

**ANCIENT EGYPT, THE AEGEAN,
AND THE NEAR EAST**

Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoads Bell

Volume I

edited by

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with

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and*

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OLD KINGDOM BEADED COLLARS

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In 1988, at the Fifth International Congress of Egyptology in Cairo, Martha presented a fascinating paper on Egyptian floral collars.¹ Later, we had occasion to discuss our common interest. I like to think she is wearing a *w3ḥ n m3'-ḥrw* ('a collar of righteousness') right now.

On the right embrasure of the entrance of the recently published 5th Dynasty chapel of Akhethotep, the 'Mastaba du Louvre,' is a scene which shows the deceased owner watching two scenes of statue transport and the associated rites (fig. 1).² A single long column of text before the standing figure of Akhethotep records gifts awarded to that official by his sovereign and reads as follows:

*Rdit ḥm.f šd n.f s3.f smr w'ty im3-' S'nhw-Pth wsh šnw w3dšm'w ḥsbd
'nht izn n w3d šm'w [ḥsbd]r ḥḥ.f ḥn' iw3 snwy m iw m ḥzwt sb3.f sw r ḥzt
sw nswt, "What His Majesty authorized his (viz. Akhethotep's) son, the Sole
Friend and im3-' Sankhu-ptah, to withdraw for him: a wsh-collar and a šnw-
collar of malachite (?) and lapis lazuli and a counterpoise and necklace of
malachite(?) and lapis lazuli(?) to be placed at his neck, together with two long-
horned oxen from the island as reward for his educating him so that the king
favored him."³*

Although the inscription is fairly brief, there are one or two points of note and a number of problems still to be resolved. Noteworthy is the word for 'counterweight, counterpoise.' In the 'Louvre Mastaba' the word is *'nht*, instead of the more usual *m'nht*, the *m* of the latter presumably representing the formative prefixed to some nouns.⁴

* The following abbreviations are used:

IFAO Institut français d'archéologie orientale

LD K.R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin 1849-1858); *Ergänzungsband* (Leipzig 1913); *Text*, E. Naville ed. (Leipzig 1897-1913).

PM III.1² B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*² III: *Memphis 1: Abū Rawāsh to Abūšīr* (Oxford 1974).

Wb. A. Erman and H. Grapow eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig 1926-1931).

¹ M.R. Bell, "Floral Collars, W3H NY MA' HERU, in the 18th Dynasty," in *International Association of Egyptologists, Fifth International Congress of Egyptology. October 29—November 3, Cairo 1988. Abstracts of Papers* (Cairo 1988) 20.

² C. Zeigler, *Le mastaba d'Akhetetep. Une chapelle funéraire de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris 1993). I would like to express my appreciation to Mme. Zeigler for the drawing shown here in fig. 1 and permission to reproduce it in the present article.

³ Cf. Zeigler (*supra* n. 2) 110-14. Unlike Mme. Zeigler, I have translated *rdit* as a perfective relative form.

⁴ A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ (London 1957) 218 n. 1; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik I* (Analecta Orientalia 34, Rome 1955-1964) §§ 253-55. For *m'nht/nht*, see *Wb.* I 206; II 47 (10-11).

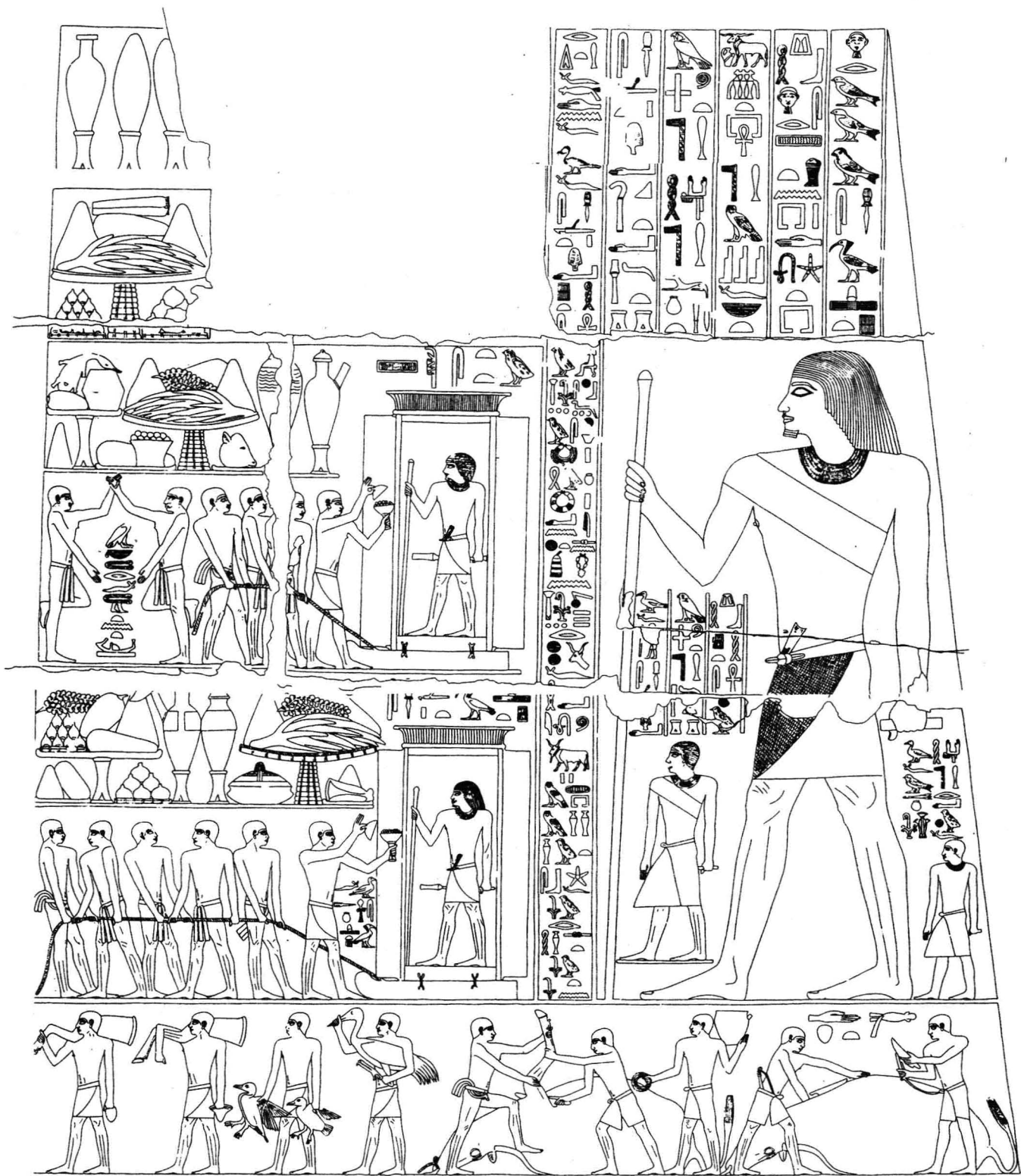



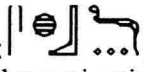

Fig. 1. Right entrance embrasure of the 'Mastaba du Louvre.'

In the case of the *wsh* and *šnw*-collars, in typical bookkeeping fashion, the material of which the collars are made, malachite(?) and lapis lazuli, comes first.⁵ In the case of the counterpoise and necklace, however, the materials follow in an indirect genitival construction.⁶

Considerable uncertainty exists as to the meaning of *w3ḏ šm* 'w. Harris thinks that *w3ḏ* in most cases, especially as a pigment and medicament is certainly malachite, but he appears undecided as to whether *w3ḏ šm* 'w indicates malachite from the eastern desert or another green stone such as jasper.⁷ More recently Aufrère opts for the latter meaning.⁸

It is possible that the *izn*-necklace like the collars was made of malachite(?) and lapis lazuli (*hsbd*). If so, the scribe has utilized an exceptional writing of lapis in the second instance

that involves both abbreviation and metathesis: . Mme. Zeigler believes the scribe has done just that, even though *hsbd* is fully spelled out in the first occurrence of the word albeit

with a graphic metathesis of the radical consonant *s*: . The sign  a phonogram with the biliteral value *hb*, serves as an ideogram or determinative in *hb3* ('destroy, demolish, lay waste, hack up')⁹ and in *hbs* ('cultivate, hoe, hack up').¹⁰ No such mineral as *hb3*, *hbs* or even *hb* appears to be known, however. Since no satisfactory alternative suggests itself, Mme. Zeigler's suggestion deserves serious consideration.

Sir Alan Gardiner¹¹ thought that the word *iw*, customarily translated 'island, sandy tract,'¹² may possibly have conveyed to the ancient Egyptians the wider signification possessed by the modern Arabic equivalent جزيرة (*gezira*), a topographical designation that one authority defined as including "not only islands lying in the stream, but also all the lands situated between the high- and low-water marks."¹³ If Gardiner was correct in his conjecture, this would help explain the divergent forms of the ideogram used to write *iw* in the Old Kingdom. The simplest form is an oblong oval lacking interior detail (fig. 2.a),¹⁴ although in some

⁵ For this sort of badal apposition, to indicate the material of which a thing is made, see e.g., Gardiner (supra n. 4) § 90 (1); Edel (supra n. 4) § 312.

⁶ See, e.g., Edel (supra n. 4) § 325.

⁷ J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin 1961) 102-105.

⁸ S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* (IFAO Bibliothèque d'étude 105, Cairo 1991) 256, 284-85, 340, 545, 746, 756-57, 783.

⁹ *Wb.* III 253, 2-7; H.K. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (IFAO Bibliothèque d'étude 34, Cairo 1962) 213 (6G4). Sometimes the jabiru stork *b3* (Gardiner [supra n. 4] 470 sign list G 29) is placed on top of the hoe so that the *h* is hacked up by the *b3*; see Edel (supra n. 4) § 62.

¹⁰ *Wb.* III 256, 1-10.

¹¹ A.H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus II* (Oxford 1948) 27; see also *Wb.* I 47; W. Guglielmi, "Insel," in *LÄ III* (Wiesbaden 1980) 164-65; A. Leahy, "The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries," *JEA* 74 (1988) 195 and n. 53.

¹² Gardiner (supra n. 4) 487 sign list N 10.

¹³ H.G. Lyons, *The Cadastral Survey of Egypt* (Cairo 1908) 31, cited by Gardiner (supra n. 11) 27.

¹⁴ E.g., W.M.F. Petrie et al., *Medum* (London 1892) pl. XIX (= our fig. 2.a); H.F. Petrie and M.A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* (BSAE/ERA 65, London 1952) pl. X; G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I* (Cambridge MA 1942) fig. 260.

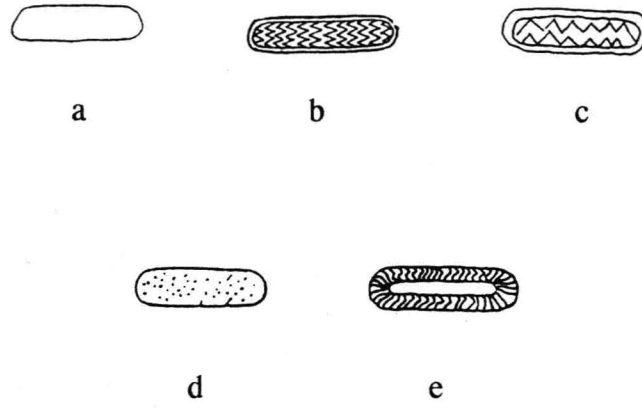


Fig. 2. The *iw*-ideogram in the Old Kingdom.

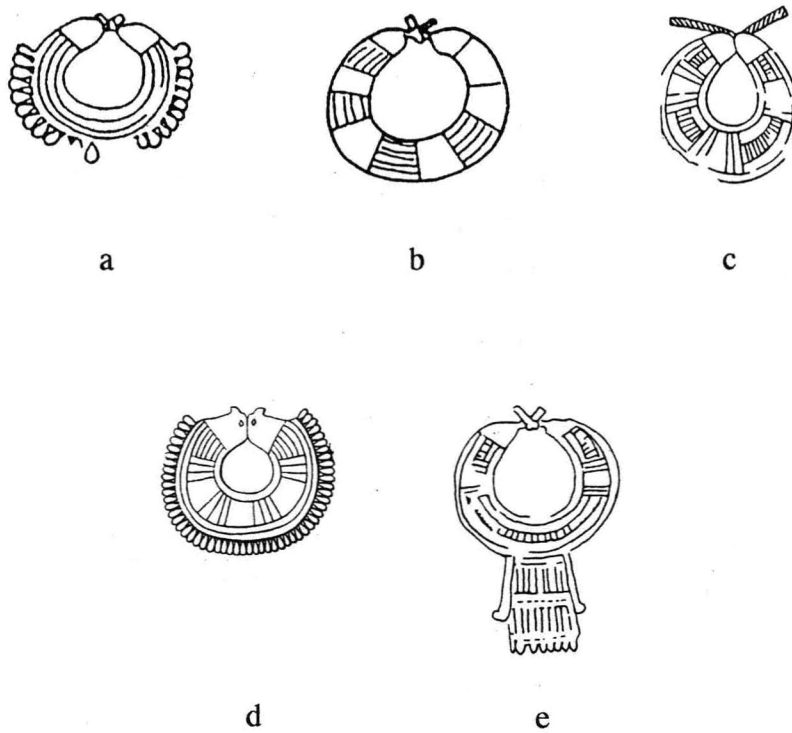





Fig. 3. Old Kingdom beaded collars shown in plan.

instances details may have been added when the finished relief was painted.¹⁵ Fairly common in terms of frequency is the sign used in Akhethetep's text — an oblong filled with vertical ripples of water (fig 2.b).¹⁶ In at least one example, a single ripple of water is positioned horizontally (fig. 2.c).¹⁷ A fourth ideogram, which seems to represent a sandy tract (fig 2.d), appears with less frequency than the others.¹⁸ The last ideogram (fig. 2.e) is known to me only from the stele of a contemporary of Sneferu from Dahshur.¹⁹ The latter sign clearly represents an oval surrounded by water, thus corresponding to the English notion of an island as a body of land surrounded by water. It was on the islands, sandy tracts, and high-lying lands around the great marshes and lagoons of the Delta with their isolated marshy clumps of bulrushes and papyrus and shrubs that the noblemen of the Old Kingdom pastured their cattle.²⁰ In the chapel of Ptahhetep, an 'overseer of the island,' Hor-bity-ankh by name,²¹ leads oxen raised on estates in the Northland, that is to say, the Delta, into his master's presence.²² 'Island' here is written , as in the 'Mastaba du Louvre.' The *pr*-determinative in both instances may suggest the enclosed character or nature of the locale — whether island, sandy tract or high-lying piece of land — on which the cattle were pastured. Comparable is the writing of z3,  ('corral, stall'),²³ that is, the piece of ground where the  fetters used to hobble cattle were set out.²⁴ Alternately, the house-sign could designate an administrative entity or agency.²⁵

¹⁵ Zeigler (supra n. 2) 113 (n) cites an instance from the mastaba of Seshemnefer; see E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptische Grabkammer Seshemnefers III. aus Giza* (Mainz am Rhein 1977), colorplate IV, in which the ripples of water do not appear but which seems to be painted solid blue.

¹⁶ E.g., M.A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas Part I.* (BSAE/ERA 10, London 1905) pl. VII.73 (= our fig. 2.b); L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs SA³HU-RE' II: Die Wandbilder* (Leipzig 1913) pl. 72; W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* (Giza Mastabas 3, Boston 1978) pl. 33.

¹⁷ H. Junker, *Giza I: Die Mastabas der IV. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Vienna/Leipzig 1929) 221 fig. 51, pl. XXXVI.a. A probable second occurrence is Petrie (supra n. 14) pl. XIX. What looks like the same sign is carried on the head of an officiant at the *sed*-festival of Neuserre; F.W. von Bissing and H. Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re II: Die Kleine Festdarstellung* (Berlin 1923) pl. 11.27.

¹⁸ H. Junker, *Giza III: Die Mastabas der vorgeschütteten V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Vienna/Leipzig 1938) 181 fig. 27; D. Dunham and W.K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Giza Mastabas 1, Boston 1974) fig. 4 (= our fig. 2.c). The last sign is reproduced in color (red around pink with red and grey dots) in W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London 1946) colorplate B.


¹⁹ A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II.2: The Valley Temple: The Finds* (Cairo 1961) 5 fig. 283, pls. XXXVIII, LX.

²⁰ H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography* (T.G.H. James ed., I.F.D. Morrow trans., Chicago/London 1977) 30-31. For the geomorphology of the Delta in the Old Kingdom, see also K.W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology* (Chicago 1976) 22-25 and fig. 4.

²¹ H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt 1935) 247 no. 1.

²² R.F.E. Paget, A.A. Pirie and F.L.I. Griffith, *The Tomb of Ptahhetep*, in J.E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (BSAE/ERA 2, London 1896) pl. XXXI.

²³ H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley NY 1968) 148, n. 651.

²⁴ P. Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (Strasbourg 1925) 93-95, 103, 125. Similarly, the ideogram  zš ('bird-pool') (Gardiner [supra n. 4] 473 sign list G 49) is sometimes determined with the house-sign; see e.g., L. Épron, F. Dumas, G. Goyon, and H. Wild, *Le tombeau de Ti* (IFAO Mémoire 65, Cairo 1939-1966) III.2 pls. CXLIV, CLVI, CLXIX.

²⁵ See, e.g., O. Goelet, Jr., *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, Ann Arbor 1982) 549.

From the point of view of the present article, however, the most noteworthy feature of the inscription is the reference to two distinct types of beaded collars. The first is designated *wsh* ('broad collar'). Broad collars first appear in the 4th Dynasty,²⁶ but this is probably the earliest definite occurrence of the word *wsh* which, according to *Wb.* I 365, 16, is only attested from the Middle Kingdom.²⁷ In addition to its appearance in the 'Louvre mastaba,' Mme. Zeigler draws attention to a late 6th Dynasty occurrence.²⁸

The determinative of *wsh* in the 'Louvre mastaba' is a penannular collar comprising two lunate terminals or end pieces with the tie-cords projecting, five longitudinal rows of beads (individual beads not shown), and a lowermost border of drop beads (fig. 3.a).

The other word, *šnw*, appears to be a *hapax legomenon*. The determinative of the *šnw*-collar, like that of the *wsh*-collar, consists of multiple rows of beads (individual beads not indicated) (fig. 3.b). Unlike the latter, the *šnw*-collar lacks the lower border of drop beads and has four trapezoidal zones which extend from the top to the lower border. These zones divide the rows of beads into five approximately equal segments.

Like *wsh*-collars, *šnw*-collars are depicted on statues and in relief from the 4th Dynasty. If perhaps not quite as popular as the ubiquitous 'broad collar,' the *šnw*-collar is still far more common than might be surmised from the fact that its existence as a separate form of Old Kingdom beaded collar has not generally been acknowledged.²⁹ Jéquier recognized the type as a variety of broad collar in the *frises d'objets* on Middle Kingdom coffins, but mistook the trapezoidal zones for small barettes of metal.³⁰ Vandier simply paraphrases Jéquier and evidently is not aware of the independent existence of the *šnw*-collar in the Old Kingdom.³¹ Junker illustrates a number of *šnw*-collars in the course of his discussion of the rewards given weaver women but, like Vandier, seems unaware that a distinctive type of beaded collar is represented.³²

²⁶ A. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London 1971) 32.

²⁷ Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London/New York 1987) 272, assigns the 'Mastaba du Louvre' to the period from Neuserre to early Izezi.

²⁸ G. Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (Cairo 1929) 73 fig. 82, cited by Zeigler (supra n. 2) 111 (e). Another instance is L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Cairo, Nr. 1295-1808* (Berlin 1937-1964) CG 1572. During the Old Kingdom the ideogram of the 'collar of beads' (𓏏) which is depicted in the object friezes with the name *nbyt* (Gardiner [supra n. 4] 505 sign list S 12), is regularly used as a caption for broad collars; see e.g., Jéquier (supra) pl. VI; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi* (EEF Archaeological Survey of Egypt 11-12, London 1902) I pl. XIII; II pl. X; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1937-1938 II: Mastabas of Ny-'ankh-Pepy and Others* (Z. Iskander re-ed., Cairo 1975) 47, pl. XXIX.B. Since the ideogram is used to write *nbw* ('gold') and related words, it might be expected that a collar so designated would be composed entirely of gold elements but, as G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (IFAO Mémoire 47, Cairo 1921) 61, notes, only exceptionally is the collar colored yellow in imitation of gold; in general the superimposed rows of beads are multicolored.

²⁹ The *šnw*-collars illustrated and discussed here or cited in the notes are only a representative sampling. No attempt has been made to present a complete corpus.

³⁰ Jéquier 1921 (supra n. 28) 63 (3).

³¹ J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III: Les grandes époques. La statuaire* (Paris 1958) 112, fig. 11.166.

³² H. Junker, *Giza V: Die Mastaba des Sbn (Seneb) und die umliegenden Gräber* (Vienna/Leipzig 1941) 52-54, fig. 13.

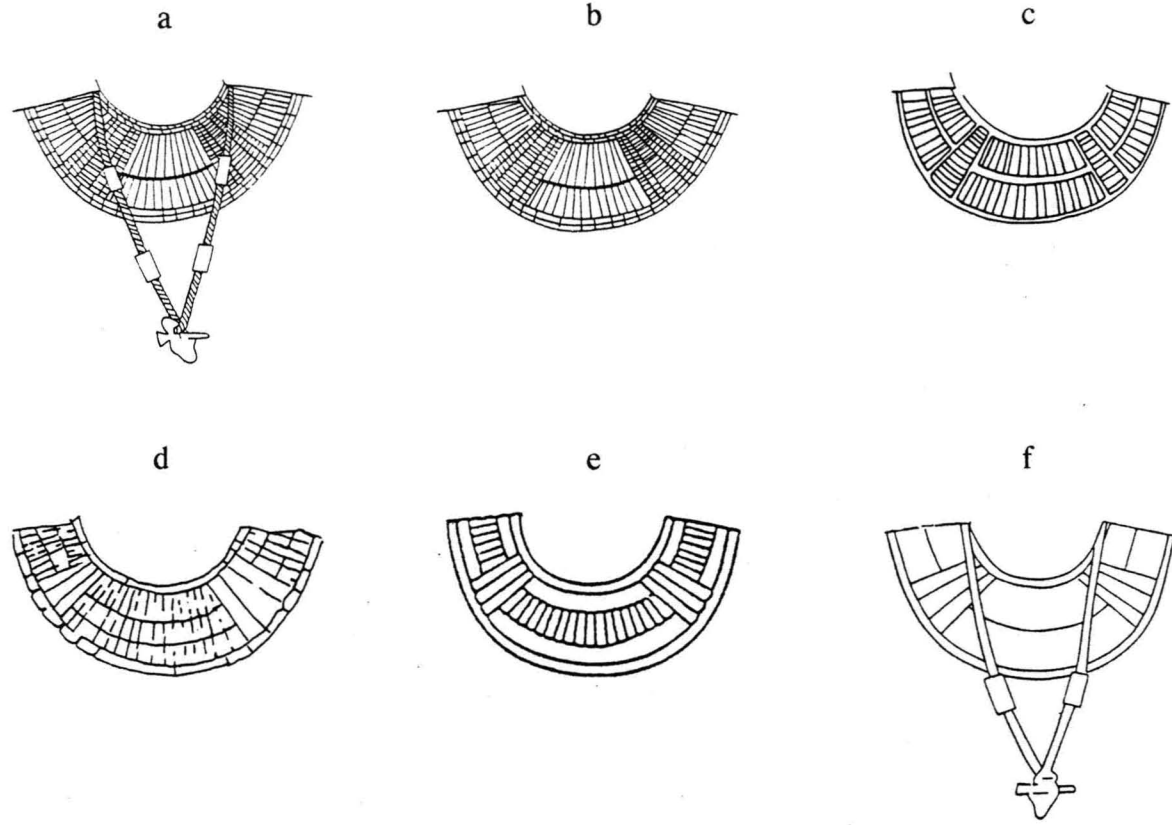


Fig. 4. *Snw*-collars from the chapels of Ti (a-b, d-f) and Queen Meresankh III (c).

We shall have a look at some of the early examples of *šnw*-collars presently, but first let us examine in detail an especially clear instance in relief from the late 5th Dynasty Saqqara tomb of Ti, long famous for its magnificently painted wall scenes (fig. 4.a).³³ Because the individual beads were carefully delineated by the sculptor, this example is critical for an understanding of the construction of *šnw*-collars. Fig. 4.b is a drawing of the same collar with the cord of the amulet hanging around Ti's neck omitted and the beadwork pattern restored.³⁴ As can be readily seen, the detailed example has two longitudinal rows of long cylinder beads positioned vertically side by side and two transverse trapezoidal zones made up of rows of shorter cylinder beads strung horizontally and presumably interthreaded together with the rows of vertical cylindrical beads. Each trapezoidal zone consists of a wide central row of medium-sized cylindrical beads and two rows of short tubular beads on either side of the center row. In addition, the collar is bordered at the top by two strands of what evidently represent cylinder (and barrel ?) beads of different sizes and at the bottom by two strands of cylinder beads of approximately equal length.

Detailed renderings of the *šnw*-collar, like those in the tomb of Ti, are rare. A painted example from the tomb of Queen Meresankh III at Giza (fig. 4.c), like Ti's collar, has two longitudinal rows of vertically placed cylinder beads and two trapezoidal zones with beads strung horizontally.³⁵ The trapezoidal zones in this instance consist of only one row of medium-sized cylinder beads, not five rows of beads as in Ti's two collars. Today much of the paint on Meresankh's collar is lost,³⁶ but an aquarelle by William Stevenson Smith in Boston preserves the original color scheme.³⁷ The upper row of vertically positioned beads and the beads in the trapezoidal zones are colored dark blue, while the remainder of the collar is painted light green. The green and blue colors perhaps reflect an original of malachite(?) and lapis lazuli, the same semi-precious stones from which Akhetehotep's collars are said to be made.

In addition to the detailed examples, the tomb of Ti furnishes a number of more schematic representations of the *šnw*-collar. One such collar, actually worn by Ti's son Demedj, consists of three rather than two longitudinal rows of vertically oriented cylinder beads and two transverse trapezoidal zones (fig. 4.d). The vertical beads in the three rows were carefully delineated, as were the short cylinder beads of the single strand forming the lower border of the collar, but the pattern of beads in the trapezoidal zones was omitted, leaving only

³³ Épron et al. (supra n. 24) pl. CXLIX. For other detailed examples worn by Ti, see *ibid.*, pls. CXXXIII (photograph) = CXLIX (drawing), CLXXI-CLXXII. Ti's wife, Neferhetepes, wears the same detailed version of the collar; *ibid.*, pls. CLXXI-CLXXII. Ti was a near contemporary of Akhetehotep; see Harpur (supra n. 27) 277.

³⁴ Thanks are due Jordi Ensign for the drawings reproduced herein as figs. 4.a-c and 5.e. The other figures are either redrawn by the author or mechanically reproduced by xeroxing from the original publication.

³⁵ Dunham and Simpson (supra n. 18) fig. 7.

³⁶ See Dunham and Simpson (supra n. 18) frontispiece [upper].

³⁷ Fig. 4.c was redrawn by Jordi Ensign by comparing Smith's watercolor with Dunham and Simpson (supra n. 18) fig. 7. The aquarelle resides in the files of the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

the bare outline of the three rows of horizontally placed beads.³⁸ Traces of the cylinder and barrel beads of the strand forming the upper border also remain.

In another version of the *šnw*-collar (fig. 4.e) the beads in the central of three longitudinal rows of vertically oriented beads are all carefully carved, whereas the beads of the adjacent two rows are entirely omitted.³⁹ Likewise omitted is any indication of beads in the trapezoidal zones or in the single strands forming the upper and lower borders.

In a final variant, any indication whatsoever of individual beads is suppressed. The result is a diagrammatic representation of a two-row *šnw*-collar with its individual components outlined (fig. 4.f).⁴⁰

Presumably, the various schematic depictions of the *šnw*-collar in the tomb of Ti represent labor-saving devices. All the schematic versions are paralleled elsewhere, however, so they do not seem to represent the peculiarities of a single sculptor.

Of the three different schematic renderings, Demedj's collar (fig. 4.d) is the least well represented elsewhere. However, it appears round the neck of an anonymous granite scribe-statue found at Saqqara by Mariette and on the right outer jamb of the Saqqara false door of Ankhires Iteti.⁴¹

The second variant (fig. 4.e) is relatively rare in relief, although it does occur in the remarkable alabaster panel of the *sm*-priest Rawer.⁴² Several examples exist amongst the collars painted on statues, however. In the painted collars, the top and bottom longitudinal rows of beads are mostly colored dark blue and the middle row light green, but only the individual beads in the middle row are given black outlines.⁴³ Just such a collar is twice worn by Ny-maat-sed in his pseudo-group statue in Cairo which is reproduced in color in the official catalogue of the Cairo Museum.⁴⁴ It is not immediately apparent why only the beads in the center row should be shown. One possibility is that the black drawing lines were consistently omitted from the outer rows because they would have been virtually invisible against the dark blue color. The same feature is evident in painted *wsh*-collars on statues, as for example those round the necks of Ptah-khenui and his wife in their pair statue from Giza mastaba G 2004 now in Boston, which have respectively seven and eight longitudinal rows painted alternately dark

³⁸ Épron et al. (supra n. 24) I pls. XVIII (photograph) = XX (drawing).

³⁹ Épron et al. (supra n. 24) III.1 pls. LXXII (photograph) = CXVIII (drawing).

⁴⁰ Épron et al. (supra n. 24) III.2 pl. CLXXII. Cf. *ibid*, pls. CLXIV, CLXXXII. Several more examples appear in *ibid*, pl. CLXXXV, but with the outline of two rather than a single strand of beads at the upper border.

⁴¹ L. Borchardt, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten* (Berlin 1911-1936) CG 58; Murray (supra n. 16) pl. XVIII. Compare also the collars worn by Wepemnofret and his son Iby, in S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1930-1931* (Cairo 1936) fig. 219.

⁴² Cairo JE 66626: S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1929-1930* (Oxford 1932) 24-26, pl. XXVIII. A few other instances of the second variant in relief are provided by Borchardt (supra n. 28) II 185-86, pl. 40 (CG 1485); A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz am Rhein 1977) pl. 50, fig. 20.

⁴³ Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 77-78, 83, 88, 97, 133 (Ny-maat-sed, see *infra* n. 44), 166, etc.

⁴⁴ M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Cairo 1987) no. 48 = Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 133.

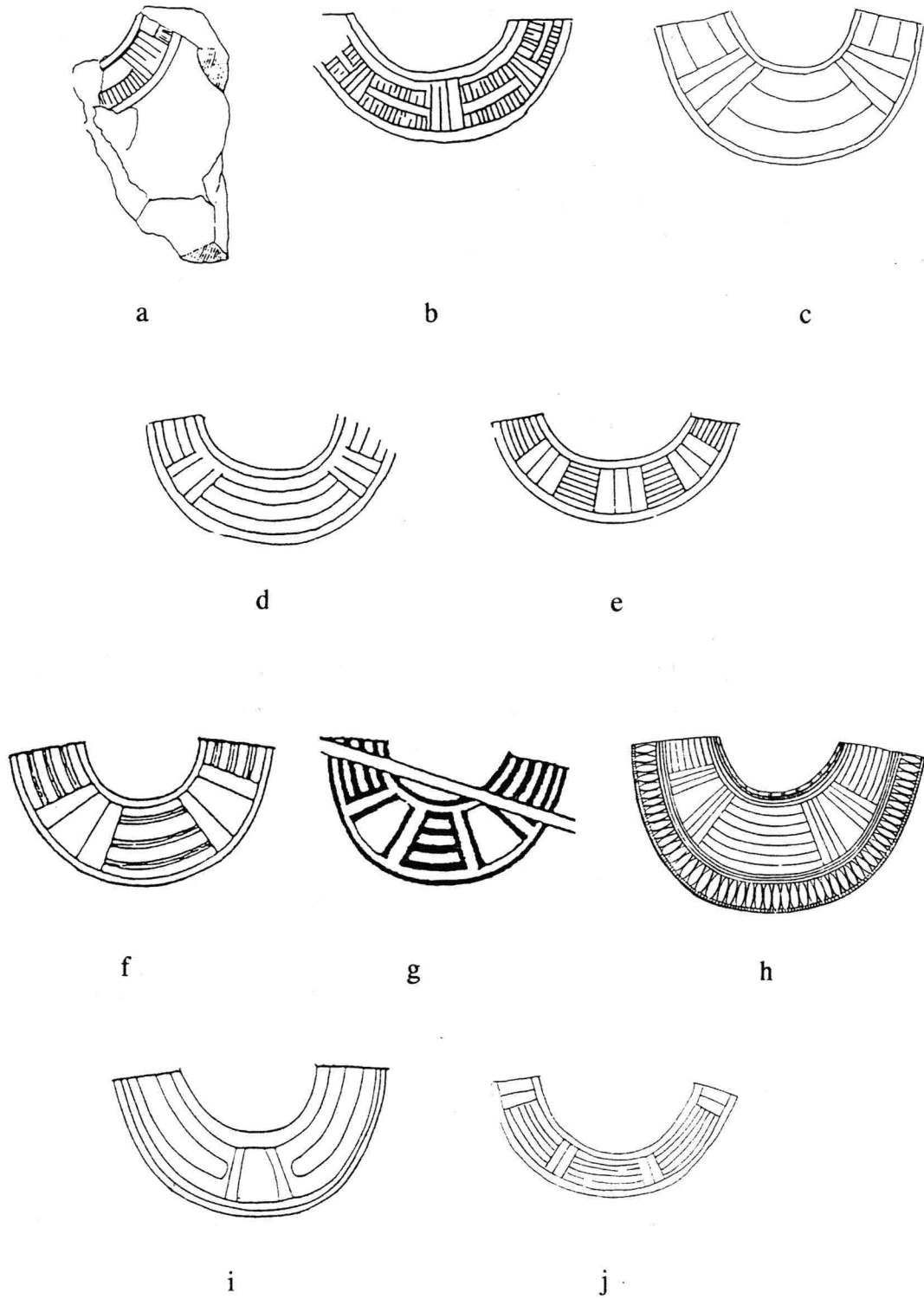


Fig. 5. Examples of Old Kingdom *snw*-collars.

blue and light green.⁴⁵ This does not constitute a wholly satisfactory explanation as to why Ti's and Rawer's sculptors should have translated what was essentially a device of painting into relief carving, however.

Sporadically, this feature also appears in two-row *šnw*-collars, as for example that on a relief fragment from the wife's chapel in the mastaba of Prince Kawab at Giza (fig. 5.a) or another worn by Sekhem-ankh-ptah on his false door from Sakkara.⁴⁶ In both instances, it is the upper longitudinal row that is blank and the individual beads of the lower row that are carved. In one instance of a three-row *šnw*-collar, worn by Prince Kai, the pattern is reversed, and it is the beads of the two outer longitudinal rows that are carved, while the center row is left blank (fig. 5.b).⁴⁷ Presumably, in this example the two outer rows would have been painted light green and the center row dark blue.

Diagrammatic representations of *šnw*-collars in which the individual beads comprising the collar are entirely omitted and a bare diagram of the collar given are by far the most common in both relief and statuary. We have already referred to examples of two-row *šnw*-collars drawn in outline from the tomb of Ti (see fig. 4.f). In fact, Ti's wife and small son each once wear a three-row *šnw*-collar carved in outline only. In the first instance, however, the long lappet of the wife's wig hanging down over her breast obscures one of the trapezoidal sections of beads, and in the second a sidelock of youth has the same effect.⁴⁸ A good example of a three-row *šnw*-collar drawn in simple outline (fig. 5.c) is provided by the left outer jamb of the false door of Ankhires Iteti, whose door has already yielded a parallel to Demedj's collar.⁴⁹

Outside the tomb of Ti, collars with two longitudinal rows are relatively limited in number.⁵⁰ King Mycerinus evidently wore a schematic two-row *šnw*-collar in the triad of the Theban nome from his Valley Temple at Giza, and may have done so in the other triads, in contrast to the goddess Hathor and the nome deities depicted in the triads who wore *wsh*-collars.⁵¹ Even though the most common number of longitudinal rows is three, both in relief⁵²

⁴⁵ MFA 06.1876: S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara and C.H. Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston 1988) 87 no. 15. Also *ibid.*, 89-90 no. 18, and a black granite scribe statue of the Inspector of the Treasury Tjenti (traces only), from G 7946, MFA 31.776: see PM III.1² 207. The statue of Ptah-khenui and his wife is illustrated in color in C.H. Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic: An Introduction to Egyptian Funerary Beliefs* (Boston 1988) 11 fig. 19.

⁴⁶ Simpson (*supra* n. 16) fig. 16; *idem*, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-ankh-ptah in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston 1976) pl. XIII.

⁴⁷ S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza III: 1931-1932* (Cairo 1941) 32 fig. 31, pl. XIV.2. The central row here is narrower than the outer two rows, and it is possible that it was intended rather to represent an intervening row of disc-beads (*infra*).

⁴⁸ Épron et al. (*supra* n. 24) I pls. XXXI, XXXIX.

⁴⁹ Murray (*supra* n. 16) pl. XVIII.

⁵⁰ See Borchardt (*supra* n. 41) CG 101; C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire vers 2686-2040 avant J.-C.* (Paris 1990) 262-65 no. 48, as well as the two examples from the tombs of Prince Kawab and Sekhem-ankh-ptah already cited (fig. 5.a and n. 46 *supra*).

⁵¹ G.A. Reisner, *Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge MA 1931) pls. 38-45. Two trapezoidal zones of three transverse rows each are fairly clear in the photograph of the Theban nome in *ibid.*, pls. 38-40, as are a single strand at the upper border and two at the lower; see also Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition Photographs A 277 and B 333. Unfortunately, Reisner (*ibid.*, 109-110) only provides color notes for the triad of the Hare Nome in Boston (traces of green and yellow on necklaces of king

and statuary,⁵³ the number of rows in *šnw*-collars varies considerably. While several collars appear to have a single row,⁵⁴ Khufukhaf II wears a collar with four rows (fig. 5.d),⁵⁵ and Ptahhetep Iyenankh has one with five rows.⁵⁶ The determinative of *šnw* in the Louvre mastaba has six rows (fig. 2.b).⁵⁷ As many as seven rows may appear, as in a statue of Metjetji in Brooklyn 53.222,⁵⁸ or even eight rows, as on a wall in the chapel of Khufukhaf I at Giza (fig. 5.e).⁵⁹ However, the individual longitudinal rows are much narrower in the multiple-row collars, and the actual collars which these painted or carved representations imitate were probably made up of short cylindrical or barrel beads, a circumstance which would account for the large number of rows.⁶⁰

In a few examples a very narrow row or rows of what probably represents disc-beads intervene between the multiple longitudinal rows. Thus, the collar worn by Hetepheres, the wife of Seshemnofer [IV], has two narrow rows, painted white, between each of four wider rows painted green (fig. 5.f).⁶¹ The collar of the priest who officiates before Hetepheres by contrast has only a single white row between three longitudinal green bands.

The collar worn by the Judge Mehu in a fragmentary relief in Boston is a good example of a multiple-row *šnw*-collar with the paint still intact (fig. 5.g). The seven longitudinal rows of Mehu's collar are painted alternately pale blue and light green. The broad center section of each trapezoidal zone is also light green, and the three narrow transverse rows to either side alternately blue, white, blue. The creamy white color is presumably in imitation of beads of white stone, steatite, faience or shell.⁶² Traces indicate that the barrel and cylinder beads of the

and deities). The extensive paint traces visible on all the triads at the time of their discovery have now virtually disappeared.

⁵² E.g., LD *Ergänzungsband*, xlvii [b]; Murray (supra n. 16) pl. XVIII; Hassan (supra n. 28) 88 fig. 32; Borchardt (supra n. 28) CG 1563, 1678.

⁵³ E.g., Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 77, 79, 150, 214, 270; Hassan (supra n. 42) 20, pl. XXII; 115, pl. LXXII.1; 115, pl. LXXIII.2; B. de Rachewiltz, *The Rock Tomb of Irw-k3-Pth* (Leiden 1960) pls. VIII.1, IX.1.

⁵⁴ Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 163, 172, 185, 150, 202, 203; Junker (supra n. 18) fig. 15; Zeigler (supra n. 50) 147 no. 20. Certain of these examples may in fact represent multiple-row collars with the longitudinal rows omitted. The possibility is well illustrated by two collars depicted in A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay* (Mainz am Rhein 1971) pls. 37-38. The collars are identical except that the longitudinal rows have been carved in one instance and omitted in the other. A collar worn by the royal priest Nefer (Hassan [supra n. 47] 205 fig. 170), probably does belong to the category of single-row broad collars; the vertically positioned beads are indicated and three reserved areas probably represent trapezoidal zones of horizontally strung beads.

⁵⁵ Simpson (supra n. 16) fig. 44. Cf. LD II, 89.c = H. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients* (Berlin 1925) 246.

⁵⁶ Hassan (supra n. 28) 88 fig. 32. Cf. Borchardt (supra n. 28) CG 98; N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqareh II: The Mastaba. The Sculpture of Akhetetep*. (EEF Archaeological Survey of Egypt 9, London 1901) pls. VI, XXVIII [left-hand figure], XXIX [middle figure].

⁵⁷ Cf. Borchardt (supra n. 28) CG 1417.

⁵⁸ Brooklyn 53.222: P. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi* (Bern 1976) 66 fig. Cf. Borchardt (supra n. 28) CG 1732.

⁵⁹ Simpson (supra n. 16) figs. 30-31.

⁶⁰ Cf. N.E. Scott and R.K. Liu, "Notes On Construction Of Egyptian Broad Collars," *Ornament* 4.2 (1979) 13.

⁶¹ LD II 90 = H. Junker, *Giza XI: Die Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide. Ostteil* (Vienna 1953) 260 fig. 105 (= our fig. 5.f); Borchardt (supra n. 41) 1 CG 21.

⁶² A. Lucas and J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴ (London 1962) Chapter IV.

uppermost and the cylinder beads of the lowermost strands, were originally pale blue and light green, whereas the inner strands of both borders were painted white.⁶³

In general the upper and lower borders of *šnw*-collars comprise two strands of beads. In a relatively large number of collars, in which the beads of the border strands are indicated, the uppermost and lowermost strands consist of cylinder beads, and there is no indication of individual beads in the inner strands which, as in Mehu's collar, are painted white.⁶⁴ The two strands in the upper and lower borders of Ti's collar in fig. 4.a-b, however, consist of cylinder (and barrel ?) beads of varying size. In other collars the number of strands in the upper and lower borders varies considerably.⁶⁵ The elaborate collar of the Vizier Kagemni, for instance, has unusually broad borders with four strands in the upper and three in the lower (fig. 5.h).⁶⁶ The topmost strand consists of cylinder and disc-beads — three of the latter between each of the former.⁶⁷ Below that is a strand of disc-beads. In the remaining two rows of the upper border and in the three strands of the lower border the beads are not indicated.⁶⁸

Sporadically, *šnw*-collars are shown with only a single trapezoidal zone of beads centered on the wearer's chest. This is the case with a collar of Sekhemka's in his tomb chapel in the Western Field at Giza (fig. 5.i)⁶⁹ and with that of Mersuankh who is shown together with his two daughters in a statue group found by Selim Hassan in the Central Field at the same place.⁷⁰ Meresankh III's collar (fig. 4.c) and those worn by Ti and his son Demedj (see fig. 4.a-b, f), as well as the majority of the other collars we have discussed, have two transverse trapezoidal zones. While two seems to be the usual number of trapezoidal zones in representations of *šnw*-collars, two of Khufukhaf I's collars have three such zones (see fig. 5.e),⁷¹ and Kapunesut Kai's collar has four (fig. 5.j).⁷²

The determinative of *šnw* in the 'Mastaba du Louvre' likewise has four trapezoidal zones (fig. 3.b). The determinative is viewed from above, however, while most of the other

⁶³ Fig. 5.g is after W.S. Smith, "The Judge Goes Fishing," *BMFA* 56 (1958) 56-57. Smith does not indicate the individual beads in the upper and lower strands.

⁶⁴ Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 58, 77-79, 88, 97, 101, 133, 214, etc.

⁶⁵ LD II 90; Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 21, 98, 150, 185, 267, 270; Cairo JE 66626 (supra n. 42). A second collar of Ti's with two strands above and one at the bottom alternates short cylinder and barrel beads in the bottom strand; see Épron et al. (supra n. 24) III.2 pl. CLXXI; possibly also one of the wife's, *ibid.* pl. CLXXII.

⁶⁶ F.W. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* (Berlin 1905/Leipzig 1911) II pl. XXVII.122.

⁶⁷ The same arrangement occurs in Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 185.

⁶⁸ Sopedhetep on his false door in Turin wears a collar nearly as elaborate as Kagemni's with an upper border of three strands and a lower border of two; no beads are indicated, however; see A.M. Donadoni-Roveri ed., *Egyptian Civilization III: Monumental Art* (Milan 1989) 196 fig. 295, 197 fig. 297.

⁶⁹ W.K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery, Part I*. (Giza Mastabas 4, Boston 1980) fig. 4.

⁷⁰ Hassan (supra n. 42) 116 no. 3, pl. LXXIV. According to Hassan, the necklace consists of bands colored blue, green, and black. This would be a unique example of a painted collar with black beads, and presumably Hassan was referring to the black outlines of the collar. In the color photograph in Saleh and Sourouzian (supra n. 44) no. 51, the collar looks yellow; presumably the original color has flaked away since Selim Hassan's time, and what is visible today is the undercolor. A possible additional example of a *šnw*-collar with one trapezoidal zone is Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 83.

⁷¹ Simpson (supra n. 16) figs. 30-31. Cf. LD *Ergänzungsband*, xlvii [b]; Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 33, 101, 203; Hassan (supra n. 47) 32 fig. 31, pl. XIV.2 (= our fig. 5.b); Moussa and Altenmüller (supra n. 54) pls. 37-38.

⁷² Junker (supra n. 18) 133 fig. 16.

examples we have examined are seen as worn, that is, from the front. A *šnw*-collar set upon a table with other items of jewelry in the tomb of Ti, and also viewed in plan, has three trapezoidal zones (fig. 3.c). Of the four *šnw*-collars laid out on the lid of two long boxes in the Louvre mastaba, two have three trapezoidal zones and two are limited to two such zones (see fig. 3.e).⁷³ Four is again the number of zones in a very elaborate example of a *šnw*-collar with falcon-headed terminals seen in plan from the tomb of the Vizier Kagemni (fig. 3.d).⁷⁴ It is possible that the originals of at least some of the *šnw*-collars with two trapezoidal zones worn around the neck of the deceased in reliefs or paintings had in actuality four such zones, the two zones towards either end hanging over the shoulder along with the terminals, and thus not visible to the viewer.

The representations of *šnw*-collars in plan are interesting from another point of view, for they show that *šnw*-collars in the Old Kingdom, like *wšḥ*-collars, might either be circular in shape (fig. 3.b, d-e) with the width of the collar the same in the middle and at the extremities, or may adopt a crescent shape, being broader in the middle than at the ends (fig. 3.c).⁷⁵ In actual *wšḥ*-collars “the primary factor determining the shape of the collar appears to be the increase in the length/depth of the beads in the middle of the collar over those in the same row at either terminal.”⁷⁶ In the case of *šnw*-collars, the trapezoidal zones with their rows of horizontally strung beads presumably constituted another factor. The beads within those rows, or the rows themselves when any indication of beads is absent, narrow toward the top, so as to conform to the semi-circular shape of the collar.

Depending on their number, the trapezoidal zones divide the longitudinal rows into an odd or even number of sections. As may be seen in figs. 3-6, these sections can vary in width or be of approximately the same width. Three seems to be usual number of transverse rows of horizontally strung beads within the trapezoidal zones (figs. 4.d-f; 5.b-f; 6.d-e) the collar of Queen Meresankh III has seemingly one (fig. 4.c)⁷⁷ and Ka-pu-nesut Kai collar only two (fig. 5.j).⁷⁸ Five rows are also fairly common (figs. 3.c, e; 4.a-b; 5.a; 6.a). In his Giza mastaba Wepemnofret wears a two-row *šnw*-collar whose trapezoidal zones consist of seven narrow

⁷³ Zeigler (supra n. 2) 116-19.

⁷⁴ Von Bissing (supra n. 17) II pl. 27.116.

⁷⁵ Cf. Jéquier (supra n. 28) 62-64. For an example of a *wšḥ*-collar with crescent shape, see A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir IV* (EES Archaeological Survey of Egypt 25, London 1924) pl. XIX.

⁷⁶ Scott and Liu (supra n. 60) 13.

⁷⁷ Certain of the multiple row collars have very narrow single transverse rows. The collars of Manefer (Borchardt [supra n. 28] CG 1652), and Kaemheset (Cairo JE 47749; PM III.1², 542-43), have two single transverse rows each. Three such rows are visible on the collar of the Royal Priest Seneb in a relief in Cairo (Borchardt [supra n. 28] CG 1740), which has seven longitudinal rows, and there is room for two more in that section of the collar covered by his leopard skin garment. Indeed, Kaemankh's collar has just that number (five) of narrow transverse rows; H. Junker, *Giza VI: Die Mastabas des Nfr (Nefr), Kdfj (Kedfi), K3ḥif (Kahjef) und die westlich anschließenden Grabanlagen* (Leipzig/Vienna 1943) pl. XXIII.a. It is possible that these narrow transverse rows represent faience or metal spacer bars rather than single transverse rows of horizontally positioned beads.

⁷⁸ Cf. Petrie and Murray (supra n. 14) pl. XIV.

rows.⁷⁹ An extremely ornate collar worn by the Vizier Kagemni (fig. 5.h) likewise shows the outline of seven rows, but the center row in each instance is twice as broad as the outer rows. The same is true of the collar of the Judge Mehu (fig. 5.g) and of that of Sopedhetep on his false door in Turin.⁸⁰ In point of fact, both in detailed examples, like those of Ti (fig. 4.a-b), as well as in the more schematic versions of *šnw*-collars under discussion, the center row is not infrequently shown as wider than the outer rows (figs. 3.c, e; 5.f-i; 6.a-b, d-e).

In general, the trapezoidal zones extend from the topmost border to the lower border of the collar. Occasionally, however, other arrangements occur. In the collar of Prince Kai (fig. 5.b), the central of three trapezoidal zones of three rows each extends from the strand forming the lower border to the upper strand of beads in the upper border, while the other two sections reach only as far as the lower strand, the upper border.

In addition to the types discussed above, a number of more complex variants of *šnw*-collars occur. These too are rendered in a schematic manner with little or no indication of the individual beads.

Hemion on his Saqqara false door, for example, wears a collar divided into three sections by two trapezoidal zones that extend from the upper to the lower border (fig. 6.a).⁸¹ The sections at either end apparently consisted of six narrow longitudinal rows of beads; the central section, however, is divided into two longitudinal rows, the vertically positioned beads being indicated only in bottom row.

Around the neck of the Inspector of Royal Document Scribes Rahotep is a collar whose upper and lower borders, both painted white, probably represent double strands of cylinder beads (fig. 6.b).⁸² Beneath the upper border is a wider band painted blue. No beads at all are shown but, in the original, the wide band may have been composed of cylinder beads strung vertically. Below this blue band, three blue-painted trapezoidal zones divide a broad band of white into four sections. Just as in certain multiple-row *šnw*-collars, which at first glance look like single-row collars (*supra*), there is no indication of longitudinal rows of beads in these sections, but presumably in the original collar they too were occupied by multiple-rows of beads.

The collar of Prince Kanefer, son of Sneferu (fig. 6.c) looks like two narrow *šnw*-collars conjoined.⁸³ The upper section has four trapezoidal zones, while the lower section appears to have had three such zones, the central one seemingly lost in a lacuna. Each of the

⁷⁹ Hassan (*supra* n. 41) fig. 219. Wepemnofret's son, who stands in front of his father, seems to wear a collar with four narrow rows in the trapezoidal zones; the detail is not clear in the drawing, however, and cannot be confirmed in the plates; *ibid.*, pls. LXXIV-LXXV. This is unfortunate, as I do not have a definite example with four transverse rows in my dossier, although there is no good reason why this number of transverse rows should not occur.

⁸⁰ See n. 68 *supra*.

⁸¹ Borchardt (*supra* n. 28) CG 1417. Fig. 6.a is taken from *ibid.*, 90 ill.

⁸² Borchardt (*supra* n. 41) CG 192. Fig. 6.b is from *ibid.*, 131 ill; cf. Moussa and Altenmüller (*supra* n. 54) pl. 33.

⁸³ T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.* I² (London 1961) pl. X.1.

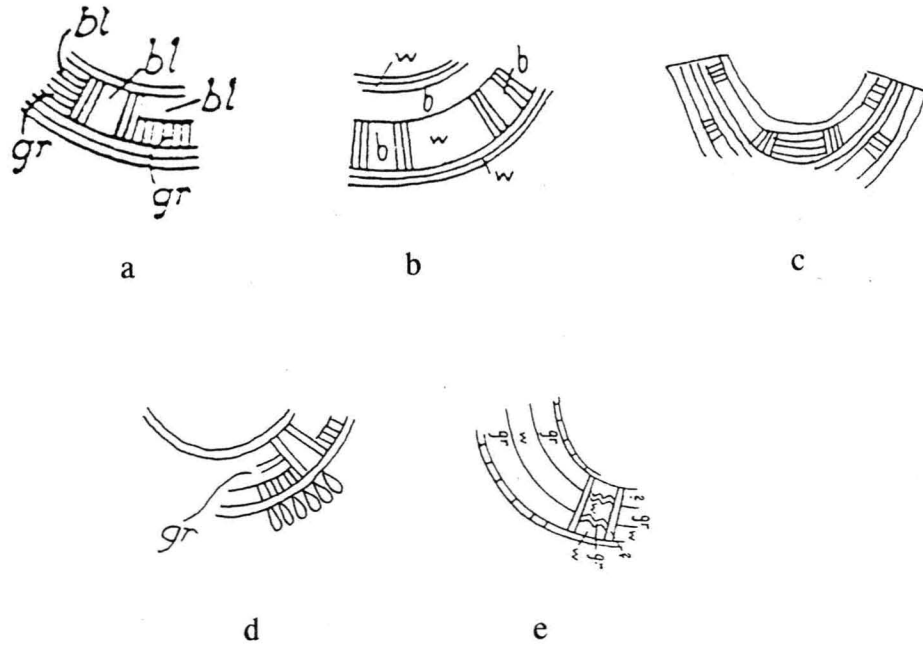


Fig. 6. Variant types of šnw-collars.

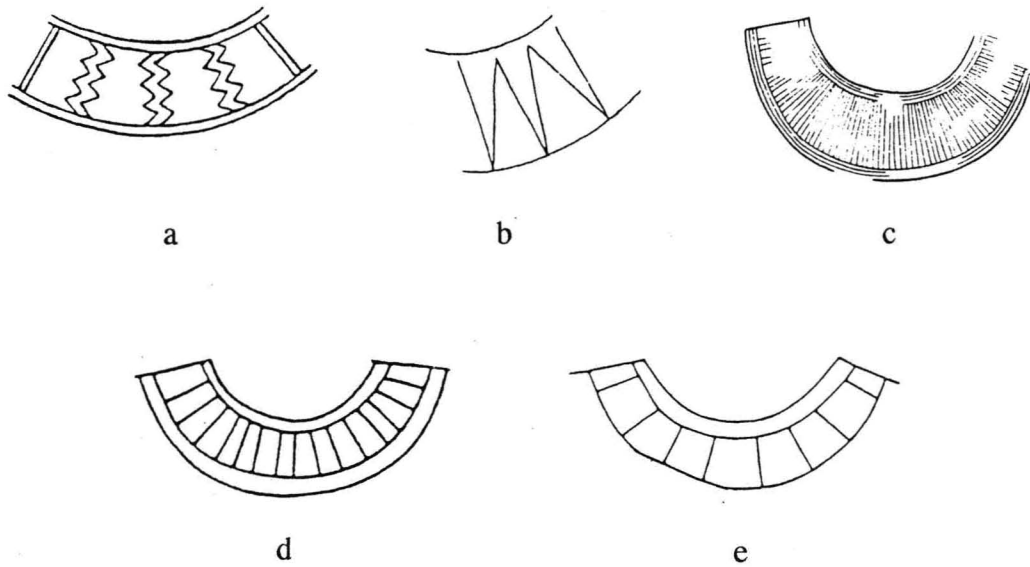


Fig. 7. Other types of Old Kingdom beaded collars.

trapezoidal zones consists of three transverse rows. Three incised lines in the middle segment of the upper section suggest that the two sections in actuality had probably consisted of four longitudinal rows of small cylindrical or barrel beads. At the topmost and lower border, there were probably strands of cylinder beads and between the two sections two narrow intervening rows of disc beads.⁸⁴ Other instances of *šnw*-collars in which the sculptor abandoned his task in favor of the painter exist, including a second occurrence in which only the the incised dividing lines in the central segment were carved.⁸⁵

The collar of Tepemankh (fig. 6.d) at first glance appears to constitute an additional example of a two-row *šnw*-collar with only the beads in the bottom of the two longitudinal rows carved, like the fragment from the mastaba of Kawab (fig. 5.a). According to Borchardt, however, the upper section preserves a line of green paint, which presumably represents a strand of beads, so that the original collar must have had multiple longitudinal rows of short cylinder or barrel beads in this part.⁸⁶

There is at least one other interesting variant of a *šnw*-collar (fig. 6.e). Worn by Kakherptah, this would be a traditional three-row collar with two trapezoidal zones except for the fact that two zigzag spacers evenly positioned between the outermost row of beads in the trapezoidal zones imply that the beads within the zones (probably disc-beads in the original) were strung vertically.⁸⁷ Zigzag spacer bars are more usual as components of chokers, dress straps, counterpoises, belts, bracelets, and anklets.⁸⁸ However, the High Priest of Ptah Ranofer, in one of his two large standing statues in Cairo,⁸⁹ wears a beaded collar with zigzag bars that kept the rows in place and held them firmly together (fig. 7.a).⁹⁰

Both the determinatives of the *wšḫ*- and *šnw*-collars in the Louvre mastaba of Akhetotep (fig. 3.a-b) are provided with semicircular terminals or end pieces. This is indeed

⁸⁴ A collar worn by Queen Meresankh III (Dunham and Simpson [supra n. 18] pl. 20.a, fig. 6), may have been of similar construction; unfortunately, the details are insufficiently well preserved to be certain.

⁸⁵ See, e.g., A. Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhn'ahor at Saqqara* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1978) fig. 45.

⁸⁶ Borchardt (supra n. 28) CG 1564: Fig. 6.d is redrawn from *ibid.*, 29 ill.

⁸⁷ Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 267. Fig. 6.e is after *ibid.*, 169 ill.

⁸⁸ Chokers: Borchardt (supra n. 16) pl. 18; Dunham and Simpson (supra n. 18) figs. 4, 6-7, etc. Dress-straps: Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 55, 89, 101, 274, etc. Counterpoises: *idem* (supra n. 41) CG 56, 83, 139, 208, 210, 268, 269, 270, 376, 380; *idem* (supra n. 28) CG 1536 (also the straps of a pectoral), etc. Belts: *idem* (supra n. 41) CG 97, 133, 203, 208, 210, 214, 268, 376, etc. Bracelets: *idem* (supra n. 41) CG 376; *idem* (supra n. 28) CG 1536, etc. Anklets: *idem* (supra n. 41) CG 376; *idem* (supra n. 28) CG 1536; *idem* (supra n. 16) pl. 22, etc.

⁸⁹ Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 19. If A.C.T.É. Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Histoire de l'Art égyptien, d'après les monuments, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la domination romaine* (Paris 1878-1879) Atlas II.2 pl. 32, is correct, the zigzags were painted in red on a greyish white background. His rendering of the zigzags with a line down the center differs from Borchardt's drawing of the same elements but seems to be confirmed by the traces in a photograph published by J. Capart, *L'Art égyptien 2: Choix de documents II: La statuaire* (Brussels 1948) pl. 238. E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 8, Berlin 1966) 136, believes that Ranofer's collar originally had the form of the Memphite high priest's jackal necklace; in this regard, see also E.L.B. Terrace and H.G. Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum From Predynastic to Roman Times* (London 1970) 40, 60. I do not believe this to be the case, however.

⁹⁰ Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 139; *idem* (supra n. 28) CG 1536. For actual spacer bars, see e.g., Hassan (supra n. 42) pl. LXXVIII; *idem* (supra n. 41) pl. LIII.1; *idem* (supra n. 47) pl. LXXI.1.

the case with the vast majority of Old Kingdom *wsh*- and *šnw*-collars in wall scenes and in statuary. However, a few representations of both types of beaded collars exist with falcon-headed terminals.⁹¹ An elaborate *šnw*-collar from the tomb of the Vizier Kagemni possesses this sort of terminal (fig. 3.d).⁹² As Alix Wilkinson has pointed out, the falcon-headed terminals denote the ‘collar of Horus’ prescribed in the *frises d’objets* on the interior of late Old Kingdom coffins.⁹³ No actual examples of falcon-headed terminals dating from the Old Kingdom have been found,⁹⁴ and most extant terminals are semicircular in shape.⁹⁵

A lowermost row of pendants in the form of buds, drops, leaves or beetles is characteristic of broad collars.⁹⁶ By contrast, *šnw*-collars with a lowermost row of pendants are relatively rare. The Vizier Akhetetep wears a *šnw*-collar with drop pendants six times over at the bottom his false door.⁹⁷ The very elaborate example of a *šnw*-collar from the tomb of the vizier Kagemni has a lower border of disc beads presumably connected to the pendants by loops at the bottom (fig. 5.h).⁹⁸ Even though the characteristic markings are absent, the lenticular shape of the pendants suggests the originals adopted the form of the long-bodied insect, *agrypnus notodonta* Latr., which was an emblem of the goddess Neith.⁹⁹ A second collar with falcon-headed terminals from the same tomb appears to have pendants of ordinary drop shape (fig. 3.d). The first *šnw*-collar with pendants known to me is that of Tepemankh (fig. 6.d), who belongs to the mid-5th Dynasty.¹⁰⁰ Inasmuch as the early *šnw*-collars of Khufukhaf I, Queen Meresankh III, and Kapunesut Kai (figs. 4.c; 5.e, j) lack pendants of any sort, it is possible that later *šnw*-collars acquired pendants under the influence of the *wsh*-collars.

⁹¹ For *wsh*-collars with falcon-headed terminals, see The Saqqarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka I* (OIP 31, Chicago 1938) pl. XXX. Falcon-headed terminals also appear as the extremities of pectorals with beaded straps; see e.g., *ibid.*, pl. XXX.

⁹² Von Bissing (*supra* n. 66). Cf. the damaged collar with falcon-headed terminals in Davies (*supra* n. 28) pl. XIX, and The Saqqara Expedition (*supra* n. 91) pls. XXIX-XXX.

⁹³ Wilkinson (*supra* n. 26) 32. Staehelin (*supra* n. 89) 116-17, believes the collars with falcon-heads were intended exclusively for funerary purposes. On the religious significance of the *wsh*-collar in the Old Kingdom and later, see further T. Handoussa, “Le collier ousekh,” *SAK* 9 (1981) 143-50.

⁹⁴ For falcon-headed terminals of Middle Kingdom date, see e.g. E. Brovarski, *Canopic Jars* (Corpus Antiquitatem Aegyptiacarum, Museum of Fine Arts Boston 1, Mainz am Rhein 1978) 87 (in green faience); Saleh and Sourouzian (*supra* n. 44) no. 114 (gold leaf).

⁹⁵ So, for example, the terminals of the broad collars listed by Wilkinson (*supra* n. 26) 32, 206 nn. 5-6.

⁹⁶ Wilkinson (*supra* n. 26) 32. This is not to say that *wsh*-collars always had a lower border of pendants. Most of the *wsh*-collars in the 4th Dynasty tombs of Khufukhaf I (Simpson [*supra* n. 16] figs. 26, 34) and Queen Meresankh III (Dunham and Simpson [*supra* n. 18] figs. 4, 6-7) do indeed possess drop pendants, but an example without pendants occurs in the latter tomb (Dunham and Simpson [*supra* n. 18] fig. 17). Many other occurrences of *wsh*-collars without pendants both in two- and three-dimensional art could readily be cited.

⁹⁷ Davies (*supra* n. 56) II pls. XXIX-XXX. The pendants at the bottom of Metjetji’s collar (Zeigler [*supra* n. 50] 147 no. 20) are simply indicated by a series of parallel lines.

⁹⁸ Von Bissing (*supra* n. 66) I pl. XXVII.122 = II pl. XV. For actual pendants with top and bottom loops, see C.M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo 1926) pl. 15.B. Small gold beads sometimes served for stringing in lieu of the loops; see C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs. Egyptian Jewelry of the Dynastic Period* (New York/Washington 1971) pl. 19.

⁹⁹ L. Keimer, “Pendoloques en forme d’insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens,” *ASAE* 31 (1931) 145-86.

¹⁰⁰ PM III.1², 483; Harpur (*supra* n. 27) 277.

From the inscription on the right embrasure of the Louvre mastaba, it appears that Akhetetep received only a single counterpoise to go with the two beaded collars donated as a mark of his sovereign's esteem. Both *šnw*-collars¹⁰¹ and *wšḫ*-collars,¹⁰² were provided with counterpoises during the Old Kingdom. A very large and handsome counterpoise composed of several rows of beads ending in a series of drop-shaped pendants hangs from the tie strings at the back of the *šnw*-collar worn by Metjetji in a statue representing him as a young man now in Brooklyn.¹⁰³ The custom seems to have altered by Middle Kingdom times; according to Scott and Liu: "very few of the extant reconstructed broad collars show this feature, and none of the all faience bead collars show a *mankhet*."¹⁰⁴

Some representations of beaded collars during the Old Kingdom have a pectoral in the form of a bead panel hanging from the center.¹⁰⁵ In a scene showing the rewards given to weaver women on the left entrance embrasure of the Louvre mastaba, examples of both *wšḫ*- and *šnw*-collars (fig. 3.e) with beaded pectorals rest on the lids of two chests.¹⁰⁶

The colors that predominate in *šnw*-collars, as in painted *wšḫ*-collars, are dark blue and light green.¹⁰⁷ Other color combinations do occur, however. The collar of the Judge Mehu, as we have already seen, is predominately pale blue and light green, like that of the palace official Mersuankh.¹⁰⁸ The dominant colors of the collar of the Lady Hetepheres (fig. 5.f) and of the official Kakherptah (fig. 6.e) are green and white, those of Rahotep blue and white (fig. 6.b). According to Lepsius, Pehenuka's collar was colored blue, green, white, and red.¹⁰⁹ Red is rare but also occurs in combination with blue, green, and white in the *šnw*-collars painted on the wall of a 6th Dynasty burial chamber.¹¹⁰

Prisse d'Avennes preserves to us the original coloration of what purports to be a *šnw*-collar from the tomb of Ti, specifically one with three longitudinal rows of vertically oriented cylinder beads instead of two (fig. 4.c).¹¹¹ The upper border of the collar consists of a strand of medium-sized cylinder beads, alternately black and white. The smaller disc-beads in the string below are all white. The three longitudinal rows of vertically oriented cylinder beads are alternately colored dark grey, pale green, and dark grey. The central row of wider beads in each of the two trapezoidal zones is black, the row of narrower beads next to it light green, and the outer narrow row once again black. The lower border consists of a single strand of white disc beads. In Prisse d'Avennes' plate, the collar appears round the neck of Ti, who sits on a

¹⁰¹ E.g., Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 83, 270.

¹⁰² E.g., *ibid.*, CG 139, 208, 210, 230, 268-69, 308.

¹⁰³ The Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art 1951-1956* (Brooklyn 1956) 2, pl. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Scott and Liu (supra n. 60) 11.

¹⁰⁵ Aldred (supra n. 98) 147; Wilkinson (supra n. 26) 47-48.

¹⁰⁶ Zeigler (supra n. 2) 116-19.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 21, 58, 78-79, 83, 88, 97-98, 133, 166, 214, 217.

¹⁰⁸ Cairo JE 66619; Hassan (supra n. 42) 115 (2) = Saleh and Sourouzian (supra n. 44) no. 50. For another statue of Mersuankh, see n. 70 supra.

¹⁰⁹ *LD Text*, I 164 fig. and *Ergänzungsband*, xlvii [b].

¹¹⁰ Blackman (supra n. 75) pl. XIX.2.

¹¹¹ Prisse d'Avennes (supra n. 89) *Atlas* II.2 pl. 46.

chair placed in a booth lined with colorful mats and with his wife sitting at his feet. At first glance, the vignette seems to derive from a scene of Ti and his wife watching farmers at work published by Henri Wild.¹¹² However, Wild's drawing shows the seated figure of Ti within the booth wearing a two-row *šnw*-collar, the same collar reproduced herein as fig. 4.a-b. It is difficult to know what to make of this discrepancy. The only three-row *šnw*-collar worn by Ti in the published facsimiles is in a swamp scene, and this example has only the central row carved, like fig. 4.e, so it does not seem that Prisse d'Avennes could somehow have mechanically placed a collar worn by one image of Ti inadvertently on the wrong figure. It is even less likely that he transferred the collar to Ti's figure from a wall in a different tomb. Least likely is that Wild has erred, since his facsimile drawings are meticulous in their details.

Both of Akhethetep's beaded collars in the 'Louvre Mastaba' are said to be made from lapis lazuli and a green stone (malachite, green turquoise, green felspar or green jasper). Since they were a gift from his sovereign, the collars may actually have been composed of beads made of semi-precious stones. Undoubtedly, in the first instance, the dark blue and light green colors of the majority of painted representations of *šnw*-collars derived from originals of lapis lazuli and one of the green stones. Similarly, the pale blue of Mehu's and Mersuankh's collars might represent turquoise. Secondly, however, they probably reflected imitations of these stones in artificial materials. Indeed, it was probably a rare Egyptian who would possess a collar made from beads of semi-precious stones. One such was Prince Babaf, whose broad collar, found by Selim Hassan on top of the prince's coffin at Giza, consisted of twenty rows of cylinder and disc-beads of gold, carnelian, steatite, haematite, turquoise, and shell.¹¹³ However, the Egyptians learned at an early date to imitate semi-precious stones in artificial materials like glazed steatite, faience, and frit.¹¹⁴ Few complete beaded collars have survived, but most of these and the vast majority of elements from beaded collars found in excavations consist of faience.¹¹⁵ Faience beads from collars found in burials at Giza by Reisner are colored dull or bright blue,¹¹⁶ blue-green,¹¹⁷ light green¹¹⁸ and dark green,¹¹⁹ black,¹²⁰

¹¹² Épron et al. (supra n. 24) III.2 pl. CXLIX. There seems little doubt about the identification, since this is the only scene that shows Ti in a booth and the caption *smr w'ty mry nb.f Ty* appears above the head of Ti in both publications.

¹¹³ S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VII: 1935-1936* (Cairo 1953) 9-10, 33, pls. XIII-XIV, XXII.A, XXIII.C.

¹¹⁴ Lucas and Harris (supra n. 62) 155-67, 340-45.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, the collars listed in n. 131 infra.

¹¹⁶ G 2360 A (MFA 13.3406 A); G 7440 Z (MFA 27.1547), found with the bead-net dress published in D'Auria et al. (supra n. 45) 78-79 no. 9.

¹¹⁷ G 2407 C (MFA 37.1314); G 2422 (MFA 37.1311-13); G 7253 B (MFA 27-1-254).

¹¹⁸ G 1360 (MFA 13.4171); G 2381 (MFA 13.3086) = Aldred (supra n. 98) pl. 19.

¹¹⁹ G 1360 (MFA 13.4171).

¹²⁰ G 2407 C (MFA 37.1314); G 4516 C (MFA 35-8-54); G 7253 B (MFA 27-1-254). According to Lucas and Harris (supra n. 62) 162, in some instances black glaze was possibly originally green glaze that had changed to black.

red,¹²¹ and creamy white.¹²² In the absence of dark blue beads, it is possible that the black glaze was intended to imitate lapis lazuli.¹²³

It is not clear whether Ranofer's collar with the zigzag spacer bars (fig. 7.a) should be classified either as a *wšḫ*- or *šnw*-collar. Certainly, a number of beaded collars that appear in reliefs or statuary do not seem to fit readily into either category. The collar around the neck of a standing statue of the Overseer of the Treasury Werirmi, for example, has a design of narrow, interlaced triangles (fig. 7.b).¹²⁴ The original may have consisted of cylinder beads narrowing towards the apices of the triangles or the design may reflect a disc-bead construction like the much later collars discussed by Bosse-Griffiths¹²⁵ and made by an adding and matting technique.¹²⁶

The Vizier Ptahshepses in his tomb at Abusir wears a collar composed of one longitudinal row of exceptionally long cylinder beads positioned vertically and bordered at the arc next to the neck and at the bottom by what were presumably three strands of cylinder or disc-beads (fig. 7.c).¹²⁷ The same or similar patterns are attested elsewhere in relief, but the width of the collar varies according to the length of the vertically positioned beads. Khufukhaf I wears a much narrower version of this type of collar, composed of shorter cylinder beads and bordered with strands that probably consisted of cylinder beads at the top and bottom (fig. 7.d).¹²⁸

A different kind of collar also worn by Khufukhaf I appears to consist of a row of trapezoidal shaped elements with a single wide strand at the neck (fig. 7.e).¹²⁹ In the absence of any indication of beads, it might be possible to interpret the trapezoidal elements as plaques of metal or glazed composition. Such plaques are unparalleled in the archaeological record for the Old Kingdom, however, and it seems more likely that in the actual collar each of the trapezoidal sections consisted of horizontally positioned cylinder beads narrowing towards the apex. The single strand at the neck of the collar once again probably consisted of cylinder beads.

¹²¹ G 6028 F (MFA 25-12-232).

¹²² G 2360 A (MFA 13.3406 A); G 2420 H (MFA 36-5-47). Of course, the white beads in the collars could also have consisted of bone, shell, or unglazed steatite.

¹²³ For the interchange of blue and black in Egyptian art, see C.R. Williams, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-nēb. The Technique and the Color Conventions* (New York 1932) 53-62.

¹²⁴ Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 272. Fig. 7.b is after *ibid*, p. 172 ill.

¹²⁵ K. Bosse-Griffiths, "The Use of Disc-beads in Egyptian Bead-Compositions," *JEA* 61 (1975) 114-24. A good example of a collar completely made out of disc-beads is provided by the broad collar that covered the shoulders and chest of the mummy of Tutankhamun down as far as the lower edge of the mammae; see *ibid*, 118, pl. XXI.

¹²⁶ Scott and Liu (supra n. 60) 12.

¹²⁷ M. Verner, *The Excavations of the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology at Abusir — I: The Mastaba of Ptahshepses I.1: Reliefs* (Prague 1977 published 1986). According to *ibid*, 65, the beads of the collar are painted green. What is possibly a second example, badly damaged, appears on another wall, *ibid*, pl. 49. See also Épron et al. (supra n. 24) I pl. XXVII.

¹²⁸ Simpson (supra n. 16) fig. 28. Cf. Junker (supra n. 18) 147 fig. 16; Simpson (supra n. 46) pl. B; James (supra n. 83) pl. X.1.

¹²⁹ Simpson (supra n. 16) fig. 27. For a sepulcher of its size, the walls of Khufukhaf's chapel exhibit a surprising variety of broad collars; in addition to the collars illustrated in figs. 5.e and 7.d-e, see n. 96 supra.

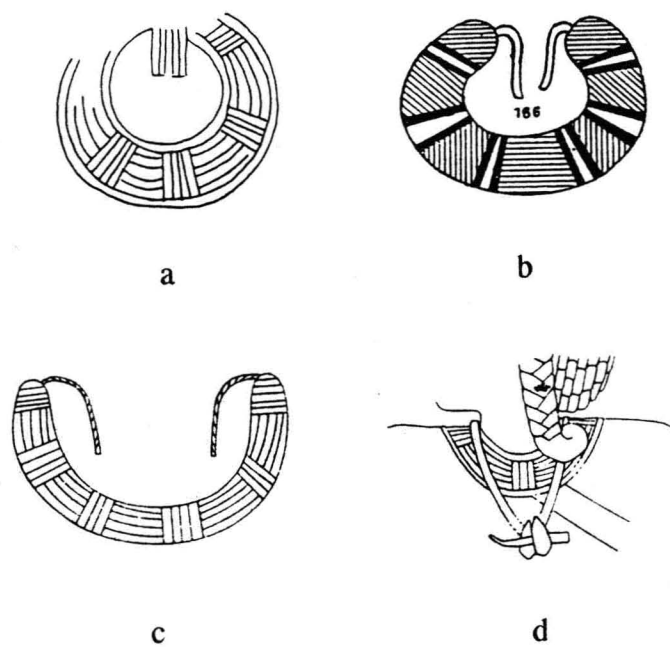


Fig. 8. *Snw*-collars of the Middle Kingdom (a-c) and Late Period (d).

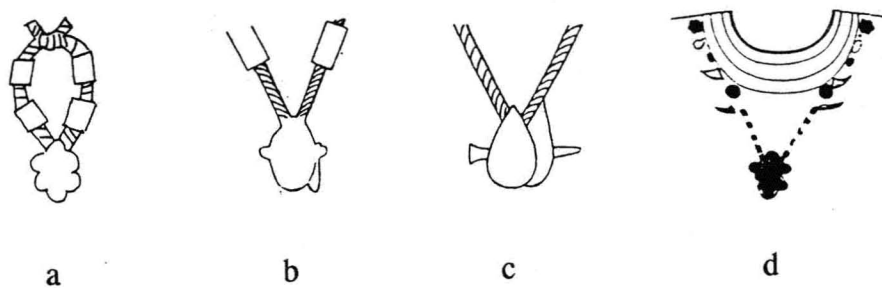


Fig. 9. Old Kingdom amulets.

Reisner found evidence for some nineteen broad collars in burials at Giza; three were essentially complete, the others disjointed.¹³⁰ It is possible that one of these may have been of *šnw*-type, a collar from G 4516 C composed of light and dark green beads (pl. I).¹³¹ Unfortunately, there is no indication of the original arrangement in the field records that I have so far identified nor do any notes on file in Boston explain why the necklace was restrung in this fashion and by whom. Nonetheless, the reconstructed collar shows how the horizontally placed beads of the trapezoidal zones might be interthreaded with the rows of vertically oriented beads in the longitudinal rows.

So far, no attempt has been made to account for the difference in nomenclature for the two principle types of Old Kingdom beaded collars. In the Middle Kingdom, the width of the collars on the *šnw*-pattern shown on the sides of painted coffins is the same in the middle and at the extremities, whereas the broad collars represented on the coffins are wider in the central part.¹³² While this distinction does not seem to hold true for the Old Kingdom (*supra*), the earlier examples of the *šnw*-collar, like those in the tombs of Prince Khufukhaf I, Queen Meresankh III, and Kapunesut Kai (figs. 4.d; 5.e, j) do seem to be narrower than contemporary broad collars.¹³³ Possibly the word *šnw* (literally 'That which encircles (the neck),') originally designated a collar that was narrower, while the distinguishing characteristic of the other type of collar was its greater breadth, just as its name, *wšh* ('That which is broad') indicates. In the later Old Kingdom, the distinctions were not so rigidly retained, however. Ti's *šnw*-collars, for example, are of essentially the same width as his broad collars.¹³⁴

Collars of the *šnw* pattern are depicted sporadically in Middle Kingdom art. King Mentuhotep II, for example, consecrates two *šnw*-collars on a temple block from Gebelein (fig. 8.a).¹³⁵ Several more examples appear in the *frises d'objets* in 12th Dynasty coffins. The

¹³⁰ G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* I.2 (unpublished ms., Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) ch. XIII, 635-44. The three essentially complete collars are Cairo 68317 a (from G 2004 A II); MFA 13.3086 (from G 2381; see Aldred [*supra* n. 98] pl. 19); MFA 27.1547 (from G 7440 Z; cf. D'Auria et al. [*supra* n. 45] no. 9). A virtually complete collar was discovered by Dr. Zahi Hawass in a shaft next to the northern wall of Giza mastaba G 5520 in 1987, and is published by him ("A Burial with an Unusual Plaster Mask in the Western Cemetery of Khufu's Pyramid," in R. Friedman and B. Adams eds., *The Followers of Horus: Studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman (1944-1990)* (Egyptian Studies Association Publication 20/Oxbow Monograph 20, Oxford 1992) 333, fig. 6.






¹³¹ MFA 35-8-54. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Rita E. Freed, Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for permission to illustrate the reconstructed collar here and also for allowing me to refer to the various collars and elements thereof excavated by Reisner in tomb shafts at Giza and cited in nn. 114-120 *supra*. The photograph reproduced as pl. I in the present article was taken by Rus Gant. The reconstructed choker-collared(?) in the photograph (MFA 37.1335) is also from G 4516 C, as are the eight bell-shaped pendants of blue faience (MFA 37.1328) and the cylinder and disc-beads. Reisner found a large number of cylinder and disc beads in G 4516 C, and some of them may belong to a bead-net dress like that discussed by M. Jick, in D'Auria et al. (*supra* n. 45) 78-79 no. 9.

¹³² Jéquier (*supra* n. 28) 62.

¹³³ Compare, for example, the *šnw*- and *wšh*-collars worn by Queens Hetepheres I and Meresankh III in Dunham and Simpson (*supra* n. 18) fig. 7, and those worn by Khufukhaf in Simpson (*supra* n. 16) figs. 30-31, 34.

¹³⁴ See Épron et al. (*supra* n. 24) I pls. XI, XXXI, XXXVI-XXXVII; III.2 pls. CXLIX, CLXI, CLXXI, CLXXIII, and *passim*.

¹³⁵ L. Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods," *MDIK* 19 (1963) 39 fig. 17.

label above four of these representations suggests that the term *šnw* may have survived into Middle Egyptian as *wšḥ (n) š'w*. Over a collar on one side of the Gebelein coffin of Sobek-aa now in Berlin (fig. 8.b) appears the label  ¹³⁶ The representation of a similar collar in the fragment of a wooden coffin from Abydos, is nearly completely destroyed but the label reads  ¹³⁷ Two collars captioned  and  on the sides of the inner and outer coffins of the High Steward Wernefer from Meir are unpublished,¹³⁸ although Lacau compares one of them to the collar reproduced as our fig. 8.c.¹³⁹ If the damaged determinative of *š'w* in the Abydos coffin is indeed the loop of cord with the ends downward  phonetic *šn*, this would be a further reason for supposing that *wšḥ (n) š'w* is the equivalent of Old Kingdom *šnw*. Of *wšḥ (n) š'w*, *Wb.* IV 421, 2, says simply “als Art Halskragen,” without suggesting any translation for *š'w*, and it is difficult to imagine what *š'w* does mean in this context. If only one occurrence of the term *wšḥ (n) š'w* existed, it would be possible to conjecture that *š'w* was written erroneously for *šnw*, as it would be a simple enough matter to misconstrue a cursive writing of *šn* with a ligature of the first two letters as *š'w*.¹⁴⁰ However, the four documents derive from diverse locales, and it would be surprising if the same mistake was to be made over and over again at places so widely separate.

Sporadic Late Period examples of *šnw*-collars occur (fig. 8.d).¹⁴¹ These surely represent one more instance of the archaizing tendencies of Saite art which often imitate Old Kingdom fashions in wigs, costumes, accessories and so forth.¹⁴²

Appendix

In addition to the two collars and the counterpoise, Akhethetep's son received a necklace on his father's behalf. This item of jewelry is termed an *izn n w3ḏ šm'w [ḥsbḏ] (?) r ḥḥ.f* 'a necklace of malachite(?) and lapis lazuli(?) to be placed at his neck.' The determinative

¹³⁶ G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reiches in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin II* (Berlin 1901) pl. XII.

¹³⁷ J. Garstang, P.E. Newberry and O.G. Milne, *El Arábah* (BSAE/ERA 6, London 1900) pl. XXVI.

¹³⁸ P. Lacau, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire, Nos. 28001-28078* (Cairo 1904-1906) 114 no. 75 [CG 28037], 120 no. 72 [CG 28038].

¹³⁹ The collar in CG 28037 is compared by Lacau (supra n. 138) to a broad collar from CG 28024, labelled *h3ḏrt m nbw* ('bracelet of gold') (ibid, 100-102, fig. 483 = our fig. 8.c); he admits, however, that the collar in CG 28037 is “tres effacé,” and his comparison may not be accurate. Alternately, the ancient scribe may have erred and placed the wrong label over the piece of jewellery in CG 28024.

¹⁴⁰ See G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie: Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der Fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit I* (Leipzig 1909) nos. 99, 331, XXXIII.

¹⁴¹ E.g., Brooklyn 52.131.1: Wilkinson (supra n. 26) 27 fig. 19 = The Brooklyn Museum (supra n. 103) pl. 56; MFA 1985.18: *Antiquities and Islamic Art* (Sale Catalogue, New York, Sotheby's, 8 February 1985) no. 25. Our fig. 8.d is after Wilkinson.

¹⁴² See e.g., M.A. Murray, “Some Pendant Amulets,” *Ancient Egypt* (1917) 52 fig. 30; The Brooklyn Museum, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (Brooklyn 1960) 28.

of the necklace (fig. 9.a) shows an amulet strung on a cord along with a few large beads.¹⁴³ A *w3d Šm'w izn n ḥḥ*. ('necklace of malachite(?) off/for the neck') was awarded by King Izezi to a favorite, the vizier and royal architect, Senedjemib Inti.¹⁴⁴ The determinative of *izn* in the Senedjemib inscription is the coil of rope or cord *ḥ*.¹⁴⁵ In fact, *izn* probably originally meant 'thread,' 'string' or 'cord,' only secondarily perhaps coming to mean 'necklace,' that is, a string of beads worn around the neck as an ornament. In the tomb chapel of Pepyankh Heny the Black at Meir, a jeweller seems to be twisting thread.¹⁴⁶ The label above his head, *zwš(?) iznw n sti rw*, is probably to be translated 'Twisting thread for threading beads.'¹⁴⁷ This interpretation of *izn* probably finds confirmation in the addition of *r ḥḥ.f* ('at his neck'), *n ḥḥ* ('off/for the neck'), in Akhetetep's and Senedjemib's texts.

The amulet itself is of oval shape with five small oval projections, the projection at the top evidently pierced for stringing. Thus, what Akhetetep was given as a sign of royal favor was not the more usual Old Kingdom amulet which consists of one (fig. 9.b)¹⁴⁸ or two ovals (fig. 9.c)¹⁴⁹ pierced diagonally with a thorn-like object, and sometimes with an asymmetrical projection hanging down,¹⁵⁰ but one that occurs somewhat less frequently. Rahotep in his well-known statue from Medum wears a similar amulet, as do a number of other Old Kingdom officials.¹⁵¹ It is possible that the latter type of amulet represents a turtle, the five oval projections corresponding to the legs and head of the turtle. Turtle amulets occur as early as the 3rd Dynasty, and a number of the actual amulets published by Henry Fischer resemble that worn by Rahotep and the other Old Kingdom officials.¹⁵² Alternately, the original of Akhetetep's and Rahotep's type of amulet could have been a group of multi-noded flint

¹⁴³ Fig. 9.a is redrawn by the author from a facsimile drawing provided by M. Jean-Louis de Cenival, Curator of Egyptian Antiquities at the Louvre. I would like to express my appreciation to M. de Cenival for this kindness.

¹⁴⁴ K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches* I (Leipzig 1903) 59 line 17.

¹⁴⁵ Gardiner (supra n. 4) 521 sign list V 1.

¹⁴⁶ A.M. Blackman and M.R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 5 (EES Archaeological Survey of Egypt 28, London 1953) pls. XVI-XVII.

¹⁴⁷ Blackman and Apted (supra n. 146) 25-26. H.G. Fischer, "Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies' *Deir el-Gebrâwi*," *JARCE* 13 (1976) 19 n. 12, notes that *sti r(w)* ('stringing beads') occurs in a similar context in Davies (supra n. 28) II pl. XIX. R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1976) 44, translates the same inscription: "Ballen (mit den Fingern zwirnen?) für das Aufreihen zum *wsh*-Halskragen." She erroneously, albeit understandably, given the character of the signs, misinterprets the coils of cord (Gardiner [supra n. 4] 521 sign list V 1) which determine *izn* as human fingers (ibid, 456 sign list D 50).

¹⁴⁸ Fig. 9.b derives from the tomb of Ptahhetep (Paget and Pirie [supra n. 22] pl. 32), and is taken from Murray (supra n. 142) 50 fig. 15.

¹⁴⁹ Fig. 9.c comes from the tomb of Ti as redrawn by Murray (supra n. 142) 52 fig. 27, from G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (Leipzig 1913) pl. 130.

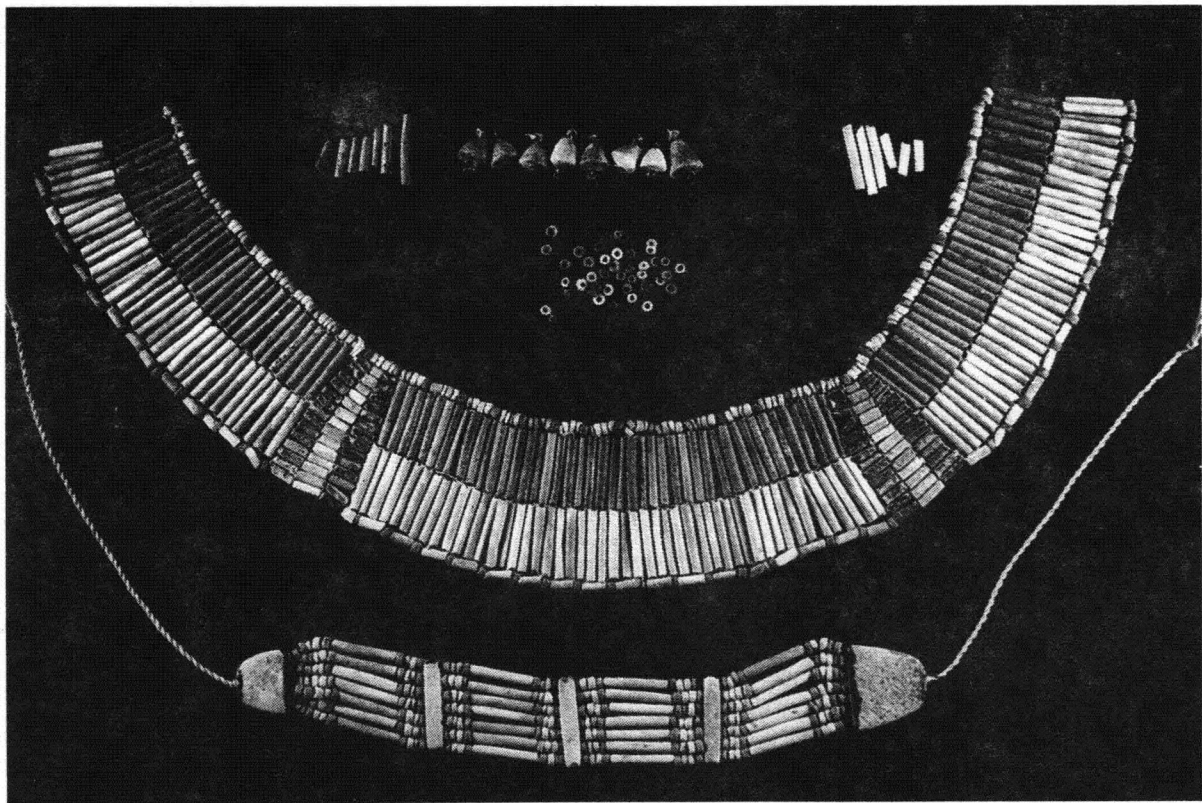
¹⁵⁰ For this amulet, see Murray (supra n. 142) 50-54 figs. 5-47; Staehelin (supra n. 89) 101-103.

¹⁵¹ Rahotep's statue is Borchardt (supra n. 41) CG 3; see also ibid, CG 58, 129, 150; Moussa and Altenmüller (supra n. 54) pl. 3.

¹⁵² H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles* (New York 1968) 25-30; see especially frontispiece nos. 58, 63, fig. 17.34.

pebbles, which may well also be the case with the amulet worn by Crown Prince Kawab in the tomb of his daughter Meresankh III (fig. 9.d).¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Dunham and Simpson (*supra* n. 18) fig. 4. There is definite evidence from later times that oddly shaped natural stones were sought after, perhaps because they had some religious significance. For example, the 'cabinet of curiosities' of Queen Khensa, a wife of King Piye of the 25th Dynasty, contained a variety of unusual rocks, fossils, and seashells, as well as conjoined flint pebbles; see T. Kendall, *Kush: Lost Kingdom of the Nile* (Brockton MA 1982) 28-30. A daughter of Nefer in his Saqqara tomb wears an amulet very like Akhethetep's; see Moussa and Altenmüller (*supra* n. 54) pls. 1-3. The girl's amulet appears to have a central boss, however, and in this detail, it resembles a stap-shaped pendant of copper found by Selim Hassan at Giza; see S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VII: 1933-1934* (Cairo 1944) 314, pl. LXIX.A. The latter is, unfortunately, not well dated.



Pl.I. MFA 35-8-54, collar from G 4516 C.