, 174, 5–6; *Frises d'objets*, p. 246; *ArchAbousir* 1, p. 178 [B 13].

¹²⁵ E.g., *Ti* 1, pls. 56–57; *Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 29, 33–34, 36, 38; Jaromír Málek, "New Reliefs and Inscriptions from Five Old Tombs at Giza and Saqqara," *BSEG* 6 (1982), fig. 63, fig. 5.2

¹²⁶ J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–1908)* (Cairo, 1909), p. 3, pl. 61 (pedestal omitted in drawing?); Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 5 (London, 1953), pl. 30.

¹²⁷ *Tomb of Hesyr*, pp. 25–26, pl. 17.


¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37, pl. 22.


¹²⁹ Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re* (Leipzig, 1907), 3, pl. 28.

¹³⁰ *Frises d'objets*, p. 246, fig. 646.

¹³¹ *Wb.* 3, 226, 14–16.

stones,¹³³ square, crennelated altars,¹³⁴ and great built altars, like the sun altar in the Re-Harakhte chapel on the upper terrace at Deir el-Bahri, which is topped by a cavetto cornice and torus moulding and approached by a flight of steps.¹³⁵ *H3wt* is Demotic *hwy* (fem.) and Coptic $\omega\eta\gamma\epsilon^s$, $\omega\eta\omega\gamma^b$, $\zeta\eta\gamma\epsilon^a$.¹³⁶

f) *hnd(w)* "chair or stool:" Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* 1, p. 35; "tabouret sans dossier:" Weill, *La II^e et la III^e Dynastie*, p. 253; "Sitz, Thron (des Königs oder eines Gottes); auch einfächer Sessel der Form :" *Wb.* 3, 314, 4–6; "seat or carrying chair:" Hassan, *Giza* 5, p. 122; 6³, p. 56; "chair:" Gardiner, "A Unique Funerary Liturgy," *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 14; "stool with bent wood reinforcement:" Henry G. Fischer, "Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt," *MMJ* 13 (1978), p. 16 and n. 66.

The verb *hnd* is applied to the action of "bending" wood, the "plaining" of baskets,¹³⁷ and the "twisting" together of the stems of flowers to make wreaths. In the furniture lists of Hathor-nefer-hetep and Rahotep (10), the determinative of *hnd(w)* is a simple archaic stool with a bent wood stretcher beneath supporting both legs and seat: .¹³⁸ The determinative is, in fact, very like the bent wood seat of the Third Dynasty statue of the princess Redji, although the addition of a low back transforms the latter into a chair (fig. 6).¹³⁹ Hathor-nefer-hetep's stool was fashioned from imported ebony. In Rahotep's case the stool is colored yellow, perhaps indicating that it was made from a native wood.¹⁴⁰

In the Pyramid Texts this term seems to have a wider application. In PT 606c, 736a, 1165c, *hnd* is determined by a drawing of the other common type of archaic stool with bull's legs and papyrus terminals on the

¹³² E.g., CG 36338: Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* 1 (Leipzig, 1923), pl. 7 (b); Howard Carter, "Report on the Tomb of Sen-nefer found at Biban el-Molouk near that of Thotmes III no 34," *ASAE* 2 (1901), p. 200 (3).

¹³³ Wolfgang Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 4, no. 7.

¹³⁴ *Urk.* 4, pp. 629, 639.

¹³⁵ Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahri* 1 (London, 1894), p. 8, pl. 8. For earlier altars of this kind, see Rainer Stadelmann, "Altar," *LÄ* 1 (1972), cols. 146–47.

¹³⁶ W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 353; W. Vycichl, *DELC*, p. 274.

¹³⁷ *Wb.* 3, 312, 15; Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (London, 1901), pl. 4; Pierre Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire* (Strasbourg, 1925), p. 314; *AEO* 1, p. 66; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 138–39; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 42.


¹³⁸ Killen, *Furniture*, p. 38.



¹³⁹ Turin 3065. Dr. Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri, Soprintendente delle Antichità Egizie at the Museo Egizio, most kindly provided the photograph reproduced here as fig. 6. For a view of the statue showing the back, see Donadoni Roveri, *Daily Life*, pl. 169. A very similar chair appears in the painted corridor of Hesyre (*Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 18 [36]).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 27, 30, and *passim*.



Fig. 6. Statue of Princess Redji, Turin 3065.

side-rails (). As in the archaic steles from Helwan and Saqqara, the seat of the stool is viewed from above.¹⁴¹ *Hnd* with the same type of stool as determinative figures in two archaic priestly titles *hm-ntr B3stt hryt hnd* and *hm-ntr Hnm hnty pr hnd*.¹⁴²

Again in the Pyramid Texts, *hnd(w)* is applied to a throne-like seat with back and arms.¹⁴³ The most specific determinative likewise possesses bull's legs and papyrus terminals ().¹⁴⁴ In three instances, the throne is said to be made from "(meteoric) iron" (*biz*).¹⁴⁵ In PT 1906 c, on the other hand, the throne is fashioned of ebony (*hbn*). An even more elaborate theriomorphic throne is described in PT 1124: "He (viz. the king) sits on this iron throne of his, the faces of which are those of lions, and its feet are the hooves of the Great Wild Bull."¹⁴⁶ Just such a sign determines *hndw* in PT 1293 a (). A curious feature of these thrones is the curved frame of the armrest which otherwise appears on the carrying chairs (c) and on the portable chair illustrated in fig. 9b.



In a Dyn. 12 coffin *hnd* is written over four isolated furniture supports in the form of bull's legs, the object or objects represented being otherwise destroyed.¹⁴⁷ Since the word is otherwise applied to seats of various sorts, the legs may well have belonged to two chairs or stools.

The determinative of *hnd* in a papyrus from a tomb of the Thirteenth Dynasty discovered beneath the Ramesseum¹⁴⁸ is that of a chair

¹⁴¹ Heinrich Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, ed. by Emma Brunner-Traut; translated and ed. by John Baines, with a foreword by E.H. Gombrich (Oxford, 1974), p. 140, fig. 122; *HESP*, pp. 122–23. In private tombs this feature is attested as late as Dyn. 4; see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p.32 (Criterion 8), fig. 10, pl. 9, table on p. 155.

¹⁴² G. Maspero, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire; fragment de dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette publié d'après le manuscrit du l'auteur* (Paris, 1889), p. 70. In the epithet of Khnum, Mariette copied *hnt*. Barbara Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1981), p. 48, emends to *hndt*, seeing this as an otherwise unattested feminine form of *hnd(w)*. Since emendation does appear necessary, I prefer to emend the *t* to *d*.

¹⁴³ Kurt Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1908–22), 1, spells 770 c, 805 b; 2, spells 1124 a, 1165 c, 1293 a, 1298 a, 1301 b (hereafter PT and spell number).


¹⁴⁴ PT 770 c, 805 b, 1124 a. In the pyramids of Merenre and Pepy II, more conventionalized signs ,  that resemble the portable seat used to write the name of Osiris in the Middle Kingdom and later (Gardiner, *EG*, p. 500 [Q 3]), determine the word *hnd(w)*; see PT 770 c, 805 b and 1165 c, and also in PT 865 a, 873, a, 1016 a, 1165 c. I would like to express my appreciation to Prof. Jean Leclant and Mme. I. Pierre, who have been most generous in sharing with me their beautiful facsimile copies of hieroglyphic texts inscribed on the walls of the pyramids of Pepy I and Merenre utilized in the text. Their facsimiles generally confirm the accuracy of Sethe's hand copies of the same signs.

¹⁴⁵ See John R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 166–68.

¹⁴⁶ R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969), 1, p. 184. (hereafter *FPT*).

¹⁴⁷ *Frises d'objets*, p. 243 and n. 1.

¹⁴⁸ Gardiner, "Unique Funerary Liturgy," pl. V, l. 81, p. 14.

with carved animal-legs and tall straight back (the slanting back rest characteristic of New Kingdom chairs is lacking): ¹⁴⁹.

ḥnd appears to represent an instance of a word with a very specific meaning originally ("stool with bent wood reinforcement"), which over time came to have a wider application, often seemingly without any apparent connection to the root meaning of the word: "bull-legged stool," "lion-headed throne," "straight-backed chair," and so forth. On the other hand, many of these types of seats probably incorporated minor bent wood elements, such as small angular braces, and these may have constituted the tie that binds.

In the New Kingdom and later, the term acquires a new, if related, meaning: "stairway, (flight of) steps," especially of a throne or chapel.¹⁵⁰

g) *st-(n)-ḥt* "seat of wood:" Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* 1, pp. 34–35; "type de lit le plus simple:" *Frisés d'objets*, p. 243; "Name des Ruhebetten:" *Wb.* 5, 6, 21; "Liegestuhl:" Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 71.

This is the earlier of the two Old Kingdom words for bed. Only in Kha-bau-sokar's furniture list, where *st-n-ḥt* "bed of wood" appears, does the indirect genitive occur. Otherwise, except for Hathor-nefer-hetep's list, where *ḥt* follows *st* directly, *st-ḥt* is usually written with *ḥt* in apposition, to indicate the material of which the bed is made (9–10, 14, 23).¹⁵¹ In the lists of Khabausokar and his wife Hathor-nefer-hetep, where the term is subsumed under the heading "*sꜥd*-wood," the element *ḥt* "wood" seems redundant. In place of *ḥt*, Senenu (19) has *mnq*-wood.¹⁵²

The determinative in the early furniture-lists of Khabausokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep, as well as in both of Rahotep's lists, is a gently sloping bedframe with bent wood legs. In the published photographs and drawings of the first two lists, the determinatives are on too small a scale to be certain, but in both of Rahotep's lists the lower bend of the

¹⁴⁹ For this innovation, see Baker, *Furniture*, pp. 63, 128–29; Killen, *Furniture*, pp. 51–52, and the chairs numbered 4 and 5. The earliest depiction of such a chair known to me is in a stele of the reign of Senusert I; see William Kelly Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* (New Haven, 1974), pl. 51 (ANOC 33.1). They appear sporadically in steles of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period; see e.g., *ibid.*, pls. 32 (ANOC 22.2) and 76 (ANOC 54.1); H.O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo* 4 (Berlin, 1902), pls. 21 (CG 20434), 39 (CG 20537), 49 (CG 20614), 55 (CG 20732), 95 [613–615], 96 [616–625]; cf. pl. 93 [575]. For the antecedents of these chairs, see n. 167 below.

¹⁵⁰ *Wb.* 3, 314, 11–14.

¹⁵¹ For this function of badal apposition, see Gardiner, *EG*, § 90, 1; Elmar Edel, *Alt-ägyptische Grammatik*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1955, 1964), I, § 312. Possibly *ḥt* distinguishes beds made of wood from those in other materials like palm-stalks or wicker; see e.g., Denise Ammoun, *Crafts of Egypt* (Cairo, 1991), p. 69.

¹⁵² On *mnq*-wood, see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 208.

bed legs definitely rest on drums. The same sort of bed (on wide drums) appears in a craft scene in the "Tomb of the Two Brothers" (fig. 2b), but here the bed is designated by the later term, *ꜥtt* (a).¹⁵³

In the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir, four, probably originally five, male figures transport articles of furniture (fig. 7).¹⁵⁴ The wall is damaged and only the upper part of the body of the first man remains, while the second figure is completely destroyed. Verner remarks that the arms of the first man are turned backwards, which implies that he must have been carrying a sizeable object together with the second man behind him.¹⁵⁵ The piece of furniture carried by the two figures is likewise destroyed, but an upright element in the space between the rear arm and body of the first figure, which may represent a footboard, suggests that the object was probably a bed.¹⁵⁶ The third man evidently held an angled backrest (j) over one shoulder. The pair of figures bringing up the rear of the procession carry between them an arm chair with high back and lion's paw legs. The horizontal line of inscription above the row of five male figures reads as follows: *shꜥt swt r dw m st.sn i(n) shꜥd(w) sdꜥwt(yw) n pr-dt*, "Bringing the *swt* to be put in their places by the inspector(s) of treasurers of the estate."¹⁵⁷

A fairly common scene in Old Kingdom mastabas shows attendants readying their master's bedchamber.¹⁵⁸ In the tomb of Kayemankh at Giza, for example, a number of attendants prepare an armchair and bed, the former set within a canopy, for their master's use (fig. 8).¹⁵⁹ The legend to the former vignette reads *whꜥ st* "dusting the armchair,"¹⁶⁰ while over the latter is written *wdt ꜥtt*, "making the bed." The armchair has a high back, square supports on the sides for elbows and arms, and side rails terminating in papyrus flower ornaments, while its bull's legs rest on fulcrum-shaped supports. In a second bed-making scene from the Saqqara mastaba of Werirenptah, two men remove sheets from a chest and bring them to the attendants making up the owner's bed; the legend here reads: *dw st in sdꜥwt(yw)*, "making the bed by the treasurers."¹⁶¹

¹⁵³ *Nianchchnum*, pl. 63.

¹⁵⁴ Verner, *Ptahshepses*, photo 19, pl. 9.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁵⁶ This detail is omitted in the drawing in *ibid.*, pl. 9, but is clear in photo 19.

¹⁵⁷ Verner, *ibid.*, p. 23, treats the sentence differently. I take *dw* to be the masculine infinitive of *wꜥi*; see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, Table 3 on p. 12*.

¹⁵⁸ See PM 3², pp. 357 [15], 907 [15].

¹⁵⁹ Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 10 A.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁶¹ *HTES I*², pl. 29 (2).



Fig. 7. Bearers of furniture in the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abu Sir.

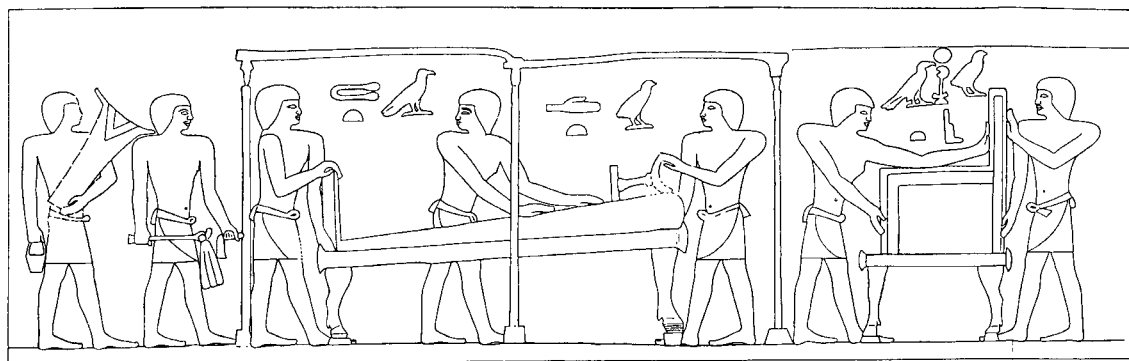



Fig. 8. Bedchamber scene from the chapel of Ka-em-ankh.

From the evidence of the furniture lists, as well as the wall scenes in the tombs of Ptahshepses and Werirenptah, it is clear that *st* in the Old Kingdom was a term that encompassed beds as well as seats. Going one step further, Henry Fischer has suggested that *st* in origin perhaps designated any “piece of furniture on which one rested, whether seated or reclining.”¹⁶²

Erman in fact was of the opinion that the Egyptian bed was really only a broader seat.¹⁶³ Beds from the early dynastic tombs of Tarkhan are so short that a sleeper would have to curl up tightly when taking advantage of one.¹⁶⁴ Actual early dynastic beds are usually low, rarely exceeding 30.8 cm, and chairs are often no higher.¹⁶⁵ When depicted together in Old Kingdom daily life scenes, beds and chairs usually appear to be of similar height.¹⁶⁶ Externally then, there is little to distinguish theriomorphic beds and chairs except breadth and the presence of a foot-board in lieu of a low backrest. Perhaps for these reasons, the Egyptians did not draw a sharp distinction between beds and chairs.

To return to *st-(n)-ḥt*. Although beds with bent wood supports are sometimes labeled *st* (a), as far as can be judged from the surviving evidence, *st-(n)-ḥt* is only applied to the type of sloping bed with bent wood supports, never to the other two types of Old Kingdom beds (above, p. 130). This may reflect the nature of the evidence, however, since *st* alone does refer to theriomorphic beds in the tombs of Kayemankh and Werirenptah.

h) *st ḥms* “Stuhl zum Sitzen:” Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 71.

We have just seen that the term *st*, generally translated “seat, throne,” also possessed the meaning “bed” in the Old Kingdom. This dual usage perhaps explains the existence of the term *st-ḥms* “a seat for sitting” in the furniture list of Kayemankh. The sign , which functions as a determinative of *st-ḥms* in the list of Kayemankh (and as a logogram in *st-[n]-ḥt* elsewhere), seemingly reflects the form of the simple high-backed chair with straight legs which is attested in relief as early as the Second Dynasty.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Henry George Fischer, “Stuhl,” *LÄ* 6 (1985), col. 92.

¹⁶³ Adolf Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (Tübingen, 1885), p. 261.

¹⁶⁴ Tarkhan I, pp. 23–24; Henry George Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1986), p. 188.

¹⁶⁵ Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 242. For actual beds or chairs, see idem, *Ḥor-aha* (Cairo, 1939), p. 63, cat. no. 348; idem, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1949; Oxford, 1954–58), 1, p. 57, cat. nos. 538, 539; 2, p. 53, cat. no. 300; Killen, *Furniture*, pp. 24–26, nos. 1–4; 37, no. 2; see also *Tomb of Hesy*, pls. 18–20. Higher chairs, which allowed a proper seated posture, are illustrated in niche-stones from the Second Dynasty cemetery at Helwan; see Baker, *Furniture*, p. 37, figs. 24, 25, and below, n. 167.

¹⁶⁶ See as well, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 8, pl. 9 a; *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 9.

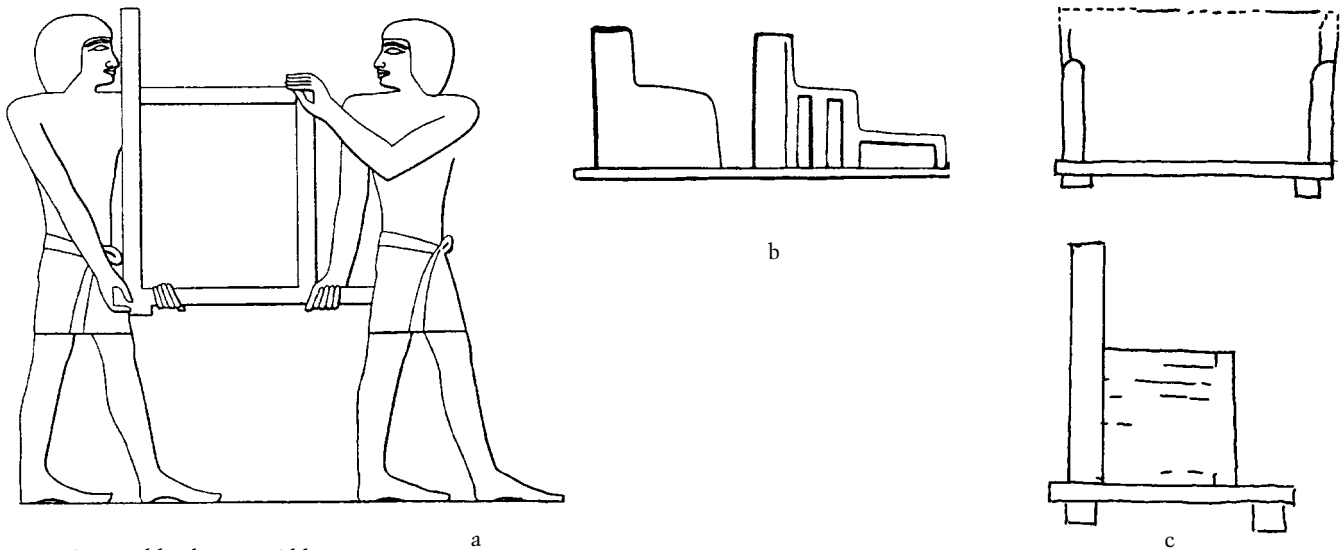


Fig. 9. Portable chairs in Old Kingdom tombs.

There is no question that *st* by itself could refer to seats during the Old Kingdom. Above, we have seen that Kayemankh's bull-legged armchair is designated a *st*. An arm chair with lion's legs in the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses is likewise denominated.¹⁶⁸ In the Pyramid Texts *st* is applied to a "throne" with bull's legs and papyrus terminals on the side-rails (𓆎).¹⁶⁹ In two other spells, the determinative of *st* is a lion-headed, bull-legged throne, the same sign that elsewhere in this corpus of religious literature serves as the determinative of *ḥndw* (f).¹⁷⁰


It is possible that 𓆎 (a) appeared at a time when the word *st* came increasingly to be applied to proper seats of various forms. Evidence for this conjecture may be provided by the furniture list of Izi. In that list 𓆎

¹⁶⁷ Baker, *Furniture*, pp. 32–33, 51; figs. 24–25. Straight-back chairs are sometimes represented in Old Kingdom statuary; see Institut français d'archéologie orientale, *Un siècle de fouilles françaises en Egypte 1880–1980* (Cairo, 1981), cat. no. 59; Henry G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, NY, 1968), pp. 102–3 and pl. 7. Fischer, *ibid.*, p. 103, doubts that these chairs were patterned on a piece of furniture in daily use, but the examples in Second Dynasty stele, though admittedly few in number, suggest otherwise. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art*, p. 190, pls. 84 and 85, calls attention to a rigidly straight-backed chair with low scroll legs in a boat model of the vizier Meketre and to an actual fragment of such a chair in Cairo. A chair in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, published by him as Middle Kingdom, *ibid.*, pp. 189–90, pl. 85, and said to be from Naga-ed-Dêr tomb N 3765, is actually from N 3746, a tomb that yielded up a stele that forms part of the Polychrome Group of Dynasty 9 (Dows Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* [Boston, 1937], p. 43, pl. 13 [2]; Edward Brovarski, "Naga (Nag)-ed-Dêr," *LÄ* 4 (1980), cols. 308–9). According to Naga-ed-Dêr Notebook 2, p. 4, however, the tomb was almost certainly reused in Dynasty 18, and the chair may conceivably belong to the later period.

¹⁶⁸ Verner, *Abusir* 1, pl. 10.

¹⁶⁹ PT 267 c.

¹⁷⁰ PT 306 e, 509 c.

is the term applied to a lion-headed bed, while *st-ḥt* is determined by what appears to be a chair without legs . Presumably a kind of portable chair that appears from time to time in Old Kingdom reliefs and paintings was intended (fig. 9a–c).¹⁷¹

i) *sḥ* “table:” Griffith, in Petrie, *Medum*, p. 38; “ein Gerät (Gestell o.a.):” *Wb.* 4, 22, 4.

The term *sḥ* is known only from Rahotep’s furniture list. The determinative looks like a high, straight-legged table. It is colored white, which may suggest it was made from an inferior wood and gessoed to improve its appearance.¹⁷² A table of similar proportions in the tomb of the vizier Mereruka functions as a gaming board (fig. 10a).¹⁷³

Tables are ubiquitous in Old Kingdom representations. They can be high, like Rahotep’s and Mereruka’s tables, medium (fig. 10b)¹⁷⁴ or low (fig. 10c).¹⁷⁵ They may be reinforced with bent wood braces (figs. 10a–b, e–f) or stretchers (fig. 10d)¹⁷⁶ or be provided with both (fig. 10e–f).¹⁷⁷ One table has a cavetto cornice and torus molding at the upper edge (fig. 10f).¹⁷⁸ Another, used for gaming purposes, may be fitted with a drawer (fig. 10b). Although they often served as sideboards,¹⁷⁹ rectangular tables do not appear to have been used for dining, a function which was evidently reserved for *ḥwt*-tables (e).

As Fischer notes, tables in general do not seem to have acquired splayed legs much before Dyn. 11.¹⁸⁰ One exception (fig. 10g), which serves as a sideboard,¹⁸¹ probably falls into the category of cult tables (*wḏḥw*).¹⁸²

¹⁷¹ E.g., *Ti* 1, pl. 16 (= fig. 9a); Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, fig. 38 (= fig. 19b); Junker, *Giza* 4, pl. 14; *Two Craftsmen*, pl. 1; *Nianchchnum*, pl. 63 (= fig. 9c); Richard A. Fazzini, “Some Egyptian Reliefs in Brooklyn,” in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (Brooklyn, 1972), p. 41, fig. 7; *El Hawawish* 1, fig. 9, pl. 6. In the mastabas of Kayemrehu (fig. 9b) and of Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep, a carrying chair is depicted nearby.

¹⁷² See Baker, *Furniture*, p. 118.

¹⁷³ E.g., *Mereruka* 2, pl. 172.

¹⁷⁴ E.g., Baker, *Furniture*, fig. 61 (= J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1907–1908* [Cairo, 1909], pl. 64).

¹⁷⁵ E.g., *Mereruka* 1, pl. 30.

¹⁷⁶ E.g., *ibid.*, pl. 90.

¹⁷⁷ E.g., *ibid.*, pl. 30.

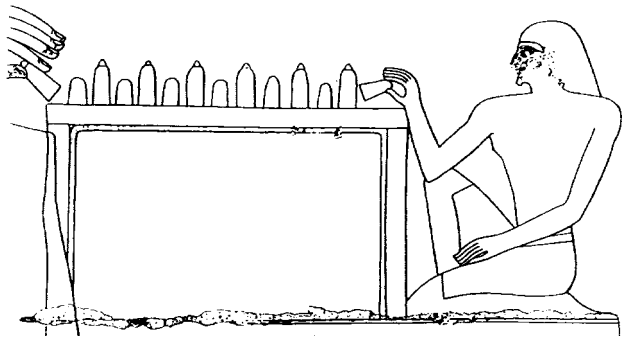
¹⁷⁸ LD 2, 61a. Cavetto-corniced, splayed leg tables are more common in the Middle and New Kingdoms, and actual examples exist; see Fischer, “Möbel,” col. 183 and n. 72; Peter Der Manuelian, in Edward Brovarski, Susan K. Doll, and Rita E. Freed eds., *Egypt’s Golden Age* (Boston, 1982), cat. no. 45; Fischer, *L’écriture et l’art*, p. 182, pl. 66.

¹⁷⁹ E.g., *Mereruka* 1, pls. 57, 58, 63–64; 2, pls. 121, 122.

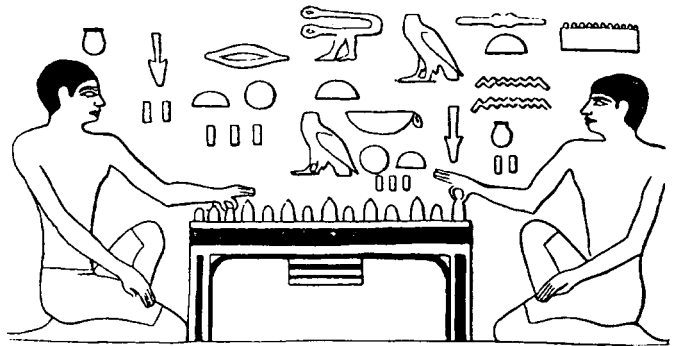
¹⁸⁰ Fischer, “Möbel,” col. 184.

¹⁸¹ Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 92.

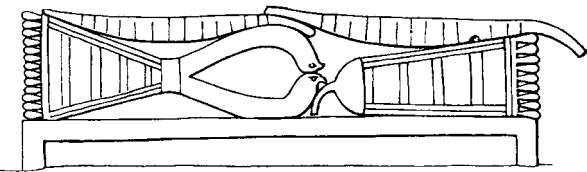
¹⁸² *Wb.* 1, 393, 15.



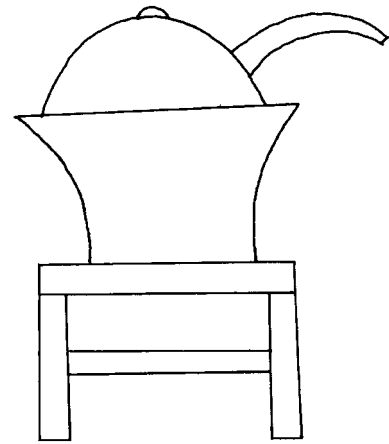
a



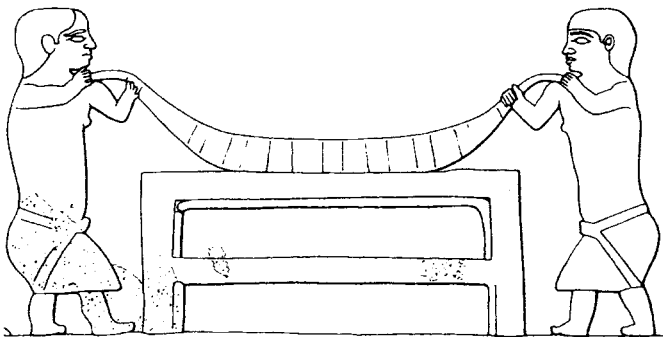
b



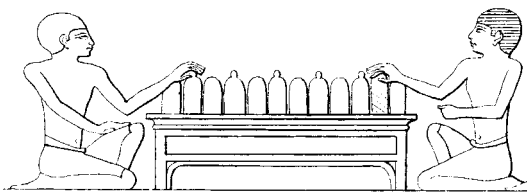
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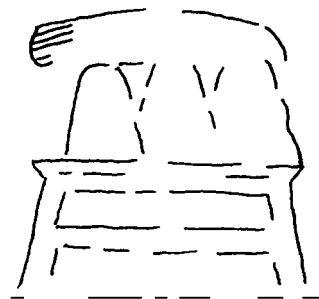
d



e



f



g

Fig. 10. Old Kingdom tables.

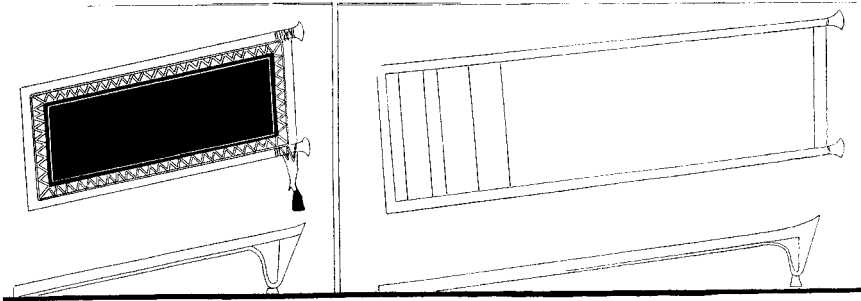




Fig. 11. Angled backrests and two-legged beds from the mastaba of Hesyre.

j) *gs(ꜣw)t* "sloped footboard:" Griffith, in: *Saqq. Mast. 1*, p. 35; "two-legged inclined rest:" *Tomb of Hesy*, p. 29; "two-legged bed, in fact only an angled backrest rather like a wedge-shaped cushion:" Schäfer, *Principles*, p. 140; "lit:" *Frises d'objets*, p. 243, n. 5; "Art Ruhebett (in geneigter form):" *Wb. V* 206, 1; "Liegestuhl:" Junker, *Giza 4*, p. 83; "Schemel oder Rückenstütze:" Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 101.

This article of furniture appears as *gsꜣ* in the list of Hathor-neferhetep. Later writings consistently include a terminal *-t*. *Gst* (18, 22) and *gsꜣt* (20, 23) each appear twice, while a full writing, *gsꜣwt*, is known from (19) as well as from a carpentry scene in the Tomb of the Two Brothers at Saqqara.¹⁸³ The group  in the tomb of Kapunesut presumably reads *gst*. A problematical spelling is *qnst* () in the tomb of Metjen.¹⁸⁴

Outside of the furniture lists, *gs(ꜣ)wt* appear in a variety of pictorial contexts, the earliest being the eastern wall of the painted corridor of Hesyre. Beside two pairs of four-legged beds appear four *gs(ꜣ)wt* (fig. 11),¹⁸⁵ separated into pairs by the mast of a tent.¹⁸⁶ The two-legged beds on the right of the mast are about the same size as the four-legged beds. The *gs(ꜣ)wt* to the left of the mast, which are two-thirds the size of those at the right, might better be described as two-legged, angled backrests.

The angled backrest on the upper left was drawn in plan and side elevation to show both the frame and one of the two bull's legs at the head end. Killen observes that it was drawn sloping from head to foot to

¹⁸³ *Nianchchnum*, pl. 62.

¹⁸⁴ LD 2, pl. 4; *ÄIB* 1, p. 87. Is it possible that *kn* actually refers to the doubled-over cloth that the second bearer from the left holds in his hand, while *st* (g, h) is applied to the angled backrest borne by the third man? For *kni* as an ornament worn by *sem*-priests and kings, see *Wb.* 5, 51, 9.

¹⁸⁵ *Tomb of Hesy*, pls. 19–20.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

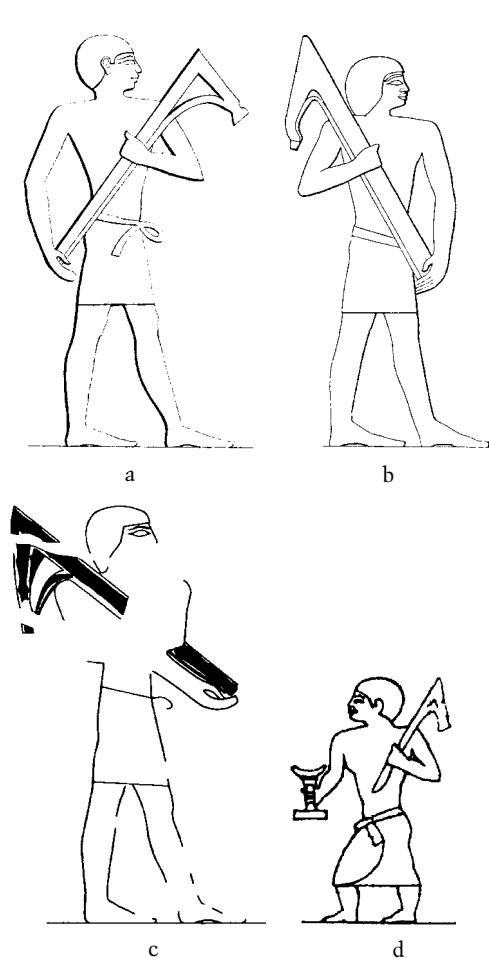


Fig. 12. Method of carrying angled backrests in Old Kingdom scenes of daily life.

conform to the other *gs(3)wt.*¹⁸⁷ Bull's leg were used as furniture supports from the earliest period,¹⁸⁸ but not ordinarily for angled backrests. The only other instance known to me comes from the tomb of Kayem-rehu (fig. 13a). The form of the mattress also seems to have attracted the interest of the artist, who shows in considerable detail how it was attached to the frame by a webbing (presumably made of leather straps) woven through slots in the side and bottoms of the rails.¹⁸⁹ The leather thongs that fastened the top of the leg to the frame are indicated as well. Like those of the longer, two-legged bed shown in plan at the right, the projecting side-rails of this backrest end in papyrus flower terminals.¹⁹⁰

The two-legged bed on the upper right seems to have consisted of thirteen cross planks originally, but only five were still visible when Quibell recorded Hesyre's paintings.¹⁹¹ The artist here omits the legs which presumably supported the head end. The two-legged bed below and corresponding backrest on the other side of the mast are drawn in elevation. Both have bent wood supports and drums.

Two-legged beds appear to have passed out of fashion after Dyn. 3, but two-legged, angled backrests continue to be found in scenes which show the tomb owner on outings—generally tours of inspection—where they are carried by an attendant along with other personal equipment (fig. 12b–d).¹⁹²

In the tomb of Metjen the context is not so clear. To either side of the entrance on the east wall of the chapel, short processions of offering bearers appear above a large figure of the tomb owner.¹⁹³ Whereas Metjen faces the doorway, the bearers have their backs to the entrance, as if walking into the tomb. One of the bearers to the north of the entrance carries an angled backrest (fig. 12a), while the man immediately behind him holds a headrest. On the west wall of the chapel (to the south of the false door) a large figure of Metjen views a very abbreviated hunting scene, which is continued on the south wall.¹⁹⁴ Over the

¹⁸⁷ Killen, *Furniture*, p. 27.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁹⁰ *Tomb of Hesy*, p. 29 [43, 44].

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30 [47].

¹⁹² E.g., LD 2, pl. 107; *Ti 1*, pl. 17 (= fig. 12b); *Two Craftsmen*, pl. 3 (= fig. 12c). In the tomb of Iymery at Giza, the tomb owner's father, Shepseskaf-ankh, sallies forth in his carrying-chair. In the register below, the personal effects which are to accompany him are laid out on tables; included is an angled backrest with a headrest on it; see Kent R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000* (Boston, 1994), fig. 32, pl. 16 (= LD 2, pl. 50). Cf. *Frises d'objets*, p. 241.

¹⁹³ LD 2, pl. 4 (reversed here).

¹⁹⁴ *HESP*, p. 152.

animals on the south wall are three more attendants marching into the chapel, one of whom carries the bed reproduced in our fig. 2a.¹⁹⁵ If the relative scale can be trusted, the angled backrest is a little more than half the length of the bed.

It is possible that the three groups of attendants on the walls of Metjen's chapel are associated thematically with the only scene from life in the chapel, the hunting scene on the west and south walls, that is, as transporting equipment needed for his outing on the *gebel*.

In Room 3 of the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir, processions of attendants march with furniture, boxes, and cases toward the entrance, as if preceding out of the tomb.¹⁹⁶ The large figure of the vizier on the southern part of the east wall is similarly oriented, and this might well be another example of a tomb owner's outing.¹⁹⁷ What appears to be an angled backrest occurs in the damaged scene on the rear wall of Room 3 to the south of a doorway (fig. 7).¹⁹⁸ Although Verner¹⁹⁹ identifies this object as a bed, the manner in which the badly damaged figure holds it indicates that the article of furniture was in fact a two-legged angled backrest; compare fig. 12a–c.

Finally, in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Nesutnofer at Giza, a dwarf carries the owner's headrest in his right hand and a two-legged angled backrest over his shoulder in his other hand (fig. 12c).²⁰⁰ In the register below, a second dwarf holds the owner's staff and sandals, while above, two Nubians carry other personal items. Between the two doors in the west wall, the owner and his wife stand viewing the presentation of animals and goods from his estates in Upper Egypt. The presence of the animals shows that this event takes place in the open air, and it is likely that the four attendants were understood to be in attendance on the owner on this outing, even though separated from him by the intervening false door.

Two-legged angled backrests also appear in scenes showing the preparation of funerary equipment. One, in the tomb of Kayemrehu, is about half the size of the bed being polished by two squatting carpenters in the

¹⁹⁵ LD 2, pl. 6.

¹⁹⁶ Verner, *Ptahshepses*, p. 11, pls. 1–3, 9–10.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 1.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 9.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁰⁰ Junker, *Giza 3*, fig. 27; cf. pl. 5. Sensitive to scale, the draftsman has evidently reduced the size of the backrest to correspond to the height of the dwarf. Otherwise this would be a very small backrest indeed.

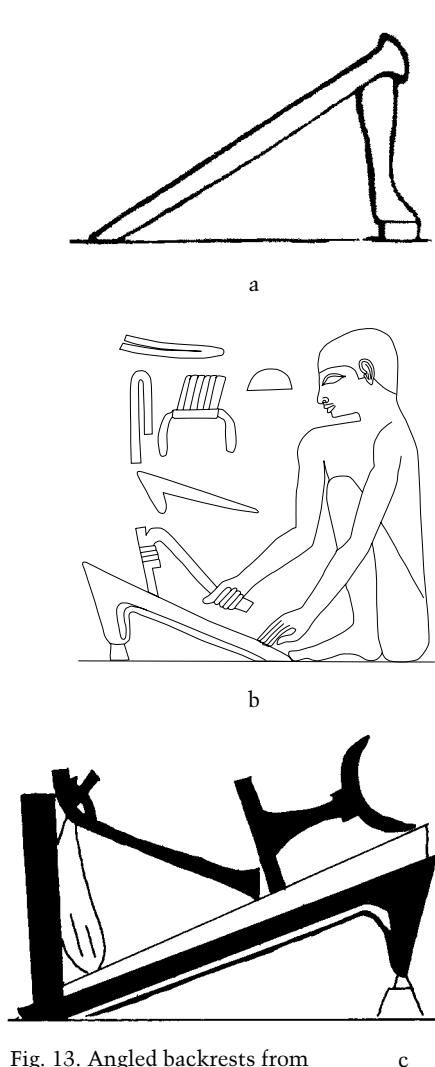


Fig. 13. Angled backrests from Saqqara (a–b) and Giza (c).

register below.²⁰¹ As in Hesyre's paintings, Kayemrehu's angled backrest has a bull's leg support (fig. 13a).

In the tomb of the Two Brothers, a carpenter planes a *gsꜣwt* with an adze (fig. 13b).²⁰² This backrest, like most of those depicted elsewhere and the bed being worked on nearby, has a bent wood support and drums, the whole resting on low, fulcrum-shaped supports. It is about a third the length of the bed.

In the burial chamber of Kayemankh, an angled headrest is depicted along with other household furniture.²⁰³ This backrest has bent wood supports ending in drums on fulcrum-shaped supports and, most unexpectedly, is equipped with a high footboard (fig. 13c). Resting on it are a cushion, headrest, and fly whisk. It is portrayed as about the same size as the bed, which is being made up by a servant, but both bed and servant are much smaller than they should be relative to the portable armchair and leather bag in the same register. The relative proportions of the backrest, headrest, and flywhisk to one another, on the other hand, seem about right.

A number of conclusions emerge from this review of the occurrences of *gsꜣwt* in the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom. First, the early *gsꜣwt* depicted in the painted corridor of Hesyre—both the two-legged beds and the angled backrests—appear to be considerably longer than the later Old Kingdom examples. Second, by the early Fourth Dynasty at the latest, smaller *gsꜣwt* existed which, from their size, can only have functioned as backrests.

The latter appear to have been only a half to a third as long as ordinary beds, and unlike them could be easily transported. Only in the tomb of Metjen does a single bearer carry with difficulty this larger piece of furniture (fig. 2a).

With a two-legged backrest of the later type, the user presumably sat on a mat and reclined against the backrest. It is unlikely that he would have rested his upper body on the mat with his legs and feet resting on the backrest. The curious backrest provided with a footboard in the tomb of Kaemankh (fig. 13c) would leave the user's upper torso projecting at an acute angle above the ground. It is probably a mistake, falsely echoing the high board at the foot of the bed in the same register.²⁰⁴

James Allen suggests plausibly that *gsꜣwt* derives from *gsꜣ* "to lean, incline."²⁰⁵ But the later *gsꜣwt* at least were essentially half-beds. The

²⁰¹ Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, fig. 38.

²⁰² *Nianchchnum*, pl. 62.

²⁰³ Junker, *Giza 4*, pl. 14.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Vandier, *Manuel 4*, p. 188.

scribe of the inventory list preserved in Boston, perhaps playing on the words *gs(ꜣ)t* and *gs* “half,”²⁰⁶ showed the determinative for *gst* with a splintered end, as if a four-legged bed had been broken in two.

Both two-legged beds and angled backrests appear to have gone out of fashion at the end of the Old Kingdom.

In addition to the furniture lists, a certain number of other terms for furniture occur sporadically in Old Kingdom sources.

k) *nḏrwt* “Teile des Bettes:” *Wb.* 2, 382, 17; “bedstead:” *L. to D.*, pp. 2, 15; “household property:” Battiscombe Gunn, review of *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, by Alan H. Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, in *JEA* 16 (1930), pp. 149, 150; “household furniture:” Wentz, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, p. 211.

To quote Gardiner and Sethe in their commentary on the Letter to the Dead on the Cairo linen: “*Nḏrwt* perhaps from the stem *nḏr* “to carpenter,” hence possibly “bedstead,” “frame of bed.” So restrictive a translation does not necessarily follow from the meaning of the verb *nḏr*, and this may have prompted Gunn to translate *nḏrwt* with the more general sense of “household property,” and Wentz to translate it as “household furniture.” However, if the *Wb.* is correct in identifying *nḏrwt* as a component of beds, by a process of exclusion *nḏrwt* might well be “bedframe,” since the word for the feet of a bed or other piece of furniture appears to be *rdw*,²⁰⁷ and the word for footboard, at least in the New Kingdom, *mrt*.²⁰⁸

l) *ḥwdt* “Art Tragsessel:” *Wb.* 3, 250, 3.

In the tombs of both Ibi and Djau Shemai at Deir el-Gebrawi carpenters are shown planing carrying chairs with adzes (fig. 14a–b). Over the head of the workman in the earlier scene is written: *nḏr ḥwdd* (sic) *in fnḥ* “fashioning a carrying chair by a carpenter.”²⁰⁹ The label over the later scene is damaged (as is the chair itself) and all that remains is . . . *ḥmḥ ḥwdt ḥbn* “ . . . a carrying chair of ebony.”²¹⁰ The term *ḥwdt* is known from a number of other contexts, including its appearance in the fragmentary biographical inscription of the Old Kingdom published by Goedicke.²¹¹ This fragmentary inscription tells how the king provided a carrying chair from the Residence for an esteemed official who was tak-

²⁰⁵ According to *Wb.* 5, 205, 7–8, the verb is only attested from the Middle Kingdom.

²⁰⁶ *Wb.* 5, 196, 1–19.

²⁰⁷ *Wb.* 2, 426, 14–15, and above, p. 140 (PT 1124).

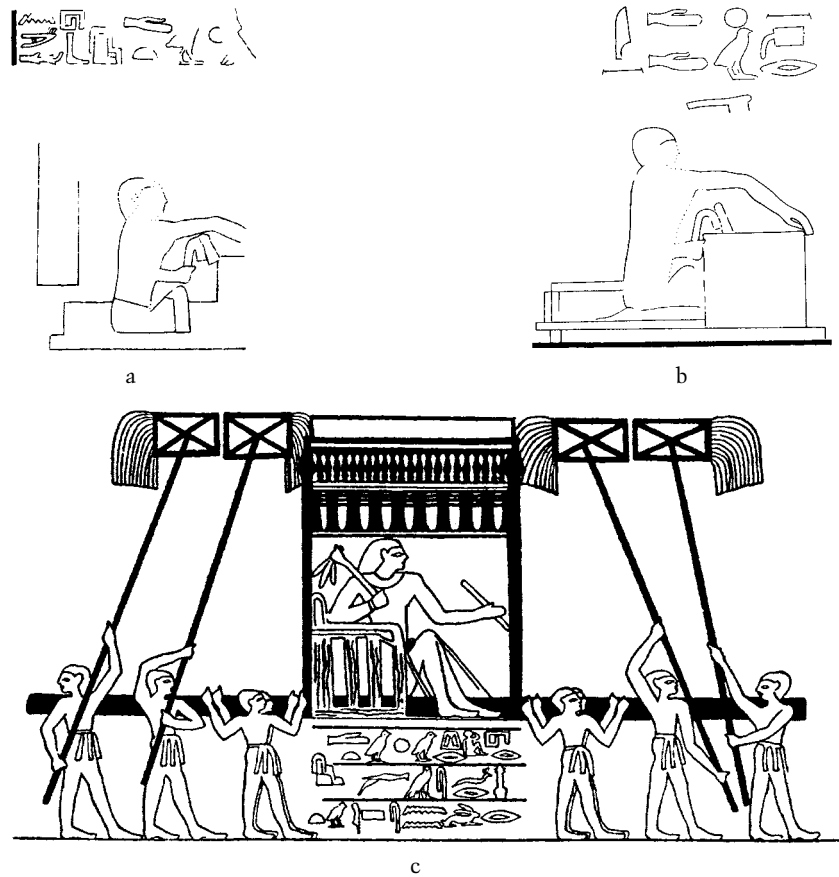
²⁰⁸ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 184.

²⁰⁹ *Gebr.* 1, pl. 14.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, pl. 10

²¹¹ Goedicke, “Biographical Inscription,” pp. 8ff., fig. 1, pl. 2.

Fig. 14. Old Kingdom carrying chairs.



en ill in the course of duty, at the same time assigning youths to carry him in it so that he might continue to supervise the work in his charge. Goedicke has noted that the fragmentary inscription is in part probably a literal parallel to *Urk.* 1, 43, 16, which should be restored accordingly.²¹² The latter passage belongs to the biography of the vizier Washptah who, like the Goedicke's anonymous official, was taken ill in the presence of the king, and who was similarly provided with a carrying chair (*ḥwdt*) by his sovereign, who also assigned ten men "to carry him in it in perpetuity." Ten would be an overly large number of men to transport an ordinary carrying chair like Queen Hetepheres I's, which can not have accommodated more than four men at a time.²¹³ This raises the possibility that *ḥwdt* actually refers to the later sort of Old Kingdom carrying chair which was surmounted by a baldachin comprising an elaborate vaulted or rectangular superstructure of wood supported on light columns, and which might require as many as twenty-eight porters to bear

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²¹³ See above, p. 134.

it aloft.²¹⁴ The possibility appears to be borne out by the song of the porters who bear Djau Shemai in state in just such a palanquin (fig. 14c): *hr hr(y)w hwdt nfr.s mh r wnn.s šwt* “Happy are they who bear the palanquin. Better is it when full than when it is empty.”²¹⁵

The appearance of *hwdt/hwdd* as a label above the carrying-chairs without baldachin in the two workshop scenes at Deir el-Gebrawi might be seen as constituting an obstacle to this identification. So too might the fact that the determinative of *hwdt* in the fragmentary inscription published by Goedicke and the biography of Washptah is an ordinary carrying chair. Nevertheless, the sign that determines *hwdt* in the porters’ song just quoted is essentially the same sign that determines *hwdt* in the carpentry scene from the tomb of Djau Shemai referred to at the head of this entry. Possibly the ancient painter or scribe hesitated at drawing so large and elaborate an object as a carrying chair with baldachin for a determinative, and settled for the simpler sign which defined the meaning of the word in a more general way. A similar consideration perhaps prevented the draughtsman from inserting so large an object into a workshop scene.

An additional point in favor of the identification of *hwdt* as a “carrying-chair with baldachin” may be the survival of the older term for “carrying-chair (without baldachin),” *wtz(t)*, into the New Kingdom and later as *wtzt* (d), since both Middle²¹⁶ and New Kingdom²¹⁷ carrying-chairs generally lack a baldachin.²¹⁸

The superstructure of the baldachin in the Old Kingdom is frequently decorated with an elaborate openwork(?) or inlay design of symbolic, floral or geometric motifs.²¹⁹ For that reason, a derivation of *hwdt* from *hwd* “rich, be rich” ought to be considered.^{220*}



²¹⁴ LD 2, pl. 78 b; Simpson, “Topographical Notes,” fig. 3.

²¹⁵ *Gebr.* 2, p. 11, pl. 8; for the translation, see also, Adolf Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches* (Berlin, 1919), p. 52; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 944.

²¹⁶ See, e.g., *Frises d’objets*, pp. 252–53, figs. 664–66; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 351–54, figs. 174–75.

²¹⁷ See, e.g., *ibid.*, figs. 179–82.

²¹⁸ The carrying chair of Ramses III from Medinet Habu illustrated in *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu* 4 (Chicago, 1940), pls. 196 A, B, 197–208 has a very elaborate baldachin, but is also termed a *wtzt*.

²¹⁹ See Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 340.

²²⁰ *Wb.* 3, 249, 9–15.

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	ꜣꜥꜥ	wꜣs	wꜥꜣ(t)	mꜣ	ḥꜣwt	ḥnd(w)	st-(n)-ḥt	st ḥms	sꜣḥ	gs(ꜣw)t	nꜥrwt	ḥwdt
1) Satba												
2) Ni-djefanesut												
3) Khabausokar												
4) Hathor-nefer-hetep												
5) Sisi												
6) Nedji												
7) Irensen												
8) Metjen												
9) Rahotep												
10) Rahotep												
11) Seshat-sekhentiu												
12) G 4260												
13) Anon. (Giza)												
14) Izi												
15) Ni-hetep-Khnum												
16) Merib												
17) Setju												
18) "Covington's Tomb"												
19) Senenu												
20) Senenu												
21) Seshem - nofer I												
22) Kapunesut Kai												
23) Kayemankh												

Table 1. Signs determining the words for furniture discussed in the corpus above.

SCHOLARS FROM AROUND THE WORLD HAVE GATHERED HERE to contribute sixty-eight articles in honor of their friend and colleague, William Kelly Simpson, one of the most distinguished Egyptologists of his generation. The topics include archaeological expedition reports, art-historical essays, philological treatises, and historical analyses. The focus is on Egypt during 3,000 years of ancient pharaonic history, but Nubian and Aegean studies are also well represented. The volume contains 232 photographs, numerous line drawings, and a comprehensive bibliography of W. K. Simpson's Egyptological writings through 1996.

